



2010

**“EVERYDAY SYMBOLS FOR MEDIATION” CONFLICT AND
COOPERATION OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL AND
NATURAL RESOURCES WITHIN THE BIG SOUTH FORK NATIONAL
RIVER AND RECREATION AREA**

Carol Jo Evans

University of Kentucky, carol_evans@albemarle.edu

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Carol Jo Evans

The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

2010

“EVERYDAY SYMBOLS FOR MEDIATION”
CONFLICT AND COOPERATION OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL
AND NATURAL RESOURCES WITHIN THE BIG SOUTH FORK NATIONAL
RIVER AND RECREATION AREA

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Carol Jo Evans

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. John Van Willigen, Professor of Anthropology

Lexington, Kentucky

2010

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

“EVERYDAY SYMBOLS FOR MEDIATION” CONFLICT AND COOPERATION OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES WITHIN THE BIG SOUTH FORK NATIONAL RIVER AND RECREATION AREA

Utilizing quantitative and qualitative methods, this in-depth ethnographic study of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA) examines social conflict and resistance stemming from competing values, definitions, and concerns over the management of cultural and natural resources within the region. The timing of this project is fortuitous for the National Park Service (NPS) has completed the creation of a ten year General Management Plan. Thus, we are provided with an opportunity to study and analyze the policy and methodology that park officials are required to follow in creating a management plan and eliciting public participation.

The first goal of this study is to ascertain how the establishment of the BSFNRRRA has altered local communities: (1) *means of access to* the area and (2) *uses of resources within* the area. Several questions will be asked and probed for answers. What happens to the meanings of the land and places on the land (such as a family cemetery) when the land is transformed from private to public ownership and is managed by a government agency for the benefit of preservation or recreation? How have residents been affected by and adapted to this transformation?

The second goal is to probe the complex relationships and identify sources of conflict, resistance, and cooperation between community residents, NPS employees, and special interest groups. Essential questions arise and must be addressed. How are conflict, resistance, and cooperation demonstrated?

The third goal is to delineate what measures can be taken to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation? Since resistance often manifests itself in not participating in public meetings pertaining to the BSFNRRRA, what measures can be taken to promote public participation?

In conclusion, this study will draw clear and concise recommendations towards diminishing conflict between local residents and the NPS, along with recommendations on increasing public participation in the creation of policy pertaining to the management of public land. In addition to the applied aspect of this project, this study contributes to the body of theory by building on the mentalist paradigm of symbolic interactionism and the materialist paradigms of conflict and resistance theory.

KEY WORDS: Protected Areas, Public Land Management Policy, Resistance, Participatory Methods, Conflict Resolution

Carol Jo Evans

June 10, 2010

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By

Carol Jo Evans

Dr. John Van Willigen
Director of Dissertation

Dr. Richard W. Jefferies
Director of Graduate Studies

June 10, 2010

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DISSERTATION

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The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Sybil Layden Evans, and to my father, Joseph Warren Evans, and my feline companions, Belle, Spooky, and Cricket.

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The writing of a dissertation can be a challenging and enlightening experience, yet it is not possible without the personal and practical support of numerous people. My deepest gratitude is to my advisor and mentor, Dr. John Van Willigen. I have been fortunate to have an advisor who gave me the freedom to explore my own thoughts, yet to also provide the guidance and direction to steer me back to the right path when I ventured into tangents. Similar to my father, Dr. Van Willigen taught me to think for myself, in addition to helping me transition from a student writing a term paper, to a scholar writing a dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Focus of Study and Research Questions

Those who live in rural places usually define the surrounding territory and land as their home, as the places they recreate, collect and use natural resources, and bury their friends and kin. The land is a part of the people, and the meanings they give to places are reflections of themselves (Greider and Garkovich 1994). This type of “cognized model” of the physical environment describes people’s “knowledge and beliefs concerning their environment” (Rappaport 1968/84:337). For people act toward the physical environment on the basis of the meanings they hold toward the environment, and those meanings are social phenomena (Berger and Luckman 1966). That building over there isn’t just a building; it’s Uncle Joe’s cabin, built on the site where my father shot his first deer. That piece of granite over here isn’t just a rock; it’s the gravestone of my first bird dog. And that oak tree over there marks the entrance to my family’s cemetery; my great-grandfather planted it when his mother died. Mike Bell (1995:2) calls these phenomena “the ghosts of place.”

Ghosts . . . help constitute the specificity of historical sites, of the places where we feel we belong and do not belong, of the boundaries of possession by which we assign ownership and nativeness. Ghosts of the living and dead alike, of both individual and collective spirits, of both other selves and our own selves, haunt the places of our lives. Places are, in a word, personed . . .

But what happens to the meanings of the land and places on the land--indeed to the very meanings local people have of themselves--when the land is transformed from private ownership to public ownership and is managed by a government agency for the

benefit of conservation, preservation, and recreation by the American public? How do local people make sense out of and adapt to the new restrictions on traditional use and access imposed by the agency to meet a political mandate for preservation or recreation? What are the meanings attached to the land by environmental groups or the public land management agency? Do these various social constructions or meanings compete or conflict with one another? Where does construction or meanings of the landscape compete with each other and how are conflict and resistance represented? What are consequences of competition, conflict, and resistance over resources (management problems, degradation of the environment, vandalism, poaching for examples)? What measures can be taken to lessen conflict over the management of public land?

This study examines these questions with the overall goal of understanding the perceptions, meanings, values, and concerns faced by local residents and National Park Service employees over the management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA). In order to accomplish this, I first document traditional access to and use of resources, and how this has changed among local residents who currently live in immediate proximity to the BSFNRRRA. The study also investigates changes in the meaning of the land for local residents and their relationship to the National Area. Secondly, I identify sources and incidences of conflict and resistance between residents, National Park Service (NPS) employees, and special interest group members, over the management of cultural and natural resources within the BSFNRRRA. For example, Uncle Joe's cabin may be a traditional hunting lodge to local residents, but a management problem for the NPS, or a symbol of human presence to the environmentalist who wishes the landscape to be designated as a wilderness area.

Research will also focus on residents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning for the management of the BSFNRRRA. Finally, the study investigates measures that can be taken by the National Park Service to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation over the management of public land, specifically public participation in the management of the BSFNRRRA.

Significance of the Study

The BSFNRRRA is unique among public lands in the United States. It is one of the first attempts to combine the concept of a National River with a National Recreation Area, thereby promoting both preservation of the area's natural resources and the development of recreational activities (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:1-2). Because the BSFNRRRA is relatively new in its establishment, family members still remember when their land was acquired for the establishment of the National Area. Therefore, not only does the site provide an interesting case study for research on local environmental knowledge and uses of resources, but also the development of social conflict over competing management concerns.

Despite cases of conflict and resistance among residents and the NPS, the BSFNRRRA is viewed as a model in managing resources for both preservation and recreational use. According to former U.S. Senator Howard Baker Jr., numerous planners have visited the BSFNRRRA to study how various stakeholder groups can be served simultaneously. So impressed by the concept of a River and Recreational Area, a delegation from Thailand, where river-oriented parks are common, visited the BSFNRRRA to study the area as a model for managing natural resources (Baker 1993).

The “Park,” as local residents call it, was established by Congress on March 7, 1974, by Section 108 of the Water Resources Development Act (PL 93-251), as amended by Section 184 of the Water Resources Development Act of 1976 (PL 94-587). The BSFNRRRA encompasses approximately 123,000 acres surrounding the Big South Fork River and includes portions of the Cumberland Plateau in both Kentucky and Tennessee (Figure I.1). The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers originally designed the Master Plan and acquired the land for the establishment of the BSFNRRRA; the National Park Service currently manages the National Area.

Beginning in the summer of 1997, the NPS began to gather public input on the creation of a ten year General Management Plan (GMP) for the BSFNRRRA. During the fall of 2004, the NPS completed the final stage of gathering public input and review for the creation of the ten-year GMP for the BSFNRRRA. The final draft of the GMP was completed in 2005, which will serve as the overarching policy under which site specific plans will be prepared. Site specific plans include: the Roads and Trails Management Plan, the Fields Management Plan, the Backcountry Management Plan, and the Climbing Management Plan for examples.¹ Therefore, the study area provides a good opportunity to observe and analyze the policy and methodology park officials are required to follow in creating a management plan and eliciting public participation. The BSFNRRRA also offers a setting to monitor issues and sources of conflict, resistance, and cooperation among local residents, NPS employees, and special interest groups pertaining to the management of the area’s cultural and natural resources. Using both quantitative and

¹ In order to acquire public involvement in the development of these site specific plans, the NPS posted a website in 2006 to aid in the obtainment of public comments.

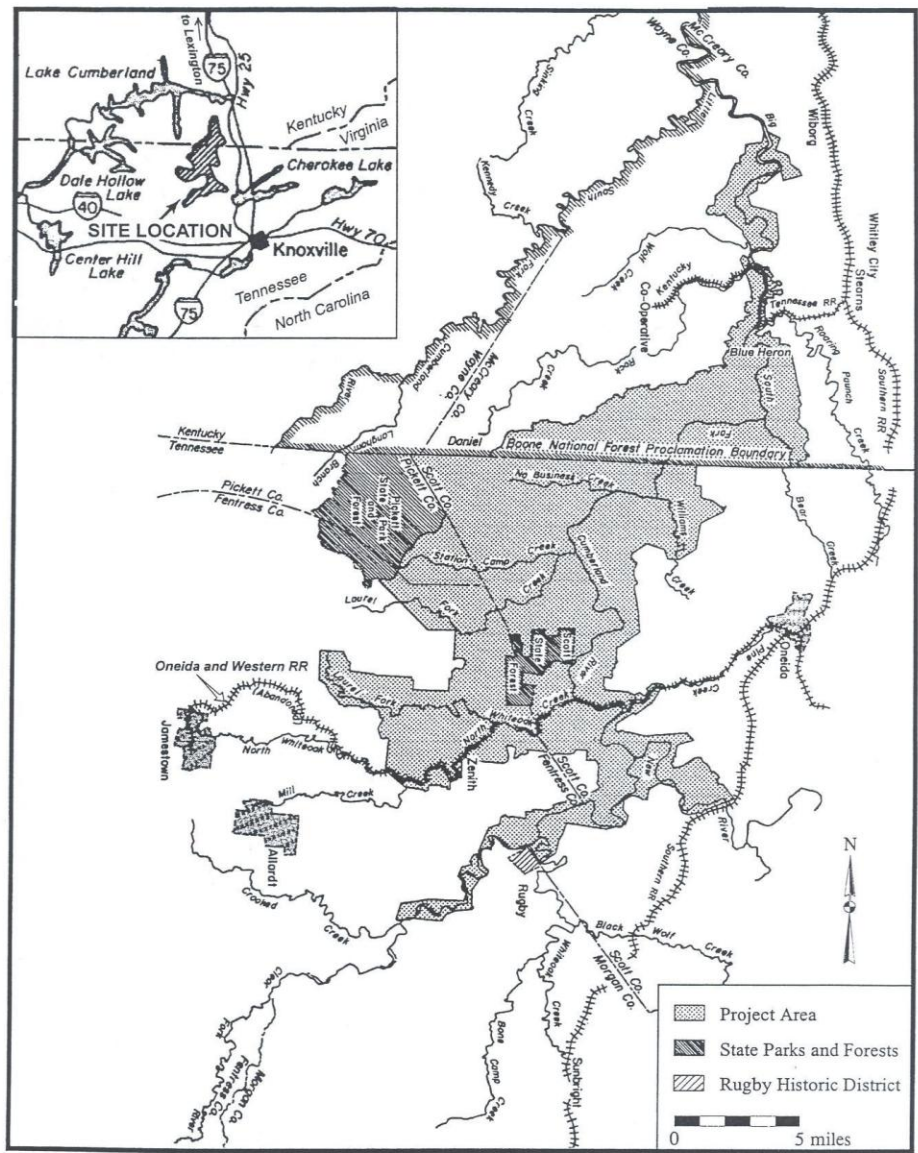


Figure I.1 Boundaries of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (After Howell 1981:3).

qualitative methods (a survey, formal interviews, informal conversations, focus groups, participatory mapping, participant-observation, and analysis of issues presented by local residents and special interest groups) the research addresses various perceptions towards the management of the BSFNRRRA, focusing on potential conflict between the ideology of private versus public land management issues (conflict between conservation, preservation, and recreational goals for examples). Because one of the greatest means of resistance among local residents in the study area is to never enter the “Park” again, or to not attend public meetings pertaining to the BSFNRRRA, the project will review federal legislation requiring public input and examine techniques used by federal agencies to acquire public participation. Furthermore, methods used by the NPS to gain local participation in developing a General Management Plan (GMP) for the BSFNRRRA will be described and critiqued. In summary, the BSFNRRRA will be used as a case study to examine public participation in the planning process of public land and how conflict and resistance over access to and use of resources is manifested. The study concludes with suggestions on decreasing conflict or resistance and increasing public participation in the creation of public policy.

Therefore, this study is not only important in providing data to the NPS on various community issues that may need to be addressed in the GMP, but also in creating guidelines and a model that may be used by various federal land management agencies (the U.S. Forest Service or Wildlife Refuges for examples) in promoting public participation in the management of local resources. In addition to the applied aspect of this project, this study contributes to the body of theory by building on the mentalist

paradigm of symbolic interactionism and the materialist paradigms of conflict and resistance theory in analyzing data for this research project.

Outline of the Study

While the majority of the American public may conjure up images of the nation's "crown jewels" when conversation turns to National Parks (Yellowstone, Yosemite, the Everglades, Glacier, the Grand Canyon, Shenandoah, Mt. Rainier, and the Great Smoky Mountains for examples), the National Park Service is actually responsible for managing a variety of different types of units. Examples of this include: National Historic Sites, Battlefields, National Seashores, National Parkways, and several National Recreation Areas. Literature documents that often local populations are displaced in the creation of such sites, the Miwok of Yosemite Valley for example (see Dowie 2009). Therefore, the first part of Chapter II begins with an overview of recent literature pertaining to displacement and resettlement due to development projects, followed by a literature review of studies that examine the relationship between preservation activities and local residents. Following this is a description of the changing missions of the NPS over time. The chapter also reviews federal legislation requiring public input. The second part of Chapter II provides an overview of the following theoretical concepts: conflict and resistance theory, and the paradigm of symbolic interactionism. The section concludes by describing how these perspectives will be utilized as a framework in analyzing data for this research project.

Chapter III provides an in-depth description of the research setting, including a description of both the physical and socioeconomic environments. The discussion on the

physical environment includes an overview of the general area; the topography, geology, and hydrology of the research setting; mineral resources; climate; flora; fauna; and endangered species found within the boundaries of the National Area. The discussion of the socioeconomic environment includes an in-depth description of the area's history, beginning with occupation by Native Americans, long hunters, and early settlers, to the creation of the BSFNRRRA. After discussing circumstances leading to the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, the chapter reviews the authorizing legislation and the creation of a Master Plan for the National Area, including documentation of public involvement in this process. The chapter concludes with a description of three contemporary sites within the BSFNRRRA, which will prove to be essential in understanding residents' comments in Chapter V.

It is in Chapter IV that I discuss the methods of data collection and data analysis. Methods employed in this study include (a) participant-observation, in-depth interviews, informal conversations; (b) focus groups; (c) a survey; (d) participatory mapping; (e) and collection of documents. Participant-observation and informal conversations were conducted during the entire length of the project. While research was conducted in all of the five counties surrounding the BSFNRRRA, the majority of the research was conducted in McCreary County, Kentucky, and Scott County (where the NPS Headquarters for the BSFNRRRA is located) and Fentress County, Tennessee. Selection of the counties was based on the fact that the largest portion of the BSFNRRRA lies within these three counties.

It is also in Chapter IV that I differentiate and discuss the four research periods that took place during the study. In Period I, I discuss exploratory and preliminary

activities that took place within the study area. For instance, it was during this time that I explored various research topics for my dissertation. After deciding upon my research topic (resistance, conflict resolution, and the concept of “the meaning of place”), informal conversations and interviews were conducted with local residents, NPS employees, and members of special interest or user groups (horse back riders, hunters, bikers, Sierra Club members for examples). The purpose of the informal conversations and interviews was to identify key informants and to test future survey questions. Initial Open House meetings sponsored by the NPS were also attended. The purpose of the Open House meetings was to gather public input to help in the development of an information base to assist in the creation of a GMP for the BSFNRRRA. While attendance at the meetings was very low, I observed a range of issues pertaining to conflictual land management goals.

Because of the low attendance at the Open House meetings by local residents, I was asked by the NPS to work for them as a consultant in collecting local input for the GMP. In August 1997 I received a grant from the NPS to carry out this research. Period II discusses methods utilized in obtaining residents’ preferences of alternatives for the GMP and describes residents’ resistance in attending the public meetings held by the NPS.

Period III of Chapter IV describes survey techniques utilized in order to gain local residents’ opinions on how much cooperation and coordination exists between local people and the NPS, how satisfied residents are with how the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning for the management of the BSFNRRRA, and suggestions for increasing local residents’ involvement in the planning process for the public land. Questions

regarding residents' feelings on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed in the future and special places of meaning were also included in the survey.

The Chapter ends with a description of techniques employed during my one year of residency within the study area, Period IV, from May 1999 to May 2000. Not only did my residency allow for observation of the annual cycle of resource use, access, and NPS management policy, but also presented me with the opportunity to be accepted as a member of the community. For it was during my period of residency that I was allowed access to the hidden aspects of the study area, including residents' deepest feelings for the Big South Fork area and towards the NPS and clandestine activities. An example of a hidden aspect that I discovered during an informal interview with a local male hunter is that when one goes camping, one needs what is traditionally referred to as "camp meat." Camp meat may be a rabbit or other animal that is trapped or hunted. While the NPS may view the obtainment of "camp meat" as poaching if carried out in certain areas or during off hunting seasons, certain locals see this as part of their traditions. Therefore, information collected during this research period also helped to provide information on traditional access to and use of resources presented in Chapter III, in addition to incidences of conflict which are presented in Chapter V. Chapter IV concludes with a description of how data collected for this research study were analyzed. Reflecting the practice orientation of this research, individuals' accounts of their own experience are presented in Chapter V. This will allow those who were interviewed to speak for themselves.

Therefore, Chapter V is the interpretive section of the study, identifying and discussing respondents' different interpretations of and relationship to the BSFNRRRA.

The chapter begins with a discussion on how the establishment of the BSFNRRRA has affected access to and uses of traditional resources within the area, followed by examples of current incidences of conflict and resistance between local residents and the NPS, such as the destruction of historic buildings or NPS property, and local resistance in attending Open House meetings held by the NPS for the GMP. Chapter V also describes results from the survey submitted to residents in McCreary County, Kentucky, and both Fentress and Scott County, Tennessee, pertaining to residents' satisfaction with the ways the NPS are trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA. Utilizing the theoretical paradigms introduced earlier, Chapter V integrates and analyzes data from the four different research periods, in order to address the three primary goals of this research project (see Appendix II and IV for detailed results of research periods Two and Three). Again, these goals include: (1) how did the establishment of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area alter local communities *means of access to* the area and *uses of resources within* the area, (2) to identify sources of conflict, resistance, and cooperation between local community residents of the Big South Fork area, National Park Service employees, and special interest groups, and (3) to delineate what measures can be taken by the NPS to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation.

Utilizing the theoretical paradigms of conflict and resistance theory and symbolic interactionism, and integrating them with the findings of this research, Chapter VI provides a model for identifying sources of conflict, manifestations of individual and collect resistance, and guidelines that can be utilized to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation, what I have called "everyday forms of mediation."

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first section of this chapter begins with an overview of recent literature pertaining to displacement and resettlement due to developmental projects, followed by a review of studies that examine the relationships between preservation activities and local residents. This part of the chapter also includes a brief history of the National Park Service (NPS), focusing specifically on the changing missions of the NPS over time and the "politics" that influenced the development of these missions (what interest groups were involved and how they constructed meaning and purpose for the agency). This section of the chapter concludes with a review of federal legislation requiring public input and the techniques implemented by federal agencies to acquire public opinion. The second section of the chapter provides an overview of the following theoretical concepts: conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism. The section concludes with a description on how these perspectives will be utilized as a framework in analyzing data collected for this research study.

Literature Review

Displacement and Resistance

One of the voices increasingly heard today is that of people displaced and resettled by development projects (Oliver-Smith 2006), with the last twenty years seeing the displacement or resettlement of some two hundred million people as a result of development projects (Cernea 2000). In the majority of these cases, displacement or

resettlement has been forced, “in the sense that the affected people have been compelled by the authorities to move, whether they wanted to or not, and, short of resisting, they have effectively had no say in the matter” (de Wet 2006:1). Displacement and resettlement is also one of the most “acute expressions of powerlessness because it constitutes a loss of control over one’s physical space” (Oliver-Smith 2006:141). In addition, those affected usually do not benefit from the process, losing access to traditional economic, social, and cultural resources (Dowie 2009), and thereby their livelihood and social identity.

While a large body of academic research exists in documenting risks and impacts of displacement and resettlement projects, especially pertaining to Africa (Cohen 2007; Hitchcock 1994; Cernea 1996) Asia (Mathur and Marsden 1998; Fisher 1995), and Latin America (Oliver-Smith 2006; Plenderleith 2004; Posey 1996), comparatively little attention has been paid to “the policy practices which shape the restructuring of residence and livelihoods associated with development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) programmes” (Rew, Fisher, and Pandey 2006:38). Exceptions to this include the research of Rew (1996), (Oliver-Smith 1996), and Cernea (1993).²

In their recent study Rew, Fisher, and Pandey (2006), discuss the need for more research on policy practice for the rehabilitation of the livelihoods of project-affected persons, rather than only the physical relocation and resettlement of displaced communities. Using East African countries and India as examples, the authors assert that within resettlement and rehabilitation (R & R) projects, there exists no sphere of expertise

² It should be noted that since the 1980s, the World Bank has presented codified guidelines about avoiding impoverishment, however, displacement and resettlement continues to be problematic.

within administration. In further discussing the problem for the lack of policy pertaining to rehabilitation of the livelihoods of project affected persons the authors explain:

... in the past, settlement schemes were held to lead to social and economic improvement; therefore, the idea that displacement and resettlement could have negative consequences was not a central consideration for planners. In India we found that, on the whole, R & R managers lacked much long-term commitment to DIDR aims even if there were DIDR policies in place. Managerial reluctance, and/or lack of definition of management responsibilities, circumscribes many of the organizational options for lessening livelihood risks (Rew, Fisher, Pandey 2006:39-40).

Another problem with the lack of policy pertaining to the rehabilitation of project affected people is that national governments have justified development-induced displacement and resettlement by invoking goals of growth and development, and the belief that the greater good justifies some loss (Koenig 2006; Cernea 2000). According to Oliver-Smith (2006), however, the fact that many of the most vulnerable (the poor, marginalized, and indigenous peoples) are forced to share an unfair burden of the costs of development, constitutes a violation of basic human rights, the core substance of resistance. It is also these groups who usually have little knowledge or resources to collectively resist their displacement, in a sense they are “powerless” (see Scott 1985; Gaventa 1980).

Within the body of academic research documenting impacts of displacement, studies focus primarily on the development of dams because of their widespread social and environmental impacts. In discussing resistance to this powerful expression of Western-technologically driven form of development, Oliver-Smith explains how:

The most detailed analyses of resistance movements focus on those confronting dam-related DIDR in India and Southeast Asia, and in Latin America. Other forms of DIDR (conservation, tourism development, urban renewal, mining, transportation, pipelines, etc.) and resistance to them have received less attention,

... Recently, conservation driven resettlement has received considerable attention, but more analysis of resistance is still needed” (2006:143).

The following section of this chapter examines the complex relationship between conservation and preservation activities and indigenous populations.

People and Protected Areas: Recreation versus Preservation³

Originally, preservation and sustainable management efforts concentrated on the protection of nature and paid little attention to the needs and concerns of people living in or around newly established protected areas or public lands (Stevens 1997; Hitchcock 1994; Alexander 1983; Greenberg 1989). Recent studies, however, examine the relationships between conservation and preservation activities and local residents (Dowie 2009; Chan, Pringle, Ranganathan, Boggs, Ehrlich, Haff, Heller, Al-Khafaji, and Macmynowski 2007; Xu and Melick 2007; Stonich 2001; Hitchcock and Biesele 2000). Several of these studies demonstrate the social impact on local residents, especially in areas where people traditionally depended on resources for subsistence as a part of their livelihood. According to Hammit and Cole (1987), social impact and conflict, including ecological impacts, in areas that have both wilderness preservation and recreation attributes are primarily due to competing definitions of environmental value and a strain on the environment’s carrying capacity. While noting the contradictory goals of recreation and wilderness preservation, Hammitt and Cole attribute social conflict, in part, to resource management strategies that do not recognize issues confronting local

³ The term protected area gained popularity in the 1980s, supplanting the earlier terminology of national parks and equivalent reserves. According to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), a protected area is “an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means” (IUCN Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas 1994:3).

residents and their “social construction” of and relationship to the area. An example where the “social construction” of and relationship to an area by local residents is the removal of residents from Cades Cove, Tennessee by the National Park Service for the purpose of preserving the historic rural landscape.

Durwood Dunn (1988) describes the death of a Southern Appalachian community, Cades Cove, with the birth of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.⁴ The Cherokee first inhabited Cades Cove, located in eastern Tennessee, which was later settled by a few intrepid pioneers in 1818. Among these early settlers was John Oliver, whose great grandson would fight eagerly to save the isolated self-sufficient farming community.

During the early planning stages for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Park Commission and Tennessee governor Austin Peay told residents of Cades Cove that they would not lose their homes. In 1926, Governor Peay met with three or four hundred concerned citizens and assured them that their farms would never be seized by eminent domain for park purposes. As stated by Peay, “As long as I am a member of the Park Commission, I wish to assure these people that there will be no condemnation of their homes. Such evictions for the pleasure and profit of the rest of the state would be a blot upon the state that the barbarism of the Huns could not match” (Dunn 1988:247; *Maryville Times*, April 18, 1927). However, in April 1927, the Tennessee General Assembly passed a bill giving the Park Commission the power to seize homes within the proposed boundaries by right of eminent domain. In describing residents’ reaction to

⁴ One of the residents from Scott County who was interviewed in this study stated that his family had previously been “chased out of” Cades Cove by the National Park Service, and that he had now been “kicked off” his land by the NPS in order to create the BSNRRA.

what they viewed as “blatant deceit” to take Cades Cove as part of the park, Dunn relays:

From the point of view of cove people who later tried to resist the seizure of their homes by eminent domain, this period between 1923 and 1927 of being lulled into a false sense of security proved to be their worst mistake. . . .the reaction of the cove people to increased efforts by the Park Commission to buy their farms was mixed. Some willingly sold their land, but most of the people viewed the prospect of removal with dread and apprehension. A pervasive feeling of helplessness in light of the coercive power of eminent domain seemed to preclude any effective community opposition. Who could withstand the power of the state or federal government (Dunn 1988:246-247).

In 1928, the cove population was approximately 600 people or 110 families (Dunn 1988).

One local resident, John Oliver, did decide to fight the Park Commission through the courts. He was challenging the right of the state to seize his 337 acres farm by eminent domain. Beginning in 1929, Oliver fought a bitter battle in the courts for more than six years, including three appeals before the Tennessee Supreme Court. In December 1937, Oliver was among the last residents to leave Cades Cove. A final problem faced by cove residents was that they were being forced to sell their land and leave their community support system during the midst of the Great Depression.

Dunn notes in his Epilogue that:

By 1935 it was apparent to the Park Service that its policy of allowing the cove to return to its wilderness state was a serious mistake. Cade’s Cove’s great beauty and charm had always been the contrast of its carefully cultivated fields and farms surrounded by high mountains. A wilderness cove, indistinguishable from the forests of its bordering wilderness, presented little of interest or scenic beauty to the tourist (1988:255).

Even with this said, it will be demonstrated in this study that the NPS continues to apply the Yellowstone/Wilderness model in establishing protected areas.

A more recent example of local resistance to tourism development is the Waswahili of Kenya. In studying the Kenyan ethnic group, Isaac Sindiga notes how the Waswahili have traditionally played an important role in the development of Kenya’s

coastal economy. However, the Waswahili refuse to participate in Kenya's recent growing tourism industry on the grounds that tourist behaviors (alcohol consumption for example) conflict with their Muslim beliefs. This reluctance, or resistance, to participate in the tourist economy is causing the Waswahili to be marginalized within its regional economy, also contributing to a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism among the Waswahili and local ethnic conflict (Sindiga 1996).

In other incidences, people living near protected areas or public lands are impacted by both the over use of an area and depletion of resources due to the "implementation of conflicting natural resource policies and laws" (Kothari, Singh, and Suri 1996:61). Others may be subjected to government policies that restrict land use and access to important traditional resources such as forests, pastures, agricultural land, wildlife, and cultural sites (Lee, Hitchcock, and Biesele 2002; Hitchcock and Biesele 2000; Hitchcock 1999). Those who were forced to settle outside of protected areas found that the natural resources of their former lands were now off-limits to local use. Traditional subsistence resource use that was critical for survival became criminalized. Traditional resource use became "poaching," and settlement became "illegal squatting," with the "protection" of the protected area from indigenous populations through fences, armed patrols, and threats of jail terms and fines. Mark Dowie describes how "on every continent indigenous peoples are still being driven into the deepest imaginable poverty, then tried as criminals for selling ivory, tiger pelts, bush meat, or turtle eggs to stay alive" (2009:xxvii). Dowie provides an example of how "banished pygmies" will sneak back into their traditional forests to harvest firewood and medicinal plants at the risk of being "legally" killed by eco-guards hired and paid by conservation agencies.

Stan Stevens places the origins of this model for protected areas, meaning displacement of indigenous people from protected areas, with the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Stevens best summarizes the impact of “Yellowstone-style thinking” when he states:

Yellowstone National Park ultimately became the symbol of the wilderness national park, and it was this idea that caught the world’s imagination. The Yellowstone model has had and continues to have a tremendous influence on the creation of protected area systems in many countries and on the activities of international conservation and development organizations concerned with protected area establishment and management. It has led to generations of conservationists and protected area administrators across the world sharing a commitment to strict nature protection and to the funding of many projects based on eliminating, in IUCN’s words, ‘as soon as possible’ all human use other than tourism from such parks. National parks established in many countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were directly inspired by Yellowstone and the US national park system (1997:30).

Stevens concludes by discussing how national parks in the first half of the twentieth century became instruments of colonial rule in many areas of Africa and Asia. Examples being the Maasai of present day Kenya and Tanzania, the San of Botswana, and the Karen of Thailand (see Dowie 2009).

Other ethnographic studies have demonstrated the importance of community involvement in the early planning stages for managing: natural resources in designated wilderness areas (Kothari, Suri, and Singh 1995; Schoepfle et. al. 1993), national parks (Western, Wright, and Strum 1994), and recreational areas (Howell 1993a; Howell 1989).

In discussing the social impact of tourism and management of natural resources,

Dominique Callimanopulos, from the *Cultural Survival* staff, notes:

Indigenous response to tourism depends on the society in question. Predisposition of indigenous people to foreign influences, in this case, tourist affluence, new industries, and a changed physical environment, can not be predicted easily. But representation of indigenous groups in policy-making organizations can guide the development of tourism to less disruptive ends. While indigenous groups usually

have minimal, if any, control over tourism, studies show that to the extent that tourism depends on the participation of a host community it is more stable, successful and profitable than tourism controlled by outsiders (1982:5).

An example of the utility of indigenous participation in the control of natural resources, and minimal social impact on the local populations is documented in the works of Marshall Murphee. Murphee has explored the rural development and conservation of Zimbabwe's wildlife through a program referred to as CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources). CAMPFIRE emerged in the mid-1980s, seeking to restructure the control of Zimbabwe' countryside and giving people alternative ways of using their natural resources. Under CAMPFIRE, people living on Zimbabwe's communal lands, which represent approximately 42% of the country, can claim ownership of wildlife on their land and to benefit from its use. While the program includes the management of all natural resources, it focuses primarily on wildlife management in communal areas, particularly those adjacent to National Parks. Since the CAMPFIRE's official inception in 1989, the program has engaged more than a quarter of a million people in the practice of managing wildlife and reaping of its benefits.

Another example of the utility of indigenous participation in the control of natural resources is the Kayapo of Brazil, who offers “an inspiring example to native people anywhere in the world who are struggling to preserve their land and culture” (Dowie 2009:199). Approximately seven thousand Kayapo Indians occupy the area referred to as *Area Indigena Kayapo* (AIK), a 28.4 million-acre area, offering one of the largest single expanses of closed-canopy rainforest in the world. Their traditional lifeways of hunting and gathering, supplemented with horticulture, produced minimal disturbance of the

rainforest, supported by their complex cosmology that defines them as traditional stewards and guardians of the rainforest (Dowie 2009; Plenderleith 2004; Posey 1996).

While several indigenous populations that occupied the Amazon Basin were killed in a protracted campaign of extermination, “only the most isolated tribes and the most militant defenders of their homelands survived the death squads that roamed the Amazon basin from the early mid-twentieth century, slaughtering Indians at the behest of Euro-Brazilian rubber barons, timbermen, and transnational oil executives, often with direct complicity of Brazil’s Service for the Protection of Indians” (Dowie 2009:202). An exception is the Kayapo, who came to be known as ferocious defenders of their territory. In 1988, however, a new Brazilian constitution changed the Kayapo from “orphans of the state,” to full citizens with all rights to the land they had occupied for millennia. It was also this year that Kayapo leaders became aware of the \$10.6 billion World Bank dam project that would inundate approximately twenty million acres of land along the Xingu River, including the land which was occupied by the Kayapo.

With the assistance of ethnoecologist and anthropologist Darrell Posey, who lived and studied the Kayapo for over twenty years, Kayapo leaders, Paiaka and Kube’i, meet in Washington, DC with the U.S. Treasury Department, the Senate Appropriations Committee, and the World Bank. These meetings were followed in 1989 with a rally organized by the Kayapo at Altamira, near the site of the proposed dam. In addition to about six hundred Kayapos, members from forty other indigenous tribes of the Amazonia, and British rock star Sting, the mass resistance to the proposed dam influenced the World Bank to reconsider their proposal and the project was stopped.

It should be noted here, it was “rumored” that before gaining knowledge about the proposed dam, a few Kayapo leaders, including Paiaka, “were taking bribes and kickbacks from logging and mining companies and allowing them into the AIK” (Dowie 2009:203), which eventually empowered them with the resources and knowledge of transnational companies to resist the future loss of their traditional lands. In cases of resistance such as this, one often finds a charismatic leader or leaders who are able to rally others to the cause. In describing the Kayapo, Dowie notes their undying ferocity when he states, “They [Kayapo] will not be intimidated by private or public armies, nor will they come to a negotiating table as ‘stakeholder.’ They regard themselves as ‘rights holder’ – the outright owner of land guaranteed to them by virtue of origin and backed up by Brazilian and international law. And thus they expect to be seated as equals at any meeting involving government or conservation NGO’s” (2009:205). In reference to resistance, the symbolic meaning of the Kayapo’s “place at the table” in negotiations and their relationship to the land should also be noted, which is demonstrated with their continuous conflict over rights to their lands.

With the proposed dam dismissed, Paiaka rallied for a preservation zone in the AIK to stop the continuous plunder of resources. In 1992, with funds from organizations such as Conservation International, Paiaka with the help of Canadian ecologist Barbara Zimmeramn mapped and established the Pinkaiti Reserve and Ecological Station, with all of the management decisions made by the Kayapo. Dowie relays the importance of this action when he states, “the Kayapo became partners in one of the most intriguing of all collaborations between western conservationists and indigenous people-an arrangement forged in crisis that would become the most frequently cited model for a new

conservation paradigm whereby indigenous people not only control and manage a protected area, but also serve as the impetus for its establishment” (Dowie 2009:201).

The Kayapo offers an excellent case study of how indigenous peoples’ presence may offer the best protection that protected areas can ever receive. Dowie describes this motivation to enhance biodiversity is more likely to be for:

food or water security than wildlife conservation, but the net effect is the same—biologically sustainable landscapes. And frequently there is a cultural or spiritual component as well. In most such cases the impulse to conserve arises spontaneously in a forest village or coastal community that notices a decline in a species vital to livelihood. Conservation is self-imposed. ...for pastoralists, hunter-gathers, and other indigenous managers of natural resources, conservation and sustainable agriculture simply mean landscape stewardship to sustain livelihood (2009:236).

Since, and before, the Kayapo’s triumph in the 1990s, indigenous people from every continent continue to challenge all the assumptions and mechanisms that resulted in their removal from native homelands and hunting grounds, thereby their social identity and livelihood, in the interest of preserving wildness for “others,” with some groups more successful than others.

The triumph for most finally emerged on September 13, 2007. After more than two decades of heated international debate, the United Nations General Assembly voted on the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Although the declaration is nonbinding (Dowie 2009), it does affirm that “indigenous people are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such. ...Welcoming the fact that indigenous people are organizing themselves for political, economic, social and cultural enhancement and in order to bring to an end all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur” (UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007). The Declaration also

expresses the individual and collective rights of 370 million indigenous people, endorsing their self-determination of culture, identity, language, and political status. It also articulates their right to remain distinct cultures, to pursue their own visions of social development, to maintain and strengthen their own institutions and traditions, and pursue the economic systems of their choice, in addition to their full participation in all matters concerning them.

The case study of the Kayapo also demonstrates the importance of participatory mapping and the role anthropologists may play in assisting indigenous communities in documenting their tenure to the land they occupy, thereby preserving their livelihood and cultural/social identity. Other research demonstrates the important role anthropologists have held working on issues surrounding protected areas in the United States, such as working with the NPS in order to maintain cultural diversity (Crespi 1989), to promote cultural conservation and community development (Howell 1994b), as advocates for local interests in the planning and management of National Parks (Olwig 1980), to document long-term consequences of tourism (Smith 1989), and in order to limit social conflict (Howell 1993a; Howell 1989).

While working in the 1970s on a folk life survey project in the area that was to become the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA), anthropologist Benita Howell was in a position to answer questions that local residents had pertaining to the new “Big South Fork Project” and hear their opinions about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA. Because of her position, Howell was able to inform the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers of residents' competing goals for development in the area, thereby curtailing “some” of the initial social conflict and resistance when the project was

in its infancy (Howell 1989). According to Howell, however, if the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had recognized the larger social impact that the creation of the BSFNRRRA was to have on local residents at the time, and not just give “cursory attention” to its social impact, then perhaps the degree of social conflict and resistance that currently exists would have been diminished or nonexistent (Howell 1994a; Howell 1989).

Because of the “cursory attention” given to the social impact of residents within the boundaries of the future BSFNRRRA, Robert McCracken (from the Department of Behavioral Science at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville) conducted a research study during the spring of 1979. The aim of the study was to investigate how local residents felt about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA and acquisition of their land, in addition to researching the psychological social aspects of their relocation. According to McCracken, such research would complement the former “cursory” social impact study. In fact, “analysis of the psycho-social effects of such imposed change should contribute to current efforts to develop a better understanding of what social impact assessment properly ought to involve” (McCracken 1980:6). McCracken also states that the study provides an opportunity to test the theoretical concepts regarding communication and the diffusion of information in a rural population, which can have important implications for more effective management of future relocation efforts as well as contributing to a better understanding of Appalachian society.

Participants in the study, consisting of 34 households, were those who were full-time residents of dwellings within the boundaries of the proposed BSFNRRRA and

therefore faced with the impending decision regarding relocation.⁵ The legislation authorizing the development of the National Area was very specific regarding land acquisition. All privately held property within the boundaries of the area, including land, dwellings, outbuildings, for examples, was to be purchased at fair market value by the government.

Residents were given two options regarding relocation. The first option allowed an individual to continue right of use and occupancy until their death or for up to 25 years, which ever came first. The option, however, contained provisions that restricted the owner if they decided to stay on the land. For example, the right of use and occupancy pertain only to the dwelling and approximately one-acre of adjoining land; rights of use of additional land that may have been owned are lost. Furthermore, occupied land could not be used for commercial purposes. The second option provided for the relocation of the occupant. With relocation, the occupant was entitled to all of the benefits legally due under the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. The Act (PL91-646) provides moving expenses, business expenses, expenses resulting from a search for a new dwelling, and up to \$15,000 of additional reimbursement for assistance in acquiring a reasonable replacement home. Individuals who decided to stay were not allowed these benefits in the future and only offered a sum equal to the value of the property at the time the decision to stay was made (McCracken 1980).

In his study, McCracken identified three categories of socio-cultural adaptations within the Big South Fork area before the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, which he

⁵ Residents eighteen or over who resided within the thirty-four households totaled sixty adults. From these, only forty (67%) agreed to be interviewed. All interviews were conducted by persons who were either faculty members or graduate students in the behavioral sciences at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

found to influence residents' attitudes toward the BSFNRRRA and their impending relocation out of the proposed National Area. The three socio-cultural adaptations include: (1) occupants of relatively new and modern homes or "middle-class rural," (2) occupants of modest quality homes or "intermediate quality homes," and (3) occupants of the poorest quality dwellings or "shacks" (McCracken 1980).

McCracken describes those who belong to category one (occupants of relatively new and modern homes or "middle-class rural"), as individuals who "tend to be younger, high in education and exposure outside the Big South Fork area" (1980:3). Such individuals also tend to "occupy intermediate-sized acreages in comparison to the other groups, cultivate the smallest number of acres, and tend not to produce cash crops. Such individuals also tend not to keep livestock. ...They are also the least likely to hold negative opinions on the BSFNRRRA and other parks. It is anticipated that these individuals will have a relatively easy adjustment to relocation" (1980:28). Residents from this group stated that they first heard about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA from family and friends.

Residents belonging to category two (occupants of modest quality homes or "intermediate quality homes") are described as owning, "older frame houses where some effort at upkeep is obvious. Such persons tend to be older, intermediate in education and outside exposure, exhibit moderately high local kin ties, occupy the largest acreages, quarter some livestock and engage in cash cropping. ...They are intermediate in cognitive openness and abstraction and tendency toward a negative attitude toward the BSFNRRRA. It is anticipated that this group will experience moderately high difficulty in adjustment

to relocation” (McCracken 1980:3). Residents first heard about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA from newspaper articles, the radio, and television.

In category three (occupants of the poorest quality dwellings or “shacks”), ninety percent of such individuals’ homes did not have indoor plumbing. Residents tend to occupy the smallest acreages, are high in acres cultivated, though they do not cash crop, and tend to keep livestock, especially mules. Such individuals are “intermediate in age and lowest in education, outside exposure, knowledge of relocation options and discussion of relocation. They hold the most negative attitude toward the BSFNRRRA, other parks and government projects in general. Their adjustment to relocation will be the most difficult and stressful” (McCracken 1980:4). Residents from this category were not able to recall their initial source of information about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA.

McCracken concludes his study by discussing how social and economic processes influenced the ways residents first acquired knowledge about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, how residents reacted to impending relocation from their place of residence, and the extent of residents’ knowledge pertaining to options in relocations. According to McCracken’s study, analysis of the flow of information regarding the development of the BSFNRRRA suggests that the U. S. Corps of Engineers failed to adequately reach and inform a large percentage of BSFNRRRA residents, particular residents found in category three, occupants of the poorest quality dwellings or “shacks,” those with the lowest level in education, outside exposure, and knowledge of relocation options and discussion of relocation. Such failure stems to a large extent from the technical and middle-class bias of the communication methods used, therefore trained behavioral scientists or

communicators should be placed on site to work with local residents in future relocation efforts (McCracken 1980). McCracken concludes his study by noting that local support for the park was widespread among the business leaders in the larger communities of the area. Support for the park, however, was less pronounced among rural residents of the area who see the park as a threat to their traditional rural lifestyle, encompassing their livelihood and social identity.

The previous studies indicate that conservation, preservation, and recreation efforts must address the needs and concerns of local people if protected areas or public lands are to be managed with minimal social conflict and resistance, in addition to curtailing negative impacts on the environment. Research also demonstrates the importance of community involvement in the early stages of development projects, along with an understanding of livelihood strategies, social organization, and the dynamics of public land management (Little and Horowitz 1987). However, despite the growing awareness of social conflict over the creation of protected areas or public lands, minimal attention continues to be given to issues surrounding preservation or conservation activities and local resistance, especially incidences of conflict or resistance in America after resettlement of local residents for the establishment of a protected area such as a National Park. The following section of this chapter will discuss the creation of the first National Park in the United States, Yellowstone, the “politics” and circumstances leading to its establishment, in addition to alternatives to the original Yellowstone model.

A Brief History of the National Park Service

Changing Missions of the National Park Service

The forces that led to the establishment of the National Park Service (NPS) present an interesting study in the development of American culture. Initially, the Puritan work ethic inhibited most Americans' interest in any type of recreation, specifically outdoor recreation (Nash 1982). Influenced by the idea of Manifest Destiny, Americans saw nature as a force that needed to be conquered and tamed, not preserved and admired (Segal and Stineback 1977). Yet, as the boundaries of the country expanded and the forests retreated, American attitudes toward nature began to change.

In the United States, the preservation of wildlife, forests, soils, water and other natural resources had its roots in the public's interest over the use of natural areas for "recreational" purposes (Sellars 1997). Two of the first natural areas reserved for public use are the Niagara Falls Reservation, created in 1855, and Yellowstone, designated in 1872 as the world's first National Park. It is with Yellowstone, located in Wyoming, that one may observe the roots of the NPS visitor and public relations orientation. In describing the birth of the NPS, Richard Sellars states "From the very beginning, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company's interest in the Yellowstone legislation anticipated the direction that national park management would take...Certainly during the more than four decades between Yellowstone's establishment in 1872 and the creation of the NPS in 1916, management of the parks for public use and enjoyment was the overriding concern" (1997:16). In short, the railroad companies were largely responsible for the creation of Yellowstone; they were looking for ways to attract people to ride their trains.

Since the time from the establishment of Yellowstone to the creation of the NPS, several public parks or “pleasuring grounds” were developed in other parts of the United States to accommodate tourism and recreation in scenic areas or around health-giving thermal springs, usually backed by railroad companies. Often these areas took on the appearances of resorts, some of them gilded and fancy, while others were more simplistic and primitive (Sellars 1997). An example is Glacier National Park in Montana. The Great Northern Railroad gained exclusive access to Glacier by assuring that the boundaries of the park closely paralleled the railroad line. The railroad built a series of chalets, lodges, and camps throughout the park, many of which could only be reached by boat or horseback.

While the establishment of the NPS was partly in response to preserving natural areas for recreational use, this was also backed by the country’s growing concern of former clear-cutting techniques that devastated the natural landscape, representing the “cut-out-get-out” mentality of the early 1800s. By the late 1800s, a more protectionist wing of the conservation movement evolved. John Muir, who stressed preservation of nature for reflection, spiritual inspiration, and recreation, personalized the movement. To Muir, the "over civilized" person could seek renewal and salvation in the wilderness that nature offered. It was Muir who planted the idea of preserving natural areas for future generations (Loomis 1993), founding the Sierra Club to ensure this goal.⁶ Because of his philosophy and preservation activities, John Muir is considered to be the father of the National Park System (Coleman and Smith 1993).

⁶ Although John Muir is most famous for wandering the Sierras in California, the Cumberland Mountains were the first mountains he explored. A national historic trail runs through the BSFNRRRA to commemorate Muir's thousand-mile cross-country hike in 1867, and his journey through the Cumberlands.

Another reason for the country's concern with the preservation and conservation of wilderness land for recreational purposes was George Perkins Marsh's publication of *Man and Nature* in 1864, which drew attention to the destructive influence of humans and the importance for keeping a balance with nature. It was also during this time that the concept of scientific management of forests was being "transplanted" to the United States from Europe (Loomis 1993). As noted by Brockman and Merriam (1979), it was this conservation movement, concerned with the preservation and conservation of wilderness land for recreational purposes, and the feeling of a "loss of the American frontier" according to Olwig (1980:22), which spurred on the national park concept.

A concern for protecting the nation's prehistoric and historic objects also arose during this time. In 1906 Congress passed the Antiquities Act (16 USC 431-433), which invested the President of the United States with the power to declare lands with "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest" as national monuments to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior. The Act also made federal agencies responsible for protecting archaeological sites on land in their jurisdiction. It was also in 1906 that Congress established Mesa Verde National Park in order to protect its prehistoric and historic objects from being vandalized and looted. The Park was the first National Park dedicated to historic preservation and to demonstrate the important role of anthropology, specifically archaeology, in the NPS.

As the number of National Parks and monuments increased, the need for an agency to administer the lands became apparent (Loomis 1993; Everhart 1983). On August 25, 1916 President Woodrow Wilson signed the Organic Act establishing the National Park Service as a bureau within the Department of Interior. Congress declared

the mission or goal of National Parks as “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects, the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations” (Everhart 1983:185). The 1916 founding legislation was refined in 1918, when the Secretary of the Interior gave the first director of the NPS, Stephen Mather, three general guidelines for the management of parks. These guidelines include: (1) that the national parks should be maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations as well as those of our own time; (2) that they are set apart for the use, observation, health, and pleasure of the people; and (3) that the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks (Loomis 1993).

From the time of the establishment of the NPS to the early 1960s, the agency saw the "*preserve but-use*" mandate as providing “modern” access to scenic features within the various parks and providing “comfortable accommodations” to park visitors (Loomis 1993). This early view of management resulted in some of the grand hotels and lodges in many national parks such as the Grand Canyon (El Tovar Hotel built in 1905), Yosemite (Ahwahnee Hotel completed in 1927), and Yellowstone (Old Faithful Inn completed in 1904). Management emphasized the preservation of scenery for the pleasure of people. Attractive scenes are pleasing to people, burned areas are not. This view is referred to by Sellars (1997) as "facade management," where management stresses maintaining the most visible and attractive features of a park such as large mammals or grand vistas. For example, at this time concern over air pollution in the park was not because of ecological impacts but its impact on the scenery for visitors.

Once these types of facilities and precedents were set, many local congressional representatives saw National Parks as more for tourism than for preservation. The early directors of the National Parks were primarily interested in public support for funding existing parks than expanding the NPS with additional units. This is demonstrated by encouraging visitation to the parks by accommodating visitors on visitors' terms (concessionaires that provided a variety of services such as horse back riding, gift shops, swimming pools, and golf courses for examples); a legacy that the NPS must contend with today in their management (Loomis 1993).

Because of the rapid growth of visitation to National Parks that accompanied the post-War World II automobile boom, the NPS saw the necessity to upgrade the carrying capacity of National Parks for future use. During the 1950s, the NPS developed its' Mission 66 program. The goal of the program was to have all units of the National Park System upgraded by 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS. Another goal of Mission 66 was to further increase visitation to the National Parks, thereby bolstering public support for their budgets. Because Mission 66 emphasized the aspect of visitor use in the NPS dual mandate of "*preserve-but-use*," it is here where one finds the creation of the modern visitor center. The visitor center was created to act as a centralized facility to inform and educate the visitor about the park they are visiting and the NPS in general (Loomis 1993).

It is also at this time that Stewart Udall served as Secretary of the Interior from 1961-1969, implementing his views of the "new conservation ethic" into the department. In 1962, Udall appointed A. Starker Leopold as chairman to a Special Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, beginning Leopold's long advisory association with the National

Park Service. The Special Advisory Board was established to review the public controversy over the shooting reduction of elk in Yellowstone, resulting in a report entitled “Wildlife Management in National Parks.” The 1963 report is commonly referred to as the “Leopold Report.” Starker and his committee did not confine their report to the narrow topic of elk reductions, however, but broadened their scope to address more fundamental issues such as the goals and mandates of national parks in managing wildlife as distinguished from other land and wildlife management agencies. In fact, the report was more conceptual than statistical in approach, as demonstrated by the following excerpt:

As a primary goal, we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man. A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America. ...Restoring the primitive scene is not done easily nor can it be done completely. Some species are extinct. Given time, an eastern hardwood forest can be regrown to maturity but the chestnut will be missing and so will the roar of pigeon wings. ..The wolf and grizzly bear cannot readily be reintroduced into ranching communities, and the factor of human use of the parks is subject only to regulation, not elimination. ...All these limitations we fully realize. Yet, if the goal cannot be fully achieved it can be approached. A reasonable illusion of primitive America could be recreated, using the utmost in skill, judgment, and ecological sensitivity. This in our opinion should be the objective of every national park and monument (LeoPold 1963).

It is with Leopold’s emphasis on ecological management and Steward Udall’s “new conservation ethic” for the NPS, that the pendulum swung away from the tourism promotion and development goals of Mission 66 to an emphasis of preservation. One now sees a shift from the park accommodating visitors on visitors' terms to visitors accommodating the park on the park's terms. For instance, camping is now emphasized over the building of hotels, and concessionaire services are reviewed in terms of their role

in fulfilling the mission of the park. Incompatible ecological practices have also been eliminated, the “fire falls” in Yosemite for example. This trend continued into the 1990s, with a brief interruption from 1981 to 1983 by Secretary of Interior James Watt (Loomis 1993).

Currently, with both the NPS and ecological sciences no longer in their infancy, NPS management practices lean more towards the preservation component of the “*preserve-but-use*” balancing act. With increasing knowledge and concern over the preservation of natural resources and biodiversity, NPS management is reexamining what they should preserve: scenery versus ecology. A prime example of this consideration is the issue of fire control. Should a natural fire be allowed to burn? Many types of native vegetation thrive after a fire, also providing new niches for fauna. Would visitors be “turned off” by viewing a burned area? Should that even be an issue? Should the health of the ecosystem be the primary concern and not the visitor? Should parks be viewed as an educational tool to understand the forces of nature and their self-regulating mechanisms? With this shift from the early emphasis on "scenery management," or "facade management," to ecological management we encounter public resistance to change. For example, there have been heated debates by some members of the public over attempts to remove nonnative wildlife from the parks (burros at the Grand Canyon National Park and mountain goats at Olympic National Park for examples).

Another change in the management of National Parks comes from former director Robert Stanton (1997-2001), the first African-American to be appointed director of the NPS. Recognizing that in the past the majority of visitors to the National Parks have been Euro-American who most often visit Euro-American historic monuments or sites,

the director employed the NPS to review their attributes through a larger lens and recognize the diversity of the populace (Muriel Crespi, personal communication 2000). This is intended to encourage a broader base of ethnic interest in National Parks. An example in the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area is that there is little representation of the African-American population that once lived within the area. In fact, the majority of residents that I have interviewed state that “blacks” never lived in the area, that they have always been unwelcome. Yet, there are photographs of African-Americans who worked in the local coal mines and on the railroads. An example of the most recent concern for the NPS is representing these “hidden” parts of a park’s history, including the role of women and other minorities.

At present the National Park Service focuses on preserving places and areas that meet at least one of three criteria. Areas may be preserved because of their historic value, attractive recreational features, or beautiful or unusual natural features. Therefore, the U.S. National Park System is not only responsible for managing parks, but monuments, cemeteries, lake shores, seashores, historic sites, and battlefields (Loomis 1993). One commonality that these areas share is increased visitation, giving rise to strain on the area’s carrying capacity. This is particularly true in reference to recreational areas identified as possessing wilderness characteristics such as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, established in 1934.

By 1941, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park became the first national park to draw a million people in one year. In 1952 the park drew 2 million visitors. In 1958 the park drew 3 million visitors, 8 million in 1972, 9 million in 1977, and 10 million in 1987. According to Beverly (1992), the national park has done wonders for

Tennessee's economy, with visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains spending \$319 million in 1990 in the three-county area of Sevier/Blount/Cocke. Some 9,300 jobs exist in the same three counties because of the park, as do 2,173 jobs in Western North Carolina. In their article, Myers and Tedesco (1991) explain how tourism has provided much needed revenue for many areas in the region. However, with the continuous increase of visitors to the park, there is also an increasing threat of visitors on the park's ecology, lost of foliage due to automobile exhaust for example. Because of this, the NPS hopes that the BSFNRRRA will be an alternative to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park for visitors; thereby preventing the overuse of the latter's natural resources (NPS employee, personal communication 2005).

General Management Plan (GMP)

Before discussing the processes of creating a General Management Plan by the NPS, a brief note about the structure of the NPS is in order. A director, currently Jonathan B. Jarvis, whose office is located in Washington D.C, heads the NPS. Beneath the National Headquarters are seven Regional Offices (each with a regional director) throughout the United States. The regional office that oversees the BSFNRRRA is located in Atlanta, Georgia. Directing each unit within the NPS is a superintendent, who possesses a great amount of control over the management of their unit. While the superintendent management choices are guided by the NPS national policy, the park's specific enabling legislation, and any Master or General Management Plan, several of the day to day decisions about implementing or enforcing NPS policy or GMP provisions are made by the superintendent. For example, one of the former superintendents of the

BSFNRRRA saw the great equestrian potential of the National Area and had several horse trails developed throughout the BSFNRRRA. The next superintendent felt that the BSFNRRRA was becoming too much of a "horse park" and ordered that several of the trails not be maintained (NPS employee, personal communication 2005).

In other incidences, superintendents are placed within a National Park for a particular reason. For example, according to one NPS employee, the superintendent who was assigned to oversee the development of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA was placed in that position because he was to retire the next year (NPS employee, personal communication 2000). Therefore, any conflicting decisions that had to be made in the GMP (especially between preservationists and recreationists) could be directed to that superintendent and not the NPS in general. For instance, the superintendent could be responsible for closing certain roads or trails. In reference to the BSFNRRRA, one of the most conflicting issues between local residents and NPS employees is the potential closing of the Onieda & Western railroad bed to vehicular access, locally referred to as the O & W. Once the superintendent retired, there would be no one left to blame for the closing of the railroad bed.⁷

As discussed previously, planning for units in the NPS originally focused on visitor use and recreation. In the 1950s, with the development of the Mission 66 program, the NPS began what it called a Master Plan for its units. In 1978, with the passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act, planning for NPS units became a legal requirement. The act "directed the NPS to prepare and revise in a timely manner General

⁷ The superintendent did retire as scheduled in 1999; however the GMP was not completed at the time of his retirement. The time for completing the GMP was underestimated with the review process completed in 2005.

Management Plans for the preservation and use of each unit of the National Park System" (deFranceaux 1987:14).

The General Management Plan (GMP) is to help guide the day-to-day operations and management decisions for that particular NPS unit. As outlined in the NPS Management Policies, "[T]he purpose of each GMP will be to ensure that the park has a clearly defined direction for resource preservation and visitor use. This basic foundation for decision-making will be developed by an interdisciplinary team, in consultation with relevant offices within the Service, other federal and state agencies, other interested parties, and the general public" [2001:2.3.1]. There are seven steps in the National Park Service's planning process for a GMP (Loomis 1993), the steps include:

1. Statement for management.
2. Outline of planning requirements.
3. Development of an information base (public input on concerns for the future management of the park unit is collected).
4. Formulation of alternatives (public comment on alternatives is obtained).
5. Evaluation of alternatives.
6. Selection of final GMP (public comments on the final GMP are gathered).
7. Plan implementation.

Ultimately the NPS chooses the alternative that fits into the management agenda of the current superintendent, who is often placed in that park unit for this decision, and the alternative that is most fiscally realistic (NPS employee, personal communication 2001).

In summary, nearly all NPS units have a Statement for Management that is based on that unit's enabling legislation.⁸ A Master Plan is then developed for the NPS unit and

⁸ For a detailed description of public land management policies and the development of a GMP, see John B. Loomis (1993) "*Integrated Public Land Management*," Columbia Press, NY.

is subject to public input and review according to National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) regulations of 1969. Following the Master Plan is a more detailed and comprehensive GMP, which allows for a comprehensive reassessment of the former Master Plan. The GMP is also subject to public input and review according to NEPA regulations. Public input is required at the beginning of the GMP process in order to develop an information base to assist in the creation of alternative GMPs. Typically three to five management alternatives are developed, followed by a period of public comment through Open House meetings. There is also a period of public comment upon the selection of a final GMP.

Federal Laws and Their Influence on the Development of the National Park Service

Federal laws often play a significant role in the management of both cultural and natural resources, especially if these resources are located on an area designated as public land. The laws affect how an agency can participate in a community-based conservation effort and how local stakeholders can participate in the agency's management activities. While procedures associated with federal laws can often be complex and intimidating to those not familiar with these processes, an understanding of federal laws and policy is often a precursor to successful community-based conservation or management efforts. As discussed previously, community involvement and public input in the beginning stages of planning for development projects is important in order to minimize social conflict and resistance, and promote effective and efficient policy. When one is part of the planning process, where their concerns can be voiced and perhaps addressed or mediated before decisions are made, they are less likely to resist. The following

discussion reviews the important aspects of federal laws and their administrative programs. Following this is a discussion of the NEPA process and regulations on acquiring public input to assist in the development of public policy.

Federal Laws

Below is a list of federal laws and their administrative programs that have influenced the development of the NPS, including those that are most likely to have significant influences on stakeholders interested in community-based conservation and management efforts, especially those requiring public input.

1. The 1906 Antiquities Act allowed for the protection of the nation's prehistoric and historic objects.
2. The NPS Organic Act of 1916 established the "fundamental purposes" of the national parks as: "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."
3. In 1927, the position of departmental consulting archeologist was created within the Department of the Interior. The position oversees recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior regarding permit applications submitted in accordance with the Antiquities Act of 1906.
4. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 helped in the development of anthropology in the NPS by transferring administration of all federally managed historic sites to the NPS, thereby increasing the number of archaeologically relevant sites in the NPS.
5. The National Historical Preservation Act of 1966 emphasizes the importance of the historical and cultural foundations of the U.S. The Act also encourages private agencies, local and state governments, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation to expand and accelerate their preservation programs and activities. The Act created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), whose initial policy statement calls for "resource management and conflict resolution on Federally owned public lands that achieves balance between natural and cultural values," and for recognition that "cultural and natural values are often interrelated and should therefore be considered in an integrated manner, to ensure that cultural

values are afforded equal consideration.” The ACHP also advises the President and Congress on national historic preservation policy.

6. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 requires that federal agencies prepare Environmental Assessments (EAs) or Environmental Impact Statements (EISs) prior to implementing actions that are most likely to significantly affect the quality of the human environment. Preparing an EIS requires the integrated use of the social sciences, including socio-cultural anthropology.⁹
7. The Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 mandated the preservation of historical and archaeological data that may be lost or destroyed during any flooding or construction.
8. In 1978, the passing of the National Parks and Recreation Act required the utilization of an interdisciplinary team to develop a GMP for NPS units.
9. Because of the vagueness in defining archaeological material in the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act was passed in 1979 to increase the ability of federal agencies, including the NPS, to protect archaeological resources by enforcing existing laws and increasing penalties.
10. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is a federal law passed in 1990. The Act has expanded anthropology in the NPS by mandating the need to gather ethnographic data, thus expanding the scope of anthropology by including more socio-cultural anthropology in a program formerly dominated by archaeology. NAGPRA’s goal is to provide a systematic process for determining the rights of lineal descendants, Native American Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations, to certain Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony with which they are affiliated, and for the disposition of discoveries on Federal and tribal land.

As demonstrated in the federal laws listed previously, archaeological methods and techniques have a long history with the NPS. Ethnographic methods, however, are becoming increasingly more visible. While ethnographic research in parks have traditionally been used to shed insight on the cultural heritage of a particular NPS unit, ethnographic research is steadily becoming more important in the management of NPS

⁹ For a complete discussion of the role of applied anthropological knowledge in the NEPA process, see James Boggs, “*The Use of Anthropological Knowledge Under NEPA*,” in Human Organization, Vol. 49, No. 3, 1990.

units. For example, while GMPs are often similar in form, each has culturally significant differences; thereby calling for the use of ethnographic research to help in the development of GMPs for NPS units.

The NEPA Process and Public Input

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) permeates all federal land management agency decisions, including those made by the National Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Department of Defense (especially the civilian works programs of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers), the Department of Transportation, and of course the National Park Service, to mention a few. NEPA requires that every proposed federal action be evaluated in terms of its potential impact on the natural and human environment. As stated in (PL 91-190, 42 USC 4321-4347), the intent of NEPA is to “declare a national policy which will encourage productive and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment; to promote efforts which will prevent or eliminate damage to the environment and biosphere and stimulate the health and welfare of man; to enrich the understanding of the ecological systems and natural resources important to the Nation; and to establish a Council on Environmental Quality.” It is also with the passing of NEPA in 1969, that the Council of Environmental Quality (CEQ) was created to issue regulations that implement the procedural requirements of NEPA. The CEQ published NEPA regulations in 1978 (40 CFR 1500-1508:1995), and added to them in 1981. The provisions promulgated by the CEQ are binding regulations that must be followed by every agency in the federal government.

The NEPA process requires federal agencies to determine what level of investigation is necessary for a proposed action. Unless an agency action is exempted, as in an emergency action (40 CFR 1506.11), the agency must generally prepare an Environmental Assessment (40 CFR 1501.3-4). An Environmental Assessment (EA) is a cursory evaluation of the likely significance and magnitude of environmental impacts from the proposed action (40 CFR 1508.9). The EA has two outcomes, a “Finding of No Significant Impact” or the need of an “Environmental Impact Statement.” If the EA results in a Finding of No Significant Impact, or FONSI, then the process stops there (40 CFR 1508.134). If, however, the finding of a significant impact is predicted, then the agency must prepare a full Environmental Impact Statement or EIS (40 CFR 1502.3). The EIS process, especially the “scoping phase,” can be an excellent entry point for concerned citizens into public decision-making processes involving natural resources. Agencies are required to “[m]ake diligent efforts to involve the public in preparing and implementing their NEPA procedures. Provide public notice of NEPA related hearings, public meetings, and the availability of environmental documents so as to inform those persons and agencies who may be interested or affected. In all cases the agency shall mail notice to those who have requested it on an individual action” (40 CFR 1506.6). While not stated explicitly in NEPA, it is implied that agencies are to be proactive in involving the public in a culturally accepted way.

During the preparation of an EIS, the agency must follow the following procedures:

1. Description of Proposed Action and Alternatives (DOPAA).
2. A Notice of Intent (NOI) to undertake the action and an EIS must be published in the Federal Register (40 CFR 1501.7).

3. The agency must “scope” with other agencies and any interested public in order to identify the significant issues that the EIS should address. The scoping process includes the lead agency inviting “the participation of affected Federal, State, and local agencies, any affected Indian tribe, the proponent of the action, and other interested persons (including those who might not be in accord with the action on environmental grounds)” (40 CFR 1501.7).
4. When a draft EIS (DEIS) is complete, the lead agency must invite comments on the draft (40 CFR 1503.1).
5. The agency circulating the EIS must then respond to any comments it receives (40 CFR 1503.4).
6. A final EIS must be produced (40 CFR 1506.10).
7. Finally, the agency must sign a Record of Decision (ROD) that identifies all considered alternatives, analyzes them for environmental preference, and discusses factors used by the agency to choose its final course of action (40 CFR 1505.2).
8. A notice to proceed is published in the Federal Register.

In summary the EIS requires the development of alternatives to the proposed action, and a written justification for selecting the proposed action over the other alternatives (40 CFR 1502.1). As Loomis notes, however, it is “important to remember that NEPA by itself does not require selection of the most environmentally beneficial alternative” (1993:45). NEPA does provide, however, citizens with the opportunity to challenge agency decisions. By doing so, “members of communities that will be directly affected by the agency decision, are able to assess many of the environmental and socio-cultural factors that the agency itself must consider in making its decision. Members of ‘the public’ also make their assessments part of the record of decision of the agency through public hearings, in written comments to the agency, and not infrequently in lawsuits” (Boggs 1990:217).

This leads us to another important feature of NEPA, to expand the opportunity for public participation in agency decision. According to NEPA regulations, the general public, conservation groups, private industry, local governments, and other public agencies, are allowed to comment on the federal agency's draft EA or EIS (Loomis 1993; Carnes 1989). As stated in NEPA's regulations, the intent of NEPA is to "encourage and facilitate public involvement in decisions which affect the quality of human involvement (40 CFR 1500.2). Loomis stresses the role of public participation in the NEPA process when he states:

Public meetings and formal public comment periods are a standard part of the NEPA process. The federal agency must respond to these comments in preparing its final environmental assessment or EIS. This was of course a radical change for all federal agencies,... But failure to heed the public was far more hazardous with the advent of NEPA, for NEPA made possible additional grounds for suing an agency for failure to follow the procedures spelled out in the regulations. This was a common weapon of conservation groups during the 1970s (1993:46).

A major concern for the NPS is to ensure that the development of a GMP follows the regulations required by NEPA in order to avoid possible law suits from local residents or special interests groups (conservation groups for example). For instance, the entire development of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA was under the "watchful eye" of the Sierra Club and the National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA).

Informally referred to as the "watch dog" of National Parks (NPS employee, personal communication 2000), the NPCA's mission is to protect the national parks for present and future generations. The NPCA accomplishes this through field offices with staff who act as the organization's "foot soldiers" on all of the issues encompassed within the National Parks Defense Campaign as well as region-specific threats and concerns. In the Southeast, the NPCA is currently working to bring to settlement a plan to construct a

road through the Great Smoky Mountains, the largest tract of undeveloped land in the eastern United States. The following section of this chapter describes the theoretical framework that will be utilized in analyzing data for this research project.

Research Questions and Theoretical Grounding

A theory is an organized system of ideas that seeks to explain why two or more events are related. Simply put, a theory provides a particular picture of reality concerning some social phenomenon. One of the things that make a theory a good theory is if it can reliably predict behavior (Higgins 2004; Norwak 2004). Because this study seeks to: (1) document traditional access to and use of resources, and how this has changed among local residents, including changes in the meaning of the land; (2) identify sources and incidences of conflict and resistance; (3) investigate measures to lessen conflict and resistance and promote cooperation over the management of the BSFNRRRA, analysis of the proposed research questions will draw upon theoretical and methodological concerns of conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism.

Stemming from these theoretical frameworks, objectives and specific questions that this research will address include the following:

1. How has the establishment of the BSFNRRRA and political discourse surrounding the BSFNRRRA affected social dynamics, and the access to, use of, and management of the natural resources (medicinal plants, forests, pastures and wildlife) and cultural resources (cemeteries, family homesteads, and hunting cabins) in the area?
2. What are people's accounts of what the area meant to local residents before the establishment of the BSFNRRRA? Have local residents negotiated new definitions of their relationship to what is now the BSFNRRRA? What happens to the meanings of the land and places on the land (such as a family homestead or cemetery) when the land is transformed from private ownership to public

ownership and is managed by a government agency for the benefit of conservation, preservation, or recreation by the American public?

3. How are conflict and resistance represented? What do local residents, interest group members, and NPS employees see as sources of conflict and resistance? Why, after thirty years since the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, does conflict or resistance continue to exist in the area?
4. What measures can be taken by the NPS to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation? Since resistance often manifests itself in not participating in public meetings pertaining to the BSFNRRRA, what measures can be taken to promote public participation in the management of public land? What measures can be taken to improve satisfaction within the indigenous community with the ways the National Park Service (NPS) is trying to involve the public in planning for the management of the BSFNRRRA.

Theoretical Framework

Because subjective interpretations are grounded in ideologies and cultural values, one cannot understand the impacts of establishing a protected area without an understanding of a community's ideologies and cultural values. A protected area is a physical entity, but individuals define it symbolically to reflect their past and current beliefs and values. A change in the physical environment implies new negotiations and definitions of individuals and their relationships to the physical environment. As described by Greider and Garkovich (1994), a physical entity is transformed into a symbolic "landscape" by a cultural group through the medium of their cultural symbols that reflect their relationship with the physical environment. Recognition of cultural symbols allows one to develop an understanding of an individual's relationship with both their community members and physical environment and thereby their cultural environment.

In order to understand the relationship, and to distinguish, between the physical environment and the cultural environment, Rappaport (1968/84) proposed two models.

The first model, or “operational model,” describes the ecological system through empirical operations, based on metrical procedures (measures) and material elements, rainfall levels or germs for examples. The second model, the “cognized model,” attempts to “describe people's knowledge and beliefs concerning their environments” (Rappaport 1968/84:337). The latter would explain illness not through empirical operations such as germs, but through nonempirical elements such evil spirits.

The study of cultural symbols is also found in the works of Clifford Geertz, especially his work within symbolic anthropology, which focuses on the role of thought (of symbols) in society. According to Geertz, culture “de- notes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (1973:89). For culture’s primary function is to impose meaning on the world in order to make it understandable. It is the role of the anthropologist to try (though complete success is impossible because complete objectivity is impossible) to describe and interpret the guiding symbols of each culture.

In order to accomplish this, Geertz advocated for what he referred to as “thick description” in ethnography. A thick description of a human behavior is one that explains not just the behavior, but its context as well, such that the behavior becomes meaningful to an outsider. Geertz explains that if someone winks at us without a context, we do not know what it means. It might mean the person is attracted to us, that they are trying to communicate secretly, that they understand what you mean, or anything. As the meaning of the context changes, the meaning of the wink changes. Geertz argues that all

human behavior is like this. He therefore distinguishes between a “thin description,” which describes only the wink itself, and a “thick description,” which explains the context of the practice within a society. Thick description is especially important in understanding the complexities and meanings of symbols within a culture.

The remaining section of this chapter provides an overview of the following theoretical concepts: conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism. The section concludes with a discussion on how these perspectives will be utilized in analyzing data collected for this research study. In order to accomplish this endeavor, the works of Michel Foucault and James Scott are used as a foundation for delineating “resistance” as it is to be used in evaluating resistance in the Big South Fork area. The review of Foucault’s concept of power and resistance, as it is embedded in everyday social interactions, will be followed by a discussion of what is described as “every day forms of resistance” by James Scott. Because the former provide a macroanalysis of data and are theories of constraint, with human behavior shaped by external social and cultural forces such as mental structures, culture, or capitalism, Erving Goffman’s concept of “dramaturgy” is also described, allowing for a microanalysis of interpersonal interactions and human agency. I would like to note here, that this study recognizes the potential of culture influencing human agency and human agency influencing cultural change. I would also like to note that in this era of cyberspace and interdisciplinary studies, scholarly exhaustiveness is more unattainable than ever. The works are chosen here either because they have been influential in resistance studies or in demonstrating the power of symbols in everyday forms of interaction. For examples, Foucault has played a major role in the work of feminist theorists such as Judith Butler (1977), especially

Foucault's view of censorship in *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, while Scott's work has "generated a virtual industry of studies of 'resistance' of all sorts, including especially slave and peasant resistance movements" (Ortner 2006:6) and Subaltern studies (Ortner, personal communication 2009).

Conflict and Resistance Theory

One could date the beginnings of resistance theory to the writings of Karl Marx in the late 1800s, with Marx's prediction of the insurgence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Marx's viewpoint was founded on what he called the "materialist conception of history." According to this view, it is not the ideas or values human beings hold that are the main sources of social change, but economic changes. Therefore, the conflicts between classes, the rich versus the poor, provide the motivation for historical development. In Marx's words, "All human history thus far is the history of class struggles."

Numerous interpretations or expansions of Marx's major ideas are possible (see Gramsci 1957; Freire 1970; Gaventa 1982), also given rise to various contemporary theoretical positions (conflict and feminist theory for examples). What these various perspectives share in common is a central focus of analysis pertaining to the struggle for scarce resources by groups in society, and how the elites use their power to control the weaker groups. People may invest in meanings over symbols as well as in the means of production, with struggles over meaning as much a part of the process of resource allocation as are struggles over surplus or labor process. Struggles over land and

environmental resources are simultaneously struggles over cultural meanings (Peet and Watts 1996).

Power is defined in this study as the capability of individuals or groups to make their own concerns or interests count, even when others resist. Resistance is viewed as opposition to dominant ideologies and actions, to resist those in power, which may be manifested in overt or covert forms. Covert resistance is deliberate resistance to change, but carried out in a manner that allows the resisters to appear as if they are not resisting. In cases of overt resistance, one does not try to hide their actions; their aim is to make resistance known publically. Power may involve the direct use of force, but is almost always accompanied by the development of ideas (ideologies), which are used to justify the actions of the powerful. In short, power, ideology, and conflict are always closely connected. Many conflicts are about power. Those who hold the position of power often depend on the influence of ideology to retain their dominance. Expanding on the “economism” in Marxist theory, Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1957) drew attention to the dynamic interplay of culture, hegemony (dominance/power), and history, reminding us that dominant meanings are continuously contested and unstable, thereby offering places for resistance to occur.¹⁰

Marx is also sometimes thought of as someone who practiced structuralism, with his focus on the unseen economic structure of capitalist society (Ritzer 1996), for structuralists often focus on the invisible larger structures of society and see them as

¹⁰ Antonio Gramsci dedicated his life to the struggles of the Italian working class. During his eleven-year imprisonment in Mussolini’s prison he wrote several letters pertaining to domination and resistance. He focused on the analysis of structural determinism and the possibility of human consciousness, critique, and action. Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, recognizing both hegemonical and hegemonized groups playing active and willing roles, with the former trying to hold their authority and the latter attempting to gain spaces in society, has become a source for several studies on domination and resistance (see Oliver-Smith 2006; Paz 2005; Peets and Watts 1996 for examples).

determinants of the actions of people as well as society in general. A major representative of poststructuralism is Michel Foucault, with his early works focusing on structures. In Foucault's later works, he moves beyond structures to focus on power and the linkage between knowledge and power, which will be discussed below.

Foucault is concerned primarily with textual analysis in order to understand structures of knowledge. He is particularly interested in the way in which people see and comprehend the world, which in his view is what defines an age or time period, and this is what governs the ways in which power is exercised. When power is applied, no matter in what area, you have resistance. According to Foucault, people see things in a certain way and their actions follow their perceived view of reality, including actions of resistance. Therefore, resistance can be viewed differently at different times in history; it is interpreted in reference to the values of that time and institutions which reflect that time. One can deduce/understand social institutions, or structures, directly from the ideas of the populace by looking at what has been written. He believes that institutional change derives almost entirely from some underlying and apparently autonomous "worldview." In turn, institutions influence one's behavior and outlook. In the case of an institution (a mental hospital, a prison, or even the NPS for examples), because of the nature of these types of institutions, those in power (seen as the experts in society) may identify violent activity as one being crazy or a criminal act. Yet, for the one committing this perceived crazy or violent act, it may be a form of resistance to them.

In short, for Foucault, every relationship has a power element to it (doctor-patient, professor-graduate student, husband-wife, and so on). There are no equal relationships, so someone is always dominant and expresses power over the other. Because of this, the

weaker member of the relationship is always resisting. Foucault focused primarily on the use of science and rationality to legitimize power relations. Domination worked if one was able to inhibit those without power to stop resisting and believe in the status quo. For example, in Foucault's study on the structure of a prison (1975), he states that while the prisoners were controlling their own behavior, they were doing so in accordance to the rules of the prison itself. In other words, you never knew when "big brother" was watching, so you best behave at all times and not display actions of resistance or you will suffer the consequences.

Furthermore, in his work on the "Birth of a Clinic," Foucault (1973) studies the structure of a mental institution. He explains that in a mental ward, the patient has to believe in the expertise of the doctor for this to work. If the patient resists, the doctor still has the power to call this "illness" and not "resistance." The symbolic power of a white coat or the uniform of a prison guard can reinforce the power position of the dominant member of the relationship.

When coercive power is enforced by the state, whether it is a prison guard or an employee of the National Park Service, an individual's power to resist is often curtailed, sometimes severely. Yet, it is not wholly destroyed. What remains may be no more than what James Scott (1990) refers to as "the power of everyday resistance." One of Scott's main objectives in *Weapons of the Weak* is to examine the relationship between the proletariat (poor peasant class) and the bourgeoisie (the rich farmers/land owners) in the Malaysian village of Sedaka (a pseudonym). In his study, Scott attempts to refute the Marxist theory of "false consciousness" by studying the social consciousness of the subordinate classes. For example, false consciousness is recognized in the classical

Marxist view that the bourgeoisie create a “false consciousness” among the proletariat who are led to believe that if they were not successful, it is due to their own fault for not working sufficiently hard enough rather than because their opportunities for advancement were blocked by the powerful upper class. According to Scott, a “false consciousness” rests on the assumption that elites not only dominate the physical means of production, but the symbolic means of production as well, and that this symbolic hegemony allows them to control the very standards by which their rule is evaluated (Scott 1985:39). Gramsci (1957) referred to this as the elite’s control of the “ideological sectors” of society (religion, culture, education, and the media for examples) and thereby reinforcing consent for their rule. In discussing these “ideological sectors,” Scott notes that:

For Gramsci, the proletariat is more enslaved at the level of ideas than at the level of behavior. The historic task of ‘the party’ is therefore less to lead a revolution than to break the symbolic miasma that blocks revolutionary thought. Such interpretations have been invoked to account for lower-class quiescence, particularly in rural societies such as India, where a vulnerable system of rigid caste stratification is reinforced by religious sanctions. Lower caste are said to accept their fate in the Hindu hierarchy in the hope of being rewarded in the next life (1985:39-40).

This supports Marx’s stance that religion is the opiate of the masses.

Although Scott comes from a political economy background, he chose to approach his fieldwork using a “phenomenological” methodology (Scott 1985:46). His goal is to discover the meaning of actions, such as resistance, based on an understanding of their context in a system of values and symbols. Using the technique of participant-observation, Scott attempts to describe the actions and conversations of all participants in village life in the context of changing social relations that resulted from the green revolution. Scott recognizes, however, that observing behavior alone is not enough, but

that consciousness of symbols, norms, and ideological forms underlying behavior is needed to fully understand actions of resistance.

Influenced by the reading of Goffman and his concept of dramaturgy, Scott speaks of “on stage” behavior (where one offers credible performances to the other side) and “public transcripts,” related to the public realm and found under the control of the dominant group. He also speaks of “hidden transcripts” and “off stage,” practiced by both the dominants and subordinates, where both take off their masks and begin to talk safely in the secure limits of their own private spheres. It is within the private domain that plots start, where discontent and forms of resistance arises. Scott uses this as evidence for a separate ideological consciousness between the peasant class and elite, thereby weakening the Marxist argument for a “false consciousness,” I will call this separate ideological consciousness “critical awareness.”

In his study of hegemonic control of the peasantry by the elite, Scott found that these peasants are not kept in line by some form of state-sponsored terrorism, but what he calls “routine repression” (legal restrictions, occasional arrests, and warnings for example). It will be demonstrated in this study that local residents of the BSF area claim to experience “routine repression” by NPS rangers, manifested in the form of “harassment,” believing that they are treated more unfairly than “outside visitors,” especially in the issuance of citations.

Scott also recognizes that because of local economic, political, and kinship ties, the peasants knew that overt political action would cause more harm than good. Therefore, Scott contended that peasant rebellions and revolutions are not the most effective means of resisting hegemonic control, but “everyday forms of peasant

resistance” instead, what he also refers to as “infrapolitics” (Scott 1990). For Scott, “everyday forms of resistance” are the ordinary weapons of “relatively powerless group,” which include foot dragging, sabotage, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, gossip, rude nicknames, character assassinations, arson, desertion, in addition to poaching, boycotting, and cultural resistance (1985). Scott states that “to understand these commonplace forms of resistance is to understand what much of the peasantry does ‘between revolts’ to defend its interests as best it can (1985:29), that “they [everyday forms of resistance] are the stubborn bedrock upon which other forms of resistance may grow, and they are likely to persist after such other forms have failed or produced, in turn, a new pattern of inequity” (1985:273).

Therefore, while Scott notes that these actions may not alter the peasants’ situation in the short run; it is in the long run that they may have more effectiveness than an overt rebellion in undercutting state repression and authority. Furthermore, “everyday forms of resistance” do not require coordination or planning and typically avoid direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with the norms of the elite. Instead, this form of everyday resistance often acts as a form of self-help for the peasant, acting as an indirect attempt to make an alternative account of the social situation count and to gain back a sense of control, or what Foucault refers to as “power.” According to Scott, both the peasant class and the elites are simultaneously constructing a worldview.

This is especially true with the changes in class relations due to the green revolution. Although there was always an extreme class division between the peasant class and the elites, there was a mutually held normative ideology that the two classes were dependent upon each other. While the peasants provided needed labor for the rich

landowners, the later were obligated to treat the poor fairly, to provide jobs, and to give alms to the faithful and needy during certain times of the year. The rich landowners needed the peasants to work their fields, and much as the peasants needed the rich landowners who provided work.

With the green revolution, class relations shifted due to changes in the method of planting and harvesting of rice. Because of the introduction of combine harvesters, there was less need of hired labor. The landless peasants no longer had a means of “livelihood,” and the rich land owners were no longer obliged to give alms or feasts for peasants who no longer tended their fields. The “stinginess” of the rich not only brought economic loss to the peasant class, but it also attacked their “social identity.” The only weapon the peasant class controlled in this struggle was their ability to undercut the prestige and reputation of the rich, and other forms of everyday resistance.

In summary, resistance happens because of some perceived threat to a community and its “fundamental beliefs.” We see this in *Weapons of the Weak* when the peasants’ livelihood and social community is threatened due to the introduction of machinery in the rice fields. Secondly, resistance is a symbolic and dynamic process, often using existing social structures or channels of communication. Lastly, resistance occurs when there is a perceived threat to the continuation of one’s social identity and livelihood, with the impact and perceived costs to one’s way of life influencing the degree of resistance. The following discussion provides examples of case studies pertaining to resistance due to perceived threats to one’s “fundamental beliefs,” “livelihood,” and “social identity,” as defined by Scott, and what I will add as a threat to one’s “symbolic meaning of place,” the flooding of family cemeteries for example.

Case Studies

In a recent historical study, Mario Paz (2005) applied James Scott's model to analyze and document forms of resistance practiced by slaves across western Cuba in the first half of the nineteenth century. Paz accentuates the difference between African-born and Creole slaves, which determined the forms in which slaves reacted towards slavery and their differences in forms of resistance. In discussing his application of Scott's model, Paz relays:

For Scott, resistance consists more than its frequently studied violent forms, (i.e. revolts, revolutions, assassinations, suicides, etc.). In his view subordinates are not quiescent spectators of the events that occur in their lives: they develop different forms of response to the ways of domination to which they are subdued. ... While dominant groups try to represent a trustworthy and impressive spectacle of power, the subordinate groups aim to show a convincing performance of participation and agreement. In this sense Scott harshly differs from the Gramscian approach to the subordinate's consent. In brief, in the day-to-day life of subordinate groups, Scott does not see consent but a hidden transcript that is nothing but one of the most dangerous forms of resistance (2005:9-10).

Paz distinguishes in his study, the difference between violent acts of resistance (open revolting, rebellion, robbery, homicide, and suicides) and "everyday forms of resistance," such as negotiating, and other non-violent techniques, which created an opportunity for expression of power. Paz notes that African-born slaves who arrived in western Cuba managed to keep their languages and cultures alive, never forgetting that they were African. Creole slaves, however, could merely imagine what their African ancestor's homes actually looked like, despite the stories they heard throughout their life. Yet, because Creole slaves were born and raised in Cuba, they had a fuller understanding of the "hidden transcripts" behind authority in which they could negotiate.

In his study, Anthony Oliver-Smith (2006) also recognizes “forms of everyday resistance” and negotiation as a means of resistance to development-induced displacement and rehabilitation (DIDR) projects. In quoting Oliver-Smith:

Resistance involves a continuum of forms, ranging from passive foot-dragging, nonappearance at official sites and times, inability to understand instructions and other ‘weapons of the weak’ so ably described by Scott, to protest meetings, civil disobedience, outright rebellion and warfare. The lack of overt resistance does not indicate that displacement is voluntary. By the same token, there are instances in which active resistance does not always indicate a primary agenda of reluctance to relocate. In these instances, resistance becomes a tool of negotiation to increase the levels of compensation (Oliver-Smith 2006:145).

Oliver-Smith’s study is not an inventory of causes, forms, and contexts of DIDR resistance. Instead, his aim is to critique and reconceptualize the development process, specifically the infrastructure and capital based models of development. Oliver-Smith describes how most DIDR projects have traditionally been based on a “cost-benefit” analysis, and the problems that this model entails. In lieu of this model, Oliver-Smith advocates for the approach set forth by the World Commission on Dams (WCD), an approach based on “recognition of rights” and “assessment of risks” (particularly rights at risk) to guide future planning and decision-making. In discussing this concept of linking risk with the concept of rights, Oliver-Smith states:

By combining the consideration of rights and risks, the inadequacies and simplifications of traditional cost-benefit analysis can be avoided and better planning and decision-making can result, based on the complexity of the considerations involved and the values that societies place on different options. The importance of a rights and risks approach to DIDR is that it allows for the inclusion not just of material concerns, but also of the issues relating to the symbolic and affective domains (2006:149).

Therefore, the approach provides not only a model for improving planning and decision-making in dam projects, but also a template for an approach to understanding and analyzing resistance to DIDR in general. For those who resist development projects, usually come from the sectors of the affected populations who perceive that they are placed at greatest risk for displacement.

Another study of resistance in response to the continuation of one's way of life is seen in the work of Rhoda Halperin. In her article, "The Kentucky Way: Resistance to Dependency Upon Capitalism in an Appalachian Region," Halperin focuses on economic strategies utilized by residents in northeastern Kentucky to resist being drawn into the market economy. The economic strategies of the "Kentucky Way" are peasant-like in the sense that they are subsistence oriented and driven by ties to kin and to homeplace. The economic strategies are rural and agrarian. Halperin concludes her article by describing how the "The Kentucky Way" is not unique to Kentucky or to Appalachia. According to Halperin, "Indeed the same kinds of strategies operate with variations and transformations in many rural parts of the world, for example, what Danielle Weinberg calls 'peasant wisdom' in Switzerland and what James Scott calls 'everyday forms of peasant resistance' in Malaysia. The implications of these common peasant strategies have for accomplishing identity, autonomy, and a sense of control over life and livelihood are also similar, or at least comparable in rural cultures" (1991:239).

Therefore, the "Kentucky Way" is about maintaining livelihood and rural culture. It includes commitments to kin, to hard work and self-sufficiency, to freedom and to the land, to generosity and reciprocity (especially with family members and friends), and to certain kinds of practical knowledge (how to hunt or fish, clear land, how and when to

plant or harvest, how to maintain machinery, childcare or caring for the elderly, knowledge of local ecology, and identifying medicinal plants). People resist becoming specialists, for specialists must rely on others to perform tasks for them, being a generalist is a strategy for self-reliance, a common characteristic of Appalachian culture. It will be demonstrated within this research study that maintaining one's self-reliance, and being self-sufficient, are important characteristics among the local residents of the BSF area. These types of characteristics, and values, according to symbolic interactionists, make up a part of one's self-concept and social identity (Henslin 2007; Franzoi 2006).

In her study on working-class Appalachian women in the mica industry in western North Carolina, Mary Anglin describes women's resistance in allowing supervisors or factory owners to "gain too much control over the shop floor" (1993:271). Prerogatives exercised by female workers which were underwritten by local custom included: leaving work to tend to families, gardens, and household duties or the threat of bad weather; taking unscheduled breaks or slowing down work, especially on Friday afternoons; recruiting neighbors and kin for the limited job openings; and conferring with each other about work-related problems. In discussing the importance of understanding local culture in reference to resistance, Anglin states:

The study of work and protest in Appalachia involves an analysis of regional culture as a force that informs the construction of class consciousness, gender relations, and community life. ...regional culture encompasses material resources, systems of kin/community ties, and pragmatic information about how to live in specific settings, in addition to perspectives on what is a life well-lived. It reflects a particular history and set of socioeconomic conditions, and is the means by which individuals come to terms with, or contest, these particularities (1993:263).

We find in this study resistance to complete absorption into market economy in order to maintain traditional cultural values, especially those pertaining to family and community. While management recognized the actions of workers, they also realized that they provided a steady work force, who could call in other family members or friends during production peaks.

In her essay in *Fighting Back in Appalachia* (1993), Sherry Cable describes the transition of individual resistance to collective resistance in the Yellow Creek valley of southeastern Kentucky. In the late nineteenth century, a tanning company began operations in the city of Middlesboro, Kentucky, dumping waste from the production processes into the creek. Over the years, residents of the area registered complaints with various city and state officials, but to no avail. Cable explains residents' individual resistance in the form of "fussin" when she states:

Residents' complaints about the creek began virtually with the earliest operations of the Middlesboro tannery. ...This periodic 'fussin' was individual resistance, and its character reflected both the values and the history of the residents of the Yellow Creek valley. It demonstrates their recognition that an injustice was being done to them. Traditional rural values sustained an ideology of egalitarianism with this very stratified social system. Their belief in fairness led many residents to feel anger that the tannery was interfering with their normal activities. And so they 'fussed' because they could not swim, wade, fish, boat, or even sit near the creek on some days (1993:72).

Cable continues to describe reasons the contamination of the creek met with only individual resistance for so long, primarily because collective resistance was inhibited by a social legacy of the coal companies' economic oppression of the area.

The isolated communities that existed along the valley were remnants of former coal mining camps, built by the coal companies to house the miners. In order to curtail

union organization among the miners during the 1930s, the company encouraged competition among the camps. In doing so,

The coal companies had destroyed the ‘free spaces’ that many argue are necessary for the growth of democratic movements. Instead, residents kept to their own small communities, without the wider base of solidarity in the valley that could have facilitated collective resistance to the pollution of the creek. ... Collective resistance in the past had typically been met with physical force, most notably in union organizing, and family histories included account of that era. ... It was not that they were opposed to collective resistance; it was simply not included in their repertoire of behavior (Cable 1993:73).

Beginning in the late 1960s, changes at both the local and national level facilitated the transformation from individual to collective resistance.

On the national level, the environmental movement allowed for a foundation that promoted and framed the definition of environmental grievances, particularly the passage of the National Environmental Protection Act in 1969, which created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). On the local level, the first change occurred when the tannery was bought by a Chicago firm in 1960, replacing the vegetable-based tanning process with a chromium-based technology, causing increases in fish kills and visible pollution of the creek. Secondly, there was a shift in interaction patterns among valley residents when the public schools were consolidated in the 1970s, breaking the former barriers of localism among the small communities and promoting social cohesion/solidarity as valley residents. By doing so, this provided free spaces, places where people join together for a common cause and discuss their concerns, which may take place at a community center, a restaurant, or even a neighbor’s front porch. The final piece fell into place when a former resident, Larry Wilson, who had worked for the state of Kentucky as a hospital administrator returned to Yellow Creek, bringing with him organizational experience, leadership skills, and “knowledge of political routines that challenges to the

Establishment require” (Cable 1993:76). In July 1980, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens (YCCC) was formed to collectively resist discharges from the tanning company in Yellow Creek. Since then, the YCCC has evolved into a community interest organization. In addition to confronting issues of pollution of Yellow Creek, group members have also been active in resisting hazardous waste dumping and obtaining a ban on strip mining by a nearby lake (Cable 1993).

Other essays within the monograph also describe collective resistance in reference to the coal mining industry in Appalachia, beginning with miners’ resistance to unsafe working conditions in underground mines by joining unions to the establishment of grassroots organizations to resist strip mining within the region. Collective organizations that continue to exist in the region include Kentuckians For The Commonwealth (KFTC), Virginia Citizens for Better Reclamation (VCBR), and Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM). The later was organized in 1972 by Tennessee citizens from the five coal counties of Scott, Campbell, Claiborne, Anderson, and Morgan, in the hope that such an organization could improve the quality of life there. Coal related problems that existed in the area included overweight coal trucks that destroyed rural roads, stream flooding caused by siltation from the strip mines, and mining companies that failed to pay property taxes (Allen 1993). Land from two of the counties, Scott and Morgan, currently lie within the boundaries of the BSFNRRA.

Other land-related battles and forms of collective resistance are recounted in the works of William Schweri and John Van Willigen. Drawing on several case studies, which are presented below, Schweri and Van Willigen (1978) demonstrate three components of what they refer to as a “provisional theory of resistance.” In their own

study, Schweri and Van Willigen conducted research among local residents who organized to resist the proposed development of a dam and reservoir project by the Corps of Engineers in eastern Kentucky. Resistance manifested itself as residents realized the threat of the dam to their every day way of life. They perceived the costs of the proposed dam, such as the lost of cemeteries, churches, and residents' homes due to flooding of the area, as outweighing its benefits.

The work of Richard Clemmer (1969) investigates resistance among the Hopi Native Americans towards acculturation. Resistance focused on preventing the further erosion of their traditional lifeways and "ideology," or "fundamental beliefs," with the introduction of electricity. According to the authors, resistance to the construction of power lines included public protests, communication with various government officials, and petitions.

Another case study was conducted by Luther Gerlach (1979), who documented Minnesota farmers' resistance towards the construction of power transmission lines by power companies. Resistance was manifested in the form of marches and demonstrations, in addition to placing large farm equipment in the way of areas where surveyors were trying to take measurements.

From these case studies, Schweri and Van Willigen (1978) proposed three components for a "provisional theory of resistance." The components include: (1) resistance processes require the linkage of behavior to "fundamental beliefs" through "ideology," (2) the resistance process is fundamentally a symbolization process, and (3) communities will tend to determine the impact and assess its cost. Cost levels [impacts]

are related to the motivation to resist. If the perceived costs are high enough, communities will develop and maintain resistance organizations.

From the previous discussions and case studies, several variables may be identified to provide a working model for understanding the transition, or lack of transition, from individual resistance to collective resistance within the research area. The first variable is the perceived threat, or “cost,” of the situation. Secondly, social cohesion/solidarity among individuals and leadership must be present, in addition to “free spaces.” Lastly, possible rewards, or outcomes, to change the situation must be accessed. Before turning to a discussion on the paradigm of symbolic interactionism and further development of a model for analyzing individual resistance, the following section of this chapter will discuss the merging of practice theory and resistance theory, in addition to suggestions for future research in resistance studies.

In her recent manuscript, Sherry Ortner discusses the need for improving the basic practice theory framework by integrating the works of “power theorists” such as Michel Foucault and James Scott. Practice theory is recognized as a theory of the production of social subjects through their practice in the world, and the production of the world itself through the practice of social subjects. Ortner then examines a number of problems in the resistance literature arising from the stance of what she refers to as the “ethnographic refusal.”

In discussing the “power theorists,” at one end of the spectrum Ortner places Foucault, “who has argued that power is socially ubiquitous, suffused through every aspect of the social system, and psychologically deeply invasive. There is no ‘outside’ of power” (2006:5). On the other end of the spectrum, Ortner places Scott, “who takes the

position that, while there is certainly a great deal of power in play in social life, it is much less mentally invasive than others have argued” (2006:5), Gramsci’s position of hegemony totally controlling the minds of the dominated party for example. Ortner agrees with Scott’s premise that dominated people understand what is going on, and even have “hidden transcripts” of critique and resistance.

Ortner then compares these “power theorists” with the practice theorists Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. Ortner states that “Bourdieu is most like Foucault, in that his notion of *habitus* is one of a deeply internalized structure, powerfully controlling and largely inaccessible to consciousness” (2006:7). On the other end of the spectrum, Giddens, with his concept of *agency*, “is more like Scott, emphasizing the ways in which actors are at least partially ‘knowing subjects’ who are able to reflect to some degree on their circumstances and by implication to develop a certain level of critique and possible resistance” (2006:8).

In examining the problems in the literature on resistance from the stance of “ethnographic refusal,” involving a refusal of ethnographic thicknesses (see Geertz), Ortner categorizes this refusal into three areas: sanitizing politics, thinning culture, and dissolving actors. By “sanitizing politics,” Ortner refers to former resistance studies focusing primarily on the relationship between the dominant and subordinate groups, ignoring forms of internal conflict and politics within these groups. In discussing the treatment of politics in resistance studies, Ortner notes:

Yet the discussion is usually limited to the politics of resistance, that is, to the relationship between the dominant and the subordinate. . . . If we are to recognize that resisters are doing more than simply opposing domination, more than simply producing a virtually mechanical reaction, then we must go the whole way. They have their own politics-not just between chiefs and commoners or landlords and peasants-but within all the local categories of friction and tensions: men and

women, parents and children, and seniors and juniors; inheritance conflicts among brothers; struggles of succession and wars of conquest between chiefs; struggles for primacy between religious sects; and on and on (2006:46).

An understanding of “sanitizing politics” may help to explain why some choose to resist and others do not. For, according to Ortner, “an understanding of political authenticity, of the people’s own forms of inequality and asymmetry, is not only not incompatible with an understanding of resistance but is in fact indispensable to such an understanding” (2006:49).

Ortner describes the “thinning of culture” as the lack of a description of the cultural values or religious views in resistance studies. As expressed by Ortner, “cultural thinning is characteristic of some of the most influential studies of resistance currently on the scene. Some of the problems with this tendency may be brought into focus through a consideration of the way in which religion is (or is not) handled in some of these studies. I do not mean to suggest by this that religion is equivalent to all of culture” (2006:50).

Ortner documents the casualness given to religion in James Scott’s *Weapons of the Weak* (1985) as an example. Ortner states, “There is no general discussion of the religious landscape of the villagers, and the discussion of religious movements in his area, many of which had significant political dimensions, is confined to a few pages toward the end of the book” (2006:51). Ortner continues to describe how cultural thinning does not need to be confined to marginalizing religious factors but in describing culture in general. The example she provides is Eric Wolf’s *Europe and People without History* (1982), where Wolf “devotes a scant five pages at the end of the book to the question of culture, largely in order to dismiss it” (2006:51). For Ortner, a “thicker” description of culture will allow one to understand better both resistance and its limits, in

addition to providing “deep insight not only into the fact of resistance but into its forms, moments, and absences” (2006:53).

By “dissolving subjects,” Ortner refers to the importance of understanding “agency” in resistance studies, that former studies on resistance are thin on the subjectivity (the intentions, desires, fears,) of the actors engaged in these actions. Ortner also emphasizes issues surrounding the crisis of representation, with the “possibility of truthful portrayals of others (or Others) and the capacity of the subaltern to be heard” (2006:62), and voices not distorted.

In summary, ethnographic refusal in former studies of resistance is due to their ethnographic thinness: thin on the internal politics of dominated groups, thin on the cultural richness (values) of those groups, and thin on the subjectivity (intentions, fears) of the actors engaged in these dramas. Ortner feels that by applying ethnographic thickness, one can overcome the “ethnographic blackhole” which would enrich future resistance studies. (2006:62).

Symbolic Interactionism

For symbolic interactionists, the most significant part of life in society is social interaction and the symbols (things that we attach meaning) that people use. Symbolic interactionists want to know how people look at things and how this, in turn, affects their behavior and orientations in life, and the development of one’s self-concept and social identity (Henslin 2007; Franzoi 2006). With this said, the focus of analysis in symbolic interactionism is face-to-face interaction, and how people use symbols to create and interpret social life.

George Herbert Mead is viewed as the primary source for symbolic interactionism, even though he did not coin the term. Mead was a professor at the University of Chicago, teaching courses in philosophy and social psychology. It was after his death in 1934 that his students pulled together all of his class notes and published "Mind, Self, and Society" (Mead 1934). It was then that the term symbolic interactionism was coined by his former student Herbert Blumer. The volume continues to form the main intellectual basis of symbolic interactionism (Ritzer 1996).

Of interest to Mead, was the socialization of the self and mind. When discussing the importance of socialization, the process by which people learn the characteristics of their group (the knowledge, skill, attitudes, values, and actions thought appropriate for them), Mead points out that children first take on the role of "significant others," such as parents and siblings, who lay down a strong foundation in developing an individual's social values and behavior (Franzoi 2006). This is especially important in trying to understand the persistence of stereotypes or negative attitudes towards a particular entity. An example would be a group's persistent view of Appalachian residents as "Hill-Billies" or employees of the National Park Service as "Jack-Boot-Nazis." The importance and power of "significant others" will be demonstrated in interviews with local residents when they state that, "Neither I or my children will ever step foot in that park again." Followed by their daughter or son replying, "Yeh, and my kids will never step foot in it either."

Similar to Marx's earliest writings, numerous interpretations or expansions of Mead's major ideas are also possible, given rise to various contemporary investigations of social life (communication theory, negotiation, or dramaturgy for examples).

According to Em Griffin (1997) symbolic interactionism is a prevalent part of any communication exchange. An application of the theory can be found in almost any dialectic communication. Communication theory involves concepts such as “group think,” Irving Janis’ (1982; 1972) term for a narrowing of thought by a group of people, leading to the perception that there is only one correct answer, in which to even suggest alternatives becomes a sign of disloyalty to one’s “in-group” for the “out-group.” An example of “group think” among various residents of the BSF area are continuous statements such as “we’ll never have anything to do with that park again” or “the park rangers only care about rich outsiders, the tourists, and see us as a bunch of poor, ignorant, rough-necks.”

Erving Goffman (1959) added to the perspective of symbolic interactionism when he developed the concept of “dramaturgy” or “dramaturgical analysis.” By this term he means that social life is like a drama on stage, with individuals acting out their assigned roles. We have “back stage,” where one prepares and practices for their performance, and “front stage,” where one delivers their lines and pre-designed images they have created, also referred to as the “presentation of self.” This is especially true when subordinates are forced to play according to strict rules established by the dominant groups, trying to gain as much as possible and offering as little in return as possible.

Although there are important differences between them, symbolic interactionism and social constructionism are often seen as closely aligned (Franzoi 2006), with the latter looking at ways social phenomena is created, institutionalized, and made into tradition by social beings. Mead’s idea that people creatively shape reality through social interaction forms the cornerstone for symbolic interactionism and is echoed in the social

constructionist perspective seen throughout the social sciences (Holstein and Miller 2000). According to the social construction of reality, people use their background assumptions and life experiences to define what is real for them (Henslin 2007). Social constructionists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman best acknowledge the contribution of symbolic interactionism to social constructionism when they state, “Our anthropological presuppositions are strongly influenced by Marx, especially his early writings. . . . Our social-psychological presuppositions, especially important for the analysis of the internalization of social reality, are greatly influenced by George H. Mead and some developments of his work by the so-called symbolic-interactionist school of American sociology” (1966:15).

Symbolic interactionism examines the idea that subjective meanings are socially constructed, and that these subjective meanings interrelate with objective actions. Similarly, proponents of social constructionism claim that reality is socially constructed, that the physical and social environments are meaningful to individuals only when they attach subjective meanings or interpretations to them. These subjective interpretations are grounded in cultural values, ideologies, beliefs, and expectations of others. Therefore, without an understanding of the different values, ideologies, beliefs, and norms within a community, which are the bases of individuals’ interpretations of their relations to the physical environment, one can not understand the social impacts of environmental change on those affected. Furthermore, one can not understand the various, and potential conflicting, symbolic meanings of the physical environment.

Application of Theoretical Frameworks

The previous discussion of existing approaches to studying symbolic power, social interaction, and resistance, has been aimed at identifying the conceptual framework that will be utilized in analyzing data collected for this research study. Drawing on the perspectives of conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism, this study is focused on individual and community adaptations to the political act of establishing the BSFNRRRA. Because conflict and resistance theory generally falls within a materialist framework in anthropology, focusing on material conditions and external influences, and because symbolic interactionism falls within a mentalist or symbolic framework, recognizing the environment as being socially constructed (Rappaport 1968/84; Geertz 1973), a combination of the paradigms will provide for a more holistic analysis of the data.

In this research study, symbolic interactionism is used to examine different and conflicting symbolic meanings of the BSFNRRRA, between NPS employees, various user groups, and special interests groups such as the Sierra Club. The paradigm will also serve as a guide in observing interactions between local residents and NPS employees. For example, Goffman's concept of dramaturgical analysis will be utilized to analyze the setting of a traditional NPS Open House meeting. Recognizing the NPS Open House meeting as "front stage," one would observe the customs or clothes individuals are wearing, what symbols or meanings do they confer or represent? Who are wearing the torn overalls and who are wearing the freshly pressed authoritative NPS uniforms? Where is the front stage located and how is the stage set up; a local courthouse that symbolizes authority or a community center that symbolizes the public? Is there a round

table where everyone can sit and talk together, or is there some type of hierarchical arrangement where people are talked to, in other words is conversation a one-way or two-way process? These are examples of questions and observations that someone applying the perspective of symbolic interactionism would probe.

Conflict and resistance theory will be used to examine political and economic events that have shaped the current natural and cultural landscape, and resistance to these changes. In order to understand the social impacts of these changes (from private land ownership to federal management) and the underlying causes of resistance, a historical overview of the area's self-sufficient farmers, company owned coal and lumber mill towns, environmental degradation, economic diversification, the creation of the BSFNRRRA, and relocation of local residents will be discussed in the following chapter.

Foucault's concept of power and resistance as it is "embedded in everyday social interactions," will be applied in analyzing power relationships between NPS employees and local residents, in addition to the symbolic nature of the relationship. For example, the symbolic power of the uniform of a prison guard can reinforce the power position of the dominant member of the relationship and the power of the institution they represent. Just as some local residents of the BSFNRRRA regard the uniform of a park ranger as a symbol of the government, of power, which is deeply distrusted by several residents, yet recognition of this symbol reinforces the power of the institution.

Scott's work on "everyday forms of resistance" and "routine repression" will be used as a model for delineating "resistance" within the Big South Fork area. Recognizing that acts of "everyday forms of resistance" include the following: foot dragging, sabotage, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, gossip,

rude nicknames, character assassinations, arson, desertion, in addition to poaching, boycotting, and cultural resistance. Which Scott states is the “bedrock” upon which other forms of resistance, collective resistance for example, may grow.

As presented earlier, variables in the proposed model that will be applied in this research study to understand the transition, or lack of transition, from individual resistance to collective resistance include: (1) perceived threat, or cost, of the situation, (2) social cohesion/solidarity among individuals and leadership, and (3) possible rewards, or outcomes, to change the situation. In accordance with Scott (1985), resistance occurs when there is a threat to one’s “social identity” and “livelihood.” In respect to this research study, I have expanded a threat to one’s social identity and livelihood to issues surrounding “access” to both natural and social resources within the BSFNRRRA, including issues surrounding the “symbolic meaning of place.” As noted in the discussion on symbolic interactionism, subjective meanings interrelate with objective actions. Other areas that will be explored to assist in the identification of sources for conflict and manifestations of resistance include human rights (Oliver Smith 2006; Posey 1996), fundamental beliefs (Schweri and Van Willigen 1978), power relations (Foucault 1980), and communication/negotiation (Goffman 1959; McCracken 1980).

The second variable to be explored in understanding the transformation, or lack of transformation, from individual resistance to collective resistance is the presence of social cohesion/solidarity among individuals and leadership, in addition to “free spaces.” As defined by Sara Evans and Harry Boyte, free spaces are:

...public places in the community...in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values of cooperation and civic virtue...settings between private lives and large-scale institutions...with a relatively open and participatory character...Free spaces are

‘schools of democracy’ owned by participants themselves. Free space is found in settings which combine strong communal ties with larger public relationships and aspects. This public dimension involves a mix of people and perspectives beyond one’s immediate personal ties, and also entails norms of egalitarian exchange, debate, dissent, and openness. Moreover, the relationships of free space draw on localized and particular interests but also connect participants to larger patterns of decision making, social life, and institutional practice (1992:ix).

In the case study of Yellow Creek (Cable 1993), it was demonstrated that individual resistance to the pollution of the river did not transform into collective resistance because of the lack of solidarity and “free spaces” among the valley residents.

The importance of understanding the various levels of internal conflicts is also emphasized by Ortner (2006), when she describes the importance of “sanitizing politics” in order to explain why some choose to resist and others do not. The importance of leadership in guiding a collective group to resist is demonstrated in the case studies on the Kayapo and Yellow Creek Citizens. In reference to “free spaces,” the concept is similar to the “back stage” where “hidden transcripts” may evolve (see Scott 1985; Goffman 1959).

The final variable to be discussed in identifying and understanding manifestations of resistance is the possible rewards, or outcomes, that will improve the situation. This may be seen in what Oliver-Smith (2006) describes as “rights and risks” or what Schweri and Van Willigen (1978) refer to as “cost levels,” which are related to the motivation to resist. This is also demonstrated by Scott (1995), recognizing that because of local economic, political, and kinship ties, the peasants knew that overt political action would cause more harm than good. In summary, the model proposed for this research suggests that individual resistance may evolve into collective resistance if the following is present: if a perceived threat is high enough, if there are free spaces for

social cohesion and communication among those who feel threatened and where leadership may emerge, and if the risks outweigh the possible rewards.

In addition to identifying and understanding individual resistance, and the transformation or lack of transformation to collective resistance, this study will also apply Ortner's suggestions for improving studies on resistance, to avoid falling into the "black hole of ethnographic refusal." In reference to Ortner's category of sanitizing politics, internal conflicts between residents in the BSF area will be addressed, especially conflicts between different user groups. To prevent the "crisis of representation," or "dissolving subjects," individuals' accounts of their own experience are presented in italics, in order to emphasize participants' voices and allow the reader to become an active participant in constructing the various meanings implicit in the residents' responses. In reference to Ortner's category of "cultural thinning," values and ideologies central to Appalachian culture will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA: THE BIG SOUTH FORK NATIONAL RIVER AND RECREATION AREA AND SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES

The area of study for this project consists of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area and surrounding communities. This chapter describes the physical environment of the study area, which includes a discussion of the general setting; topography, geology, and hydrology; mineral resources; climate; flora; fauna; and endangered species. Following this is a historical overview of the socioeconomic patterns occurring within the Big South Fork region, beginning with occupation by Native Americans, long hunters, and early settlers, to the creation of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRR). The authorizing legislation for the BSFNRR is reviewed, along with a discussion on the creation of a Master Plan for the National Area, including documentation of public involvement in this process. Where applicable, residents' symbolic meaning of the cultural landscape is presented.

The Physical Environment

As David Whisnant observes, "Appalachia's boundaries have been drawn so many times that it is futile to look for a 'correct' definition of the region" (1980:134). This is partly due to the criteria (mountains, coal mining, subsistence farming) or purpose (welfarism, poverty, tourism) when describing the area. Because this study focuses on traditional uses of the land by local residents and the creation of the BSFNRR due to the region's physical attributes, Appalachia will be identified using Karl Raitz and

Richard Ulack's (1984:15) four physiographic regions: the Piedmont, the Blue Ridge Mountains, Ridge and Valley, and the Appalachian Plateaus.

General Setting

The BSFNRRRA is located atop the Cumberland Plateau, the southern part of the Appalachian Plateau region that extends from New York to northern Alabama. The National Area, established in 1974, encompasses approximately 123,000 acres of land surrounding the Big South Fork River and its tributaries. The Big South Fork of the Cumberland River is formed by the confluence of the New River and the Clear Fork in Scott County, Tennessee. The Big South Fork then flows northward through McCreary County, where it unites with the Little South Fork of the Cumberland River. The Little South Fork River is not included in the boundaries of the BSFNRRRA. Smaller tributaries that feed into the Big South Fork River include: No Business Creek, Difficulty Creek, Parch Corn Creek, Station Camp Creek, Troublesome Creek, Oil Well Branch, Wolf Creek, Lonesome Creek, Charit Creek, and Tacket Creek.¹¹

Encompassing portions of the Cumberland Plateau in southeastern Kentucky and northeastern Tennessee, the Big South Fork River drains 1,382 square miles in Tennessee's Fentress, Morgan, Pickett, and Scott counties, and in Kentucky's McCreary and Wayne counties. Portions of five counties (Fentress, Morgan, Pickett, Scott, and McCreary) are located in the BSFNRRRA.

¹¹ The main purpose of identifying the tributaries is to help the reader understand oral history references and the symbolic meanings of the cultural landscape for local residents.

Currently, the NPS is trying to manage the National Area in a way that responds to the needs and desires of various user groups, while protecting and preserving the diversity of natural and cultural resources. For management purposes, the BSFNRRRA is divided geographically into two sections, the river gorge and the adjacent plateau area (Figure III.1). The river gorge consists of 55,650 acres of the National Area (42% of the project area) and the adjacent plateau land consists of 67,300 acres of the National Area (58% of the project area). According to PL 93-251, the river gorge is managed as a National River and the Federal land managers must preserve its recreational and wilderness qualities, with preservation and interpretation being the primary goals. The plateau area, however, is to be managed as a National Recreation Area and should allow for both the development of cultural attributes, such as the preservation or reconstruction of historic buildings or cultural landscapes, and recreational attributes, roads to rock shelters, waterfalls, or natural arches, in addition to horse trails and biking trails as examples. Motorized transportation is no longer allowed in the gorge except along eleven authorized access routes and for motor boats downstream of Devil's Jump (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2005; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

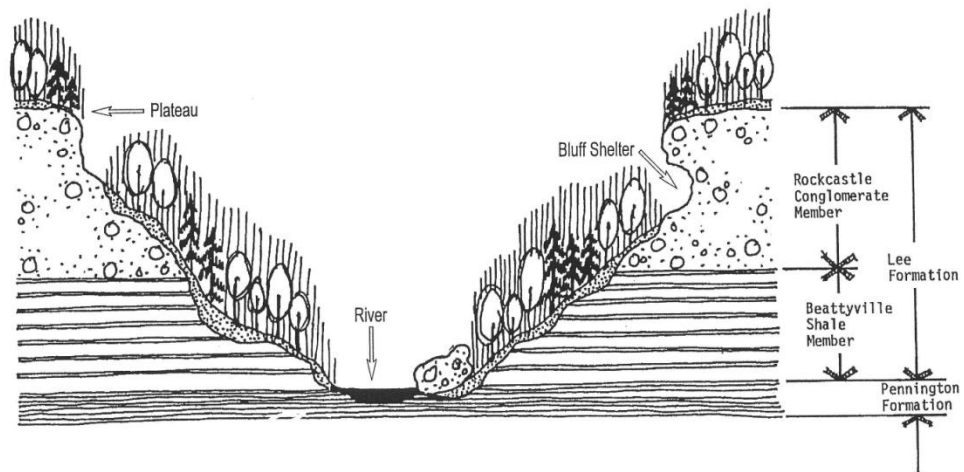


Figure III.1 Geologic Profile of the Big South Fork River Gorge and Plateau (After BSFNRRRA Master Plan 1980).

Topography, Geology, and Hydrology

The topography of the river basin ranges from broad rolling uplands that are typical in the northeast to extremely rugged mountain terrain that is characteristic of the southeast. Highly dissected mesas capped with resistant sandstone form the upland and gorges that characterize this rugged southern terrain. It is here where the base of 500 feet cliffs comes to or near the edge of the rivers, making bottomlands scarce and precious where they do exist. Soils in the bottomlands are generally thin and stony, but are richer on floodplains, towards the base of slopes and where the weathering of limestone has contributed to their formation. In areas like these, such as No Business Creek and Station Camp Creek, people have tended to settle the rich floodplains and avoid the more highly

dissected portions of the plateau (Coleman and Smith 1993; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

The river itself has a rugged character in certain areas, with sections of white water caused by tumbled masses of boulders in its bed. White water sections occur all along Clear Fork and the Big South Fork drainage at irregular intervals. Concentrations of rapids and white water exist below the confluence of New River and Clear Fork, in the vicinity of Jakes Hole, Tennessee, and just upstream from the former Blue Heron coal mining community in Kentucky, at Devils Jump.

Differential erosion and weathering have produced natural arches and cave-like bluff shelters (used as both prehistoric rock shelters and more recently as reclusive sites for moonshine stills or camping quarters for hunting and fishing trips). According to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the term “cave” has been restricted to a passage into solid rock that is much deeper than it is wide or high. Therefore, no true caves are known to exist in the area. Overhangs and bluff shelters, however, are extremely common.

The most spectacular of the natural arches are the Twin Arches, one of the largest natural land bridges in the world and designated one of Tennessee’s State Natural areas. The North Arch has a 51-foot clearance and a 93-foot span, while the South Arch has a clearance of 70-feet and a span of 135 feet (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). Several of the natural formations have been given personalized names by local residents in memory of an incident, an example being Maude’s Crack, or because of the formation’s peculiar shape, Chimney Rock for instance. John Muir, the future founder of the Sierra Club, explored the surrounding area of the Big South Fork River in the 1860s.

The Cumberlands were the first mountains Muir ever saw. In 1867, Muir committed himself to conservation while exploring the natural wonders of Tennessee (Baker 1993).

The elevations in the watershed of the Big South Fork (BSF) River range from 3,534 feet in the southeast portion of the BSFNRRRA to 673 feet where the BSF River empties into Lake Cumberland at Burnside, Kentucky. The main channel of the BSF River from the confluence of New River and Clear Fork to the junction at Burnside is 77 miles long and has a gradient of 3.7 feet per mile (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1976:58). The waters of the BSFNRRRA are considered to be predominately high quality; however, acid mine drainage and excessive siltation from logging and mining operations are evident in some areas. In certain areas, a thin layer of yellow precipitate coats the bottom of small tributaries and their banks, which local residents call “yellow boy,” a sulfur residue draining out of abandoned coal mines. A prime example of this can be seen at the former mining camp of Worley in Kentucky. In addition, sediments and chemicals washed into the gorge from agricultural areas on the plateau negatively affect the quality of water (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

Several springs and waterfalls exist within the BSFNRRRA. No major falls occur on the BSF River or its major tributaries, but on almost every smaller tributary a waterfall is present where the creek enters the gorge. While most of the falls are 45 to 60 feet high, there are drops of up to 90 feet (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). Outstanding cascades occur on Bandy Creek and at Yahoo Falls. Waterfalls are also found in various hollows, including Big Spring Hollow, Salt Branch, and the cove south of Station Camp. Twenty-five miles north of the BSFNRRRA is Cumberland Falls, also referred to as “the Niagara of the South.”

Mineral Resources

The mineral resources within the National Area and surrounding areas include petroleum, coal, and natural gas, which have been exploited commercially. From these, coal has been the most important commercial resource. While the thickest exposed coal seams have primarily been mined out, a considerable amount of coal is still present in thinner exposed seams and in subsurface seams. Mineral resources that have not been exploited commercially include silica, limestone, and clay deposits (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

Oil was first discovered in the area in 1818, at a site that came to be known as Oil Well Branch in Kentucky. The intention for drilling was not for oil, but for salt. At the time one could purchase up to 1,000 acres of land for ten cents an acre after they manufactured 1,000 bushels of salt (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1976; Johnson 1939). Oil was seen as something that was just in the way, until residents recognized its usefulness for medicinal and practical purposes such as curing arthritis, pica (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2008), or daubed on livestock to repel vermin (Howell 1981:57).

In the past few decades, several abandoned oil wells have been revived by secondary recovery methods. Although the U.S. Geological Survey finds it unlikely that additional shallow oil reserves (located within 2,000 feet of the surface) of substantial size will be discovered, the Tennessee Division of Geology believes that pools yielding one to three million barrels could be found (U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey 1968; Johnson 1939).

Climate

The BSFNRRRA and surrounding lands are situated in a humid mesothermal climate region, thereby having hot, moist summers and mild winters. Prevailing winds from the south and southeast bring moist air from the Gulf Coast into the area. Generally, areas on the plateau have lower average temperatures and higher annual precipitation than the adjacent low land lying below the plateau escarpments (U. S. Army, Corps of Engineers 1976).

Based on data recorded from 1880-1949 at Rugby, Tennessee, the average annual temperature is 55 degrees Fahrenheit and the average annual precipitation is 51 inches.¹² The highest average temperature occurs in July (86.9 degrees Fahrenheit) and the lowest average temperature occurs in January (47.5 degrees Fahrenheit). Snowfall averages 17 inches a year, but snow seldom stays on the ground longer than a few days. Flooding is most common from December to March, though summer thunderstorms may cause local flash flooding. The highest monthly average of precipitation occurs in March (6 inches) and the lowest monthly average in October (3.4 inches). Both precipitation and surface run-off effect seasonal variability of stream flow (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980), with the highest stream flow values recorded during the winter months (January – March) and the lowest values are seen in the fall (September – October).

Flora

While environmental degradation continues to exist in certain parts of the BSFNRRRA, primarily due to former coal mining, oil and gas well drilling, and logging

¹² Rugby, Tennessee is located in Morgan County and lies adjacent to the southern boundary of the BSFNRRRA.

activities, the area continues to provide a rich array of flora (including medicinal plants) and fauna (Baker 1993; Howell 1981; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). As stated previously, a central goal behind the establishment of the BSFNRRRA is to preserve the natural and cultural resources of the area while also providing recreational activities.

The diverse and varied vegetation of the BSFNRRRA reflects the differing soil and substrate types, moisture level, light intensities, and slope gradients. Though most of the BSFNRRRA was almost completely reforested at the time the National Area was established in 1974, former intensive lumbering activities in the past had detrimental effects on the natural qualities of the forest growth. The forest of the BSFNRRRA is all at least second growth because the area has been heavily logged from the 1880s to the 1950s (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1985:8-10). A small stand of virgin timber exists near the former coal mining camp in Barthell, Kentucky (informant interview 2000).

The mature forests in the area are dominated by hardwoods or by a mixture of hardwoods and conifers, depending on location. The cooler and more shaded north slopes contrast with the sunnier and hotter south slopes: north slopes have a higher percentage of Hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*) and a higher diversity of hardwood species such as Beech (*Fagus grandifolia*) and Sugar Maple (*Acer saccharum*), whereas south slopes tend to be dominated by various oaks such as the White Oak (*Quercus alba*) and Red Oak (*Quercus borealis*). Pines, such as the Virginian Pine (*Pinus virginiana*) dominate the driest and hottest regions of the area, the rocky cliff tops and ridges for example. The River Birch (*Betula nigra*) and Sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) typify the periodically flooded soils of the floodplain. Non-commercial tree species such as the Rock Chestnut Oak (*Quercus prinus*) have increased in abundance because of the intense

logging of more desirable timber species such as the White Oak and Tulip Poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*).

Within the forested areas live a variety of ferns, mosses, and wild flowers. There are more than 1,000 species of flowers within the BSFNRRRA (Baker 1993): Virginia Bluebells (*Mertensia virginica*), Yellow Lady's Slipper (*Cypripedium calceolus*), and the Purple Cone Flower (*Echinacea purpurea*) to mention a few. Various types of edible plants grow throughout the region, including potherbs and sallet greens. Poke (*Phytolacca decandra*) was not only used by local residents in the past but is also collected today by several residents (informant interview 2000). Other greens that were gathered include Yellow Dock (*Rumex obtusifolius*), Old Field Lettuce (*Lactuca Canadensis*), Sour Dock (*Rumex acetostella*), Lamb's Quarters or Wild Spinach (*Chenopodium album*), Pigweed (*Amaranthus hybridus*), Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*), Chicory (*Cichorium intybus*), Mustard (*Brassica nigra*), Crow's Foot (*Barbarea verna*), and Bullweed (*Cirsium maculosa*).

Fruits that continue to grow wild in the area, which local residents often produced jellies from, include Blackberry (*Rubus allegheniensis*), Huckleberry (*Caccinium vacillans*), Persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*), Pawpaw (*Asimina triloba*), Frost Grape (*Vitis vulpine*), and Muscadine Grapes (*Vitis rotundifolia*). In the past, muscadines thrived in the cleared areas along the O & W railroad tracks, but reforestation has destroyed this former habitat. The "canning" of fruits and vegetables continues to be an important part of local residents' subsistence.

Local residents used a variety of substitutes for refined sugar, including sorghum molasses and honey, which are still very popular today. In the past, maple trees were

tapped and the sap boiled down to make maple syrup or maple sugar. Another natural sweetener was balsam, whose sap was exuded from the Sweet Gum tree (*Liquidambar styraciflua*) and chewed like chewing gum. While most roots were used primarily for medicinal purposes, Meadow Garlic (*Allium canadense*) and Indian Turnip or Jack-in-the-Pulpit (*Arisaema triphyllum*) were used for either seasoning or roasting (Howell 2003).

Various plants were used to make table beverages or for medicine. The bright red fruits of Smooth Sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were soaked in water to make a refreshing drink that locals refer to today as “Indian Lemonade.” Sassafras tea was brewed from Sassafras root bark (*Sassafras variifolium*). The bark and twigs from Spicewood (*Benzoin aestivale*) were steeped to make another type of table beverage, which was very popular during the Civil War and also used medicinally to cure hives (Howell 2003/1981). The leaves of Bee Balm (*Monarda didyma*) were brewed to make a tea with a strong mint flavor, also known as Oswego tea. Many other teas were prepared for medicinal purposes, including a few with alcoholic properties. For example, “persimmons were turned into mildly alcoholic persimmon beer. First the persimmons were baked in cornbread. Then the bread was crumbled into a crock, covered with water, and allowed to ferment for a few days” (Howell 2003:38). In addition to herbal treatments for health ailments, magical treatments were also utilized. An example of this is imbedding a lock of hair from an asthmatic child in an oak sapling to cure their asthma (Howell 2003/1981).

Other cures that I was told during my residency in the research area include:

1. To rid a child of Chicken Pox, take the child to the hen house door and make the chickens fly over the child’s head, when the chickens fly away they will take the pox with them.

2. To rid oneself of a sty (an inflamed swelling of a skin gland on the edge of an eyelid), “Get a forked stick and go to a forked road. Put the forked stick where the sty is and say ‘sty, sty, make my eye, catch the next one that passes by.’ Throw the stick behind you and walk away, the next day it won’t be there.”
3. Spider webs are excellent in helping to clot an open wound. But do not use the spider web of a “writing” spider [also known as an orb weaver or garden spider (*Argiope aurantia*)], because the next time the spider spins a web, they will write your name in it and you will become ill from your wound.

Fauna

Game fish within the National Area include native Channel Catfish (*Ictalurus punctatus*), Longear Sunfish (*Lepomis megalotis*), Muskellunge (*Esox masquinougy*), Bass (*Dicentrarchus labrax*), and Walleye (*Stizostedion vitreum*). Mammals that have been traditionally hunted in the area for game meat include: the White-tail Deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), Rabbit (*Sylvilagus floridanus*), Woodchuck or Groundhog (*Marmota momax*), and Gray Squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*). Wolves (*Canis lupus*) were also hunted for their pelts and because of their constant threat to various animals grazing in the mountains. In 1812 the state of Tennessee declared a bounty on wolves, by the 1930s a hunter was paid three dollars per scalp (Dunn 1988).

Currently, trapping fur-bearing mammals continues to be an important activity in the region surrounding the National Area to help supplement local incomes, primarily pelts of raccoon, Skunk (*Spilogale putorius*), Red Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), and Mink (*Mustela vison*). Several residents also informed me that Rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus*) hunting continues to be a very popular sport, partly to “just kill em” and partly to sell their skins. While hunting is currently allowed within the BSFNRRRA, it is only permitted in certain designated areas and for specific game (primarily white-tail deer) during

hunting seasons according to state regulations. The hunting of several traditional game animals, including “snake hunting,” is prohibited by the NPS within the National Area.

Waterfowl hunting is currently limited in the BSFNRRRA because major migratory routes are west of the area and preferred habitat is lacking (US Army, Corps of Engineers 1980). Other game birds that inhabit the project area include Ruffed Grouse (*Bonasa umbellus*), Mourning Dove (*Zenaida macroura*), Bobwhite (*Colinus virginianus*), Woodcock (*Scolopax minor*), and Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*).

Additional fauna within the National Area include the Turkey Vulture (*Cathartes aura*), Screech Owls (*Otus asio*), the Red-tailed Hawk (*Buteo jamaicensis*), the Great Blue Heron (*Ardea herodias*), and the Crow (*Corvus brachyrhynchos*). Flying Squirrels (*Glaucomys volans*) also take to the trees, while one finds Chipmunks (*Tamias striatus*) and Coyotes (*Canis latrans*) below. Wild hogs can be found within the BSFNRRRA. The hogs are not native but descendants of Russian Wild Boar (*Sus scrofa*) and feral domestic pigs that were released in the Charit Creek area when it was the privately owned Parchcorn Creek Hunting Lodge in the 1950s and 1960s.

Because former logging and mining activities eliminated the mature forest in the area, White-tail Deer existed only in small pockets throughout the region at the time the BSFNRRRA was created. River Otter (*Lutra canadensis*), Muskellunge, Wild Turkey, and Black Bear (*Ursus americanus*), were completely extirpated throughout the area. In 1986 the NPS and the state of Tennessee reintroduced River Otter and Muskellunge back into the region, Wild Turkey were reintroduced in 1987. Reintroduction of the Black Bear began in 1994, which is currently causing conflict between the NPS and those who wish the BSFNRRRA to serve more equestrian activities (informant interview 2005). Due to the

control of hunting and poaching by the NPS, thriving populations of the previous fauna now exist throughout the BSFNRRRA.

Endangered Species

The BSFNRRRA is also home to various rare, endangered, or threatened plant and animal species (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). Therefore, in compliance with the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (PL 93-205), preservation and protection takes high priority in the management of these species. Because recreational development would most likely cause the destruction to these populations, the area is normally managed by avoidance. At times this proves to be a source of conflict between local residents, who have traditionally hunted or harvested these resources, recreational users who feel recreation should receive greater consideration, and environmental group members or NPS employees whose goal is the preservation of these species.

According to a 1980 U.S. Army Corps of Engineers report on the then proposed National Area, endangered animals that exist within the region include the Cumberland Bean Pearly Mussel (*Villosa trabalis*), the Big South Fork Crayfish (*Cambarus bouchardi*), the Osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*), the Turkey Vulture (*Cathartes aura*), the Black Vulture (*Coragyps atratus*), the Rosyface Shiner (*Notropis rubellus*), the Arrow Darter (*Etheostoma sagitta*), the Northern Pine Snake (*Pitnophis M. melanoleucus*), and the Indiana Bat (*Myotis sodalis*). Endangered or threatened plant species are generally associated with remote and undisturbed areas (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980), examples include Golden Seal (*Hydrastis canadensis*), Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolius*), Cumberland Rosemary (*Conradina verticillata*), Pink Lady's Slipper (*Cypripedium*

calceolus), Cumberland Azalea (*Rhododendron bakeri*), Witch Adler (*Fothergilla major*), Sweet Fern (*Comptonia peregrine*), and the American Yew (*Taxus canadensis*).

One resident, from Morgan County, told me that she put herself through college by gathering ginseng in the National Area before it became the BSFNRRRA.

The Socioeconomic Environment¹³

For purposes of presentation, the socioeconomic section of this Chapter will be presented in a historical framework. The section will be divided into four time periods based on claims to ownership of land within the Big South Fork area and broad changes in socioeconomic patterns. Therefore, the section is divided as: pre-1880; 1880-1950; 1950-1974; and 1974-present.

The pre-1880 time period begins with the Native Americans as the first to inhabit the area and the Euro-American settlers who followed, including a discussion on their earliest socioeconomic adaptations. The 1880-1950 time period begins with the opening of the Cincinnati and Southern Railroad, which allowed for the extensive commercial exploitation of the region's forest and mineral resources. The period between 1950 – 1974 demonstrates a diversification of economic alternatives emphasizing manufacturing, service industries, and public assistance. The time period spanning 1974 to the present describes the ownership and management of the Big South Fork area by the National Park Service, including sources of conflict, resistance, and cooperation between residents,

¹³ The history and socioeconomic environment of the Big South Fork area prior to the establishment of the BSFNRRRA is presented in great detail in Benita Howell's manuscript "Folk Life Along the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River" (2003), in addition to Kim and Stephen McBride's research study entitled the "Big South Fork Region Historic Context Study" (2000).

National Park Service (NPS) employees, and special interest group members, over the management of cultural and natural resources within the BSFNRRRA.

Pre-1880s: Native Americans, Long Hunters, and Early Settlers

Native Americans

The first human inhabitants of the Big South Fork area were Native Americans that arrived approximately 12,000 years ago. As the cultures of these prehistoric peoples evolved they achieved tribal levels of social organization, which in the Big South Fork area were represented primarily by the Cherokee and Shawnee. Members of these tribes hunted and collected along the river now referred to as the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River. While the Cumberland River was formerly known as the Chauouaon or Shawnee River until the late eighteenth century, the Shawnee were viewed as trespassers by the Cherokee and forced out of the region in the early 1700s (McBride and McBride 2000). The Plateau area came to be considered a hunting ground and a sort of no-man's-land between the two traditionally warring groups (Manning and Jamieson 1990).

Archaeological evidence in the area points to seasonal occupation by Native Americans, mainly by groups of hunters and gathers who followed a seasonal round of subsistence. Most of the evidence for prehistoric Native American occupation is found in the thousands of rock shelter sites along the bluff lines of the Big South Fork River and its tributaries. These provided dry, protected, and convenient living areas that became base campsites. Today the rock shelters are protected by law (the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 and the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and

Repatriation Act), because they contain human remains and evidence of the prehistoric occupation of this area (Des Jean 1991). A fine of \$10,000 or 1-year imprisonment, or both, can be placed on violators who are caught destroying the rock shelters.

Native American groups developed agriculture during the latter periods of prehistoric occupation. Because of the narrow gorges of the Big South Fork River and the few areas with rich soils necessary for an agricultural lifestyle, most Native Americans moved off the Cumberland Plateau to permanent villages along the large alluvial floodplains of the Tennessee River. These late prehistoric occupants would, however, travel to the Big South Fork area to hunt and harvest wild edible plants during the fall to supplement their agricultural products (Des Jean and Benthall 1994:135). These hunters would then return to their permanent camps or villages located in the rich Tennessee and Cumberland River basins, which were more conducive to agriculture. Forest animals hunted by the Native Americans include white-tail-deer, black bear, elk, and wild turkey. Edible fruits and nuts that were available include huckleberries, persimmons, hickory nuts, beechnuts, and chestnuts.

Long Hunters

Long hunters first ventured into the area in the late 1700s, hailing from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; they entered Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap or from the Ohio River. They would stay in Kentucky for months or even years at a time, setting up temporary camps as they moved from camp to camp, often referred to as a “station camp” (McBride and McBride 2000). In describing the activities of long hunters, McCague (1973:37) explains:

The long hunt was not sport but business and the hunters went about it in that spirit. They went out in parties of as many as forty or fifty, partly for protection against the Indians but mainly because large parties could cover more country more efficiently and kill more animals. Since each man customarily had at least two packhorses to carry out the skins he took, plenty of provisions for a long stay could be packed in, and were. Otherwise the men traveled with the bare necessities: ample powder and lead, of course; bullet molds; axes and a few other tools; spare parts for rifles that might need repairing—and that was about it. The station camp set up in some selected location became a more or less permanent base.

Among the more famous of the long hunters include Elisah Walden, who in 1761 led the first party of long hunters to reach the Cumberland River and enter into Kentucky. Members of this group of early explorers include John and William Blevins. Another famous long hunter to explore the area is Daniel Boone (Baker 1993), who led a group of thirty frontiersmen in blazing the Wilderness Trail from Long Island of the Holston at what is now Kingsport, Tennessee, through the Cumberland Gap of Virginia and into Kentucky in 1775 (McBride and McBride 2000; Raitz and Ulack 1984). The trail would become the route for thousands of settlers into the western frontier.

Early Settlers

Following the long hunters were permanent settlers of Scots-Irish,¹⁴ English, German, and Scottish descent. Several of the settlers came from the north, by way of the Great Valley corridor and through the Cumberland Gap. Others came from the settled regions of North Carolina. From these various waves of migrants came a blending of cultural traits.

¹⁴ The Scots-Irish were the descendants of Scottish Presbyterians who had colonized Northern Ireland in the seventeenth century and moved from there to Maryland and Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century.

The natural protection, arable soil, good water, and abundant timber of the coves and hollows were ideal for the cultural traditions and simple agricultural technology of the Scots-Irish and German pioneers who settled the Big South Fork area. According to Raitz and Ulack, German settlers preferred the rolling valley floors, whereas the Scots-Irish often settled on land in forested coves and mountainsides (1984:115).

The Germans brought with them the individual family farm model based on mixed intensive agriculture, and the preference of living in a community. They also preferred to select level farm sites, cut down trees, and winch stumps from the ground to clear fields so they could be cultivated, ownership of such a parcel was then termed “free and clear” (Raitz and Ulack 1984:124).

From the Germans, the Scots-Irish borrowed the art of sausage making, pickling, and techniques for the construction of log cabins. Their farming, however, represented a synthesis of Native American, Scottish, and Irish agricultural techniques (Raitz and Ulack 1984:125). From the Native Americans, the practice of deadening trees by girdling¹⁵ and swidden (slash and burn) techniques were adopted in order to clear land for farming (Raine 1924; Kephart 1913). The Scots-Irish preferred to make fresh clearings in their forestland or move on to new land when the productivity of their fields began to wane. These slash-and-burn or brush-fallow farming techniques are still practiced today. The Scots-Irish also adopted maize, squash, and beans from the Native Americans, which they planted together in the same hole. While bean plants entwined around the corn stalk, the large leaves of the squash plants kept weeds from growing in the field, the technique also made the use of poles unnecessary.

¹⁵ Girdling is cutting a ring in the bark of a tree with axes so sap could not rise to nourish the branches, eventually the tree will die for easy removal.

From Scotland and Ireland, the Scots-Irish brought the Celtic dispersed farm model with a kitchen garden and the grazing of cattle in nearby pastures, referred to as the infield-outfield method. Split-rail fences enclosed the garden and other field crops, allowing the livestock to roam wild on the hillsides in search of food (Eller 1982:20). Because the mature forest covering the hillsides and ridge tops lacked the undergrowth of today, the animals could fatten on nuts, grass, and cane. This form of open-range livestock grazing on free woodland pastures was a Celtic tradition that was readily adapted to the Appalachian forests. Eller reinforces this when he states "...the greatest proportion of the farm, including the 'public land' that surrounded it, remained in woodland, and it was here that the family hogs grazed throughout much of the year" (Eller 1982:18). Farmers kept track of their livestock by notching their ears, and registering their mark with the county clerk. This form of open-range grazing continued on the Plateau in Tennessee until the 1950s, when counties there began to enact fence laws.

In their study of historic settlement patterns of the Big South Fork area, Hutchinson, Dugan, and Levy (1982) identify the earliest type of settlement pattern as the "Dispersed Hollow Pattern." This type of settlement pattern formed a linear pattern of homesteads strung out along the narrow river bottoms, especially along the floodplains of the Big South Fork and its major tributaries (Station Camp Creek and No Business Creek as examples).

Settlers then spread their use of the land upward to include the gorge escarpment and flat upland areas in order to get a vertical slice of the various resources found in each of these microenvironments. Due to the topography and relatively poor soil of the

plateau, the mountain and valley regions were settled first, followed by the settlement of the plateau (US Army, Corps of Engineers 1980). The typical architectural form associated with this pattern is the single pen log house.

Similar to other areas being settled in Appalachia, pioneers generally migrated into the region in family or community groups and settled in small clusters of two or three homesteads separated from each other by as little as one-half mile. These loose clusters of farms allowed mountain settlers to maintain a certain level of independence while retaining social contacts and community life (Eller 1982) and to ease competition for wild animal resources in both hunting and trapping. Later generations added to these clusters of farmsteads, creating kin-related groups.

According to one interview conducted during the Folk Life Study of the Big South Fork area by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky, those who first settled in the bottomlands continued to rely on hunting to supplement their diet and moved their farm as needed.¹⁶ The informant relays:

...Now right here is Jonathan Blevins ...he was born and raised in West Virginia (1779) ... he come through the Cumberland Gap and he come to Oil Valley, east of Monticello ... he come there and he settled in that valley, and he stayed there awhile and he come from there to Bell Farm, Kentucky ... he come to Bell Farm and his first wife died so he married another one ... then he come from there to No Business and he come from there to Parch Corn and Station Camp, down in there, and he died there (1863) and was buried down where that rock (gravestone) is ... That old man carried his frying pan ... I'm just trying to tell you that they moved from one place to another to get into better hunting grounds ... he just mostly hunted ... these younger ones did farm more, they didn't hunt as much.

¹⁶ Interviews from the Folk Life Study of the Big South Fork area by the Department of Anthropology are located in Special Collections at the University of Kentucky, Lexington.

As stated in the 1850 census report, 126 people lived along the Station Camp Creek, clearing the sandy bottom lands for crops and raising sheep, hogs, and cattle in the woody ridge tops.

As more settlers entered the region, isolated farmsteads gradually became neighborhoods or communities with the addition of a mill, a store, and a church. The most extensive occupation of land by settlers occurred first in Kentucky between 1780 and 1820. Factors stimulating settlement were the opening of transportation routes near and through the area (Speed 1886:63) and the issuance of the Tellico Land Grants for land within the Big South Fork basin (McBride and McBride 2000; Johnson 1939:17). Tellico Land Grants were grants issued for land during 1803-1853, mainly in eastern Kentucky (Jillson 1925). Another factor that stimulated settlement within the area was the politically and economically legislated encouragement from the State of Kentucky for salt exploration and manufacturing (Johnson 1939:65).

Transportation routes that ran through the Big South Fork area at this time included three "Pioneer and Indian Trails." Two of the trails ran east-west and the third ran north-south, paralleling the Big South Fork River and later routes of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad and US Highway 27. Early land granting agencies encouraged settlers to follow these transportation routes into the BSF area.

Between 1803 and 1853, 572 "Tellico Grants" were issued, the majority for land between the Big South Fork and Little South Fork Rivers. While most of the land grants ranged from 100 to 200 acres, others ranged in size from 9 to 1,029 acres (Jillson 1925). In describing these early settlers, Howell (2003:20) states:

In what is now McCreary County, John Mounce took up a large grant that included the future site of Stearns, Kentucky. Elisha Slaven supposedly sold his

grant around Oil Valley for a hog rifle and a pair of horseshoes. He then moved south to Tackett Creek, a tributary of No Business Creek in Scott County, Tennessee. ... early Scott County settlers who received land grants in consideration of their Revolutionary War service included a West and a Chambers on Cherry Fork, and Richard Harve Slaven, who held land from the mouth of Bear Creek to the mouth of Parch Corn. Jonathan Blevins, a Long Hunter who moved from place to place, gradually worked his way south from Oil Valley to Station Camp Creek in Scott County, where his children settled down to farming, mostly self-provisioning.

In 1813, the Kentucky legislature issued land grants in Wayne and Pulaski Counties in order to encourage salt exploration and manufacturing, mainly in response to the severe salt shortages that developed during the war with England in 1812, making it difficult to obtain salt from abroad. Salt was useful for several reasons, the most important however was the use of it in curing meats. By the close of the war salt was an expensive commodity, selling for as much as \$25.00 a barrel (McBride and McBride 2000). Grant holders were first required to manufacture 1,000 bushels of salt, and then pay the State of Kentucky ten cents per acre (U. S. Army, Corps of Engineers 1976; Johnson 1939). According to McBride and McBride brine wells, from which salt was made, were bored by use of a:

pole and auger which took at least three men to operate; one man to turn the auger and two men to spring the pole. This operation was arduous and was a lengthy endeavor, and oil was often located instead of briny water, leading to the abandonment of many salt wells. When salt drilling was successful, a fairly complex infrastructure, including cabins for workers and some sort of arrangement for boiling down the water in large kettles, often called a furnace and enclosed within a shed, was needed (2000:II-40).

According to the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Oil Well Branch is the site of the first commercial oil well in the United States (McBride and McBride 2000; U. S. Army, Corps of Engineers 1976).

The site is considered commercial because 1,000 barrels of oil was sold to Europe for medicinal purposes (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2006). This fact disputes the claims that Titusville, Pennsylvania was the first commercial oil well in the United States (Schulz 2009).

Before industrial development of timber and mineral resources intensified participation in the cash economy, most Big South Fork residents were subsistence farmers who needed little cash except to purchase salt, coffee, and the metal stock used in blacksmithing, and to pay their taxes. In times when resources were scarce or when work required a lot of hands, people bartered and helped each other out (McBride and McBride 2000). Local specialists like blacksmiths and millers accepted payment in kind, and extra labor for clearing land, construction of buildings, and other tasks that were available by exchange or barter instead of for hire. Because of this practice and the importance of extended families, the structure of the society was based on self-sufficiency, kinship, and reciprocity. These sentiments continue to prevail in the area today among the descendants of these early settlers.

Crops grown by the self-sustaining farming family included corn, some wheat, various vegetables, flax, and occasionally cotton. Corn was often converted into liquor, primarily for local consumption, but also as a means of converting surplus crops into cash for distant markets. A bushel of corn could be converted into liquor and transported to market more easily than whole corn because of poor access to markets (Smith and Des Jean 2007), in addition to being of higher value in price.

Clothing and household linens were made from raw flax, cotton, and wool. The farm family also tanned their own hides to make shoes and other leather goods. Among

the vegetables grown were beans, potatoes, and cabbage, primarily because they could be easily preserved for future use. Beans could be dried or pickled, potatoes and cabbage were holed up in pits or kept in root cellars; cabbage was also made into kraut. Apple and peach trees provided fresh fruit in season and dried fruit through the winter. Chickens produced both eggs and meat, feathers from geese were used to make pillows or mattresses, and the many natural resources from the land provided additional food, wood for fuel, saltpeter for gun powder, and building materials for wagons, furniture, and homes (Howell 2003/1981). In the early 1900s, farm women would send off wool and receive bolts of cloth in exchange (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2008).

Most households practiced some form of folk or home remedy for various illnesses and diseases. Because the herbs were available to anyone, as well as the knowledge of their use, no single person evolved to monopolize such cures. Furthermore, since doctors were usually located at a great distance, the use of herbal medicines served as a valuable source. Sassafras (*Sassafras albidum*) was made into a tea for the flu. The dried leaves of Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*) were used as an ingredient for cough syrup. The needles or bark from the White Pine (*Pinus strobus*) were also made into a cough syrup, and the resin was used as a salve. A tea was made from the bark of the Dogwood Tree (*Cornus florida*) for arthritis and for the chills. A tea was also made from the bark of the Sycamore Tree (*Platanus occidentalis*) for the measles. Juice from the stems of Jewel Weed (*Impatiens capensis*) was used to soothe poison ivy by preventing eruptions. Lobelia (*Lobelia inflata*) was used as a tea to induce vomiting and smoked for its narcotic effect (Howell 2003/1981), similar to *Cannabis sativa*. Lobelia is also referred to as Indian Tobacco, used traditionally by Native

Americans as a remedy for worms or a substitute for tobacco (Chevallier 1996). The roots of Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*) were chewed to ease an upset stomach, for nerves, or gathered for sale. The leaves of Lobelia were also collected for sale (Howell 2003/1981). Homemade alcohol was an important component of the rural medicine cabinet. It was one of the few available antiseptics; it could also be used to deaden pain (even if only temporary); and was an essential ingredient in most of the liquid based herbal remedies, keeping them from going “sour” (Smith and Des Jean 2007).

In addition to selling surplus hogs and other livestock, mountain farmers supplemented their income by occasionally cutting timber and gathering roots and herbs, especially ginseng. In discussing the importance of gathering medicinal roots and herbs by families, Eller states:

During the late summer, before the crops were harvested, families spent much of their “lay-by” time collecting ginseng, yellow-root, witch hazel, sassafras, galax, golden-seal, and bloodroot. Most local merchants were willing to accept these plant products in exchange for store commodities. After drying and packing the plants, the merchants then shipped them to redistribution centers in Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati (1982:22).

The North American variety of Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*) grew abundantly in Appalachia, and was not only distributed to domestic markets but also abroad. In describing the importance of the collection of Ginseng on an international market, Dunn states:

Ginseng had early played an important role in American trade with China, where the roots of the plant had long been valued as a cure for many ills and infirmities, and was in great demand because of the popular belief there that it was an aphrodisiac. ...The average price per pound of ginseng rose steadily throughout the nineteenth century from 42 cents in 1822; 71 cents in 1841; 84 cents in 1861; \$1.04 in 1871; \$1.65 in 1881; \$3.39 in 1891; \$5.38 in 1901. So ginseng was one of the very few products whose value continued to rise in the post-Civil War period (1988:31).

Almost no official military activity occurred near the Big South Fork during the Civil War, but divided loyalties gave rise to both Confederate and Union guerrillas who preyed upon the civilian populace, wantonly destroying what they did not appropriate for their own use. Bushwhacking, or raiding, had a number of consequences to the rural citizens. People were often wounded or killed, causing several to abandon their farms and the region. Others developed means to counteract raids by guerrillas and soldiers by using children as lookouts. Bill Miller, Big South Fork oral history informant, described how his great-grandfather, who was five or six years old during the war, served as a lookout and:

..had a bugle at the creek..[and] that they would put him on [a rock] to watch up and down this hollow for people coming. If he saw anybody his job was to blow the bugle, so that he could get the stock up in the hills and hide them, to keep them [rebels] from stealing them (cited in McBride and McBride 2000:IV-8).

While numerous raids or bushwhacking incidents occurred throughout the Big South Fork region during the Civil War, one story seems to stand out in local tradition because of its tragic end. While the variants of the story exists among local residents (see McBride and McBride 2000), the story told to me during a visit to the site is as follows:

Over here is the Tackett boys' grave. These two stones are their head stones. ...Raiders would come in and they didn't care what they took. Sometimes they'd take older boys, well, they were seen as young men back then. They'd take the boys to make them fight in the war, or serve in the Home Guard. The boys saw the soldiers coming, so their mother hid them under two feather mattresses. She told them no matter what they did, to not make a sound or they would be taken away. After the soldiers left, the mother went back to get the boys, but they had smothered to death (Informant interview 2000).

This story demonstrates how the land continues to be a part of the people and their heritage, "the ghosts of place" (Bell 1995:813). For that piece of sandstone over here "isn't just a rock," in this case "it's the gravestone of two young men."

Because guerrilla activities had taken a toll on both people and materials by the end of the Civil War, some farms were abandoned and several families found themselves permanently dispossessed at its end. At any rate, during the 1870s and 1880s there were extensive tracts of plateau land awaiting development and a new railroad, the Cincinnati and Southern, that would bring new settlers into the area and a change in lifestyle.

1880s - 1950: New Settlements, Land Acquisition & Railroads, Timber Mills, and Coal Mining

The culture of those who lived in the Big South Fork area prior to the Civil War was far more homogeneous than it is today. One observes a great change in the area with the end of the Civil War. Northern industrialists surveyed the area and began to buy up vast quantities of timberland, while others came to settle in the area to begin a new way of life. It is here where one begins to see the previous homogenous culture of the area breaking up. Industrialization turned many subsistence farmers into full-time or part-time earners. As the cash economy expanded, the material conditions of life and social relationships changed profoundly.

New Settlements

In 1880, Thomas Hughes, English author of “Tom Brown's School Days,” founded the colony of Rugby near the southern end of what is now the BSFNRRRA in Morgan County, Tennessee. The town was established as a farming community for younger sons of English gentry, who were deprived of inheritance by the laws of primogeniture that left the entire estate to the first son. Most of the colonists, however, were ill prepared for rural life in this isolated location. After reaching a maximum

population of approximately 450, a series of unfortunate circumstances and harsh weather caused most of the towns' residents to move away by 1900 (Rugby restoration association 1972). A few of the original Victorian structures and the Episcopal Church continue to stand; the Rugby Restoration Association has restored others. Rugby is currently on the National Register of Historic Places (Manning and Jamieson 1990).

The German community of Allardt in Fentress County, Tennessee was also established in 1880. Founded by Bruno Gernt of Dresden, Germany and named after M. H. Allardt, the town was a planned community that attracted some settlers from German communities in northern Michigan and others directly from Germany. A grid pattern of roads was laid out, and land was sold to the arriving immigrants in rectangular tracts of 100, 50, or 25 acres. The first extensive agricultural exploitation of the Big South Fork plateau area began at this time. Allardt continues to flourish today and is still the home for many descendants of the original settlers.

Land Acquisition & Railroads

It was also during this time that the Cincinnati & Southern Railroad was being completed, allowing for large scale commercial logging and coal mining operations to begin in the area, especially the extraction of virgin stands of pine, oak, and chestnut. In 1902, industrialist and lumber baron Justus B. Stearns from Ludington, Michigan founded the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company near the Cincinnati & Southern Railroad in Kentucky. The area came to be known as the town of Stearns, Kentucky (Eller 1982). Many of those who were subsistence farmers took jobs in the coal mines, as lumber cutters, or in the construction of local railroads. Employees were also brought in from

other areas. During the period 1880-1900, the largest percentage of increase in population occurred in Scott County, TN and in Whitley County, KY.

Initially the company leased both timber and coal rights from landowners, but by 1910 the company owned vast amounts of land in Fentress, Scott, and Pickett Counties in Tennessee and what would become McCreary County in Kentucky. In addition to buying tracts of land, Stearns took advantage of laws protecting squatter's rights. Howell describes this form of land acquisition:

Laws protecting squatter's rights were liberal, especially in Tennessee where a squatter could acquire title to land which he cleared, fenced, planted, and lived on for a period of seven years. Stearns therefore made a practice of leasing timber lands, especially those in Tennessee, to tenants who cleared and fenced boundaries and built homes and farm buildings there. In return for protecting the land under their charge from vandalism and the encroachment of squatters, tenants lived there rent free. They could use down wood, cut limited amounts of standing timber for construction purposes, fish, hunt, trap, collect wild plants, etc. Their presence as legal tenants helped Stearns perfect its own land titles (Howell 2003:26-27).

The Stearns Coal and Lumber Company eventually came to own over 200,000 acres in the Big South Fork region (Coleman and Smith 1993).

Large-scale industrial development between 1900 and 1920, and the completion of the Kentucky & Tennessee Railroad and the Oneida & Western Railroad brought the last sizeable groups of immigrants, management personnel, and skilled workers required by the railroads, mines, and lumber mills. The Kentucky and Tennessee Railroad, a subsidiary company established by Stearns in 1902, established a number of temporary logging camps for workers along the line. Oral history accounts from the area suggest that many African Americans were brought in to help build both the Southern & Cincinnati Railroad and the Kentucky & Tennessee Railroad. Otherwise, the population

of African Americans in the region was relatively low to nonexistent in some counties compared to the population of Euro-Americans.

The construction of the Oneida & Western Railroad (O & W) began in 1913 from Oneida, Tennessee and was completed to East Jamestown, Tennessee by 1921, and was extended nine additional miles to Jamestown in 1930. Depressed economic conditions and a developing highway system in the 1930s steadily diminished the O & W Railroad's importance as a freight carrier. The O & W was abandoned in 1953. The O & W Railroad continues to hold a special meaning to people in the Big South Fork region; Howell expresses this feeling when she states:

The O & W had become an important part of life in Fentress and Scott Counties. It created jobs not only for railroad workers, but in the logging outfits, sawmills, and mines along the right-of-way. The general freight, mail, and passenger service were appreciated by all of the citizens, because travel on the existing roads was still a time-consuming ordeal. The railroad link between the towns of Oneida and Jamestown was more direct than any automobile or truck route even after the roads were improved. And finally, excursions on the railroad for picnics or fishing provided a particularly enjoyable form of recreation. These are the reasons why so many residents would like to see the O & W operating once again (Howell 2003:101/1981:147).

The fate of the O & W Railroad bed continues to be controversial and a source of conflict between local residents, conservationists, and the National Park Service. The O & W Railroad Bridge was a link in the now abandoned railroad line. The eastern section of the old rail bed is now a dirt road that leads to the O & W Bridge and is accessible by cars. The section of abandoned rail bed west of the bridge is a muddy stretch that only all-terrain vehicles and bicycles can handle when the water is low, since most of the other bridges over the numerous tributaries along the O & W line have collapsed long ago.

A few local residents would like to see a scenic railroad line established along this old rail bed, similar to the one located at Stearns, Kentucky. Conservationists, however,

oppose any more roads into the gorge because of its wilderness designation and the fact that only eleven specified roads were to be left open into the gorge, the O & W represents the twelfth road into the gorge.

Timber Mills

Timber was first transported to markets by way of river routes. The logs were floated downstream in a boom or raft, to Burnside, Kentucky where they were then collected and sawed into rough-cut boards. Later, after the Stearns Company established its lumber mill at Stearns, Kentucky, logs were floated to a catch point near Yamacraw, Kentucky and then loaded on railroad cars for the last leg of the journey to Stearns (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2008). River transport worked for lightweight poplar logs but was less satisfactory for heavy logs like oak; which sometimes sank and caused horrendous logjams. Stearns timber cutters worked in teams of two, first notching the tree with an ax, then finishing the job with long crosscut saws. The earliest saws had extremely long bars and were designed to be handled by two men (Howell 2003/1981). The chain saw was not adopted until World War II.

Timber camps were established, but they were not permanent like the coal mining camps or communities, but were rotated to new timber areas when one area was depleted. The camps could be put up and taken down quickly. The camps usually consisted of 10 to 30 tiny shacks, with one or two larger boarding houses, a barn for the mules and other stock, and in a few cases a school/church, which was often a box car from the railroad (McBride and McBride 2000).

During the 1930s and 1940s, the Stearns Company intensified their logging operations along the K & T Railroad. A steam log loader was used during this latter phase of logging. These loaders, fueled by coal, were used to pick up the logs and stack them on the train cars, or to move them down to the track. The company also used an overhead skidder, which allowed them to log in more rugged areas. The overhead loader-skidder used a cable to move logs from one ridge top to another ridge top or from a lower area to a ridge top. The company also started to use bulldozers and trucks during this latter period. By the late 1940s, the Stearns Company logging operations began to be phased out, as the best timber from their property had now been completely harvested (McBride and McBride 2000).

Coal Mining

It was in the late 1880s, that one began to see the first depletion of timber in the area and a concentration of coal mining on a major scale. Even more people left their farms to find work in the mines, while others tried to hold onto their land. The Civil War had left several families devastated and poor. Coal mining camps were set up. No longer was there a linear line of houses along the river, settlements formed along the railroads that carried the coal to northern industries.

Hutchinson, Dugan, and Levy (1982) refer to this type of settlement pattern as a "Planned Linear Arrangement," which is found in the mining towns of Yamacraw, Worley, Barthell, and Blue Heron. "Blue Heron" was actually a Stearns company name for a particular grade of coal (Manning and Jamieson 1990). Another type of settlement was the "Dispersed House Site," consisting of a small house and surrounding farmland

which separated families from each other (McBride and McBride 2000; Hutchinson, Dugan, and Levy 1982). This created islands of private ownership or occupation within the larger Stearns tracts.

The degree of residential stratification between the miners and those in charge may be seen in the housing settlement. It is generally thought that mine superintendents or managers, owners, and other mine officials lived in separate areas, often higher up on the slopes and away from the railroad and mine itself (McBride and McBride 2000). This is different from the less stratified social organization that existed in the area before the Civil War.

The creation of numerous small coal towns also affected the traditional settlement patterns and greatly intensified the settlement of the areas where mining was undertaken. In describing the essential industrial components of these coal towns, McBride and McBride (2000) find them to include: a railroad line, mine entrance, tippie, gob piles, sorting sheds, dump areas, mine office, several small frame houses for the miners, larger frame houses for the mine managers and other officials, a company store, and a blacksmith shop. A few coal towns also had a doctor's office, a boarding house or hotel for visiting company officials, wash houses, a school, and a church. Houses usually had enough area for a vegetable garden and a chicken coop, to help ease the transition from farm to town life (McBride and McBride 2000). Formerly self-sufficient farmers and homemakers gave up their independent way of life for wage labor, and a position in America's growing social hierarchy. Recent archaeological survey work has also identified a clustering of moonshine stills around these coal mining communities (Smith and Des Jean 2007).

A company store was essential when a new mining town was built some distance from the nearest town. Transportation was generally inconvenient, and long work hours restricted the time available for trips to the nearest town. A few of the items sold at a company store included shoes, overalls, material for making gingham or calico dresses, sugar, coffee, spices, pots and pans, stamps, quinine, and patent medicines like Mrs. Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound for curing diseases of the kidney and to help with "women's weaknesses" such as painful menstruation and depression. The store also served as the local post office.

The company store was more than just a convenience for the workers; it also helped investors recapture money paid out in wages. After fees for rent, utilities, and other "take outs" were deducted from workers' wages, there was often too little left to pay for food and other essentials. Owners might then provide credit in the form of "scrip," a type of money produced by the company that could only be used in the company store. These arrangements not only restricted workers' freedom to shop for lower prices, but also often kept workers in debt to the company. Stearns Company produced scrip in the form of coins, with varying values. Howell discusses this situation:

Stearns paid its miners on a biweekly basis in cash. However, if a man was short of funds he could get advance payment between paydays in the form of scrip. Numerous pay deductions left little take-home pay, so that scrip advances were inviting. Taking the scrip advance, however, produced even less take-home pay in the future, and so the vicious circle went (2003:86).

Because Stearns was sound financially, most merchants in the area were willing to accept Stearns scrip as payment (Baker 1993).

The Stearns Coal and Lumber Company grew until 1929 when it produced 970,000 tons of coal and 18,000,000 board feet of lumber. The company employed two

thousand miners and an unknown number of loggers (Howell 2003/1981). By the 1930s the majority of timber and coal resources were being depleted, with a cessation of most operations by the 1950s. In 1937 the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company sold large quantities of land in Tennessee to the state to form Pickett State Park and much of Pickett State Forest.

Census data on industrial employment show that in 1940 forest and agricultural industries constituted the largest percentage of industrial employment in the area, and manufacturing the lowest percentage. For Fentress County, forest and agriculture constituted 63.8% and manufacturing 0.3% of employment. For Scott County, farming and agricultural industries constituted 50.7% and manufacturing 2.5% of employment. Finally, for McCreary County, farming and agricultural industries constituted 35.9% and manufacturing 0.7% of employment. Mining continued to also be an important sector of industrial employment, especially in McCreary County 35.9%, and to a lesser degree in Fentress County 14.2%, and Scott County 11.3%.

The Blue Heron site in McCreary County, Kentucky was the last mining camp to be developed by Stearns (Howell 2003/1981). Several mine openings in the Blue Heron vicinity were in operation from 1938 until 1961. The large imposing tipple structure was used for sorting coal by size and grade, and then dumped or tipped down chutes into waiting coal cars on the railroad below (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2008). The Tipple and the connected bridge across the Big South Fork River dominated the Blue Heron mining camp. Near the foot of the tipple was the company store. The church and school buildings stood near the river just below of the tipple. Houses for the miners occupied the river bottom and spread up the adjacent hillside.

While World War II briefly energized the economy, with its increasing demand for coal, the war's largest impact was the out-migration of people to work in the defense plants of the north. By 1950 the wartime demand for coal began to slacken, especially with the conversion to petroleum based diesel fuel from coal fired steam power. As mining camps continued to close, only scattered timber operations remained. A few families stayed, but on the whole the area entered a dormant period.

1950 - 1974: Economic Diversification

By 1950 and into the 1970s, adjustment to economic changes either emphasized out-migration from the BSF area or, for those who stayed, adjustment meant a mixture of the traditional self-subsistence lifestyle and the more recent "cash" economy. Residents still relied on the natural environment for a great deal of their subsistence; timber or "scraps of coal" could be used for heat.¹⁷ Several families continued to live without electricity or running water up until the time the BSFNRRRA was established in 1974, preferring a more isolated lifestyle.

Fishing and hunting was more of a necessity than just a sport, with the bounty often shared with extended family members or friends. Trapping animals for their pelts and gathering medicinal plants (especially ginseng) also supplemented income.

According to a recent article, a wild ginseng root can command prices of more than \$100 (Barringer 2005). The article continues to describe how:

The best ginseng roots - those with the elongated neck of a Giacometti sculpture, a few twisting rootlets at the bottom and the general aspect of a wizened gnome - can sell for more than \$100 apiece. Run-of-the-mill roots go for \$300 or more a pound in the booming Asian market. In China, wild ginseng is prized as a source

¹⁷ Children were sent to look for stray pieces of coal that were lost during transportation or sent into the large openings in the bluffs to scoop out coal.

of focus, vitality and well-being. In Appalachia, from the time of the 18th-century frontiersman Daniel Boone, it has been a prized source of income. Some ginseng hunters and dealers, known as wildcrafters or sangers by the mountain people, fret that the diminishing supply may curtail their ancient practice - and perhaps the economic benefits that it brought to many impoverished areas.

In their monograph, *In Healing Appalachia: Sustainable Living Through Appropriate Technology*, Albert Fritsch and Paul Gallimore (2009) describe how ginseng has a potential market of \$12 billion in China alone. The authors state that since very few forests remain in the traditional ginseng growing regions of Asia, parts of the United States, especially Appalachia, are prime candidates to take up production. However, traditional “sangers” are being crowded out by outsiders. One problem is that the code of harvesting is not being respected-the traditions of only harvesting during a certain part of the growing season, digging only mature plants, and burying a crop’s seeds in the soil after you harvest the root. By not following this code, future harvesting of ginseng is reduced or nonexistent.

A resident of the Big South Fork area describes his experience in raising ginseng,

I raised ginseng. If you do it accordingly as you should, it is worth about \$30 to \$40 a pound. If you dig the wild ginseng up in the mountains, it's worth \$250. ...Possibly 99 percent of what ginseng is raised or dug in this country, so to speak, goes to China or Korea or somewhere, they have some I understand. I was looking in an old agricultural book just the other day-I believe it was from 1913, I'm not sure on that date-where the United States exported about a little over 200,000 pounds to China in 1913. I can remember when Howard Baker's uncle bought it, you know. That's a big thing in this country, digging ginseng (Baker 1993:90).

In recapping, it is important to note that traditionally, residents of the Big South Fork area could hunt, trap, fish, or gather forests products as "freely" as they pleased. The BSF area acted more as a "commons" for residents, especially with the majority of the land owned by absentee timber and coal corporations during this time. For local

residents, the area provided the resources necessary to maintain their self-sufficient lifestyle, from firewood and coal for heat, food for the table, medicinal plants to cure the ill, swimming holes for entertainment and baptisms, to even the straw to make a household broom. In addition, as described by a seventy-seven year old male resident of the BSF area before the BSFNRRRA was established, if one was unable to utilize the resources the BSF area offered, residents were there to help each other in times of need. As described by the resident:

I believe in that, to go and help other people. That's what I try to do. A person ought to and I believe a man, when a person's sick, he ought to go visit, see if he's got enough to eat, give him something to eat (McCracken 1980:8-3)

With the decline of employment in agriculture, forestry, and mining by the 1950s, new employment alternatives became available with increases in the manufacturing, service sector (education and public administration), and trade industries. In Scott County manufacturing contributed 25% of regional job opportunities in 1950, with 15% in McCreary County, and 18% in Fentress County. Most of the manufacturing opportunities were in wood products, primarily furniture and flooring. In the 1960s, however, one begins to observe a great diversification within the manufacturing sector, the automobile airbag plant in Scott County and the tent making factory in McCreary County for examples. The industries have closed since this time, including the recent closing of the Armstrong flooring plant which employed over six hundred workers (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2010).

By 1974 there were only 958 farms remaining in the BSF area, an 80% decrease since the historic high of 4,922 farms in 1940. Poultry products continued to be the most important farm product in 1974 for Fentress County, accounting for 50% of all farm

products sold. In McCreary County crops accounted for 50% of all farm products sold. In Scott County livestock sales were most important, accounting for 46% of sales, with farm crops only accounting for 15% of products sold. Hay was the major crop grown and sold in all three counties (Howell 2003/1981).

In the early 1970s, the forest and mineral resources of the BSF area began to once again provide economic alternatives to the people of the area. This resurgence of interests in extracting the mineral resources was due to increased energy demands caused by the increase in oil prices set by the newly established Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) during the 1970s and developments in mining technology (with strip and auger mines replacing underground mines). According to Census data, mining started to become an important source of employment between 1970 and 1977 in Scott and Fentress Counties, paying the highest wages of all the industrial sectors. In 1975, there were 52 coal mines in operation within the BSF Basin; 18 underground mines and 34 surface mines. Within the BSFNRRRA, two mines were in operation, although inactive, at the time the National Area was established. These two mines employed 24 men and were producing 84,000 tons of coal per year (Duda 1980:64).

Forest employment had also declined drastically by 1950. This was primarily because Stearns discontinued hiring its own loggers and shifted entirely to a contract arrangement, and because the previous wartime demand for forest products hastened depletion of the available resources; when there were no more trees there were no more jobs. Between 1949 and 1954, the Stearns logging railroad was scrapped and the O & W railroad abandoned. By the 1970s, forest re-growth had occurred and forest resources were being harvested by either contract loggers or local landowners. At the time the

BSFNRRRA was established, there were approximately 34 sawmills in the BSF watershed (Duda 1980).

Because of the diminishing number of job opportunities by 1950, extensive out-migration from the area began. Those who did not farm had few other employment potentials. Those who remained on their farms, but who relied on part-time work for supplemental income, no longer had these part-time options. During this time both the number of farms and the number of farmers decreased, yet the average size of farms increased as a few people bought land previously owned by many. Out-migration (temporary and permanent) remained the economic alternative chosen by many residents until 1970.

Between 1950 and 1970, the highest rate of population decline occurred in McCreary County, with 25% of out-migration, with 16% in Fentress County, and 8% in Scott County. Between 1970 and 1975, however, the population began to increase within the area, partly due to the influx of retirees who had out-migrated earlier for the employment opportunities in larger cities (Duda 1980).

By the mid-1970s, when the legislation creating the BSFNRRRA was passed by Congress, fewer than forty households of year-round residents remained within the borders of what is now the BSFNRRRA. Still, many of the families who had moved previously to nearby towns continued to own and use land along the Big South Fork River. Not only did the area continue to be important to local residents for hunting, fishing, or the collection of various forest products (wood and medicinal plants for examples), but also as a place of ancestral ghosts and family cemeteries; not only a place

that symbolizes where they came from, but who they are today in their minds and hearts. In short, the BSF area is very important to local resident's "social identity."

Appalachian Values

Before turning to a discussion on the creation of the BFSNRRRA, a discussion of Appalachian values is needed in order to understand residents' reactions to the establishment of the BFSNRRRA and findings presented in Chapter V. In addition, an understanding of cultural values assists in the analysis of the meanings behind resistance (Ortner 2006).

The earliest writings on Appalachian culture began with the local color writers such as Will Wallace Harney (1873) depicting the area as a distinctive and "primitive" subculture of "a strange land and a peculiar people," a people with characteristics of the early rugged American frontiersman. Other writers continued to describe the area as consisting of a homogenous culture, viewing Appalachia as a subculture of poverty with particular values, attributing the poor economic conditions in certain areas of Appalachia to inherent deficiencies in the character of the Appalachian people themselves, (see Weller 1956; Caudill 1963), in short, "blaming the victim" and ignoring external causes of economic change within the area. The early stereotypes assigned to Appalachian culture continue to be found in certain reference to residents as "hillbillies" or "feuding mountaineers."

In response to the negative attributes assigned to residents of Appalachia by external forces, Loyal Jones (1991), being raised in Appalachia himself, describes what he views as regional values, including: people are religious, independent, self-reliant,

proud, neighborly, hospitable, family centered, personal (relating well with others), love of place (never forget “back home”), modest (be oneself, one should not “put on airs”), patriotic, having a good sense of humor, and sense of beauty. With sense of beauty bring displayed through music, poems, folksongs, arts, crafts, or colorful language metaphors such as “I’m as nervous as a long tailed cat in a room full of rocking chairs” (local resident, personal communication 1999).

According to Jones, these values stem from the history and settlement of the area:

We mountain people are a product of our history and the beliefs of our forefathers. ...Our forefathers for the most part came from England, Wales, and Scotland, a few from Germany and France. ...Most came seeking freedom-freedom from religious and economic restraints, and freedom to do much as they pleased. The patterns of settlement show that they were seeking space and solitude. ...Life in the wilderness and the continuing isolation of Southern Mountaineers have made us different in many ways from most other Americans (1991:169).

Jones continues to explain that in several areas of Appalachia, generations of physical isolation resulted in an ethic of self-reliance and independency. Woodrum continues along this line of thought by stating that this ethic often “manifested in resistance to mandates from governmental and social services agencies” (2004:1). Because of this isolation, family and neighbors came to depend on each other, in addition to dependency on the land. Even today, when neighbors are in need, they help each other out, from helping one build a house to helping one during illness or death in the family. Kathryn Russ concurs with the values Jones assigned to Appalachia when she describes:

Originally, family and community ties were strengthened by frequent isolation [from mainstream culture]. Living far from cities and neighbors, often with poor or no roads, the Appalachian was dependent on family and kin, often for his/her very survival. Family and kin were always welcome, but there was an intense suspicion of strangers. ... This all increased isolation and greater dependence on the family, church, and community for support (2006:46)

Ron Eller (2009) supports Jones' views of Appalachia values when he states, "Appalachia should be judged by its own values—family, land, traditionalism—rather than mainstream values of accumulation, wealth and power."

<http://www.berea.edu/appalachiancenter/loyaljones.asp>

As described previously, the building of railroads in the Big South Fork area in the early 1900s connected many of the region's geographically remote areas to factories in the North. An example is industrialist Justus Stearns, who bought large tracts of land in the BSF area in order to extract the timber and coal resources in the area, establishing what has been referred to for several Appalachian coal mine communities or timber camps as an "internal colony" (Lewis 1991; Eller 1982; Gaventa 1980). Because most of these new landlords were absentee owners, who cultivated groups of local residents who would act in their stead, thereby demonstrating "indirect rule," residents were still able to continue to have and develop a close relationship to the land.

Bruce Ergood and Bruce Kuhre (1991) also agree with the importance of "life in harmony with nature" among traditional values of Appalachia:

...we find the mountain people described as independent, kin-involved people whose lives are closely bound to their physical environment, whose activities are traditional, and whose beliefs are both fatalistic and religiously fundamentalist (1991:47).

Fatalistic meaning a belief that outside factors control one's life, fate, believing things happen for a reason and will work out for the best.

Recent studies on Appalachian culture have dispelled the model of Appalachia as an "internal colony" with "fatalistic" values. According to David Walls, the area has never been homogenous in culture as previously depicted, that one needs to recognize the heterogeneity of the culture and a critical perspective on current developments. The area

should be viewed more as a peripheral area, in lieu of an internal colony. In discussing the peripheral model, Walls states:

In a market economy, certain regions within a country will experience economic rise or decline in response to such circumstances as demographic changes, technological advances, and the depletion of resources. On this the theorists of regional growth, urban hierarchies, and uneven capitalist development are agreed. As the core-periphery distinction is presently used by several schools of economic thought, it seems reasonable to me to apply the term peripheral to such regions within advanced capitalist countries as Appalachia which share many of the characteristics of underdevelopment, poverty, and dependency found in the peripheral countries of the Third World. Certainly the term is a more appropriate analogy than internal colony (1978:14).

In addition, it will be demonstrated in this research, that it is not so much of a fatalistic attitude and so-called traditional values among residents who accept their socio-economic situation, but a resistance to a change of lifestyle and livelihood, from self-sufficiency to specialists or dependents on the state.

In reference to religiosity in Appalachian, Presbyterianism was the dominant faith when the area was first settled, a direct result of the influence of the then overwhelmingly Presbyterian Scots-Irish settlers. However, Presbyterianism in the mountains eventually declined, due to the church's insistence on seminary-trained clergy and the isolation of the region, therefore "locally autonomous sects grew up" (Jones 1991:120). English Baptists were also common on the Appalachian frontier, and today are represented in the BSF area by groups such as the Southern Baptist Convention. Circuit riders such as Francis Asbury helped to spread Methodism to Appalachia in the early 19th century, represented in the BSF area by the United Methodist Church. Pentecostal movements within the region include the Church of God (based in Cleveland, Tennessee) and the Assembly of God. The following tables demonstrate the major five religious

denominations within Scott and Morgan County, Tennessee and McCreary County, Kentucky.¹⁸

Table III.1: Denominational Groups for Scott County, Tennessee

Evangelical Protestant	Mainline Protestant	Catholic	Other	Unclaimed
5,209	429	65	0	15,424

Religious Bodies	Theology	Congregations	Adherents	Adherence Rates
Southern Baptist Convention	Evangelical Protestant	19	4,730	223.9
United Methodist	Mainline Protestant	2	304	14.4
Churches Of Christ	Evangelical Protestant	2	183	8.7
Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	Evangelical Protestant	2	174	8.2
Presbyterian	Mainline Protestant	1	125	5.9

The population of this county in 2000 was 21,127.

In addition to the former Protestant denominations, one Catholic Church is located within Scott County, with sixty-five adherents.

¹⁸ Data for denominational groups in the BSF area came from: *Religious Congregations and Membership in the United States, 2000*. Collected by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARB) and distributed by the Association of Religion Data Archives www.theARDA.com. The web site also presents additional information on congregations within the research area.

Table III. 2: Denominational Groups for Morgan County, Tennessee

Evangelical Protestant	Mainline Protestant	Catholic	Other	Unclaimed
8,739	327	113		10,578

Religious Bodies	Theology	Congregations	Adherents	Adherence Rates
Southern Baptist Convention	Evangelical Protestant	19	7,468	378.0
Lutheran Church	Evangelical Protestant	1	429	21.7
Seventh-day Adventist Church	Evangelical Protestant	2	229	11.6
United Methodist	Mainline Protestant	5	304	14.4
Churches Of Christ	Evangelical Protestant	2	199	10.1
Church of God of Prophecy	Evangelical Protestant	3	186	9.4

The population of this county in 2000 was 19,757.

In addition to the former Protestant denominations, the Beachy Amish Mennonite Church is located in Morgan County, with seventy-five adherents.

Table III.3: Denominational Groups for McCreary County, Kentucky

Evangelical Protestant	Mainline Protestant	Catholic	Other	Unclaimed
3,548	365	55	100	13,012

Religious Bodies	Theology	Congregations	Adherents	Adherence Rates
Southern Baptist Convention	Evangelical Protestant	9	3,368	197.2
United Methodist	Mainline Protestant	3	330	19.3
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	Other Theology	1	99	5.8
Seventh-day Adventist Church	Evangelical Protestant	1	94	5.5
Catholic Church	Catholic	1	55	3.2

The population of this county in 2000 was 17,080.

In addition to the former denominations, while there is no congregation, there is one adherent to the Baha'i religious body.

1974 to Present: Creation of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area

As early as 1881, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers recommended improving navigation along the Cumberland River. Congress eventually authorized an overall study of the Cumberland River Basin (House Document 38, 73rd Congress, 1st Session). In 1933, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers published a study that included plans for two hydroelectric power projects at two impoundment locations along the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, the Devils Jump Reservoir and the Helenwood Reservoir. In 1935, two flood control lakes were proposed to be created in the Big South Fork basin (House Documents 259 and 306, 74th Congress 1st Session). Efforts to construct the dams in these areas were abandoned however; as the United States mobilized to fight in World War II (Tom Des Jean, personal communication 2007).

After other pending studies of the Ohio and Mississippi River systems were completed in the 1950s, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers submitted another report to the 87th Congress in 1961. The study, (House Document 175, 87th Congress, 1st Session), concluded that the hydroelectric power potential of the Big South Fork could best be developed through the construction of a single high dam at the Devils Jump site. Beginning in 1962, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers tried to gain funding for the construction of a 483 foot high hydroelectric dam, with estimated costs of 200 million dollars, on the Big South Fork at Devils Jump. The dam was approved for construction by the Senate five times, however, it each time it was rejected by the House of Public Works Committee.

In April 1962 the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was founded by Secretarial Order as an agency of the United States Department of the Interior, and formally established

with the passage of the National Outdoor Recreation Act (Public Law 88-29) in May 1963, with its mission to assist private, local, and state organizations with planning outdoor recreation opportunities. It was also in 1963 that the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) identified the Big South Fork River as a potential Wild and Scenic River, which was studied further by an interagency task group. The Southeast Task Group consisted of members from the BOR, the National Park Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, U.S. Forest Service, the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and the State of Tennessee. A final report was published in 1964 by the BOR, stating that a wild and scenic river would be the best use that could be made of the Big South Fork River and its resources. According to former Senator Howard Baker, Jr. of Tennessee:

I...do recall that John Cooper, Thruston Morton, Sen. Gore, Sr., and I had a meeting shortly after I was elected to the Senate [1967-1985], that we decided no realistic chance to get funds for the high dam and the other dam and we should shift our focus. Cooper was the ranking Republican on the Senate Works Committee and I was the most junior member. Morton and Gore concurred that we should ask the USACE [U.S. Army Corps of Engineers] to do a survey of the highest and best use of the gorge. That really was the beginning of the Big South Fork park. When we agreed to that, others, mostly because they were happy to not have to tell us “no” on the dam appropriations, decided it was a good idea and we passed a resolution asking for the study by the USACE. That was the beginning. ...decision making rested almost entirely on the Tennessee-Kentucky delegations, and especially the Senate delegations. I believe that John Sherman Cooper probably deserves more credit for pursuing this than anybody else in the US. He was from Somerset, knew the area and the people, and felt that a park, or at least a dedicated area, was what we should pursue. I had long since arrived at that conclusion and was convinced the dam projects were not going to work. That did not bother me as I had mixed emotions about the dam (Baker June 15, 2005).

Recognizing changes in public attitudes towards more environmental interests, Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper, a former proponent of the dam, submitted legislation for another study. This study was authorized by Section 218 of Public Law 90-483, which directed that two concurrent studies be done of the Big South Fork. One was to update

the former report by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the other was an interagency task group to investigate all alternatives for the BSF River basin. The interagency report identified six “feasible and appropriate” alternative uses of the area as: Reservoir and Recreation, National Forest, Wild and Scenic River, National Recreation Area, National Park, and National River and Recreation Area.

By 1968, conservation groups (the Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Planning and the Bluegrass Chapter of the Sierra Club) had convinced Congress of the river’s aesthetic and recreational potential (Coleman and Smith 1993; Howell 1989). Opposition to the dam also showed that only during 11 percent of the year did enough water flow down the river to generate electricity at the proposed Devils Jump Dam (Coleman and Smith 1993). According to former Tennessee Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., he and Senator Cooper from Kentucky realized that by this time their only option was to propose a National River and Recreation Area and list it with one of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers large water resource funding projects. Baker also notes that:

The principal opponent, strangely, was the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, which owned a great deal of land in Tennessee and Kentucky, including great tracks in what is now the Big South Fork park. Irony of it was, I have represented the Stearns Company in private life and was absolutely floored when they indicated to me that they thought this was a bad idea, but they did. And in that case I said, ‘thank you for your views’ but that is not what we are going to do. They were only one example. There were many individuals and corporate entities who felt that taking the property off the tax rolls, people often said, and tie it up in government ownership, would sterilize the area and nothing would happen to it. So it was not an easy sell and to this day are some people who still think it was a bad idea (Baker June 15, 2005).

While the majority of acres of land were bought from Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, the purchase of smaller acreage from residents living within the boundaries of the proposed National Area, approximately 3,000 acres, proved to have a greater social

impact, especially in reference to their livelihood, social identity, and “sense of place” – meaning their home. It should also be noted here, that the interests and opinions of these local residents are not mentioned above, supporting Howell’s statement that “the environmental impact statement gave only ' cursory attention' to socio-cultural data, instead relying primarily on statistical sources" (1989:276), in addition to a few interviews with local government officials, large-scale corporate land owners and not local residents living near or inside the boundaries of the proposed National Area. In discussing the problem with the EIS not addressing the immediate situation of the 34 households (some 125 individuals) living within the proposed National Area 1975, Howell states:

...the statistic ‘number of households’ tells little about the magnitude of social impact on residents. While there were thirty-four or more separate year-round households within the proposed recreation area boundaries in 1974 at the time of authorization, these households cluster into a much smaller number of extended families. In one case, as many as seven branch households of a single extended family will be subject to relocation. This fact is a natural consequence of the typical settlement pattern in which close kin live near one another. Also typical is primary reliance upon kin for emotional and material support when needed. ...Loss of family land and relocation produce considerable emotional and economic stress under the best of circumstances, and these stresses are exacerbated in the big south Fork case by the fact that many households will have no immediate kin to turn to who are not facing the same problems as themselves. ...to be effective, relocation assistance must be offered in a personal rather than bureaucratic manner (2003:197).

On March 7, 1974, the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRA) was established by Section 108 of the Water Resources Development Act (PL 93-251). This Act created a new public land area and provided for the protection of 125,000 acres of the scenic and remote Cumberland Plateau in addition to the Big South Fork branch of the Cumberland River (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). A total of 103.5 million

dollars was authorized to be appropriated for the project, making it one of the largest development efforts in the southeastern United States (McCracken 1980).

Authorizing Legislation and Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA

Preparation of a Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA began in 1978 after the approval of both the General Design Memorandum and the Final Environmental Impact Statement completed in December 1976. The General Design Memorandum describes the intent of the authorizing legislation and the procedures for carrying out the mandates. According to the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, federal agencies are required to prepare either an Environmental Assessment (EA) or an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) depending on the degree of impact.¹⁹ The basic purpose of the EIS is to serve as a means of assessing the environmental impact (both on the physical and social environment) of an agency's proposed actions.

The purpose of the Master Plan was twofold: (1) to implement and expand the conceptual ideas presented in the General Design Memorandum (GDM) and (2) to prepare a Resource Management Plan (RMP) consistent with the policies, objectives, and programs set forth in the GDM. The RMP describes how project land, waters, forests, and other resources will be conserved, developed, interpreted, preserved, managed, and used in the public interest. In summary, the Master Plan establishes a guide for proper management for the BSFNRRRA, which places an emphasis on quality outdoor recreation and the preservation of resources. As stated by Congress in the Master Plan (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980), the purposes for establishing the BSFNRRRA are:

¹⁹ For a deeper outline and discussion of the NEPA process and regulations requiring public participation in an EIS, refer back to Chapter II.

1. Conserving and interpreting an area containing unique cultural, historic, geologic, fish and wildlife, archaeological, scenic and recreational values;
2. Preserving as a natural free-flowing stream the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, major portions of its Clear Fork and New River stems, and portions of their various tributaries, for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations;
3. Preserving of the natural integrity of the scenic gorges and valleys;
4. Developing of the area's potential for healthful outdoor recreation; and
5. Enhancing the regional economic base.

The authorizing legislation assigned the development of the BSFNRRRA (including land acquisition, and the design and construction of facilities) was delegated to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Upon completion of this, the law specified that the BSFNRRRA be turned over to the National Park Service, primarily because of the NPS's management experience in preservation and conservation of resources (Coleman and Smith 1993; McCracken 1980; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

Planning for the government's acquisition of land began in the summer of 1976, with land acquisition beginning in 1979 and scheduled to end in 1983. PL 93-251 outlined acquisition of land within the project area by purchase, donation, or exchange. Lands designated as gorge areas or development sites were acquired in fee simple absolute, which meant that all minerals as well as oil and gas were included in the acquisition of the land. Lands designated as adjacent areas, the plateau area, were also acquired in fee simple but could be subject to a reservation by the owner for coal, oil, and gas rights as long as they kept within authorized restrictions and specifications. The Act also stated that under certain conditions owners or tenants may elect to retain the right of use and occupancy of dwellings for their lifetime or for not more than 25 years, which ever came first (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:1-5).

The majority of private land was held by commercial mining or timber interests and unoccupied, though local residents frequently used the area for recreational activities, such as picnicking, camping, fishing, and hunting. To several residents, the latter two were an essential supplement to their subsistence. In addition, the collection and selling of medicinal herbs was a large supplement to residents' income. The remainder of the land, approximately 3,000 acres, was either occupied by the owner or a tenant at the time land was "acquired" for the creation of the BSFNRRRA (McCracken 1980).

As discussed in Chapter II, McCracken (1980) identified three categories of socio-cultural adaptations within the Big South Fork area before the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, which he found to influence residents' attitudes toward the BSFNRRRA and their impending relocation out of the proposed National Area. According to McCracken, social and economic processes influenced the ways residents first acquired knowledge about the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, how residents reacted to impending relocation from their place of residence, and the extent of residents' knowledge pertaining to options in relocations. Analysis of the flow of information regarding the development of the BSFNRRRA suggests that the U. S. Corps of Engineers failed to adequately reach and inform a large percentage of BSFNRRRA residents. This is especially true for residents found in category three, occupants of the poorest quality dwellings or "shacks," those with the lowest level in education, outside exposure, knowledge of relocation options and discussion of relocation, leading to negative attitudes toward the BSFNRRRA and the highest rates of stress in relocation. As stated by McCracken, such failure in reaching all segments of a population stems from the technical and middle-class bias of the communication methods used. In addition, McCracken's research study found that local

support for the park is widespread among the business leaders in the larger communities of the area. However, support for the park is less pronounced among rural residents of the area who see the park as a threat to their rural lifestyle. As stated by one male resident, age forty-two, who was interviewed in McCracken's research study:

I just don't see where it's [BSFNRRRA] going to help me much. The ones that's got businesses and things like that outside the park, it ain't gonna help me and I don't think it's going to help anybody else over here (1980:#18-2)

Similar statements were also made by other residents in McCracken's study who felt the establishment of the BSFNRRRA would be a threat to their rural lifestyle.

Preservation and Recreation Designations

Several factors make the BSFNRRRA a significant Federal area. The first is because the BSFNRRRA was established relatively recently. Family members still remember when their land was acquired for the creation of the BSFNRRRA. Therefore the land provides a unique case study for research on local environmental knowledge and uses of resources, and social conflict over competing management concerns.

Secondly, the BSFNRRRA represents one of the first attempts to combine the concept of a National River Area with that of a National Recreation Area, thereby promoting both recreation and preservation of the area's natural resources (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:1-2).²⁰ The National Recreation Area (NRA) concept was established in 1962 by Executive Order 11017. The subsequent Federal Recreation Advisory Council states "NRAs will be more clearly responsive to outdoor recreation demand than other areas that are established primarily for preservation of natural and

²⁰ The only other NRRA located in the United States is the Mississippi National River and Recreation Area which was established in 1988. The NRRA boundaries enclosed about 54,000 acres and 72 miles of river.

historical resources, multiple use, or water resource development" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:1-02).

The National River designation denotes that it is centered on a free-flowing river. While it is not designated a National Wild and Scenic River, Congress included in the legislation some of the same protection from federal or federally assisted water development projects. Higher water quality and historical in-stream flows were clearly important values to be achieved and protected. Designated areas of the river are to maintain their free-flowing state, with recreational use of these streams complying with resource protection (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980). According to former Senator Howard Baker, Jr. of Tennessee, the BSF River is:

...an ancient river, cutting through gorges more than 250 million years old; and it is one of only 3 rivers in the U.S. designated by Congress as a 'national river,' distinguished by its historical significance as well as its wild and scenic beauty (Baker 1993:15).

Because of its designation, the BSFNRRRA is divided geographically into two sections: the river gorge and the plateau area. According to National Park Service regulations (PL 93-251), the river gorge must preserve both its recreational and wilderness qualities, while the plateau area should allow for development of recreational and cultural resources (horse trails, roads and hiking trails to rock shelters, and reconstructed historic buildings as examples). This is reiterated in the new General Management Plan for the National Area, stating that "the dual designation of National River and Recreation Area and Congress' special direction regarding the gorge would indicate the concern over resource protection while still providing importantly for recreation (2005:20). Russ Manning (2003) elaborates on the dual designation of the National Area when he states, "This combination of a national river and national recreation area may well become a

blueprint for future preservation of such places. It is a compromise that settles conflicting arguments between calls for wilderness preservation and the demands that wilderness areas be accessible and useful" (<http://www.blueridgecountry.com/travel/big-south-fork-park.html>)

NPS Regulations and Restrictive Access to Resources Within the BSFNRRRA

In keeping with its wilderness designation, only 11 motorized access points are allowed into the gorge area, primarily utilized as canoe access points. Motorized access points allow for cars, trucks, or jeeps to drive down to the river. In addition, no motorized boats are allowed on the Big South Fork River upstream of Devil's Jump (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:6-13). Motorized vehicles not designed for on highway use (ATVs and golf carts as examples) are prohibited on public roads including campground roads within the BSFNRRRA. This restriction does not apply to those vehicles designed for and used by persons with a disability (motorized wheel chairs) or vehicles used for administrative purposes like rescue and trail maintenance (36 CFR 1.5a).

Motorized access points to the river are found at Alum Ford, Leatherwood Ford, Station Camp East, Yamacraw, Worley, Blue Heron, Burnt Mill Bridge, Zenith, Brewster Bridge, the Big Creek Road, and Peters Bridge. The choice of areas for these 11 access points by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was based primarily on constraints imposed by natural or cultural resources and recreational consideration, such as logical canoe trips and compatibility of canoe access with other recreation at the National Area (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:4-30).

Logical canoe trips consider both the distance between access points from where one begins and ends their canoe trip, and the carrying capacity for that site. As defined for the BSFNRRRA, carrying capacity is the number of persons that a given area can support for a specific activity over a period of time, without resulting in unacceptable degradation of environmental quality and without diminishing user satisfaction (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:5-8). The carrying capacity standards for canoeing emphasize the maintenance of a quality river use experience, with a space standard of 48 persons per mile on most sections of National Area streams, which is consistent with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation standards (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:5-9).

Therefore, traditional and meaningful access points to the river by local residents were not primary criteria in choosing these 11 sites when plans were drawn up for the National Area by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. An example is Williams Creek, now closed to motorized access, which was formerly a favorite "fishing hole" of local residents (informant interview 2000). During interviews conducted in this research study, several residents voiced their resentment over restricted access to the traditional "fishing hole." Other residents voiced their resentment over restricted access to traditional baptismal sites, No Business Creek for example. Baptisms were a time of rejoicement for local residents, with congregations from local churches meeting at sacred areas along the creeks of the Big South Fork River to witness the baptism of others in their community. Restriction of motorized vehicles within the gorge area also poses problems for those who wish to visit remote family cemeteries. Because of the wilderness designation of the National Area, several of the roads or paths to cemeteries have been allowed to "grow up" or "return to nature." If passage to the cemeteries is too

hazardous because of one's health or danger of wildlife (poisonous snakes or bears for examples), then one must travel to the cemetery by horseback or by the escort of a NPS ranger in a NPS vehicle if the cemetery is vehicle accessible. Examples of cemeteries with restricted motorized access include the No Business Creek Cemetery, Helen Blevins Cemetery on the North side of Parch Corn Creek, Hatfield Cemetery which is located at Charit Creek, Owens Cemetery in the bottomland of Station Camp Creek, and the Tackett Cemetery (the two young boys who died during the Civil War and whose graves are marked only by a rock with the hand carved inscription MA 1863). It will be demonstrated in Chapter V, that several residents resent the plethora of governmental restrictions and regulations placed on an area where they once came and went as they pleased.

Other regulations and restrictions within the National Area include, but are not limited to, pertain to hunting and fishing, horseback riding, camping and campfires, and hiking. As outlined by the U.S. Corps of Engineers in the Master Plan (1980) for the BSFNRRRA, regulations pertaining to hunting include:

1. **Coordination of Uses.** Management of the National Area will ensure that certain regions within the BSFNRRRA are available for non-hunting usage during big game hunts. Wildlife openings and their maintenance will be coordinated with visual management programs, and maintenance of historical landscapes (9.04.111)
2. **Safety Zone.** Safety zones will be established around heavily used development sites and along main roads. No hunting will be allowed in these zones. Natural boundaries such as bluff lines, streams, logging roads and other features will be used where available to designate safety zone limits [in order to protect the safety of visitor]. Where natural boundaries area absent, boundaries will be established at least 300 feet from public use areas. Safety zone signs will be posted at appropriate intervals along boundaries (9.04.113).
3. **Hunter Safety.** Firing across roads and streams will be prohibited. State regulations relative to high visibility clothing will be applicable (9.04.112).

All hunters, including those hunting small game, and those accompanying hunters during any big game firearm season (except turkey) shall wear a minimum of 500 square inches of blaze orange on their head and upper body during day light hours (36 C.F.R. 1.5)

4. Administration. A cooperative agreement will be sought between Tennessee and Kentucky to permit the hunting licenses of either state to be valid anywhere within the BSFNRRRA. Seasons, day limits, and other regulations will be coordinated to prevent confusion and simplify administration (9.04.114).
5. Vehicular Access. Designated limited access roadways into remote hunting areas will be open for vehicular travel during hunting periods. These roads will be gated during other periods and will be blocked and posted at least 300 feet from the gorge rim to prevent motorized access into that area. Vehicles will be required to exit the area by dark. Vehicular camping for hunters will be restricted to designated development areas. Hunters desiring to hike or ride a horse into the backcountry will be subject to trail use regulations (9.04.115).

While the Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA (1980) originally stated that a cooperative hunting agreement would be sought between Tennessee and Kentucky to permit the hunting licenses of either state to be valid anywhere within the BSFNRRRA, because of different hunting seasons and use of different types of firearms during hunting season between the states, a single hunting permit for the BSFNRRRA never transpired (firearms include a modern gun, archery/crossbow, or muzzleloader for examples). However, a single fishing permit between both states is available. Because of their endangered listing, the entire BSFNRRRA is closed to harvesting any species of freshwater mussels (36 CFR 1.5a).

Fauna that is typically hunted in the region include: the white-tail deer, squirrel, rabbit, raccoon, wild boar, and various game birds, including wild turkey. Other regulations pertaining to hunting within the National Area include:

1. Hog hunting within Big South Fork NRRRA is concurrent with the appropriate State season with a special park season running from Jan. 21st through last day of February (36 CFR 2.2b).

2. The placement of salt licks, mineral blocks, food items and “baiting” to attract wildlife to a specific area is prohibited (36 CFR 2.2b). This does not prohibit the use of cover scents, or attractant scents.
3. In the backcountry, lawfully taken big game animals may be quartered for ease of transportation so long as species and sex can be determined. A pack animal may also be used to remove lawfully taken big game (36 CFR 2.2d).
4. The entire park is closed to viewing of wildlife with an artificial light (including headlights), except when in accordance with state laws which permit such use for specific species [raccoon, opossum, and bullfrog] (36 CFR 2.2e).
5. Hunting from or possessing a loaded weapon upon a horse or other animal is prohibited within the park (36 CFR 2.4b). This does not prohibit you from using your horse to get to the area in which you wish to hunt as long as it is an area that is open to horse use.
6. The construction of permanently affixed tree stands and access steps to tree stands is prohibited. Portable or temporary stands that do not damage trees may be used (36 CFR 1.5a)

Other permits that are required by the Code of Regulations for the BSNRRA include those pertaining to camping and the collection of natural resources. For example, camping is prohibited within 100 feet of a cave, rock shelter, trail, within 100 feet of a gravesite, and in all cabins or other historic structures. Camping is prohibited within 100 feet of a stream, excluding traditionally used backcountry camping sites along the O & W Railroad Bed, Troublesome Creek, Difficulty Creek, and Cole Ranch (36 CFR 2.10a).

Fires are prohibited in historic structures, cabins, and rock shelters (36 CFR 2.13 a). Dead wood on the ground may be collected anywhere in the park for use as fuel for campfires within the park (36 CFR 2.1a). It is illegal, however, to cut limbs from trees for any purpose. Reasonable quantities of nuts and fruits are allowed for personal use or consumption, this includes two gallons of berries (blueberries, strawberries, black berries) or one bushel of fruit per day (peaches, apples, muscadine grapes, plums) or one

bushel of nuts (walnuts, hickory nuts, beech nuts, acorns). It is illegal to collect items such as ginseng, primarily because the plant is destroyed in the process. It is also illegal to pick flowers within the National Area, such as the Purple Cone Flower (*Echinacea purpurea*), Turk's Cap Lilly (*Lilium superbum*), Virginia Bluebells (*Mertensia virginica*), and Celandine Poppy (*Chelidonium majus*). And finally, as in all National Parks, both visitors and local residents are reminded:

Take only photographs, leave only footprints.

Several local residents have yet to adjust to, or accept, this previous statement, especially while visiting their former traditional hunting grounds and other places of "special meaning" where they use to roam as free as they pleased, doing what ever they chose.

Public Involvement

During the preparation of the Master Plan, coordination was maintained with appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies and organizations. In addition, public involvement was also incorporated into the draft of the Master Plan. Public meetings were held in September 1978 at Huntsville and Jamestown, Tennessee, and in Whitley City Kentucky. The purpose of the public meetings was to introduce interested groups and individuals to the master planning process and to solicit their ideas and continuing interest in the Master Plan (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

In October 1979, a briefing was held in Oneida, Tennessee for city and county officials of the BSFNRRRA region. The purpose of the meeting was to present the Draft Master Plan to the officials and to gather comments. Public meetings were also held during this time at Huntsville and Jamestown, Tennessee, and in Whitley City, Kentucky.

According to the U. S. Corps of Engineers, "The format of these meetings was designed specifically to involve as many people as possible. A brief presentation of the proposed Master Plan was followed by a workshop session with discussion tables assigned to special topics such as: Resource Management, Recreation Sites, Backcountry and River Use, and Real Estate" (1980:3-08). Furthermore, copies of the proposed Master Plan were sent to local public libraries in Huntsville, Jamestown, and Rugby, Tennessee, and Whitley City, Kentucky. This availability of the proposed Master Plan was published in local newspapers, and librarians were asked to post the accompanying cover letter that included the address of the Nashville District so that comments could be sent directly to the U.S. Corps of Engineers. All written responses from public meetings and letters commenting on the copies of the Draft Master Plan are documented in the Nashville District publication entitled "Public Meetings and Comments: BSFNRRRA, October 1979" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980).

As a result of this public involvement, a reassessment of several issues was undertaken. Due to the plan review by the Kentucky Heritage Commission and various public comments, the stabilization and restoration of the Blue Heron coal mining site was to be further investigated. Also, in conjunction with expressed public interest, the Kentucky & Tennessee Railroad was to be investigated as a possible recreational facility (a scenic railway departing from Stearns, Kentucky and arriving at the former Blue Heron coal mining camp). Public comments on an alternative site for the proposed lodge in Kentucky were denied after the U. S. Corps of Engineers conducted a feasibility study. The study reaffirmed the Bear Creek site as the best location for the lodge (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1980:3-08). The proposed lodge was to consist of 80 rooms, a lounge

and a restaurant, located in the plateau region of the BSFNRRRA in order to allow for the development of future recreational activities.

Recreational Niches and Contemporary Sites at the BSFNRRRA

According to the BSFNRRRA Master Plan, 19 areas were designated for development, along with two Visitor Contact Stations (one in Kentucky and one in Tennessee), and the National Area Headquarters that would oversee the management of the entire BSFNRRRA. Three of these sites will be described below, due to their significance to this study. These sites include the Blue Heron mining town, the Bandy Creek Campground and Visitor Center, and the Kentucky or Bear Creek Lodge.

The Blue Heron site is one of Stearns Company's former coal mining towns in Kentucky, operating from 1938-1961 the mine was referred to as Mine 18. The site is one of the largest areas within the BSFNRRRA selected for major development.

According to the Corps of Engineers' Master Plan, the intent of the development of this site is:

The Blue Heron site abounds with natural and cultural attractions for visitors. Mine--18 which incorporates the many mine openings and building foundations as well as the tipple and tramway trestle--provides a major opportunity to interpret a life-style that has not disappeared. In responding to the authorizing legislation these resources will be interpreted to enhance the public's understanding and enjoyment of the area. Therefore, the design intent for the site will be to avoid destruction of as well as interpret its historic context, and to provide adequate day-use facilities. As a first step in the revitalization of the Blue Heron site, all structures will be evaluated for National Register eligibility. Prior to this determination, it is recommended that the tipple and tramway be stabilized to insure visitors' safety and to prevent further structural deterioration. ...Recreational facilities will be provided for canoe access, sightseeing, shore fishing, and day-use trail hiking. Picnic sites and comfort stations will be available to serve all these activities (1980:7-33).

Opened in the spring of 1989, the Visitor Center complex of the Blue Heron site houses exhibits of life in the former coal-mining town, a snack bar, and a terminus for the Big South Fork Scenic Kentucky and Tennessee Railway that departs from the town of Stearns, Kentucky. "Ghost structures," metal frames of the original buildings, re-create the coal-mining town by depicting the superintendent's residence, a typical company house, a company store, a school, and a church. Each ghost structure has an interpretive display with artifacts, in addition to an audiotape station where one may listen to voices of former residents and workers describing their lives in the mining town.

One of the most impressive displays at the Blue Heron site allows one to enter the entrance of Mine 18, where one shortly finds a gate closing off the mine for safety purposes. Behind the gate, however, are mannequins dressed as coal miners who are faithfully working away. At the push of a button one hears stories from the miners; one story tells how mules were sometimes born in the mine and "lived to never see the light of day."

The second site to be described in this chapter, in order to understand residents' comments in the following chapters, is the Bandy Creek site. Oral tradition has it that "Bandy" comes from the word "abandoned," once referring to an old abandoned home site along the creek (Coleman and Smith 1993). Bandy Creek, located in Tennessee, is one of the major campground developments within the BSFNRRRA, offering a total of 180 campsites, 100 trailer sites for tent camping, and two group campsites. All campsites include picnic tables, fire-rings, access to restrooms and showers, and a dumping station. Additional facilities include a swimming pool (open from Memorial Day through Labor Day), volleyball, playground areas, and game fields (for baseball for example). A

Visitor Center is located here, along with picnic areas, a concession area, an amphitheater, a stable where one can rent horses, and various trailheads leading to historic homesteads. Among these is the historic homestead of Oscar Blevins, whose great-great-grand father was Jonathan Blevins, one of the first long hunters to venture into the area in the late 1700s (Coleman and Smith 1993).

Passing through the hand-hewn picket fence, one comes to a frame house built about 1950 and occupied by Oscar and Ermon Blevins at the time their land was purchased for the BSFNRRRA. Behind this is a log house built in the late 1800s by a former relative, Jack Blevins. The cabin is typical of pioneer cabins on the Cumberland Plateau, with dove-tailed corner notching, hand-hewn logs, a hand dressed fire place, and a storage area for rootstock called a "tater hole" (informant interview 2000).

The last site to be described in this chapter is the proposed lodge for Kentucky, referred to as the Bear Creek or Kentucky Lodge. According to the Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA, the lodge is to be located in McCreary County and designed to:

...contain multiple structures which reflect the various activities and functions. The public spaces of the lounge and the restaurant will be on the rim, overlooking the river and gorge. Rooms will be dispersed under the trees in four areas. Twenty-four of the 80 rooms will be under the same roof as the restaurant and lounge, while the remainder will be in one grouping of 24 and two of 16. The activity area will be well back of the rim and will consist of unlighted tennis courts, a pool-cabana-deck complex, the check-in and activities building (with registration and office functions), and a game room/meeting room. ...The campground will be located on the southern portion of the site and will fall naturally into two separate areas of developed and improved camping. ...The stable, which will provide the lodge guests an additional recreational opportunity, will be wholly compatible with the rustic backcountry character of the BSFNRRRA (1980).

The Bear Creek Lodge has yet to be built by the NPS since its proposal in the 1970s, causing considerable resentment by several residents of Kentucky, primarily because the lodge would help expand economic opportunities in the area.

The central purpose of this chapter was not only to describe the physical and socioeconomic environment of the study area, but to also document and describe traditional use and access of cultural and natural resources. Interwoven within the chapter is a description of circumstances leading to the authorizing legislation and creation of the BSFNRRA, in addition to current restrictions placed on both cultural and natural resources within the National Area, which in turn affects the social identity and livelihood of the local population.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH STRATEGY, METHODS, AND TECHNIQUES

In any anthropological study, the specific objectives of the research dictate the technique(s) utilized in the data collection process. However, as discussed by both Pelto and Pelto (1978) and Bernard (2006), successful description of the situation depends on a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Pelto and Pelto also note that through the application of multiple instruments in research, the credibility and validity of results are increased. Babbie (2009) refers to the use of different research methods to test the same finding as *triangulation*. In applying the research strategy of triangulation, the combination of methodologies presented in this study provides data that will help understand both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of sources for resistance, conflict, or cooperation between local residents and National Park Service employees, especially over the symbolic meaning of the Big South Fork area and the various perceptions on how the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area should be managed.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methods and techniques utilized in collecting and analyzing data for this study. Methods employed in this study include (a) participant-observation, in-depth interviews, and informal conversations; (b) focus groups; (c) a survey; (d) participatory mapping; and (e) collection of documents. Research for this study is divided into four periods, which are briefly summarized below and then described in greater detail in the remainder of the chapter. This chapter also describes the sampling techniques used to obtain a reasonably

accurate representation of the research population and the design of the survey instrument. The chapter concludes with a description on how data collected for this research study is analyzed.

Research Period I: Exploratory and Preliminary Activities

The initial phase of fieldwork for this project took place in the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA) and surrounding communities in 1997, funded by a National Science Foundation Summer Training Grant, administered by the University of Kentucky, Lexington, and supervised by Dr. Peter Little. During this time I explored various research topics for my dissertation. After deciding upon my research topic (resistance, conflict resolution, and the concept of “the meaning of place”), informal conversations and interviews were conducted with National Park Service (NPS) employees, local residents and landowners, and members of special interest or user groups (horse back riders, hunters, bikers, Sierra Club members, as examples). The purpose of the informal conversations and interviews was to identify key informants and to test future survey questions. Initial Open House meetings sponsored by the NPS were also attended. The purpose of the Open House meetings was to gather public input to help in the development of an information base to assist in the creation of a General Management Plan (GMP) for the BSFNRRRA. While attendance at the meetings was very low, I observed a range of issues pertaining to conflictual land management goals.

Research Period II: National Park Service Ethnographic Consultant Position

Because of the low attendance at the Open House meetings by local residents, I was asked by the NPS to work for them as a consultant in collecting local input for the GMP. In August 1997 I received a grant from the NPS to carry out this research. The NPS grant was administered by the University of Kentucky, Lexington, and supervised by Dr. John van Willigen and Dr. Don Linebaugh. Results from the research is reported in *Ethnographic Investigations of Local Opinions Regarding the Proposed Alternatives for the General Management Plan of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. University of Kentucky, Program for Archaeology Research. Technical Report No. 424 (Evans 1999).

Research Period III: Survey

As a separate activity I conducted a survey of local residents. Questions for the survey focused on residents' feelings on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed in the future, their level of satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA, their perceptions of cooperation and coordination between residents and the NPS, and suggestions for increasing local residents' involvement in the planning process for the BSFNRRRA. Other questions focused on activities that residents have participated in (past or present) within the National Area and if former "places of meaning" have been restricted by NPS regulations. Places of meaning are defined in the survey instrument as family homesteads, cemeteries, native burial sites, and moonshine stills, as examples.

The Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Kentucky, Lexington sponsored this survey, with the supervision of Dr. Tom Greider. Dr. Greider also completed a rough draft of a coding manual for the surveys. Once the interviews were completed, a final version of the coding manual was drafted with the help of a fellow graduate student, who was also hired through the Department of Rural Sociology.

Research Period IV: Participant-Observation and Residency

Through a fellowship funded by the Ford Foundation-Community Forestry Research Program, I was able to live within the study area from May 1999 to May 2000. This period allowed for observation of the annual cycle, facilitating investigation of seasonal variation of resource use, access, and management policy. The grant also presented me with the opportunity to be accepted as a member of the community.

Research Periods

The following section of the chapter describes the four research periods in greater detail, in addition to methods and sampling techniques applied in this study. Participant-observation and informal conversations were conducted during the entire length of the project. Documentary data was also collected during all four periods. For example, documents of special interest groups and the NPS were collected. In addition to providing information on preservation activities in the area, content analysis provided insight into possible preferences for management models. Other documents include ethnographic reports (McBride and McBride 1993; Howell 1981; Duda 1980; McCracken 1980) and publications of the region (Manning 1996; Baker 1993; Coleman and Smith

1993; Manning and Jamieson 1990), in addition to local newspapers. Archival sources include oral history tapes and census data. Oral history tapes document stories of families who lived within the BSFNRRRA boundaries or a surrounding community when the BSFNRRRA was first established. Oral history tapes and census data were easily accessible since they are currently stored at the Special Collections and Digital Programs Division of the Margaret L. King Library. Census data was obtained in order to reconstruct the employment and demographic history of the region.

Period I: Exploratory and Preliminary Activities (May 1997 - July 1997)

While my first knowledge of the BSFNRRRA occurred in 1994 during a teaching assistantship for Dr. Benita Howell's course on Appalachian Culture at the University of Tennessee, my first visit to the BSFNRRRA was on May 9, 1997. It was with the assistance of Dr. Kim McBride, archaeologist for the Kentucky Archaeological Survey (KAS) program at the University of Kentucky, Lexington that I met with two NPS officials at the Visitor Center located in Stearns, Kentucky. The purpose of our meeting was to discuss my interest in the Big South Fork area and the National Park Service. While the park officials felt my interest in visitor use and the concept of "wilderness" was interesting, one of the officials, Mr. Tom Des Jean, informed me that the NPS was in the process of developing a plan to collect local opinion on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed in the future. He explained that the traditional method of collecting local opinions by the NPS is the use of Open House meetings, which were to be held during the last week of May and the entire month of June. It was at this time that we discussed the possibility of a reciprocal relationship. We discussed my attendance at the Open

House meetings and how I could volunteer to help in collecting public opinions pertaining to the future management of the BSFNRRRA. In return I was given access to a room in a trailer situated behind the NPS Headquarters; the Headquarters is located in Scott County, Tennessee, within the boarder of the BSFNRRRA.

I spent the latter part of May settling into the trailer and attending the Open House meetings. I also attended the meetings held during the month of June. The Open House meetings allowed me to observe how the NPS attempted to obtain local input on the formation of a GMP for the BSFNRRRA. The GMP document is designed to guide future development and management decisions for the BSFNRRRA. The Open House meetings also allowed me to meet local residents and establish initial contacts for future interviews.

The 1997 Open House meetings were held in the nearby communities of Somerset and Whitley City, Kentucky, and Rugby, Oak Ridge, Knoxville, Oneida, Byrdstown, Jamestown, Crossville, Wartburg, and Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Overall, few local residents attended these meetings. Only one individual attended the Open House meeting in Somerset, while fourteen attended the meeting in Whitley City, Kentucky.

Approximately four individuals attended the Open House meeting in Rugby, ten in Oak Ridge, thirteen in Knoxville, three in Oneida, three in Byrdstown, eleven in Jamestown, five in Crossville, one in Wartburg, and three in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. All participants were given a form to write in comments or suggestions on the future management of the BSFNRRRA. The form could be handed in at the Open House meeting or mailed to the NPS at a later date. I found the low attendance rate for the Open House meetings to be very interesting and began to informally question local residents and NPS staff as to possible reasons.

During the month of July, two employees from the southeastern regional office of the NPS, located in Atlanta, Georgia, toured the BSFNRRRA in order to document historic cultural landscapes within the area. I accompanied the two Atlanta officials and observed the methods and techniques they used in documenting historical sites (Global Positioning System and transect walks as examples). The field trips enabled me to explore areas of the BSFNRRRA that were unfamiliar to me because of their remoteness. Because of NPS regulations for the BSFNRRRA, several historical areas have been closed off to vehicular access in order to preserve the quality of the natural environment for the area.

During this time we went by horseback to reach abandoned homesteads that were too “snakey” to reach by foot, the former No Business Creek settlement for example. On another day we went by canoe to reach old brine mines at what was once referred to as the community of Salt Town. Several days were spent hiking to reach remote family cemeteries and former niter mines. Niter, specifically KNO_3 or Potassium Nitrate, also known as “saltpeter,” was used locally for fertilizer and as a main ingredient for the production of gun powder. The former experiences helped to expand my knowledge on the history of the area, in addition to giving me a visual image of places local residents told me about during informal interviews or conversations that began the first week of June.

While the original topic for my dissertation research was to study visitor use and visitors’ experiences of “wilderness” at the BSFNRRRA, I chose to abort this topic for various reasons. Initially, I planned to distribute a survey to visitors at the various trailheads located within the BSFNRRRA. I found this not to be feasible considering my

timetable, the large number of trailheads located within the BSFNRRRA, and my limited budget.

In summary, the National Science Foundation Summer Training Grant helped to strengthen my ethnographic research skills and to examine the BSFNRRRA as a potential site for my dissertation research. I was also able to refine my research design by identifying the various views of special interest groups, NPS officials, and local residents on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed in the future. In addition, the grant helped to support preliminary ethnographic research on potential conflicts between these various user groups and the NPS. Key informants possessing knowledge on specific topics were also identified along with the testing of survey questions. Lastly, the grant allowed preliminary data collection on the concept of “wilderness,” which was later expanded to the concept of “a meaning of place.”

Period II: NPS Ethnographic Consultant Position (August 1997 - May 1999)

Because of the low attendance at the Open House meetings by local residents, the NPS sought other methods to acquire local input to help inform the development of the GMP. In August 1997, I received a grant from the NPS to carry out this research, to gather additional input from local residents pertaining to the future management of the BSFNRRRA. In addition, I asked if part of the research project could investigate barriers that are perceived by local residents as inhibitors to their involvement in the management of public lands, why the NPS Open House meetings were so poorly attended for example.

It was at this time that I met Dr. Muriel Crespi from the Archaeology and Ethnography Program of the NPS, located in Washington D. C. The purpose of our

meeting was to discuss my position as consultant for the NPS and methods that I could use in collecting data on local residents' opinions on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed in the future. At this time Dr. Crespi introduced me to one of the National Park Service's methodological techniques referred to as REAP (Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure). As outlined by NPS policy, REAP is recognized as:

A project-driven study and battery of methods including focus groups, transect walks, and community mapping [and is] conducted to acquire and analyze data for planning and program evaluation decisions. It serves a manager's need to solicit community views about alternative courses of actions and to choose among alternatives in order to satisfy National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) consultation and information requirements about effects of potential and/or planned actions on the human environment. REAP can assist in conducting social impact assessments. Work should be completed in four or fewer months, but these need not be consecutive. REAP does not substitute for the more detailed ethnographic overview and assessment or traditional use studies and may indicate the need for more prolonged work (NPS-28, 1997:14).

In order to apply the REAP techniques to my research; I attended workshops on how to conduct focus groups during the fall of 1997. The workshops were conducted by Dr. Richard Krueger from the University of Minnesota.

According to researchers David Morgan and Richard Krueger, focus groups are "group interviews. A moderator guides the interview while a small group discusses the topics that the interviewer raises. What the participants in the group say during their discussions are the essential data in focus groups. Typically, participants come from similar backgrounds" (Morgan and Krueger 1997:1). Therefore, focus groups are a form of qualitative research. Participants are asked questions in an interactive group setting where they are free to talk with other participants. Focus groups for this project consisted of local residents from the area who discussed "places of meaning" to them, their feelings

toward the alternatives developed by the NPS for the future management of the BSNRRA and their resistance to, or participation in, NPS Open House meetings.

During focus groups, participatory mapping (see Chambers 2006; Water-Bayer 1994) was tested as a model to minimize conflicts among preservational and recreational activities on public lands. Participants were asked to create a map showing “places of meaning” to them and areas where access to resources was viewed as a priority. The application of participatory mapping as a research method has increased since the early 1990s (Chambers 2006), when development efforts began to support and promote community engagement in decision-making through the application of diverse participatory methodologies that collect, analyze, and communicate community information. Participatory methods can be described as a method that promotes, actually requires, the participation of local people in development projects that impact their community. In describing the utility of participatory methods in development projects, Van Willigen states:

Participatory approaches in development have indeed influenced many individuals and groups to rethink their roles regarding the whole process of development. Advocates of the participatory view emphasize the crucial need for involvement of the local people in the development process. Not only should local people be involved, they should be involved as problem identifiers and as main actors and decision makers. The foundation of this thought is the fact that the local people know the complexity, diversity, and dynamism of their environments better than the ‘outsiders.’ ...Drawing from this theoretical premise, participation becomes a viable and promising way of development in rural as well as urban areas throughout the world in both the wealthy and poor countries (2002:68).

Van Willigen also notes the extensive use of participatory mapping in Participatory Rural Appraisal projects when he states, “In addition to documenting the physical attributes of the community, the maps also reveal a great deal about how people perceive the

community. This may involve scratching the map on the ground or drawing it with chalk on a large sheet of paper. ...There are many different types of maps used (2002:123). Chambers (2006) concurs with the utility of participatory mapping when he describes how out of all the participatory development methods that have been adopted, adapted, and applied in a development context, it is “participatory mapping that has been the most widespread” (Chambers 2006:2).

Peter Kyem, who utilizes participatory mapping in studying conflict issues pertaining to land, notes that:

...participatory mapping applications can be very productive in the early stages of a dispute with a spatial dimension. This is because the substance of the conflict is still limited to issues that are distributed in space and can be mapped and analyzed. ...when a conflict is prolonged, the original case becomes entangled with derivative issues that have little or no connection to the disagreement that started the dispute. At this stage, what may be driving the conflict or sustaining the dispute may be non-spatial but highly entrenched positions based on values (see Corbett 2009:12).

It should also be noted here, that despite the positive benefits of participatory mapping such as empowerment, social cohesion, resource protection, protection of livelihood strategies and access to resources, negative consequences might include the documentation of sensitive information that may make that information more vulnerable to exploitation, archaeological sites for example.

Various applications of participatory mapping exist. Hands-on mapping consists of:

“basic mapping methods in which community members draw from memory on the ground (ground mapping) and paper (sketch mapping). These maps represent key community-identified features on the land from a bird’s eye view. They do not rely on exact measurements, a consistent scale or geo-referencing, yet they do show the relative size and position of features. These maps have been commonly used in RRA [Rapid Rural Appraisal], PRA [Participatory Rural Appraisal] and PLA [Participatory Learning and Action] initiatives (Corbett 2009:13).

Another type of participatory mapping is Participatory 3D Modeling, which:

... are stand-alone scale relief models created from the template of a topographic map. Pieces of cardboard are cut in the shape of the contour lines and pasted on top of each other. The model is then finished with wire, plaster and paint. Geographic features are depicted on the model using pushpins (for points), colored string (for lines) and paint (for areas). On completion, a scaled and geo-referenced grid can be applied to allow the data to be transposed back onto a scale map or else imported into a GIS (Corbett 2009: 15).

Other types of participatory mapping include Multi-media and Internet-based mapping, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping, and Transect mapping (see Corbett 2009).

For purposes of my research, I applied the technique of hands-on mapping. The technique proved not to be very accepted during the focus groups. Participants were more willing to draw from their memory the location of houses in the area, the community of No Business Creek for example, in the privacy of their home and with family members. In order to identify “places of meaning” and areas where access to resources was viewed as a priority, I asked participants to mark on a topographic map where traditional cultural and natural resources are located and which areas they feel should be preserved or developed. Problems arose using topographic maps, for local residents found difficulty in reading the maps and locating places upon the map. Trails maps produced by the NPS proved to be more feasible in identifying places of significance for local residents, even for residents who state that they will never enter the National Area again. Results of both focus groups and participatory mapping were provided to the NPS to help inform the creation of the GMP for the National Area.

Objectives and Methods for Ethnographic Research Project

As outlined in my cooperative agreement with the NPS, the goal of the ethnographic project was to collect and examine local residents' perceptions toward the future management of the BSFNRRRA and to identify sources of resistance towards, conflict over, and opportunities for cooperation in, the management of public lands. Residents were identified in this project as those living in one of the five counties surrounding the BSFNRRRA; they may be a former landowner of what is now recognized as the BSFNRRRA, an individual who currently owns land adjacent to the BSFNRRRA, a member of a local or national interest group with concerns about the BSFNRRRA, or an individual who considers the area a part of their cultural heritage. While the ethnographic project represented an effort beyond the National Park Service's responsibility under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, ethnographic data and consultation helped to meet compliance requirements of various legislation and NPS policies (NPS-28, 1997:172).

The principal objectives of the ethnographic project include:

1. Understanding potential sources of conflict, resistance, and opportunities for cooperation in the management of natural and cultural resources such as the BSFNRRRA, focusing on identifying barriers that are perceived by local residents as inhibitors to their involvement in the management of public lands; and
2. Identifying preferences of those who participated in the study regarding the current use and future development of the BSFNRRRA. Data gathered in this objective is to help inform the NPS's General Management Plan for the BSFNRRRA.

The objectives listed previously were met using a two-phase approach to the research.

The two phases are briefly outlined below, followed by a more detailed description of the

research phases. I would also like to mention here, that Chapter V will demonstrate how one source of conflict and resistance between local residents and the NPS is over the management of resources within the BSFNRRRA.

Research Methodology

A central goal of Phase One for the ethnographic project was to obtain opinions from local residents about the future management of the BSFNRRRA. This first set of NPS Open House meetings (May to June 1997) was to gather public input in order to develop an information base to guide the creation of a GMP for the BSFNRRRA. The majority of the Open House meetings were held at Town Halls and the local Courthouse. Data from the Open House meetings and ethnographic data that I collected (from August 1997 to November 1998) assisted the NPS in designing three alternative models of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA. Another goal of Phase One was to document residents' participation, or lack of participation, in this first set of Open House meetings held by the NPS. Ethnographic data that I collected for Phase One (August 1997 to November 1998) of the study consisted primarily of participant-observation, in-depth interviews, participatory mapping, and informal conversations. Forty-six in-depth interviews were conducted during Phase One of this project (see Evans 1998).

Phase Two of this project is further divided into two parts. The goal of Part I is to gather residents' opinions on the three proposed alternatives for the GMP and their participation, or lack of participation, in this second set of Open House meetings (December 1998 to January 1999) held by the NPS; the goal of this second set of NPS Open House meetings was to also gather public preference on the three alternatives. The

goal of Part II of Phase Two is to gather residents' opinions on the final two alternatives for the GMP (see Evans 1999). In lieu of a third set of NPS Open House meetings to gain residents' preference on the two final GMP alternatives, the NPS sent a newsletter to those on their mailing list.

Ethnographic data that I collected for Phase Two was obtained primarily from participant-observation, in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and focus groups. Ten in-depth interviews and seven focus groups (with a total of 50 participants) were conducted during Part I of Phase Two. Ten in-depth interviews and five focus groups (with a total of 18 participants) were conducted during Part II of Phase Two. The two phases of the project are presented in Table IV.1, followed by a more detailed description of the phases and techniques utilized in collecting data.

Phase One

As mentioned previously, data for Phase One of the ethnographic project came primarily from participant-observation, informal conversations, participatory-mapping, and forty-six in-depth interviews (see Evans 1998). Settings for in-depth interviews or informal conversations included cultural festivals sponsored by the NPS, local restaurants or pubs, community colleges, lumber mills, gas stations, concessionaires, other local businesses, and residents' homes (Appendix I). Because interviews and conversations often took place at festivals, potlucks, community gatherings, or over dinner, they were not tape-recorded. This also ensured the confidentiality of participants who were often reluctant to voice their feelings about the management of the BSFNRRRA out of fear from being "harassed by park rangers" in the future.

Table IV.1
Phases of GMP Ethnographic Research Project

Phase One (August 1997- November 1998)

Objective: To gather public input in order to create an information base to aid in the development of alternative GMPs for the BSFNRRRA.
To identify sources of local residents' resistance in attending the first set of Open House meetings conducted by the NPS from May to June 1997.

Methods: Participant-observation, in-depth interviews, participatory-mapping, and informal conversations.

Sample Size: N=46, in-depth interviews.

Phase Two (December 1998 - May 1999)

Part I (December 1998 - March 1999)

Objective: Ethnographic Research: To collect local residents' opinions on the three proposed alternatives for the GMP.

To identify sources of local residents' resistance in attending the second set of Open House meetings conducted by the NPS from December 1998 to January 1999, held to collect opinions on the three alternatives.

Methods: Participant-observation, in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and focus groups.

Sample Size: N=60, ten in-depth interviews and seven focus groups with 50 participants.

Part II (April 1999 - May 1999)

Objective: Ethnographic Research: To collect local resident's opinions on the final two proposed alternatives for the GMP.

Note: Open House meetings were not conducted during this time by the NPS; a newsletter describing the two proposed alternatives was sent to those on the NPS's mailing list.

Methods: Participant-observation, in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and focus groups.

Sample Size: N=28, ten in-depth interviews and five focus groups with 18 participants.

Interviews and informal conversations were documented by taking detailed notes in shorthand. Notes were reread and rewritten shortly after the interviews and informal conversations in order to capitalize on recall and insure accuracy and completeness of the transcription. Personal observations were also recorded in the field notes.

Study Participants

Participants for interviews were identified from a list of individuals developed by the Big South Fork National Oral History Project. Dr. Benita Howell, who participated in a folklife survey of the BSF area when the BSFNRRRA was being created, also consulted on participants who should be included in the study. In addition, both snowball and opportunistic techniques were utilized. As described by Mathew Miles and A. Michael Huberman (1994:28), a snowball technique “identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich.” An opportunistic technique allows for the “following of new leads; taking advantage of the unexpected” (Miles and Huberman 1994:24). Opportunistic and snowball techniques do not result in a statistically representative sample, but do result in an in-depth understandings of key individuals and activities if properly implemented.

Ages for participants ranged from 18 to 90, the majority of those interviewed were in their late 30s to mid-40s. Although interview length varied from twenty minutes to 3 hours, the average length was 90 minutes. Participants belonged to one or several of the following categories: a resident of the area, an adjacent landowner, or a member of an interest group. Generally, “residents of the area” are those who live within one of the five counties in which the BSFNRRRA is situated. Those who live near the BSFNRRRA

but do not own land, renters for example, were also recognized. An “adjacent landowner” is an individual who owns land that lies adjacent to the BSFNRRRA. An “interest group member” is anyone who stated that they belonged to a group that had interest in the BSFNRRRA for either recreational or preservation purposes. Examples of recreational interest groups include those groups that use the BSFNRRRA for hiking, hunting, biking, horseback riding, or sightseeing, for examples. Interest groups who are concerned about the preservation of the area’s natural resources include the Sierra Club, Heartland, and the National Parks Conservation Association.

Because a large percent of Pickett State Rustic Park and Forest lies adjacent to the BSFNRRRA boundary, only two residents (a male and a female) from Pickett County, Tennessee, were interviewed. The two residents stated that they utilize Pickett State Forest more than the BSFNRRRA. Because a very small percentage of the BSFNRRRA lies within Fentress and Morgan County, Tennessee, a relatively smaller number of residents were interviewed in comparison to Scott County, Tennessee, and McCreary County, Kentucky. The majority of the BSFNRRRA lies within Scott County. McCreary County is the only county of the BSFNRRRA that is located in the state of Kentucky. Four participants were interviewed from Fentress County (two males and two females), six from Morgan County (two males and four females), twenty-six from Scott County (sixteen males and ten females) and eight from McCreary County (five males and three females).

In addition to in-depth interviews, I attended two cultural festivals sponsored by the NPS. One festival took place at the Bandy Creek visitor center in Tennessee and the other at the historic Blue Heron site (a former coal mining community) located in

Kentucky. Approximately 150-200 people attended each of the festivals. Copious notes were taken during informal conversations on how the participants felt the BSFNRRRA should be managed over the next ten years. Participants who did not have time to talk were given a copy of the blank form that was handed out during the previous NPS Open House meetings. The form asks for comments or suggestions on the future management of the BSFNRRRA and could be mailed to the NPS at the participant's convenience. Other informal conversations occurred opportunistically during participant-observation in community affairs. Field notes were taken and maintained throughout the study.

Based on information gathered from Open House meetings conducted by the NPS (May 1997 to June 1997) and data that I collected during Phase One (August 1997 to November 1998) of the ethnographic project (Evans 1998), three alternatives were developed by the NPS for the GMP. As defined by the NPS, the three alternatives include:

- 1. Destination Alternative:** The National Area would be a destination area providing complete outings and vacations. Visitors would find concentrations of facilities such as developed campgrounds and lodging and a full range of resource-based experiences that are either self-guided or led by licensed guides. Facilities would be provided by the NPS and in partnership with others.
- 2. Active Alternative:** Visitors find many convenient opportunities in much of the National Area to participate in a variety of resource-compatible activities. They generally come prepared (independently or by guide) to participate in their chosen activities. NPS is providing many facilities such as roads, parking, trails, information stations, campgrounds and rest rooms to help people get to the resource.
- 3. Rustic Alternative:** Visitors are enjoying an off-the-beaten-track experience in quality natural surroundings. Only basic facilities without many conveniences are provided in most of the National Area. Many visitors would be attracted to the individual challenge of the area, and many others would participate in guided float trips and pack trips.

I would like to bring attention here, that in all three alternatives, the preservation/primitive boundary was expanded out from the gorge area to the plateau area. According to the Master Plan for the National Area (PL 93-25), the plateau area is to be opened for the development of recreational and cultural attributes (horse trails, biking trails, roads to rock shelters or natural arches, and the preservation or reconstruction of historical buildings as examples). Only the gorge area was to be managed in order to preserve both its recreational and wilderness qualities (primarily natural and largely undisturbed). By locating the “primitive” area in the western plateau area, future development in that area would be limited, going against the original Master Plan for the BSFNRRA. As demonstrated in Chapter V, this change caused much “heated” debate among local residents who wanted development in the plateau area as promised at the onset of land acquisition for the National Area, versus certain interest group members (the Sierra Club for example) who would like additional restrictions on the development of the region.

Phase Two

The goal of Part I of Phase Two was to gather residents’ opinions on the three proposed alternatives for the GMP and their participation in, or resistance to attend, the second set of Open House meetings held by the NPS (December 1998 to January 1999). The goal of these Open House meetings was to also gather public preference on the three alternatives.

From this data, the NPS was able to create two alternatives for the GMP. The goal of Part II of Phase Two was to gather residents' preference between the final two alternatives for the GMP. The NPS did not hold Open House meetings to obtain residents' choice between the two final GMP alternatives.

Part I of Phase Two:

During Part I of Phase Two, Open House meetings were held by the NPS at local communities surrounding the BSFNRRRA from December 1998 to January 1999. I also collected ethnographic data consisting of ten in-depth interviews and seven focus groups from December 1998 to February 1999. The goal of these Open House meetings, interviews, and focus groups was to gather opinions from local residents on the three original alternatives for the GMP.

In addition, a central goal of the in-depth interviews and focus groups that I conducted was to identify and understand residents' participation, or lack of participation, in Open House meetings conducted by the NPS. A total of 50 residents participated in the focus groups during Part I of Phase II for the ethnographic project. Therefore, a total of 60 residents participated in Part I of the ethnographic study, consisting of the ten in-depth interviews (n=10) and seven focus groups (n=50).

Participants for in-depth interviews and focus groups were identified from previous interviews during Phase One of this project. The average length for interviews was 90 minutes. Focus groups ranged in length from 1 to 2 hours. Residents were handed an evaluation form at the end of each focus group, consisting primarily of questions asked during in-depth interviews.

Based on information gathered during the Open House meetings (December 1998 to January 1999) and the first set of in-depth interviews and focus groups, two new alternatives were developed by the NPS. This process resulted in the deletion of the Destination alternative, leaving the Rustic and Active alternatives as the two final plans. In addition, the area designated as the “primitive” area in the original three alternatives was moved from the western plateau area of the BSFNRRRA back to the river gorge. This designation follows closer to the original Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA, stating that only the gorge area is to be managed for preservation and the plateau area is to allow for the development of recreation and cultural attributes (PL 93-25).

Part II of Phase Two:

A total of 28 residents participated in the second set of interviews and focus groups. Ten in-depth interviews and five focus groups were conducted by myself between March 1999 and May 1999; a total of 18 residents participated in these focus groups. Open House meetings were not conducted by the NPS, instead newsletters were sent to the public for their reply on the two alternatives for the GMP. Furthermore, because several of the residents who participated in the focus groups during the first part of Phase Two also participated in focus groups during the second part of Phase Two, the latter meetings focused primarily on residents’ preferences between the final two alternatives for the GMP. Detailed findings from Research Period II are presented in Appendix II.

Period III: Survey (November 1997 - January 1998)

As a separate activity, I conducted a survey of residents who live adjacent to the BSFNRRRA border. Surveys were mailed to residents in McCreary County, Kentucky, in addition to Fentress County and Scott County, Tennessee. The survey (Appendix III) was conducted from November 1997 to January 1998. Questions focused on residents' relationship to and use of the BSFNRRRA and their feelings toward the NPS. Residents were also asked to identify barriers to and suggestions for increasing local residents' involvement in the planning process for the BSFNRRRA's new GMP. Coding and initial analysis of the survey data began during Period IV of this project.

Because of various reasons, including limited monetary resources, only three of the five counties that surround the BSFNRRRA were chosen to participate in the survey. A major determining factor was the amount of acreage in a county that lies within the boundaries of the BSFNRRRA, the rationale being that those counties with the largest portion of their land designated as public land would have a greater concern over the management of the National Area.

Pickett County was not chosen because a large portion of Pickett State Forest lies adjacent to the BSFNRRRA boundary. In addition, very little acreage lies within the National Area itself, with a total of 3,740 acres. Morgan County was not chosen because it contains the least amount of acreage in the National Area, with a total of 1,040 acres. Fentress County was chosen because it contains a large percentage of acreage in the BSFNRRRA, a total of 26,960 acres. Scott County was chosen because it contains the largest percentage of acreage, 60,250 acres, and it is here where the NPS Headquarters for the BSFNRRRA is located. McCreary County was chosen because it is the only county

of the BSFNRRA that is located in the state of Kentucky, with 30,970 acres in the National Area (McCracken 1980).

Participants who were chosen to receive the survey were taken from a list of residents provided by the NPS. The list was from a former survey sent by the NPS to residents who reside adjacent to the boarder of the BSFNRRA. The intent of the NPS survey was to obtain residents' feelings about the reintroduction of the Black Bear into the National Area.

For purposes of my research, a total of 331 surveys were mailed to residents' homes on November 21, 1997. A note was sent with the questionnaire asking the self-designated head of the household to fill out the survey. One hundred and fifty-three surveys were sent out to residents in McCreary County, one hundred and thirteen were sent to Scott County, and sixty-five surveys were sent out to Fentress County. For residents who did not return the surveys within two weeks, a postcard was sent out on December 1, 1997 to remind residents of the importance of their participation in the study. As a final attempt to gain residents' participation, those that did not return the survey within six weeks from the initial mailing, a second survey was sent on January 6, 1998 (in case the first survey was discarded or misplaced). In both attempts, a self-addressed and stamped envelope was included with the survey to facilitate residents' participation. A total of 108 surveys were obtained for this study. Thirty-four surveys were returned from McCreary County, forty-six from Scott County, and twenty-eight returned from Fentress County. Therefore, the return rate for surveys is 33%. However, thirty-three surveys were returned marked "undeliverable," "attempted-not known," "insufficient address," "box closed-no order," and "undeliverable as addressed unable to

forward.” Six surveys were returned explaining that the addressee was either deceased or too ill to respond to the survey. With this in consideration, the return rate of those who received the survey and capable of responding to the survey is 36%. Survey results are presented in detail in Appendix IV.

Period IV: Participant-Observation and Residency (May 1999 - May 2000)

Through a fellowship funded by the Ford Foundation-Community Forestry Research Program, I was able to live within the study area from May 1999 to May 2000. Previous research consisted of more sporadic visits, with the longest period of former residency occurring with the NSF Summer Training Grant in 1997. This longer period residency, however, allowed for observation of the annual cycle, facilitating investigation of seasonal variation of resource use, access, and management policy.

The Ford Foundation fellowship also presented me with the opportunity to be accepted as a member of the community and not a consultant for the NPS or “just another student” collecting research material. For instance, during my position as consultant for the NPS, I experienced distrust from several residents, especially when I arrived at interviews in a very obvious official state car with the emblem of the University of Kentucky on its’ doors. On a couple of occasions, when I stopped at a gas station or a diner for lunch, I was approached by residents who inquired “who are you” and “what is your business in this area?” In short, it was primarily during my long period of residency that I was allowed access to the “hidden,” including illegal, aspects of the study area, especially residents’ deepest feelings for the Big South Fork area and towards the NPS. Information collected during this research period also helped to provide information on

traditional access to and use of resources presented in Chapter III, in addition to incidences of conflict which are presented in Chapter V.

Methods utilized during this period of research include participant-observation, informal conversations, and in-depth interviews. According to anthropologist Russell Bernard (2006), participant-observation consists of learning a people's culture through direct participation in their everyday life over an extended period of time. Not only does participant-observation allow the researcher to personally experience local culture and social life, but to also provide an important context for interpreting the results from in-depth interviews and informal conversations. Participant-observation in this project included attending cultural festivals and county fairs, participating in potlucks, visiting local "hangouts" or pubs, attending church functions, eating at local restaurants, shopping in the area, and paying bills. In short, participant-observation involves becoming part of a local community as much as possible by participating in the local culture and observing both behavioral and social interactions.

Research Analysis

As mentioned previously, the combination of methodologies presented in this study provides data that will help understand both qualitative and quantitative dimensions for sources of resistance, conflict, or cooperation between local residents and NPS employees, especially over the symbolic meaning of the Big South Fork area and the various perceptions on how the BSFNRRRA should be managed.

Quantitative Analysis

Items of the survey were initially framed with a thought to how they would be coded. A rough draft of the coding manual was developed prior to conducting the surveys. Once the interviews were completed, a final version of the coding manual was drafted with the help of a fellow graduate student.

Survey data was first entered in an EXCEL format because it can be adapted to most databases. Descriptive statistics were then run on the computer using SPSS. All appropriate variables were correlated, in order to compare the significance of different relationships simultaneously, using correlation matrixes and t-tests. Selected variables were run against residents' satisfaction on ways that the NPS is trying to involve the public in managing the BSFNRRRA. Selected variables were also run against residents perceived feelings of cooperation and coordination between local people and the NPS. Quantitative analysis also investigated meaningful places for residents within the BSFNRRRA and methods for increasing residents' participation in the planning process for the BSFNRRRA. While the survey is designed to generate quantitative data for this research, open-ended questions provide qualitative data on individual feelings towards the use and management of the BSFNRRRA. Qualitative data is utilized to supplement and contextualize results of the statistical analysis.

Qualitative Analysis

Reflecting the practice orientation of this research, individual's accounts of their own experience are presented. This will allow those who have been interviewed to speak for themselves. In adopting this approach, while it was I who crafted the interview guide,

in addition to appropriating my informants' turf (Sanjek 1990), control over the interviews was very much shared as my informants introduced additional topics and often instructed me to "make sure you put that down." Although ultimately, I retain authority over the re-presentation of informants' voices, I feel that this data has been mutually created.²¹

In order to discover salient themes in attitudes of study participants toward the future management of the BSFNRRRA, in addition to sources of conflict and resistance towards the NPS, and suggestions for promoting cooperation between local residents and the NPS, a Grounded Theory approach was employed to analyze responses to open-ended questions during in-depth interviews, informal conversations, and focus groups.

Grounded theory is one of the most recognized systems for coding and analyzing qualitative data. The approach allows one to build theory from what people say about their own experiences. As defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990:23), a grounded theory "is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon.... One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge."

As noted by H. F. Wolcott, author of *Writing Up Qualitative Research*, "the critical task in qualitative research is not to accumulate all the data you can, but to 'can' [to eliminate] most of the data you accumulate" (1990:13). In using grounded theory in analyzing data, coding is required at several levels throughout the analysis process. In

²¹ While I recognize that informants' quotes are decontextualized, I feel that they are the closest that I could come to allowing participants to speak for themselves in the context of this study.

grounded theory, this begins with open coding, the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. An essential aspect of open coding is axial coding, which is intense analysis around one category at a time in terms of the paradigm items (conditions, consequences, and so forth). Selective coding follows axial coding, which is coding systematically for the core category (Strauss 1987). Through the use of analytical memos, researchers describe the coding scheme and identify the theoretical significance of the emerging categories. While written transcripts of narratives have typically been used in a grounded theory approach, detailed notes are acceptable as a valid option when circumstances prevent the tape recording of interviews (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

In summary, through the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, analysis will be drawn regarding access to and use of traditional natural and cultural resources within the BSFNRRRA and the resulting change in the symbolic meaning of the land that has resulted from the establishment of the BSFNRRRA. Analysis will also research sources of competing values and conflicting agendas pertaining to the management of the BSFNRRRA between residents, interest group members, and employees of the NPS. Final analysis will investigate techniques to be applied by federal agencies in order to lessen resistance and conflict, and to promote public participation and cooperation among interested parties in the management of public land.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS, ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Applying the paradigms of conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism, this chapter analyzes and synthesizes findings collected during this research study, in order to address the three central goals of this research study. To accomplish this, the chapter is organized into three sections. The first section addresses the first research goal, discussing how the establishment of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area has altered local communities: *means of access to the area and uses of traditional resources within the area*. The discussion addresses the following questions: What was residents' accessibility, or access, to resources before the establishment of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA)? How has the establishment of the BSFNRRRA and political discourse surrounding the BSFNRRRA affected social dynamics, and the access to, use of, and management of the natural resources (medicinal plants, forests, pastures and wildlife) and cultural resources (cemeteries, family homesteads, and hunting cabins for example) in the area? The section also compares changes in the symbolic meaning and social construction of the BSF area before and after the establishment of the National Area. Questions that are discussed include: What are people's accounts of what the area meant to local residents before the establishment of the BSFNRRRA? Have local residents negotiated new definitions of their relationship to what is now the BSFNRRRA? What happens to the meanings of the land and places on the land (such as a family homestead or cemetery) when the land is transformed from private ownership to public ownership and is managed

by a government agency for the benefit of conservation, preservation, or recreation by the American public? Additional analysis investigates how local residents have adapted to, and cooperated with, this change from private ownership to public ownership.

The second section of the chapter discusses the second goal of this research project, analyzing sources of conflict and resistance between local community residents of the Big South Fork area and National Park Service employees. Essential questions that are addressed include: How are conflict and resistance manifested in the research area and how are they representative of Michael Foucault's concept of "resistance as it is embedded in everyday life" and what James Scott refers to as "everyday forms of resistance?" Analysis of data also compares how measures of satisfaction or dissatisfaction among local residents, with the ways the National Park Service (NPS) is trying to involve the public in planning for the management of the BSFNRRRA, are directly related to access to resources within the National Area. Central questions that are asked include: Since the creation of the BSFNRRRA in 1974, does conflict or resistance continue to exist in the area? Do restrictions to access of resources threaten local "livelihood" or "social identity," and does this threat promote incidences of resistance among local residents as illustrated in Scott's model of sources for resistance? Are there other sources for, or causes of, resistance among residents that are not addressed in Scott's model?

The third section of the chapter addresses the third research goal by describing recommendations to minimize conflict or resistance and enhance the preservation and perpetuation of the traditional culture, with the latter encompassing aspects of local residents' "livelihood" and "social identity," in addition to other sources of resistance

which arose from research findings. To accomplish this, the chapter addresses the following questions: What measures can be taken by the NPS to lessen conflict or resistance and promote cooperation? Since resistance often manifests itself in not participating in public meetings pertaining to the BSFNRRRA, what methods can the NPS utilize in order to promote public participation in the management of public land?

Section One: Traditional and Changes in the “Meaning of Place”

Traditional Access to and Use of Resources: Self-sufficiency and Livelihood

Previous chapters demonstrate the strong ties between local residents and the Big South Fork area itself. For several residents, it was their ancestors who were among the first Euro-Americans to settle within the area during the 1700s, with their descendents continuing to live in the same community for centuries. A few families can even trace part of their heritage to indigenous Native American populations. In quoting one local resident:

The whole area means a lot, my family line goes back to the Native Americans. Bear Creek Horse Camp, my father was born there, ...Yahoo Falls where my grandmother, 7th generation in the area, and family were killed. But you're taught to pass on family traditions, that way they live on. If we can't pass on family traditions or stories about our family, it's like they died again.

It was also these early self-sufficient farming families that gave place names to certain locations within the area, which are still in use today. For instance, the tributaries of the BSF River on which the early communities of Station Camp and No Business were located still bear their names (for example, Station Camp Creek and No Business Creek).

Because a large section of the BSF area was purchased by large lumber and coal industries in the late 1800s, consisting primarily of absentee ownership, local residents were allowed continuous free access to resources within the BSF region. Employees of the industries were actually encouraged to use the forest and river as needed. Therefore, the area represented a type of “commons” for local residents. This fact is demonstrated when residents relate stories about their childhood, remembering when they collected scraps of coal from mine entrances, or even along the railroad as pieces of coal fell off the railroad cars during transportation, to help heat their family home. The forest also provided wood for fuel, berries and nuts for the table, in addition to wild game, which one could hunt without restrictions. Not only did the game provide meat for subsistence, but hides were tanned to use or for sell. In addition, the forests provided various wild plants for consumption or medicinal purposes. During one interview, a resident described how she put herself through college in the 1960s by gathering ginseng from the Big South Fork area. A few statements from residents’ surveys that pertain to their free access to and reliance on resources within the BSF area for subsistence include:

Mt. Helen areas of Fentress County, digging arrowheads and digging ginseng [sic] are no longer available. This was extra \$ and food on the table.

The whole area is cherished, it kept us alive. We could collect wood and scraps of coal for warmth, berries, nuts, wild greens for the table, hunt, fish as we pleased. And what we didn’t use we could swap.

The previous statements also demonstrate how the area provided resources for residents to barter, or trade, with other residents, demonstrating the close reciprocal relationships between residents. In addition, hunting cabins were scattered throughout the region for those to use freely as the need arose, an example being the former Parch Corn Cabin, also referred to locally as Noble’s Cabin.

With the establishment of the BSFNRRRA in 1974, accessible and free access to resources was curtailed. As discussed in Chapter III, only 11 vehicular access points are allowed to the river. All other roads or trails have been blocked off by metal bars, boulders, mounds of dirt, or allowed to return to a wilderness state. A part of the reason for this restricted access is not only to preserve the naturalness of the area, one of the original purposes outlined in the Master Plan for establishing the BSFNRRRA, but also for the protection of endangered species. For example, Station Camp Creek is a natural habitat for several endangered aquatic species, especially certain types of mollusks. Because of this, the area was allowed to return to its wilderness state and protected from overuse.

Findings from this research study demonstrate the severity of residents' resentment that they are no longer allowed to cross the river with a vehicle at Station Camp. The main attraction to this area of the river is because it is very shallow and rocky, thereby making it easy to cross by a motorized vehicle. In addition, after crossing the river, the former road branched off to favorite traditional areas for camping and hunting such as the Parch Corn Cabin, Charit Creek Hunting Lodge, and the former community of No Business.

Not only is vehicular access restricted at Station Camp, but the NPS is currently concerned with the volume of horseback riders who are crossing the river. A swinging bridge was proposed in the past, however, the NPS is currently considering putting large boulders across the river that will identify a "corridor" for horses to transverse (NPS employee, personal communication 2006). The reason for the NPS's concern about the growing number of tourists into the area is what Hammitt and Cole (1987) referred to in

Chapter II as an area's "carrying capacity" for tourists, referring to the maximum number of tourists an environment can support without causing degradation of resources. One resident demonstrates local resistance to and frustration over the closing of roads, and their perception of the BSFNRRRA becoming a "horse park," when they state:

Now closed access, in most places you have to walk a mile before you even start over the bluffs to the river, BSF is a rich man's playground, if you can afford horses you can go wherever you want, if you just have an old truck, your family has to walk.

According to one NPS employee, the reason for so many restrictions within the BSFNRRRA is because the area is no longer being utilized by just a few local residents, but by hundreds of visitors, and this number is most likely to increase in the future. This is partly why there are also restrictions or limits on the collection of berries, nuts, firewood, flora, and fauna as discussed in Chapter III. The NPS employee continued to explain that if local residents would try and understand the purpose behind restrictions, then perhaps they would not be so upset with NPS policies and regulations. A male resident of McCreary County who recognizes the purpose behind NPS restrictions and who continues to participate in NPS activities stated during an interview:

People can always move or commute to jobs, at least those who want to work, lots of people around here come up with excuses why they don't work...It's not so easy for plants and animals to move...We're developing more and more, if we don't try and preserve what little wilderness that's left, there won't be any left. I would like to think that my grandchildren will be able to experience what their ancestors experienced when they first came to the area. The Big South Fork is home to a lot of endangered animals and plants; we've already killed off enough species with our greed and love of development.

Another NPS employee explained that restrictions on camping and campfires exist because of the potential occurrence of forest fires and underground fires. At the time the BSFNRRRA was established, an underground fire existed at the former mining

site of Worley. The coal seam under the earth was slowly smoldering, with smoke seeping into the air from below. In another incident after the BSFNRRRA was established, a family started a campfire on top of a coal seam near Leatherwood Ford (a traditional swimming and picnicking area on the Big South Fork River). The coal began to smolder and started an underground fire. NPS rangers spent weeks digging a trench around the underground fire in order to prevent its spreading throughout the region (NPS employee, personal communication 2005).²²

In addressing the research question, “How has the establishment of the BSFNRRRA and political discourse surrounding the BSFNRRRA affected social dynamics, and the access to, use of, and management of the natural resources and cultural resources in the area?” the following may be deduced. Self-sufficiency was, and continues to be, a significant part of local residents’ lives and survival, partly because of the poverty rate within the area. In fact, McCreary County is among one of the 50 poorest counties in the United States, ranking number 21, with the average per capita income in the United States being \$21,587 and the average for McCreary County being \$9, 896.²³ One resident’s comment from his survey describes the problem of low income within the region:

I understand that it’s important to save land for the animals of the area, but McCreary County is already poor enough, a lot of our county is taken up by the Daniel Boone National Forest. The Sierra Club is standing up for the animals, but who is standing up for us and our rights?

Therefore, residents have learned to survive by relying on resources within the area and

²² For evidence of the severity of underground fires, refer to *The Real Disaster is Above Ground: A Mine Fire and Social Conflict* (1990), by J. Stephen Kroll-Smith and Stephen Robert Couch, University of Kentucky, which describes the devastation of an underground fire in Centralia, Pennsylvania.

²³ Estimates for average per capita income were obtained from Wikipedia.

among each other. For example, while I was in residency at the research site, one resident was recruiting others to help dig a grave for a family member, because the family could not afford otherwise. On another occasion a resident was going around the region collecting spare clothes, furniture, and canned goods for a family whose home had been destroyed by a fire. When residents traditionally had free access to resources within the BSF area, there was much to be traded, sold, or utilized by residents themselves, and at times given to those in need.

With the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, access to or uses of resources are currently limited, therefore residents have fewer resources for direct subsistence or to barter with for other needed resources, or surplus to share with others, affecting social dynamics by curtailing social interaction and support. This lack of access to resources has caused strain for a several residents, forcing them to find new or alternative ways to meet the subsistence needs of their family. For example, the collection of firewood and the trapping of animals for their pelts, in addition to collecting medicinal herbs, helped to supplement several families' incomes. Residents now state that this part of their livelihood is impossible because of NPS restrictions. Other residents refuse to hunt within the National Area because they feel that they are targets of discrimination by NPS employees for harassment or unwarranted citations. Yet, several residents prefer to boycott the NPS altogether, one form of James Scott's "everyday resistance." Residents' comments from their surveys demonstrate their feelings towards restrictions on hunting when they state:

We have too many restrictions put upon us, such as where we can hunt, fish, ride horses, ride ATVs, etc. Example: Are you aware that if you or your child picks a flower in the BSF you will be fined! FACT: A local Head Start group on tour was asked by employees of BSF to leave area due to this!

The NPS needs to recognize that there are certain areas in the park that are good for hunting and others that are not, and keep those areas open instead of closing them off. Hunting is part of our heritage and who we are today, and the park was set up so folks could continue to hunt.

While several residents prefer to boycott the NPS altogether, and have looked towards Medicaid as an alternative way to meet subsistence needs for their family, a few resist NPS restrictions through illegal poaching of animals, continual collection of protected flora such as ginseng, and the cultivation of “pot” (*Cannabis sativa*) within the National Area, which continues to be a management problem for the NPS whose goal is to protect natural and cultural resources.

Symbolic Meaning of Place and Social Identity

The former discussion demonstrates that residents often refer to the BSF area as a part of **who they are**, a part of their “social identity.” One resident summarizes this feeling best, what the area meant to local residents, when they state:

You are born here, live here, and die here. It’s who you are.

Findings also demonstrate, however, that the meaning of the area has changed for several residents, primarily because of current restrictions on access to and use of resources within the BSFNRRRA. A few residents refer to the establishment of the BSFNRRRA as turning the meaning of the area “on its head,” from a “free commons for locals” to a restricted public domain for the benefit of “outsiders.” The term “locals” and “outsiders” demonstrates Erving Goffman’s concept of “in-group” versus “out-group” dynamics. Other residents state that the area does not mean the same anymore because they can no

longer visit **family homesteads** or **cemeteries** as freely as before. Residents' comments from surveys include:

The No Business area. My family is buried down there, I can't go visit them without a park ranger taking me there. Who wants a stranger standing over you when you are reminiscing [sic] and grieving?

Places like Parch Corn and No Business have road blocks. Can't visit relatives graves-now under BSF rules, people who are disabled or can't walk long distances have to be escorted by park personal that are not at the least interested in doing so.

The previous quotes demonstrate that a reoccurring resentment towards the NPS by local residents is the restricted access to certain areas that contain family cemeteries. While the NPS can not refuse access to cemeteries, they can restrict the public from vehicular access to these areas, with public access consisting of hiking, horseback riding, or motorized access by a NPS employee in a NPS vehicle.

Other residents feel that the BSF area has lost its former meaning to them because they can no longer participate in what used to be **family traditions**. Statements from various residents' surveys that support this finding include the following:

The old oil well at the river where I and my granpaw went fishing and swimming when I was young. The road has been closed off now, and it is too far to walk. I can not enjoy this place with my two sons as my grandfather and father did. So it don't mean the same anymore, it's not something you can share with your family anymore.

The Zenith area and an area next to Burnt Mill Bridge at the top of the hill. We camped in there a lot. We can't get there now because we have to walk and we are not able to do that. They have put barriers up, we can't get in there anymore. They're [NPS] taking away our family traditions.

My grandfather use to live close to a place we call the Ballon Bottom. He took me fishing until he died in 1938. My father and mother loved to go camping there. We went with them, my brothers and sister and later my children. My mother and father are deceased now. And a gate has been put up across a dirt road leading to this place, and it is too far to walk.

Similarly, another resident describes the change of meaning of the Big South Area when they state:

My family would camp out at No Business on weekends, it was something to do and time to spend with the family, my husband and I kept up the tradition with our kids, but now I'm too old to walk that far and my kids will not go without me, it was a special place for our family, but now it doesn't mean anything to any of us, just a memory of a better life.

Therefore, in addressing the research question, “What are people’s accounts of what the area meant to local residents before the establishment of the BSFNRRRA?” two salient themes emerge. These include (1) free access to and reliance on resources for “livelihood” and (2) ancestral lands, family homestead, and traditions, which are a part of residents’ “social identity.” When addressing the research question, “Have local residents negotiated new definitions of their relationship to what is now the BSFNRRRA?” The answer is “Yes.” For several residents the BSFNRRRA continues to be a part of who they are, their home of ancestral lands. Yet residents now define the area as public land, and who continue to utilize the BSFNRRRA for both its natural and cultural resources, while adapting to NPS restrictions to managing *means of access to and use of resources* in the area. For example, hunting and fishing continues to be a favorite activity among several residents, for both recreation and subsistence purposes. As one resident commented in their survey:

Well fishing is allowed, that's good, hiking that's good, still can have baptizing there, that's good.

Other residents, however, feel that they have been displaced; the BSF area is no longer home, but belongs to someone else, their freedom to use resources has been impinged

upon, that they are merely visitors or unwanted trespassers. Statements from residents' surveys that express this redefinition include:

I have always moved freely in the area, to prohibit access to certain areas is like saying don't travel on my own property.

You were free to roam, but not anymore. It's like living in a fenced in place, you are just allowed to go so far, we're being watched because we're locals.

We feel like we are not allowed there anymore, someone else has all the authority. It doesn't mean or feel the same anymore, it's like we're trespassers now.

I don't go to the park, I'm not having a NPS ranger who thinks he has the authority to tell me what I can or can't do on what use to be, and still should be, mine.

The previous statements also demonstrate Michael Foucault's premise that every relationship has a power element to it (doctor-patient, prison guard-prisoner, NPS employee-local resident). According to Foucault, there are no equal relationships; someone is always dominating and expressing power over the other. One resident best exemplifies this power element when they state:

I don't like the Park Service or what it stands for, they have closed roads and the park rangers think they are gods. Because local people can't use it. Rights being taken away.

To other residents the BSF area is dead, and no longer an important part of their "social identity" or a part of their "livelihood." One resident who best represents this feeling stated:

The Big South Fork River has always been a part of who we are, it was a part of our life. Now we are restricted to even go to it in places. It's like someone cutting off your oxygen. The place is dead to me now.

The former statements self-sufficient community that they once were a part of no longer exists, Station Camp and the No Business communities for examples.

Similarly, these demonstrate how the BSF area no longer means the same for several residents because the finding parallels what Durwood Dunn discovered with the death of the self-sufficient community of Cades Cove when it became a part of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. As discussed in Chapter II, Dunn states that one of the reasons behind the protection of Cades Cove was because of its beauty. But, after residents were displaced from their homes, the NPS realized that part of the beauty and charm of the area was lost because the fields and the community no longer existed (Dunn 1988). Similar concerns for the BSFNRRRA were expressed in local residents' surveys from the region:

The O & W RR is the prettiest area of the park which is accessible by auto, well so far, if they close it off, the place won't mean the same anymore, the BSF is losing its charm.

The O & W is one of the most sacred and beautiful areas in the park, if the NPS closes it off, then there will be hell to pay.

The O & W Railroad bed (which currently exists as a dirt road) is not included as one of the 11 vehicular access points to the BSF River, and therefore according to the Master Plan (1980) for the BSFNRRRA, it is to eventually be closed off to motorized vehicles.

Adaptation and Cooperation

Findings from this research demonstrate that several local residents have adapted to the establishment of the BSFNRRRA through their continual use and visitation of the National Area. For example, during my residency at the research site, several residents, in addition to tourists, were observed attending cultural festivals sponsored by the NPS.

Local school groups continue to take field trips to the BSFNRRRA, especially the Blue Heron historic site. In addition, findings from Research Period II and III of this project demonstrate residents' participation and cooperation in activities or meetings sponsored by the NPS. For example, 21% of those who participated in the twenty in-depth interviews and the first set of focus groups that I conducted during Research Period II stated that they did attend Open House meetings held by the NPS. Fifty-three percent of those who participated in the survey during Research Period III stated that they would attend NPS Open House meetings. One resident even commented in their survey that they are glad that the NPS oversees the BSFNRRRA.

I'm glad for the Park Rangers. It keeps a lot of crime down. If it weren't for them it would not be safe to even go down there.

While several residents have accepted the fact that the BSF area is now a public domain, and have adapted by redefining the area as such, others tend to resist this fact by stating that they "will never attend anything sponsored by the NPS." The second section of this chapter focuses more specifically on manifestation of conflict and resistance, of particular interest is local resistance in attending NPS Open House meetings and participating in the creation of public policy for the BSFNRRRA.

Section Two: Contemporary Manifestations of Conflict and Resistance Within the Big South Fork Area

The second goal of this study is to gain a better understanding of the complex relationships and sources of conflict, resistance, and cooperation between local community residents of the Big South Fork area, National Park Service employees, and special interest groups (members of the Sierra Club and National Parks Conservation

Association for examples). Findings from this research project demonstrate manifestations of conflict and resistance within the BSFNRRRA in the forms of what James Scott refers to as “forms of everyday resistance” and Michael Foucault’s concept of “resistance as it is embedded in everyday life.” As described by Foucault, resistance can be seen in the relationship between those in power who are seen as the expert (the NPS for example) and the weaker members of the relationship (residents of the BSF area for example). As discussed in Chapter II, according to Foucault, because there are no equal relationships, the weaker members of the relationship are always resisting those who express power over them. Domination only works if one is able to inhibit those without power to stop resisting and believe in the status quo. Furthermore, dominate members often remind their subordinates of their powerful position through the use of symbols, the uniform of a prison guard for example. In reference to this research study, the uniform of a park ranger symbolizes the power of government, which is deeply distrusted among several residents since the US Corps of Engineers started to “acquire” land for the establishment of the BSFNRRRA. A few residents even discussed their distrust of the government since the early 1900s, with revenueurs (federal prohibition enforcers) disrupting their production of moonshine, with the technique being brought over with the early Scots-Irish settlers.

Examples of “everyday resistance” manifested within the National Area include incidences of vandalism, theft, and arson, demonstrated at the Blue Heron historic site when display cases describing the history of the former coal-mining town were broken into with artifacts (a mining helmet, lunch pail, and arguer for examples) either stolen or destroyed. As one NPS employee commented:

There have been many break-ins, vandalism, destruction, and theft at Blue Heron, yet every time the NPS threatens to remove the mining objects on display, there is an outcry in the newspaper and on the radio. You just can't win.

Signs describing the "ghost structures" at the Blue Heron site have also been vandalized. The soda machines and phones at the concession area have been destroyed on numerous occasions. The gazebo located at the Overlook that looks down on the Blue Heron site has been set on fire. In addition, the portable toilet at the Overlook was once blown up with dynamite.

One incident of arson occurred in McCreary County, Kentucky, after the NPS announced that they were going to move a historic log cabin, the Stringfield Cabin built in the 1880s, to a more protected area for preservation and management purposes. The one room log cabin had been moved previously in 1928 by its new owner, Thomas Troxel. Because of this, the issue of integrity of place (existing on the original site) was not a factor nor was there a compromise of the National Historic Property Act by the NPS in moving the log cabin to a more protective location. Troxel originally bought the cabin to live in while his own larger home was being built. Over the years the cabin deteriorated and became a backwoods hunting cabin for anyone that wanted to camp there. After the federal government purchased the land and cabin, the NPS proposed moving it to a more secure location at the historic Blue Heron site. In describing Troxels' position in the Kentucky state legislature, one NPS employee stated:

Troxel was the first legislator to represent McCreary County. The Park Service wanted to recognize this by moving the family cabin, ...in order to preserve it, to a more protected place, where it could be patrolled daily, ... to turn it into something special, with plaques, and displays and all, ...that described Troxel's contributions to Kentucky. When this undertaking became known, several people in the local communities let the NPS know directly that if this project went ahead that the cabin would be burned. One of these people was a family member of the Troxels. So rather than have the accomplishments of one of the county's

illustrious be celebrated, they would rather have this structure burnt to the ground. I guess after the federal government took so much land, that this was viewed as just another piece of their history being co-opted.

The NPS informant continued to describe how a family member “stated directly” to a NPS employee, “face-to-face,” that if the cabin was moved, that he would “torch it.” It was during the process of repairing the road to move the cabin in 1985, that “someone torched” the cabin and burned it to the ground.

Another incident of arson that occurred in McCreary County pertained to a barn constructed between 1911 and 1920. Two sisters built a two-pen saddlebag log cabin in the early 1900s and built a log barn later as the need arose. The sisters pit sawed the lumber themselves.²⁴ Over the years the homestead collapsed, leaving only the seventy year old barn remaining. In 1982, however, arsonists also set fire to this structure and burned it to the ground.

In addition to the destruction of historic structures, several forest fires have been started throughout the BSFNRRA. In fact, several fires were started during my residency at the study area. One NPS employee described how:

...if locals don't like something that the Park Service is doing, or something that's happened, it's at that consequential time that a fire is started, but you can't prove who did it. But this is when you see the fires started, I'm not talking about fires from campfires, you can tell when it's done on purpose, out of retaliation over something.

Fires often occur after the closing of trails or roads that prevent access to traditional areas.

I was also informed during an interview with a ranger from the National Forest Service in McCreary County, that McCreary and Floyd Counties have the highest rate of

²⁴ A saw pit is a pit over which timber is sawed by two people, one standing below the timber and the other above.

arson than any other counties in Kentucky. I would like to note here, that a large percentage of the Daniel Boone National Forest also lies within McCreary County. Floyd County is not located near the BSF area, the county lies in eastern Kentucky, near the Virginia and Kentucky boarder.

Looting, another form of “everyday resistance,” is a problem that exists within the National Area, especially of Native American artifacts. Poaching is another problem. Medicinal plants are also illegally gathered and sold for profit, however, this may be more for monetary and survival purposes than resistance to the NPS.

One resident that I met during a cultural festival sponsored by the NPS told me that, “a man with a van” comes around in the fall to buy medicinal plants that people have gathered. While the resident did not admit that he collected plants from the BSFNRRRA himself, he did describe how “others” collected plants illegally. In quoting the resident:

There’s over a hundred thousand acres of land in the Big South Fork, and only about twenty-eight or so rangers to patrol it. They can’t be everywhere, all the time, to keep a look out for everything.

The informant continued to describe that people have been “*sanging*” in the area “forever,” and that there is no harm “as long as you put the berry back,” in order for a new plant to grow from the seed. The informant continued to describe how one could receive \$300.00 for a pound of ginseng.²⁵ In other incidences, illegal plants such as *Cannabis sativa* are grown in the National Area for personal use or for profit.

Upon inquiry on the number of rangers stated by the local resident that patrol the National Area, a NPS employee commented:

²⁵ Refer to Chapter III for a description on the history and importance of collecting ginseng, or “*sanging*,” in Appalachia.

There have never been more than eight rangers in the Visitor Protection Division. This is a real deficiency since each ranger works forty hours a week, and each receives eighty hours a year of leave, and each receives forty hours of sick leave. So, by adding these up you can see coverage for the 125,000 acre park is not at all adequate.

This over estimation, or exaggeration, of the number of NPS rangers is only one example of residents' false perceptions about the BSFNRRRA and the NPS. Other misconceptions, or misunderstandings, that I found among residents' pertain to hunting regulations, camping, collection of firewood or other natural resources, campfires, alcohol consumption within the National Area, and the purpose of restrictive vehicular access into the gorge and river area.

Other examples of "everyday resistance" or "resistance as it is embedded in everyday life" found within the research area include shunning, character slander, and malicious gossip. A few NPS employees who were interviewed described their experiences of shunning by local residents when they meet them in public places, such as restaurants, gas stations, grocery stores, or the new Super Wal-mart. Other NPS employees describe how residents often make derogatory remarks about them through "gossip" or that they will "write a nasty article in the local newspaper." A rumor that I encountered on numerous occasions among residents of Fentress, Scott, and McCreary Counties, pertains to a newspaper article supposedly printed in a local paper, *The Fentress County Courier*. According to residents, the newspaper article describes how the NPS released crates of snakes into the BSFNRRRA to help in their re-population when the National Area was first established.

Upon attempts to acquire a copy of this newspaper article, the editor of the local newspaper stated that he himself has heard of this rumor, but in the forty years that he has

been editor, he does not “remember ever seeing it, but do hear people saying it.” He continued to explain that the newspaper articles are not archived by subject, so trying to find this specific article would “be like trying to find a needle in a haystack that probably ain’t there.”

A possible way this rumor may have started, the NPS releasing snakes into the National Area, is that when a poisonous snake is found in a public area, the snake is removed by the NPS and released into a more wilderness designated area. This was the case at the Blue Heron historic site. An actual den of copperheads had taken up residency in the former abandoned coal mining camp. But, because the Blue Heron site became a very popular tourist attraction after the BSFNRRRA was established, the snakes were captured by the NPS and released into the wild.

More recent articles have been written about the NPS, and the Tennessee Wildlife Resource Agency, condemning them for the reintroduction of the Black Bear into the BSFNRRRA.²⁶ In investigating these articles, one of the editors of a local newspaper told me that most of the residents in the area do not want the Black Bear reintroduced into the BSFNRRRA because of safety reasons and threat to local livestock. The informant used the example of “three or four years ago, a lady was killed by a Black Bear in the Smokies, ...so we don’t want them here.” The informant also described how people have been attacked by Black Bears in Canada. On this note, the majority of residents who participate in horseback riding are against the reintroduction of the Black Bear due to fear that “they may spook the horse.”

²⁶ The NPS conducted two studies in reintroducing Black Bears into the National Area. In the first study, Black Bears that were released into the National Area migrated back to the Great Smokey Mountains from where they were caught. In the second study, the NPS found that when they placed pregnant Black Bears into the area, that the females would stay within the area to attend to their cubs and that the cubs would later stay when they became adults.

On at least one occasion, a derogatory song was written about the NPS and played on a local radio station. The song refers to an incident that occurred at the Blue Heron historic site. As stated to me by a NPS employee, the incident pertains to a group of elementary school children who were taken to the Blue Heron site for a fieldtrip. For one reason or another, the school bus that was to pick the students up was late on its arrival. The children had seen everything that there was to see, and became bored and started to “run amok.” After one of the children had fallen down and hurt himself, the ranger at the site took charge in trying to control the children’s actions. The NPS employee stated that the ranger had to do this because “the teachers were not doing their job, watching after the students.” This was later escalated into a local song describing how the ranger chased the children off the site, and then compared her actions to those of Lizzy Borden. A different NPS employee added to this story at a later interview, stating that a year later another group of students visited the same site, and that one of the children drowned in the BSF River because of “lack of supervision.”

Upon inquiry with one of the teachers who was present during this incident, a different version of the situation was described, or as she stated “Well, while everyone may agree a pancake is flat, there is still two sides to it.” According to the school teacher the students road the train to the Blue Heron site, this is done every year because a lot of the students do not have the money to do so with their family. The students saw what was to be seen at the displays, walked the trails, and began to have lunch. It was at this time that the train leaving out of the historic site departed, and then a park ranger became upset because the students did not depart on the train. As described to me by the teacher, the ranger came up and shouted “Who’s in charge here? This is not an appropriate

environment for kids. I can't believe you brought them here,...we have snakes,...and you're not prepared for the dangers here. You have to leave,...because I say you have to leave."

The teacher then informed me that she tried to explain to the ranger that school buses were coming to pick them up and that they were prepared for anything that happened:

...in fact we had fifty, now furious, parents in our group, several teachers, and at least 18 cell phones among us if something did happen. These kids were raised in the hills on the creek, they know of the dangers,...the main purpose for the trip was so the kids could ride the train, because their families can't afford it. Now, I wouldn't turn them loose in Fayette Mall, that would be dangerous.²⁷

The teacher continued to explain:

The publicity over this was horrible. Before, locals were glad that the Park Service came in and fixed up the Blue Heron site, it was empty for 50 years and unusable. The schools were working with the Park Service, but after this incident, well you have 50 furious parents telling their side of the story, and telling everyone not to go to the park anymore...the Park Service did try damage control, getting rid of that ranger for one thing. There was a lot of publicity on this, and a lot was misunderstandings over concern for the kids' safety. The Lexington Herald had an article calling us 'Hillbillies' acting up and being thrown out of the park. And some of the locals wrote articles about the 'crazy ranger' who chased a bunch of kids out of the park.

This example serves to demonstrate how one incident lead to continuous conflict and resistance between the NPS and local residents.

Graffiti is also found throughout the National Area, on cliffs, dumpsters, or road signs, with a common message stating "NPS Sucks." Graffiti can be found carved in the walls of rock shelters with a knife or other sharp implement. One NPS employee described a story about graffiti aimed at a particular NPS ranger:

A lot of the rangers have gotten a lot of negative publicity, especially these Young

²⁷ Fayette Mall is a large shopping center located in the city of Lexington, Kentucky.

Turks who come in and go by the book. Like skinning or Jack Lightening. It is illegal because of poaching, but these folks who were spot-lightening were doing it just for the fun of it ...and instead of just giving them a warning, he gave them a ticket! Shortly after, you saw graffiti all over the park saying 'Fuck You Ranger [Name of Ranger].'

NPS signs are often destroyed or the targets for bullets and beer bottles (Figure V.I).



(Figure V.1 Sign located within the BSFNRR, taken by Carol Jo Evans, 2000).

At other times signs are erected in retaliation of NPS activities, or the perception that the NPS is promoting the National Area as a “horse park.” For example, on one occasion a sign was posted on highway 154, which enters the National Area, stating to the effect of “Horse people when you pack up your stuff, make sure you pack up your horse shit.” Several residents described their distaste of “outsiders” who come into the area with their “huge 6-wheeled luxury trucks” and horse trailers, and expect “locals to pull off the road and let them by,” referring to the narrow dirt roads that run throughout the plateau region.

One resident continued to state that “then there’s a park ranger chasing you down to give you a ticket because you ran over the grass and killed one of their precious bugs.”

“Everyday forms of resistance” can be seen when residents boycott the BSFNRRRA or the NPS altogether. This brings us to one of the central goals of this research project, to come to an understanding of residents’ resistance in participating in activities sponsored by the NPS. For example, several residents boast that they will never let anyone of their family, including grandchildren, have anything to do with the BSFNRRRA. This form of group mentality towards a specific cause demonstrates what Irving Janis (1972, 1982) referred to in Chapter II as “group think,” with residents boasting that “we will never step foot in that park again.” A statement by one resident during an interview with his oldest son exemplifies the concept of “group think” when he speaks of the community of No Business:

No Business always meant a lot to my family, for camping and just being together. Now the NPS has turned its meaning on its head. There are restrictions on getting there, and if you do get there, there’s more restrictions. You can’t even pick a flower for your wife without taking a chance of going to jail. I had a ranger almost give me a ticket because I threw an orange peel on the ground. He said I was littering. Can you believe it. I tell you, as long as I am alive, my son and his kids will never step foot in that park again.

The informant’s son then added:

Well I know I’ll never step foot in there, you’re scared to pick up a stone out of the river because you’ll be thrown in jail for disturbing a bug’s habitat.

Other residents refuse to attend, or allow their children to attend, cultural festivals sponsored by the NPS, even when the festivals provide educational activities on the history of the area, the Spring Planting Festival for example. In addition to demonstrating how local residents once plowed and planted with mules, the festival

demonstrates forgotten arts such as soap making, hand spinning, weaving, basket making, garden herb lore and use, wood working, and blacksmithing.

The previous discussion and statements demonstrate the severity of local residents' resistance towards the NPS, when they state that they "refuse to have anything to do with that park again," or when residents boycott programs and resist attending Open House meetings sponsored by the NPS. The following section divides sources of resistance into two categories. The first category supports Scott's model of sources for resistance: Perceived Threat to "Livelihood" and "Social Identity," in addition to acts of "Routine Repression." The second category expands on Scott's model of sources for resistance: "Lack of Respect and Communication" and "Infringement on Unalienable Human Rights."

Sources of Resistance: Perceived Threat to Livelihood and Social Identity

As discussed in Chapter IV, surveys were mailed to residents' homes in November 1997. From these, 108 surveys were returned (see Appendix IV for detailed survey results). Survey findings were analyzed on how measures of *satisfaction or dissatisfaction* among local residents, with the way the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning for the management of the BSFNRRRA, are directly related to *access to natural and cultural resources* within the National Area. Residents who have traditionally participated in activities within the BSFNRRRA that are associated with subsistence, hunting and ATV use for example, were compared to residents who participated in more nontraditional activities, mountain bikes and horseback riding for example.

Hypothesis I: Those user groups who experience prohibitions/restrictions to traditional resources or areas (hunters and ATV users) will demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those user groups who experience an increase of access due to developments of trails and services (horse back riders and mountain bikers).

Null Hypothesis I: Those user groups who experience prohibitions/restrictions to traditional resources or areas (hunters and ATV users) will not demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those user groups who experience an increase of access due to developments of trails and services (horse back riders and mountain bikers).

A few points must be made clear. While horseback riding was an activity that local residents participated in the past, it was not very popular because most residents can not afford the “up keep” of a horse. In addition, several residents feel that the National Area is becoming more of a horse park at the expense of hunting and ATV use, in the means of more hunting restrictions near certain trails and more restrictions on ATV use because they “spook horses.” Another point that needs to be addressed is that while ATV use is utilized as a recreational activity among residents, it is also important to hunters for the removal of large game. Several residents resent that motorized vehicles are only allowed in limited areas of the gorge, making hunting in the region more difficult. Statements from residents’ surveys that support these facts include:

I’m a hunter and it is very hard to retrieve game without a vehicle.

We can’t ride our 4-wheelers because they have been restricted and it’s too far to walk and pack fishing equipment to fishing holes.

Quantitative analysis does not support the argument that there is a difference in satisfaction levels between different user groups with the methods the NPS utilizes in trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA. Answers were coded with: 1 **Very Satisfied**; 2 **Somewhat Satisfied**; 3 **Not Very Satisfied**; and 4 **Not**

Satisfied at All. The mean satisfaction level is 2.31 with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among horseback/mountain biker user groups, in other words they tend to say that they are **Somewhat Satisfied** with the NPS. The mean satisfaction level is 2.64 with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among ATV/hunter user groups, in other words they tend to say that they are **Not Very Satisfied** with the NPS.

The difference between the means was evaluated using a t-test. Statistical comparison of these means (t-test) indicates that the t-value was not statistically significant at the .05 level. Therefore we fail to reject the Null Hypothesis, although this result could be attributed to a small sample size. The evidence, as it stands, is not sufficient to provide a firm conclusion.

Qualitative analysis supports the low level of satisfaction with the NPS between the various user groups. Below are comments from three residents' surveys.

The people that live here are not satisfied, because they cant' do some of the things that their families have done from generation to generation, and that's camping and hunting on the river.

Scaling Pole Branch and Troublesome Creek, these places hold many memories of hunting and fishing trips up to being denied access into the gorge area except by horseback or backpacking.

We need more sign & maps on the Horse Trails in the woods & turn offs on the trails. We need rest areas on the trail ...picnic tables, more hitching rails, more trashcans, and Mounting Blocks.

Drawing from this analysis, data supports Scott's premise that those who perceived a threat to their "livelihood" (hunting and fishing for examples) are most likely to be dissatisfied with members of authority and demonstrate resistance.

Satisfaction levels on the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA was compared between those who have experienced prohibitions/restrictions to *cherished/meaningful places* and those who have not experienced prohibitions/restrictions. Cherished places include family homesteads, cemeteries, hunting cabins, and other places that have special meaning for residents.

Hypothesis II: Those residents who have experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places will demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those who have not experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places. Cherished/meaningful places may include family homesteads, cemeteries, hunting grounds, traditional fishing or swimming holes.

Null Hypothesis II: Those residents who have experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places will not demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those who have not experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places.

Quantitative analysis supports the argument that there is a difference in satisfaction levels with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA between residents who have experienced restrictions on cherished/meaningful places versus residents who have not experienced restrictions on cherished/meaningful places. The mean sum level of satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among those with restricted cherished places is 2.91, in other words, there is a tendency for them to be **Not Satisfied** with the NPS. The mean sum level of satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among those without restrictions on cherished places is 2.15, in other words there is a tendency for them to be **Somewhat Satisfied** with the NPS.

The statistical significance of the difference between the means was evaluated using a t-test. Statistical comparison of these means (t-test) indicates that the t-value is statistically significant at the .05 level. This means the probability is less than 1 out of 20 that the difference between the means is due to sampling error. In other words, there is a 95% certainty that the difference between the means did not occur due to sampling error and therefore one may reject the Null Hypothesis. There appears to be a difference in satisfaction levels with the methods the NPS utilizes in trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSNRRA between residents who have experienced restrictions on cherished/meaningful places versus residents who have not experienced restrictions.

Qualitative data also supports discontent with the NPS among those who have experienced restrictions to cherished/meaningful places.

Iron gates, waterbars, and dirt mound, closed trails and roads. Certain areas we can't enter and other areas, cemeteries, we must contact park rangers and arrange an escort.

I had to have a ranger take me down to No Business to visit my mother's grave, now I couldn't say things to her that I wanted to with him watching. So no, I'm not satisfied with the way the Park Service does things around here. I'll never go again [grave site], so I don't have a reason to ever go back to the park. I'm too old to walk very far, and you won't get me on a horse.

Drawing from the previous quotes and quantitative analysis, data also supports Scott's premise that those who perceive a threat to their "social identity" are most likely to be dissatisfied with members of authority and demonstrate resistance.

In addition to residents' statements, statements from NPS employees demonstrate the use of "everyday resistance" by residents when further restrictions on resources

threaten residents' "social identity" or "livelihood." The following statements from NPS rangers describe the use of arson as a form of "everyday resistance."

People around here get really upset when we [NPS] have to close off vehicular access to areas they use to use in the past. They either rip down our signs saying 'No Vehicles Allowed' or set fires in retaliation ...I would say that 95% of the fires in the Big South Fork is due to arson. But then they [local residents] get upset with us when we have to do prescribed burns.

We [NPS] know that some locals set fires out of retaliation, and while we try to patrol the area, there are few of us and it is just hard to catch them.

The statements above demonstrate the "us/in-group" versus "them/out-group" discussed previously.

In *Weapons of the Weak*, Scott discusses the hegemonic control of the peasantry by the elite. Scott found that these peasants are not kept in line by some form of state-sponsored terrorism, but what he calls "routine repression" (legal restrictions, occasional arrests, and warnings for example). Statements from local residents' surveys of the BSF area who claim to be treated more unfairly than "outside visitors," especially in the issuance of citations and harassment by NPS rangers include:

I would like to say that I was harassed by a park ranger for being in the woods and looking for a place to deer hunt.

Roads are narrow entering the area, cannot pass without damaging vegetation, park ranger have been arresting people for damaging the vegetation, not enjoyable to be arrested for nothing.

One NPS employee concurs with the unnecessary issuance of citations to local residents:

A lot of the rangers have gotten a lot of negative publicity, especially these Young Turks who come in and go by the book. Like skinning or Jack Lightening. It is illegal because of poaching, but these folks who were spot-lightening were doing it just for the fun of it ...and instead of just giving them a warning, he gave them a ticket! Shortly after, you saw graffiti all over the park...

The previous quotes describing residents' experiences with NPS rangers illustrate what Scott refers to as "routine repression," for several residents this unfair treatment is partly due to a lack of respect for traditional cultural ways, and infringement of human rights.

Therefore, in summary, the previous data supports Scott's premise, that those who feel a perceived threat to one's "livelihood" (access to natural resources such as traditional fishing holes or the collection of ginseng) and one's "social identity" (access to cultural resources or places of meaning such as baptismal holes and the O & W Railroad bed), in addition to expressions of "routine repression," are most likely to demonstrate resistance towards authority.

Sources of Resistance: Lack of Respect and Communication, and Infringement on Inalienable Human Rights

One recurrent theme that emerges from residents' statements pertains to their perceived "lack of communication and "lack of respect" from NPS employees. Examples of this are demonstrated in data collected during Period II of this research project, when residents discuss barriers or circumstances that inhibited them from becoming involved in NPS Open House meetings (See Evans 1999).

Seventy-nine percent of those who participated in the twenty in-depth interviews and the first set of focus groups that I conducted during Research Period II stated that they did not attend any of the Open House meetings held by the NPS. When participants were asked, "Why did you not attend any of the Open House meetings," several themes arose from their responses. Salient themes include (1) insufficient notification by the NPS of meetings involving public opinion (NPS Open House meetings) and (2) lack of

respect towards local cultural ways or traditions. Statements describing feelings of insufficient notification by the NPS of meetings involving public opinion include:

Didn't know anything about them, you would think that if they're [NPS] going to all that trouble to have the meetings, that they would let us know, unless they already know what they're going to do.

Advertise more on what and when they are going to do things so we can plan ahead of time.

It should be noted here, that while low attendance to Open House meetings may be due to resistance towards the NPS, another factor that must be recognized is lack of communication and knowledge of the meetings.

While working as consultant for the NPS, I discovered that one of the reasons a NPS Open House meeting was not advertised in the local newspaper, though it was announced on the local radio station, is because the southeastern NPS office was not aware that the local newspaper was only published once a week. As discussed in Chapter II, the southeastern office is located in Atlanta, Georgia and oversees all NPS units in its southeastern region. When the southeastern NPS official tried to place the ad in the local newspaper announcing the Open House meeting, they found that the date scheduled for the meeting was before the next issue of the newspaper. Because arrangements had already been made for the meetings, they were held as scheduled. This incident demonstrates what local residents are trying to express to the NPS, that outsiders are making decisions that affect how they have to live, and who have little to no understanding of local cultural ways and traditions, including means of communication, or respect for residents' concerns and needs.

For example, during a conversation with Muriel (Miki) Crespi, founder and director of the Applied Ethnography Program within the NPS, I was told that decisions

pertaining to the location of the 11 vehicular access points to the river were not based on local knowledge. Locations for the access points were chosen because the Corps of Engineers wanted them to be a certain amount of miles from each other and accommodating for the unloading of canoes (Crespi, personal communication 2000).

Another NPS employee confirmed this fact when they stated:

The Corps had specific goals for the trail designers, they wanted trails connected at equal distances apart from each other, they wanted to incorporate the scenic beauty of areas, and to connect trails to developmental zones. They did not consider or incorporate local preferences of access.

One local resident demonstrates this feeling of disconnection between the NPS when decisions made without cultural knowledge of the area:

Let people know about possible ways of input. ASK people, ATLANTA & Washington, DC know little of this area but MAPS, we've lived here all of our lives, talk to us.

This quote emphasized the importance of incorporating local knowledge in the management of local resources, which in the past was more commonly found in studies pertaining to public land management policies of cultures or subcultures located outside the boundaries of the United States; a problem that Crespi worked to overcome with policies pertaining to the NPS.

Another recurrent theme that emerged from residents' statements pertains to their feeling of infringement on their "unalienable human rights." One resident expressed resentment that local residents are the ones who pay taxes for the maintenance of roads for "outsiders." This is expressed in one resident's statement:

What bothers me the most is that I'm paying taxes to maintain the roads for those fancy horse trailers, and then they try and run you off the road.

Other residents' voices allude to the concern of "taxation without representation."

Because everybody pays taxes and everybody should have an equal say in the matter.

For giving the local people some say in what the tax dollar [sic] is being spent on.

Federal money is everyone's money.

One resident described how his ancestors “came to America” to escape poverty, persecution, and taxes that influenced the former. The resident then stated that he is now “facing taxation without representation” in his own country, referring to not having a voice when his land was “acquired” by the Corps of Engineers to create the BSFNRRRA.

Continuance of Resistance

Another central question that is addressed in this section is, “Why, after thirty years since the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, does conflict or resistance continue to exist in the area?” The answer returns to the potential threat of the local population’s “social identity” and “livelihood,” in addition to “human rights,” “lack of communication,” and “respect.”

Since the establishment of the BSFNRRRA, guidelines and regulations outlined in the Master Plan have been continuously put into effect. All vehicular access points to the river, excluding the 11 designated by the Corps of Engineers, were not closed off immediately or concurrently. The restrictions of vehicular access points to the BSF River and its’ tributaries, in addition to restrictions of access to other resources, has been a slow and continuous process. For example, the restriction of vehicular use of the O & W railroad bed to the river continues to be a “heated” issue between local residents and the NPS, with environmental groups insisting that the NPS follow the Master Plan for the National Area in order to prevent an impending lawsuit and local residents insisting that

Scott County owns a part of the “Right Of Way” of the railroad bed. According to the new GMP (2005), the rail bed will be made into a horse, hike and bike trail. However, local wagon and horse enthusiasts contacted a Tennessee Senator demanding that the rail bed be open to wagons (NPS employee, personal communication 2010). The consistent conflict over rights of access to resources by various user and interests groups demonstrates what Ortner (2006) refers to as “sanitizing politics,” meaning an understanding of internal politics and conflicts among residents.

Other areas are continuously restricted because of the identification of endangered species, or potential overuse and environmental degradation by the public, or purposes of public safety. One NPS employee discussed the issue of continuous closing of access to resources within the National Area, they also discussed problems and issues that the NPS faces which often goes unseen or that are misunderstood.

One of the problems we face today is that they [Corps] developed substandard trails from roads that formerly accessed cemeteries, or former log roads, farm roads, they didn't build new trails. And several of these substandard trails don't go by scenic vistas, they're not equal distances apart, and they don't connect. Furthermore, they can't support the number of people or horseback riders who are using them now. ... There's a lot of half baked things, and the NPS needs money to fix these trails so they are sustainable, so they require minimum maintenance cost in the future. We're going to have to close off more trails for now because they're substandard, and we don't have the money to replace them at this time.

In other instances, access to areas within the BSFNRRRA has been restricted due to forces of nature. For example, while in residency at the National Area, an ice storm caused numerous limbs from trees to snap from the weight of the ice, with the debris blocking any possible means of using the trails. While local residents volunteered to help clear the debris from the trails, the NPS declined their offer for various reasons, including

purposes of public safety. The majority of the trails have been cleared over the years by the NPS, though several still remain impassible, thus inhibiting access to resources.

This brings us to one of the primary sources of continuous resistance and conflict between local residents and NPS employees, the continuance of additional restrictions to access of natural and cultural resources. Which, as discussed previously, creates a continuous and ongoing threat to local residents' "social identity" and "livelihood?" This also filters in with issues of communication, or "lack of communication/understanding," of why the NPS implements particular restrictions and regulations, and the "lack of respect" of informing the local population through their cultural avenues. In turn, respect and understanding for why the NPS implements restrictions to access of resources is needed from the populace. The third section of this chapter suggests measures that can be taken by the NPS to lessen conflict or resistance, and promote cooperation between the agency and local residents.

Section Three: Conflict in the BSNRRA and Recommendations for Resolution

As addressed in Chapter II, government organizations face potentially conflicting goals between preservation and the provision of recreational opportunities, especially when management decisions are made without adequate data about local residents. For example, Alexander (1983) notes that in outdoor recreation management, not only should biological factors be considered, but social factors as well. According to Alexander, an integrated approach that examines the basic characteristics, preferences, perceptions, and attributes of those affected -- namely local residents/landowners, the recreationists, and managers -- is needed in order to gather relevant data for developing and implementing

adequate management policies and procedures. Similarly, ethnographic studies have demonstrated the importance of community involvement in the early planning stages for conservation/preservation (Chan, Pringle, Ranganathan, Boggs, Erlich, Hoff, Heller, Al-Khafaji, and Macmynowkki 2007; Xu and Melick 2007; Biesele, Hitchcock, and Schweitzer 2000), managing wilderness areas (Kothari, Suri, and Singh 1995; Schoepfle et. al. 1993), national parks (Western, Wright, and Strum 1994) and recreational areas (Howell 1983a) in order to limit social conflict (Howell 1989).

According to Robert McCracken's (1980) research findings on the social and psychological responses to land acquisition from residents who lived within the boundaries of the BSFNRRRA at its establishment, the brief statistical compilation of social and economic data contained in the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) was not an adequate social impact assessment. As noted by McCracken, the EIS "focused largely on the developmental consequences of the park to the natural environment, including plant and animal life. Some effort was made to deal with the economic, and to a lesser extent, the social implications of the park's development" (1980:2). Howell concurs when she states, "the environmental impact statement gave only 'cursory attention' to socio-cultural data, instead relying primarily on statistical sources" (1989:276). Howell expands on this statement by describing how the economic and social conditions in the EIS was limited because it was only based on county-wide statistical data and a few interviews with local government officials, large-scale land owners (many of whom were absentee or corporate), and not local residents living near or inside the boundaries of the proposed recreation area. The EIS did not address the immediate situation of the 34 households (some 125 individuals) believed to be living within the proposed BSFNRRRA

boundaries in 1975, nor did it assess the possible social and cultural impacts of their impending relocation (Howell 1981).

Incorporating findings from McCracken's and Howell's studies, Scott's model of resistance, and analysis from findings of sources of conflict from the three periods of research I conducted during this study, the following discusses recommendations to minimize conflict or resistance and enhance the preservation and perpetuation of traditional culture and natural resources. The overarching and interrelated themes include: **communication, respect and human rights**, and **identification and access to natural resources (livelihood) and cultural resources (social identity)**.

Flow of Communication: Personal Level versus Bureaucratic Hierarchy

According to McCracken, the Corps of Engineers' failure to adequately reach and inform a large percentage of residents within the boundaries of the BSFNRRRA was due to "the technical and middle-class bias of the communication methods used" (1980:1), reflecting the lack of knowledge or respect for local methods of communication. McCracken's study shows that those residents who held the most negative attitudes toward the NPS and greatest stress because of relocation were those with the lowest level of education, the lowest level of exposure to areas outside their region, and those with the lowest level of knowledge about relocation options and support for relocation. To overcome this bias and to help alleviate problems in the future, McCracken (1980:1) suggests that:

1. Trained behavioral scientists or communicators should be placed on site to work with local residents. This should help avoid the technical and middle-class biases in future relocation efforts.

2. Communicators need to become sensitive to the heterogeneity of culture style within a group, even a group that is apparently as homogeneous as residents of the BSFNRRRA.
3. Effective counseling should be made available to families who suffer psycho-social problems because of relocation. All families should be treated in a supportive, as opposed to a bureaucratic, manner.

The sensitivity to “the heterogeneity of culture style within a group” is similar to what Ortner (2006) describes as “sanitizing politics.”

Howell agrees with McCracken in his suggestions for more personal communication instead of communication from "the top down." Howell expands on McCracken's suggestions when she states:

The primary means of achieving more personalistic relations between land acquisition and relocation officers and BSFNRRRA landowners and tenants would have been better communication that is more direct, face-to-face communication. Mass media news releases and public meetings are not sufficient means to communicate with these persons. Workers with social science skills should have begun door-to-door visits as soon as boundary lines were clearly defined so that land acquisition procedures, relocation benefits, and probable timetables could have been explained in person to everyone directly affected. In a situation where many older citizens with limited transportation facilities are involved, and where many have little formal education or experience in dealing with bureaucracies, the agencies involved must take the initiative in communication; distributing a printed brochure describing relocation benefits is not a sufficient guarantee that the information is understood and all its implications fully grasped, nor is maintaining an office in Oneida sufficient guarantee that landowners and tenants have access to the information they need (1981:392).

In regards to communication between agencies and the general public, NEPA regulation 1502.6 does state that an EIS should be prepared using an inter-disciplinary approach, including social scientists. I would like to mention here, that one NPS employee commented to me that because of the potential threat of a lawsuit from environmental organizations, the NPS often focuses more on NEPA compliance than its mission of

protecting resources. “Big Brother” or the “Watch Dog of the NPS,” also known as National Parks Conservation Association (NPS employee, personal communication 2010), is always watching. What Foucault (1975) refers to as the Panopticon.

Flow of Time: “Bureaucratic Red-tape” or “As Slow as Molasses”

In their studies, McCracken and Howell stated that the long interval between project authorization in 1974 and completion of land acquisition by 1983, helped to magnify the problem of poor communication by providing ample time for misunderstandings and rumors to flourish. In addition, the long delay helped to prolong the uncertainty several families faced with land loss and relocation.

Howell (1980) suggests that instead of the Corps of Engineers first acquiring the large Stearns land holdings, while having a pragmatic value from a management standpoint, from a social perspective the Corps should have focused on acquiring the smaller holdings concurrently, the 3,000 acres of land from residents living within the boundaries of the proposed National Area. Furthermore, giving priority to overall land acquisition would have achieved important conservation as well as social ends: a few potentially significant structures and many acres of timber were destroyed during the lengthy delays in land acquisition.

Another instance where long delays allow misunderstandings to flourish is when local residents do not see immediate results from their participation in meetings sponsored by the NPS. One resident expressed their lack of interest in attending meetings sponsored by the NPS because they feel they never see any results from the meetings.

I'm not wasting my time when they already know what they're going to do, if they do anything at all. A couple of years ago they had these roads and trails meetings, I went, but they never did anything with the comments they collected. People around here are getting tired of all these meetings, especially when nothing comes from them.

The Roads and Trails meetings were held in order to help inform the creation of a GMP for the National Area, with the GMP taking longer to complete than originally anticipated by the NPS, with its final review completed in 2005.

Other statements from local residents that demonstrate the lack of, and need for, sufficient communication between the NPS and the local population include:

I am unaware on anything going on with the Park Service, I've given up on caring. They're going to do what they want, or what outsiders with the big bucks wants them to do. It's all about money now. They took our home and made it into a tourist attraction, and I guess they see us locals as the freak show.

The statement also demonstrates residents' feeling of how they believe the NPS "sees" them, the "freak show," what Charles Cooley (1902) refers to as "the looking-glass self." Stereotypes of Appalachian residents' "otherness" continues to exist, starting from former Local Color Writers such as Will Wallace Harney (1873), referring to the residents of the region as "a strange land and a peculiar people," to re-runs or re-makes of shows such as the Beverly Hillbillies, Hee Haw, or the Dukes of Hazard. This perception of the NPS viewing local residents in a derogatory manner filters in with residents' feelings that they are not respected by the NPS. In addition, if certain NPS employees demonstrate disrespect towards local residents, is this used to control, to have power over, residents? If certain residents demonstrate disrespect towards NPS employees, is this used to have power over them or to gain back a part of their own power?

Respect and Human Rights

One of the problems identified within this study is the lack of understanding, and one may say respect, for reasons behind NPS restrictions by local residents. Restrictions are not just to “save a bug’s habitat,” but to minimize social impacts and protect resources within the BSFNRRRA for future generations. One measure to overcome this lack of understanding, or miscommunication, is for the NPS to provide more substantial educational programs pertaining to their mission and purpose. To educate the public on the purpose behind restrictions, and why the creation of public policy may continue to be a long and enduring process, for there are several “different publics” involved. It has been demonstrated that the existence of a type of negative “group think” exists towards the NPS, handed down from generation to generation. Educational programs or activities presented at schools and civic organizations are a means to present a different viewpoint, or social construction, of the situation. Along the same line, the NPS (and other public land agencies) need to attend educational programs on the culture of local communities surrounding, or living within, a protected area in order to understand “this public” that they are serving. For example, a resident may not be shunning a NPS employee; it may be that it takes residents awhile to feel comfortable talking with others who are not from the area. Another example is local means of communication, is the local newspaper circulated everyday or once a week?

Another measure to minimize conflict is for the NPS to enhance their Public Relations Program, especially in demonstrating recognition and respect on their behalf of traditional cultural ways. Suggestions from residents’ surveys for increasing public relations and enhancing local participation in NPS activities include:

Participate more in local meetings, i.e. Chamber of Commerce, Tourist Commission, etc.

Better attitude, advertise in local paper with perhaps Big South Fork column.

Recognize that the area that is now the park was once our families, and is still important to us as part of our heritage. They seem to just see us as a nuisance, though they roll out the red carpet for outsiders.

Become involved in local organizations would be one way of reaching some residents, such as Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Lions, etc.

It was shown previously, that one of the reasons local residents do not participate in meetings sponsored by the NPS is because in the past, the agency has not informed the public far enough in advance or because the agency lacks knowledge of local avenues of communication, in addition residents felt their input would not affect management decisions.

Local residents also feel that the needs and rights of environmental groups and tourists are respected more and placed before their own. Comments from residents' surveys that support this feeling include:

Local residents get harrassed [sic] and others don't, like outsiders who bring in their horses.

I belive [sic] the park officials are going to do what they want. Instead of caring about the people who live in the county.

The biking, horseback, and canoe organizations know how to work the system to get what they want. Many locals don't have the time, money, and knowledge to work the system. Environmental organizations, Sierra Club, for example have a great influence on the administration policies; they know how to work the system. Many outsiders use the Park once or twice a year. We are here year round.

It is important for the NPS to make clear to residents that their concerns and rights are taken into consideration in the creation of public policy for the management the

BSFNRRRA. For example, in the three original proposed alternatives for the GMP, the NPS expanded the wilderness/primitive area beyond the gorge into the plateau area. Yet, according to the BSFNRRRA Master Plan, the plateau area is to allow for the development of recreational and cultural resources (historical buildings for example). By locating the “primitive” area in the plateau, future development in that area would be limited. As demonstrated by local residents’ comments given in a report to the NPS during my position as consultant, expanding the primitive area to the plateau caused much heated debate between local residents and environmental group members. Local residents wanted development in the plateau area as promised at the onset of land acquisition for the National Area, while members of environmental groups (the Sierra Club and National Parks Conservation Association) wanted additional restrictions on the development of the area. Survey comments from local residents include:

These three ideas are bad, the primitive area ain’t suppose to be on the plateau. They [NPS] listen to the tree huggers too much.

I think the NPS has done a good job so far with the park, they should just keep it the way it is now. People are beginning to get comfortable and use the park, they shouldn’t stir the pot, ...like expanding the primitive area from the gorge.

I’m really fed up with their [NPS] high and mighty attitudes, they’re nothing but a bunch of liars, a cancer is what they really are. They said they would allow development on the plateau to help with the local economy, now that they got what they want [land acquisition], they’ve changed their minds and want the whole damn park to be primitive, trying to spread it like a cancer.

Based on conflicting remarks which emerged from the majority of local residents over the plateau area having further restrictions on its development, the primitive area for the final two alternatives was only to include the gorge areas, as outlined in the original Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA. The significance of this change

demonstrates how the NPS has reviewed residents' concerns and incorporated their input in public policy for the management of the National Area.

Identification and Access to Natural and Cultural Resources

The importance of residents' access to both cultural and natural resources was demonstrated in the first section of the chapter, especially in reference to the continuance of their "social identity" and "livelihood". Techniques employed in this research study that proved to be most useful to help identify cherished/meaningful places important to residents' "social identity" and areas important to local residents' "livelihood" included focus groups and participatory mapping. Analysis from both quantitative and qualitative data collected during this project proves that residents prefer communication between themselves and NPS employees on a more informal and neutral ground. A community center for example, in lieu of the more formal Open House meetings held at court houses by the Corps of Engineers, the NPS, and other federal agencies. A statement from a local resident that supports this fact includes:

This [focus group] seems to be better than the Open House meeting that my husband and I went to, we didn't get a chance to talk about things so much, ...you were more told what was going on, this is more comfortable for me. This is good, but you need more of them, ...and it's nice to have the meeting here at the community center instead of the courthouse.

The previous statement demonstrates that residents prefer meetings at a more informal setting such as a community center or church, stating that courthouses and town halls can be "too political."

In applying the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism, one may observe the contrast between the symbolic atmosphere of an Open House meeting and a

focus group. Figure V.2 demonstrates the hierarchical arrangement of an Open House meeting conducted by the Corps of Engineers in order to acquire public input on the establishment of the BSFNRRRA. The figure of authority in the photograph, what Foucault refers to as the “expert,” is obvious. Figure V.3 demonstrates the more face to face level of communication of a focus group conducted by myself in order to acquire public input on the creation of a GMP for the BSFNRRRA through the use of participatory mapping. In using the focus group method and a common ground to obtain local input, the hierarchical arrangement is removed, and the intimidating figure of authority is diminished, thereby curtailing conflict and resistance between symbolic opposite parties. By using a trained social scientist to conduct focus groups, one who is not as threatening or intimidating as a government employee in a uniform, though recognized as “expert” in their position, residents are less likely to resist participation in meetings sponsored by the NPS, which was demonstrated in former comments by residents.



(Figure V.2, Corps of Engineers Open House meeting, Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, Master Plan Design Memorandum No.7, Vol. II, 1983:3-2)



(Figure V.3, Focus Group in Oneida, Tennessee 1999).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

By taking a wider view of the many specific topics from residents' statements, one discovers openings for negotiation, what I refer to as "everyday symbols for mediation." It was found that several overarching and interrelated themes emerged: **communication, respect and human rights, and access.** Problems with "communication" are first seen when the Corps of Engineers began planning and acquiring land for the National Area, up to issues related to attendance of NPS Open House meetings. Issues pertaining to the latter range from residents' claims of not knowing about the meetings to residents' resistance in attending the meetings based on the belief that the "NPS is going to do what they want to do regardless of local input" or residents' boycott of the NPS in general. It should be noted here that in reference to the former reasons for not attending the Open House meetings, the NPS was not the object of resistance. Additionally, in other circumstances, the object of resistance may also not be the NPS itself, but resisting the perceived loss of one's self-sufficient life-style and quality of life.

In other cases, openly stated boycotts by local residents against the NPS illustrate what James Scott refers to as "everyday forms of resistance and Michael Foucault's concept of "resistance as it is embedded in everyday life." The research study also illustrates Foucault's premise that every relationship has a power element to it. One quote from a resident's survey demonstrates this power element:

The only way locals are ever going to be involved in the park is for the Park Service to ease up a little. Their rules are THE rules and God forbid you should

do something that they don't approve of. Like to stop and look at a deer. That seems to upset the Park Rangers quite a bit.

The resident's statement also leads us into the next overarching themes found in the statements of local residents at large.

Issues pertaining to "respect" and "human rights" are demonstrated in residents' stories and perceptions of being harassed by hostile park rangers, in addition to the issuance of unwarranted citations by arrogant rangers, what Scott describes as "routine repressions." More prominently expressed are local residents' feelings of a lack of respect when they are denied "access" to traditional areas of resources, especially those that are a part of their "livelihood" and "social identity." Furthermore, residents also feel that they have less "access" to resources within the BSFNRRRA than "outsiders" who come and leave. Several residents described how vehicular access to "old hunting grounds" and "fishing spots" were being replaced by nontraditional activities in these areas such as horseback riding and mountain biking. The research study also supported Scott's premise that those who perceive a threat to their "social identity" are most likely to be dissatisfied with members of authority and demonstrate resistance.

It is suggested that these problems may be overcome partly by communicating and informing the public about how they can participate in the development of public policy, with focus on utilizing local channels of communication. For example, McCracken's study demonstrated the problem of middle-class bias communication with the US Corps of Engineers; this may also be a problem with the new NPS method in acquiring opinion from all segments of the public through the use of the internet. In addition to a horse, not everyone can afford a computer or internet services.

Equally important, the public must understand the limitations of the NPS in using the public's suggestions, in addition to the relative lengthy time span between local input and the creation of public policy. Furthermore, it is important for local residents to understand the purpose and reasons for restricted access to particular resources within the National Area. For example, more restrictions are needed because of the increase in visitation and utilization of resources within the National Area. Avenues of informing local residents identified in this study include the implementation of educational programs at local schools and civic organizations, which will aid in the creation of a more positive social construction of the relationship between the local population and the NPS.

Another means of communication and education is to place notices in local newspapers "well in advance" of events, "more frequently," and in the same section of the newspaper, so people can talk about their ideas among themselves and inform those who may not subscribe or who may not read. Other means to improve communication are to have newsletters sent to the public or to inform people through local radio and television stations. It was stated by residents that methods such as focus groups were a way to educate and inform the public of future management plans by the NPS, and also a means to collect local input. The majority of residents stated that they preferred focus groups in place of Open House meetings because the latter seemed too formal and intimidating, especially when held at a courthouse or town hall. It is here where we find the components of a model for "everyday forms of mediation." The components being (1) recognition and respect for local avenues of communication; (2) a neutral setting for discussion and negotiation, where the symbol of the hierarchical arrangement and figure of authority is removed; (3) flexibility in obtaining information, focus groups in lieu of

Open House meetings for example, and the use of participatory mapping techniques; and 4) a trained social scientist who can help guide conversation and act as a mediator if conflicting issues transpire. In addition, the presence of a trained social scientist may prove to be beneficial in helping to inform the NPS, and other agencies, of participants' concerns, to take on the role of Advocate or Cultural Broker.²⁸

Participatory mapping proved to be most beneficial in identifying locations of resources that are essential for the continuance and protection of the local populations' "livelihood" and "social identity," and thereby curtailing resistance and conflict between the NPS and local residents. It was also demonstrated in this study that while participatory techniques need to be planned in advance, one must allow for flexibility. It was found in this research study, that trail maps provided a foundation where residents could locate places of meaning to them and preferred areas of access to natural resources (traditional fishing areas for example). While I recognize that the residents did not provide their subjective meaning by creating the maps themselves, the main reason residents preferred to use the trail maps is because they wanted to show which trails should continue to be open or where an additional trail needed to be developed from an existing trail. Therefore, participatory mapping can support effective governance, it can be a practical mechanism that supports and encourages accountability, legitimacy, transparency, participation, and respect for rights, equity, and other dimensions of good governance (Corbett 2009). Data collected from the focus group meetings and participatory mapping was provided in a report to the NPS to help inform the development of the General Management Plan (Evans 1999).

²⁸ For a detailed description of the roles for Advocate or Cultural Broker, see John Van Willigen, *Applied Anthropology* (2002), Greenwood Publishing Company, Westport, CT.

Individual versus Collective Resistance

While local resistance against the creation of the BSFNRRRA continues within the research area, resistance has not transpired into collective resistance. As presented in the proposed model in Chapter II, and presented in modular form in Figure VI.1, variables applied in this research study to understand the transition, or lack of transition, from individual resistance to collective resistance include: (1) perceived threat, or cost, of the situation, (2) social cohesion/solidarity among individuals and leadership, and (3) possible rewards, or outcomes, to change the situation. I would like to note here, that the chart is not designed as a concrete model to explain the transition from individual to collective resistance or its many forms of manifestation, for every case study is unique in its history of power relationships, values, and forms of resistance. The model is to act more as a guideline to be adapted to the situation under study.

In reference to the Big South Fork area, at this time the intensity of the threat to one's social identity and livelihood is not enough to transfer individual resistance to collective resistance. The reason for this is due to residents' continuous access to hunting and fishing, family homesteads, cemeteries, and baptismal holes, though access is restricted. Residents also continue to have the opportunity to participate in family traditions, such as camping, picnicking, and swimming. One resident emphasized the importance of these traditions, a form of recreation, because "a lot of us who live here can't afford the type of entertainment enjoyed by those with extra money." In addition, poaching and the illegal collection of flora (ginseng for example) continues within the area, supplementing residents' subsistence strategies, which may not be an act of

Figure VI.1
“Everyday Symbols For Mediation” - Individual and Collective Resistance

<u>Political Level</u>	Micro-Politics	→ “ Infrapolitics”	→	Macro-Politics
<u>Manifestations</u>	Acquiescence	→ “Weapons of the Weak”	→	“Collective Resistance”
	Generally non-existent.	Foot-dragging, gossip, arson, slander, false compliance, sabotage. Songs and newspaper articles.		Social protest/movements, rebellion, revolt.
<u>Characteristics</u>	Absolute domination, compliance.	Lack of organization, little or no coordination.		Organized dissent which leads to collective identity/action.
	“False Consciousness”	“Critical Awareness”		“Critical Consciousness”
	or			Public protest/demonstrations.
	Egalitarianism/Equality	“hidden transcripts/ back stage”		
		“Back stage” resistance does not equal “public transcripts” or “front stage” resistance.		“Back stage” resistance does equal “public transcripts” and “ front stage” resistance.
<u>Sources of Resistance</u>		Perceived threat to social identity, livelihood, infringement of rights, lack of respect of cultural characteristics/values and traditional forms of communication.		Increased threat of situation out weighs risks, social cohesion, “free spaces for leadership to evolve.
<u>Everyday Symbols For Mediation</u>		Participation in pre-planning stages of development. Focus groups, neutral setting, participatory mapping, lack of hierarchical arrangement, trained social scientist such as a Cultural Broker.		Continuance of participation in developmental projects.

resistance but a form of economic survival. In reference to the threat of residents' rights, individual acts of resistance, such as making illegal trails where needed, allows individuals to take back some of their power by undercutting authority, gaining back a sense of control and access to what they feel is rightfully theirs.

It has also been demonstrated that there is a lack of social cohesion among residents of the National Area, primarily through the different values and concerns of the various user and interest groups. Interest group members, such as the Sierra Club, want areas to return to their wilderness state. ATV and hunting groups want more trails to be developed for both recreational and livelihood purposes, along with the reintroduction of bears. Residents who own horses want more restrictions on ATV use and are against the reintroduction of bears, because both may "spook" their horse. Bikers and hikers want more restrictions on ATV use and horse trails, primarily because of the noise from ATVs and the "piles of presents" that horses tend to leave along the trail. The various levels of internal differences and conflict between residents are also related to the various class levels. Residents who tend to come from the lower class level cannot afford a horse and view mountain bikes as impractical. It is very hard to transport a deer that has been hunted from an area deep within the National Area on a mountain bike. Residents from the upper class are not as dependent on access to the land for livelihood/subsistence purposes. In addition, for those in this class level who view the land as something to be saved and protected, they can afford the annual dues of the Sierra Club or the National Parks Conservation Association. Residents from the lower class levels do not have the "extra money" to do so, in addition, as one resident espoused previously, environmental groups "fight" for the protection of the land, but "who" is "fighting" for those without the

means (time, money, and knowledge for examples) to fight back? Therefore, due to this lack of social cohesion, “free spaces” for leadership to evolve is inhibited among the various and conflicting interest/user groups. In addition, former case studies have demonstrated the importance of a charismatic leader to motivate members to remain collective, Chief Paiaka of the Kayapo and Larry Wilson of the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens for examples.

Finally, it is not so much a fatalistic attitude but a realistic attitude, for residents from certain class levels in Appalachia have had a long history of trying to resist and fight the “Establishment” (Cable 1993). This is seen when miners attempted to strike against the Blue Diamond Coal mining company at Stearns, Kentucky in the 1970s, which was met with gunfire fire from company guards. Residents’ comments also demonstrate their belief that the NPS is going to do what they want to do, so why should they “waste” their time. This partly stems from residents who remember the Corps of Engineers “acquiring” land to create the BSNRRA despite local disapproval from several residents. Therefore, for certain residents, the risks, including time and energy, do not appear to outweigh the possible rewards of collective resistance.

This brings us to a critical review of the resistance theories presented in this study; after analysis and comparison, a salient theme which may be subsumed under “group dynamics between user/interest groups” emerges. For Foucault emphasis was partly on the dyadic relationship between the “expert” and the “non-expert,” and while this relationship lends analysis of power, its’ utilization in studying the complexity of resistance is minimal, especially his dismissal of individual agency. As stated previously, power is defined in this study as the capability of individuals or groups to make their own

concerns or interests count, even when others resist. Resistance is viewed as opposition to dominant ideologies and actions, to resist those in power. Resistance begins in an ideological form, where one disagrees with the dominant force based on one's cultural values and beliefs. These values or beliefs may be learned from "primary others" such as family members (the father who has taught his son to "never step foot in that park") or "secondary others" such as voluntary groups, membership in a hunting club or the Sierra Club for examples. This ideological resistance will transform into action when the threat to one's values or beliefs increases, which may also be nurtured from social pressure. This action of resisting, opposing, something that one disapproves or disagrees with, may be manifested in overt (public) or covert (hidden) forms.

Similar to Foucault's dyadic relationship, Scott's model for identifying and understanding resistance also focused on the relationship between two classes, the landowner/rich farmers and the Malaysian peasants, in Marx's terms, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. While Scott offers a useful model for identifying manifestations of resistance, recognizing the consciousness and agency of those who resist, through "weapons of the weak," what he also refers to as "infrapolitics," his model has both methodological and interpretive limitations.

My critique of Scott's model of peasant resistance focuses on the lack of a theoretical account of politics among the less powerful. Scott tends to focus on the unequal relations between those with power (landowner) and the powerless (peasant). While Scott's model may be useful in understanding resistance in feudal or colonial arenas, it is too simplistic for application in studies pertaining to the growing neo-liberal economies of this post-industrial age. In reference to contemporary globalization, the Big

South Fork area may be viewed as a peripheral area, in contrast to former models depicting it as an internal colony. An example of this is the continual collection of ginseng in the area, which eventually finds itself in Asian markets.

It is with the work of Ortner that one finds a model in recognizing and understanding the various dynamics that interplay within resistance groups. By integrating Ortner's concept of sanitizing politics (identifying the internal politics among those resisting) and recognizing the influence of the various values and ideologies within the socio-economic context of this research study, identification of the different "perceived threats" by the study participants emerged. It was found that ideologies held by the various user/interest groups transformed into methods applied in resisting the expert/authority, the National Park Service. Members of the Sierra Club resist the development of wilderness areas through law suits, working within the system. User groups who participate in horseback riding and mountain biking, belonging primarily to the upper middle class, also work within the system, petitioning a Senator of Tennessee for the O & W railroad bed to be open for horse drawn wagons for example. Residents within the lower middle to lower class levels tend not to resist by working within the system, but find other cultural avenues to resist, which tend to be more covert, gossip or poaching as examples. This critical view of the various levels of resistance also supports Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) theory of Illegitimate Opportunity Structures and a more Weberian (1968) analysis of class based on power, property and prestige.

By ignoring internal conflicts between resisting groups, one may also overlook "free spaces" where individual resistance may transpire into collective resistance. In reference to this research study, it is predicted that certain user/interest groups will place

aside their conflicting ideologies and form a collective resistance if access to the O & W railroad bed is closed. While members of environmental groups (the Sierra Club for example) remind the NPS that only 11 vehicular access points are permitted into the gorge area as outlined in the Master Plan for the BSFNRRA, members from the remaining user groups are voicing their opposition of closing the O & W railroad bed through their cultural, including class level, means of resistance. Opposition, resistance, ranges from contacting a Senator of Tennessee to gossip among local residents, stating there will be “hell to be paid if the NPS closes the railroad bed,” which “somehow” is “allowed to be heard” by the NPS. In summary, when faced with a similar situation, people will usually band together to resist the situation despite internal politics, that is if the situation is perceived as a common threat to those involved. In reference to the BSFNRRA, the threat would be the “lack of access” to the O & W railroad bed which leads into the river gorge. The railroad bed is currently a dirt road which provides the opportunity to be utilized by ATV riders, horseback riders, hikers, mountain bikers, and horse drawn wagons. It is also here where a family cemetery is located nearby, and the location of a traditional picnic area along the river’s edge. The latter also demonstrates the importance of the “meaning of place” to residents’ social identity and heritage.

The critical point made in this research is that one must recognize the diverse threats to those involved, which is essential for studies on resistance. Resistance cannot be analyzed using a simplistic linear model, landowner and peasant for example, for resistance consists of a complex web of social interrelations and intricacies, which must be applied to the socio-economic and political context involved. This brings us to a missing component in the models of both Ortner and Scott, an examination of the internal

politics of the dominant. It is with such an analysis that one discovers not only causes of resistance, but the forms that resistance may take, including those that are not allowed by the “Establishment,” unless one is willing to take the risk of incarceration or other forms of punishment.

Therefore, in order to acquire a complete understanding of resistance, one must have an understanding of whom and what is being resisted, for this influences manifestations of resistance. For example, in the case of the NPS, superintendents are usually rotated within the park system in order to prevent them from “becoming too close” to local residents who may “try to influence” the superintendent’s decisions pertaining to the park (NPS employee, personal communication 2000). Internal politics found within the NPS includes the values and personality of the superintendent, while one superintendent may support the development of additional horse trails, the next may allow them to return to wilderness by lack of maintenance. While the former superintendent may find resistance from the Sierra Club, in addition to ATV and hiking user groups, the later would find resistance from horseback riders and the residents who have developed businesses to provide equestrian supplies. Internal politics within the NPS also exists between the rangers themselves. It was described previously how a ranger gave a resident a citation for “jack-lighting,” using a spot light to watch nocturnal animals, while the other ranger felt that a warning would have sufficed. Additionally, while superintendents are “brought in” from areas “outside” of the region, local residents are often hired in positions of administrative assistants or maintenance. During interviews with residents who worked for the NPS, I found that they often find themselves in a precarious position when friends and relatives would ask them, “so what

is the Park Service up to lately?” I would also like to point out here that “weapons of the weak” are also “weapons of the strong,” gossip for example.

On a final note, while threats and manifestations of resistance may transform over time, resistance is inevitable when there is change. Local resistance to the threat of one’s social identity (loss of access to traditional homesteads and other “places of meaning” for example), may lessen as those who lived within the National Area move on, yet other threats and manifestations of resistance may transpire. Therefore, this research study has demonstrated that whether resistance is manifested individually or collectively, resistance during major changes is often impossible to avoid or prevent. When resistance is hidden, it is usually the result of low trust, lack of communication, and inadequate participation. If one believes that their concerns are not addressed or that they are not involved in the implementation of decisions, they are likely to feel disenfranchised from the changing situation. It is here where feelings take on the form of clandestine unrest, from “fussin” to outright sabotage. In accordance with Scott, this form of resistance is the bedrock of other forms of resistance.

If one perceives the threat to their social identity, livelihood, and inalienable rights as critical, individual resistance will transform into collective resistance if conditions permit (social cohesion, leadership, and the perception that rewards, or possible change, outweigh the risks). While collective resistance is often manifested overtly in order to bring about change, what Scott refers to as “front stage” and “public transcripts,” collective action first begins covertly, where participants find “free spaces” to discuss “hidden transcripts” in their “backstage” in order to create a plan of action. Because overt resistance is out in the open, it can be addressed and possibly resolved.

Therefore, by encouraging resistance to be expressed openly and not secretly, one can minimize the negative effects of individual actions to the impending change. From an applied framework, this is especially important to land management agencies, such as the National Park Service, whose mission is to preserve and protect both natural and cultural resources.

Contributions of Research and Suggestions for Future Study

This research study has demonstrated that former development models from a “top down” and “cost-benefit” perspective will only result in future conflict and resistance from those most at risk. Sustainable development projects are far more complex, partly because of the human variable that is often overlooked. Oliver-Smith exemplifies this complexity when he describes development-induced-displacement and rehabilitation (DIDR) projects:

Although the reasons people resist DIDR are often assumed to be economic in nature, the concerns that people express in resistance movements are generally more complex, embracing economic, social and, particularly, cultural issues. Indeed, project planners frequently err in supposing that people have only economic motives in mind when they undertake resistance to DIDR. While violation of economic rights has proven to be a powerful motivator in resistance, a great deal of the moral content of resistance discourse derives its power from explicitly cultural issues pertaining to the right to persist as cultural entities, as well as to identity, spiritual links to land and the environment, and loyalty to both mythological and historical ancestors. It is reductionism to attribute resistance solely to economics or, for that matter, to cultural concerns. Human motivations in general are complex, and positions and actions in resistance to DIDR are adopted out of many interwoven concerns, rather than one overriding issue. Threats of removal from these physical and symbolic environments have generally elicited some form of resistance (2006:159).

Therefore, in lieu of the traditional “cost-benefit” and Western-technologically driven models used by developmental (international, federal, state, or private) agencies in the past, a model based on “rights” and “risks” that incorporate issues of “livelihood” and

“access” to traditional resources, “social identity,” “respect and human rights,” and “traditional means of communication,” will allow for spaces of negotiation and help produce a more viable developmental project. There are “everyday symbols for mediation,” one only has to recognize them and incorporate them at the beginning of a proposed developmental project.

In addition to the applied aspect of this research study providing guidelines (focus groups, participatory mapping, a neutral setting, and knowledge of local culture- especially means of communication and norms) for developmental projects involving the creation and management of public lands, this study also contributes to social theory. This is accomplished by incorporating conflict and resistance theory, and symbolic interactionism, as a framework to analyze manifestations and sources of resistance, in addition to suggestions for minimizing conflict and promoting cooperation among various groups.

The study has also contributed in supporting and expanding Scott’s sources of resistance, by applying his model in a different cultural setting encompassing a different social, political, and economic context. In doing so, the research collected for this study has also contributed to Appalachian studies. It was demonstrated that resistance does not stem as much from stereotypes formerly assigned to Appalachian residents, feuding hillbillies or fatalistic values for examples, but a resistance to a change of lifestyle and livelihood, from self-sufficiency to dependents on the state. This is seen when residents jokingly state that they do not want to become an “artist,” “drawing a check” from the government. The study has also recognized additional manifestations of “weapons of the

weak” in the research area, articles in local newspapers and songs on the radio comparing a park ranger to Lizzy Borden for examples.

In addition, the study also expands on Foucault’s premise that every relationship has a power element to it, with resistance towards those dominating and expressing power over the other. Comments from residents also demonstrates what Foucault referred to as the Panopticon, one never knows when they are being watched, so make sure you do not disturb a bug’s habitat or throw an orange peel on the ground within the National Area.

Because of the nature of this research study, resistance, analysis of data has supported the utility of Ortner’s suggestions for inclusion in resistance studies: sanitizing politics, cultural thinning, and dissolving the subjects or “crisis of representation.” In addition to assisting in framing the presentation of findings, Ortner’s suggestions proved to be beneficial in identifying various levels of resistance from the different interest groups. The applied implications of identifying the various concerns of interest groups may be utilized by the NPS in future management policies for the BSFNRRRA, complying with the 1916 Organic Act’s mission of protecting the cultural and natural resources on public land.

Suggestions for future research include a more detailed study of the “culture of the NPS” itself. One question that may be addressed is: What are the issues/challenges associated with the NPS model for public comment? It was demonstrated in this research study that one challenge is “time and money.” Because of the various levels a policy change must be approved in the organization’s hierarchy, “bureaucratic red tape,” months or even years may pass and other issues may evolve during that time, the degradation or

overuse of resources for examples. I would like to reiterate here, the NPS began Open House meetings to collect public information for the development of a GMP for the BSFNRRRA in 1997; the GMP was finally completed in 2005.

Another question one may probe: Can recommendations to adopt new methods in collecting public input be implemented by the NPS? The answer is yes. As demonstrated in this research study, the NPS incorporated my guidelines of using focus groups at a neutral setting in lieu of Open House meetings to collect public input on the last meetings for the GMP. According to a letter I received from the Southeastern office of the NPS, located in Atlanta, the focus groups proved to be successful in collecting public input for informing the last stages of the GMP. Neither of the two final alternatives for the GMP were selected, instead, several compromises and changes were made to include various zones from preservation to development. Most importantly for local residents, the primitive area remained in the gorge and not expanded to the plateau area which would have closed off additional access to both cultural and natural resources.

It should be noted, however, that while the NPS has incorporated the application of focus groups in obtaining public input for the BSFNRRRA, this adoption has not been applied to other NPS units or methods employed by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers. One may wonder if the reason behind this is due to resistance of changing traditional methods utilized by these agencies, or because of the perceived lost of power from the hierarchical arrangement. One may also ponder; does the “Establishment” continue to implement “technical and middle-class bias communication methods” as a means to curtail public involvement in the management of resources? The less the public is involved, the more an agency can proceed with its goals and intentions.

Finally, one may ask: How would changing the public comment process affect the “reception” of/satisfaction with the GMP and its implementation? In a recent correspondence with a NPS employee of the BSFNRRRA, I was told that there have not been any recent acts of vandalism within the National Area (NPS employee, personal communication 2010). The issue of most concern to BSF managers is the “illegal” trails made by horses and ATVs. Apparently, these user groups are making their own “access” to resources, which may explain less incidences of vandalism recently. Whether this individual resistance will transform into collective resistance if access to the O & W railroad bed is closed is a study for future research.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

General Semi-Structured Interview Guide for In-depth and Family Interviews

General Semi-Structured Interview Guide for In-depth and Family Interviews

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Employment/Unemployed/Disability:
4. Education:
5. Current place of residence:
6. Did you or any member of your immediate family ever live or own land in what is today the BSFNRRRA?

Please describe.
7. What was life like growing up in the Big South Fork area (family employment, memories, access to and use of the areas natural and cultural resources, etc.)
8. Please describe activities that you and your family participated in BSF before establishment of BSFNRRRA. What areas would you like to continue to have access?
9. What activities do you participate in now since the establishment of the BSFNRRRA? Has access to certain areas that are meaningful to you been limited?
10. What did the BSF mean to you before it became the BSFNRRRA?
11. Has this meaning changed?

If so, how?
12. How have you been affected by, or adapted to, the establishment of the BSFNRRRA?
13. What are your feelings towards the National Park Service?
14. What measures do you think the NPS can take to promote public participation in the creation of policy pertaining to the management of public land, Open House meetings for example?

APPENDIX II

Findings From Research Period Two

Findings from the NPS Ethnographic Consultant Project

Findings describe local residents' preferences toward the future management of the BSFNRRRA and their involvement, or their resistance to become involved, in the creation of policy for the management of public land. Collection of data during Research Period II was conducted during two phases (refer to Table IV.1 for an outline of the Ethnographic Research Project Phases). Phase One documents Open House meetings conducted by the NPS and ethnographic data I gathered from August 1997 to November 1998 (see Evans 1998). Data obtained during Phase One helped to guide the NPS in its development of three alternatives for the new GMP for the BSFNRRRA. An additional goal of my ethnographic research was to gain an understanding of resistance and perceived barriers by local residents as inhibitors to their involvement in this first set of Open House meetings (May to June 1997) conducted by the NPS.

Findings for Phase Two of the ethnographic project will be presented in two parts, followed by a description of residents' resistance and perceived barriers to their involvement in the second set of NPS Open House meetings, held to collect opinions on the three alternatives. A discussion of reasons the NPS Open House meetings met, or did not meet, participants' expectations is also discussed. Included in this discussion are residents' ideas and suggestions on increasing public input in the management of the BSFNRRRA. The section concludes with residents' suggestions for improving focus groups that I conducted during this research period.

Part I presents residents' preferences regarding the three original proposed alternatives (Destination, Active, and Rustic) for the GMP, based on ten in-depth interviews and seven focus groups that I held from December 1998 to March 1999. An evaluation form was handed out during this first set of focus groups. The aim of the evaluation form was to document participants' preference among the three alternatives

for the GMP, their participation in NPS Open House meetings (December 1989-January 1999), and residents' suggestions for improving focus groups.

Part II describes residents' preferences between the final two alternatives for the GMP, based on ten in-depth interviews and five focus groups that I held from April to May 1999. An evaluation form was distributed during the second set of focus groups. The aim of the evaluation form was to document participants' preference between the final two alternatives for the GMP and suggestions for improving focus groups.

Phase One Findings

Perceived Barriers or Residents' Resistance to Local Participation in Planning

The barriers/circumstances that residents perceive as inhibiting them from attending the first set of Open House meetings (May to June 1997) conducted by the NPS include:

1. Satisfaction with current NPS management of the BSFNRRRA.
2. Insufficient notification by the NPS of meetings involving public opinion.
3. Lack of communication between NPS management and the public.
4. Lack of education about NPS procedures and policy.
5. Lack of understanding how one can participate in the decision making process, including the belief that local opinion will not have an influence on decision making toward the BSFNRRRA.
6. Perception of the NPS as authoritative in their management of public land and the belief that the NPS will do what they want with the BSFNRRRA irrespective of local input.
7. Resentment towards the NPS and resistance to attend any programs or activities sponsored by the NPS

Three residents stated in interviews that they do not attend Open House meetings

because they “like how the National Park Service manages the BSFNRRRA” and that they feel “the National Park Service knows more about managing the park [BSFNRRRA]” than they. Two residents from Scott County and one resident from Morgan County stated that the NPS brings in “outsiders” to make decisions that local residents have to live with for the rest of their lives. One resident from McCreary County discussed her resentment of the NPS for not hiring more local residents; she stated that she tries “to have nothing to do with the BSFNRRRA.”

Several participants stated that the reason they did not attend the Open House meetings is because they feel that “they [the NPS] already know what they are going to do.” A dominant feeling expressed by participants is that if the NPS really wanted local input, then they would inform the public “far enough ahead of time so people can talk about it with each other” and “plan for it [Open House meetings or other public meetings].” This is especially true for those who do not subscribe to the local newspaper.

It was found that informing the public “far enough ahead of time” also meant allowing time for “word to get out” to those who may not read. Literacy rates for this geographical area, obtained from the National Institute for Literacy (NIFL),²⁹ proved to be very low, reinforcing the importance of allowing time for information to be passed on to those who have difficulty in reading.

Other suggestions for informing the public about plans by the NPS were to have continuously repeated announcements on local radio and television stations well in advance of meetings. One resident from Fentress County, Tennessee, stated that flyers

²⁹ The literacy estimates presented in this text were obtained from *Adult Literacy Estimates*, National Institute for Literacy. 2000.

should be mailed out to the public pertaining to meetings. Another resident suggested the mailing of newsletters containing a schedule of public meetings and a description of how local input will be or not be utilized, to inform the public of NPS procedures.

Phase Two Findings: Part I

Preferences Regarding Original Three Alternatives of the GMP Developed by the NPS for the BSFNRRRA

Below is a description of residents’ preferences between the original three alternatives for the GMP developed by the NPS (Destination, Active, and Rustic). Data findings are presented here in order to document the diversity of preferences and conflict between local residents and interest groups over the management of the BSFNRRRA. Data was gathered from December 1998 to March 1999, consisting of ten interviews and seven focus groups (with a total of 50 participants). Analysis of participants’ preference between the three original alternatives for the GMP is summarized in Table AII.1,

Table AII.1: Residents Preferences Regarding the Original Three Alternatives of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA

	*Yes/N	%
Destination	8/60	13%
Active	16/60	27%
Rustic	12/60	20%
Other	24/60	40%

*=Number of responses from the first set of ten in-depth interviews and seven focus groups (with a total of 50 participants).

/N=60

followed by residents' comments on the three alternatives.

The majority of participants, 40%, demonstrated a preference for none of the three alternatives. From the 40%, 13% suggested a combination of the three alternatives, 8% suggested a combination of the Destination/Active alternative, 8% suggested a combination of the Rustic/Active alternative, 4% gave no comments, and 7% stated that the BSFNRRRA should be managed “**as it is now,**” with the “primitive area” located in the gorge area as legislation outlines and not in the western plateau area of the BSFNRRRA.

The BSFNRRRA is divided geographically into two sections: the river gorge and the plateau area. According to the original Master Plan for the National Area (PL-93), only the river gorge area is to be managed in order to preserve both its recreational and wilderness/primitive qualities, while the plateau area is to allow for the development of recreational and cultural resources (horse trails, roads and paths to rock shelters, and reconstructed historical buildings for examples). By locating the “primitive” area in the western plateau area, future development in that area would be limited, going against the original Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA. As demonstrated below, this caused much heated debate between local residents who wanted development in the plateau area as promised at the onset of land acquisition for the National Area, versus Interest Group members (the Sierra Club and National Parks Conservation Association for examples) who would like additional restrictions on the development of the area. Comments from local residents also demonstrate their distrust and continuous feeling that the NPS is trying to change things on them, for instance:

They keep changing things on us, talking out of both sides of their mouth. They said that only the gorge would be primitive...Huh! They're trying to pull another fast one on us, not giving us a choice on the primitive area;

These three ideas are bad, the primitive area ain't suppose to be on the plateau. They [NPS] listen to the tree huggers too much;

The gorge should be the only area primitive, ATV use and hunting should be allowed on the plateau;

I think the NPS has done a good job so far with the park, and they should just keep it the way it is now. People are beginning to get comfortable and use to the park, they shouldn't stir the pot, ...like expanding the primitive area from the gorge;

I'm really fed up with their [NPS] high and mighty attitudes, they're nothing but a bunch of liars, a cancer is what they really are. They said they would allow development on the plateau to help with the local economy, now that they got what they want [land acquisition], they've changed their minds and want the whole damn park to be primitive, trying to spread it like a cancer.

A member of the Bluegrass Chapter of the Sierra Club, who lives in Knoxville, Tennessee, attended the Open House meeting held in Oneida, Tennessee. When asked how they felt about the three alternatives, she responded:

I'm glad they are expanding the primitive area more, ...more and more land is being developed all the time, and before long we will have nothing left but small pockets of wilderness, and animals can't thrive like that, they need a large ecosystem if they are to be healthy. People need to quit just thinking of themselves and think of what is best for the nation, actually the world in the long run.

Local residents also emphasized keeping existing trails open to hunting areas, cemeteries, and the river. Concerns from local residents include:

I disagree with ATV use only during hunting season, it's also for recreational purposes, for younger and older folks;

The NPS should quit changing things on us. They keep closing off more roads and more hunting areas, and saying they're going to make more areas primitive like the gorge;

The NPS needs to recognize that there are certain areas in the park that are good for hunting and others that are not, and keep those areas open instead of closing them off. Hunting is part of our heritage and who we are today, and the park was set up so folks could continue to hunt.

Destination Alternative

Comments from three participants who stated preference for the **Destination** alternative:

I think it would help the local economy if the park would have certain base camp units, especially at Blue Heron. They also need to do more with Bear Creek, whatever happened to the lodge they [NPS] promised us. If they can get more tourists to visit the park, then local people can develop more services. People around here don't have a lot of money to develop tourist's attractions like the Park Service;

The Destination plan would provide the facilities that would in turn, stimulate the most usage by the general public. The Active and Rustic plan would appeal to environmental groups more than the majority of the public. I would be opposed to any new restrictions that would limit any additional access from the original plan. The Rustic and Active plan would not increase tourism in the park, and therefore would not help our local businesses;

More marketing of the area and more public events to draw people to the area. The Park Service needs to do more to work with local businesses and keeping area businesses informed on what is taking place in the park.

The majority of residents who stated a preference for the **Destination** alternative were members of their local Chamber of Commerce. The importance of this recognition demonstrates what Ortner (2006) referred to as “sanitizing politics,” internal differences and conflicts between residents in an area.

Rustic Alternative

Two residents who preferred the **Rustic** alternative commented:

The less they do, develop, the better off things will be, except for trail access...The local community should be responsible for developing the economy, not the park;

There's enough development and theme parks already, there needs to be a place for wilderness.

One resident stated that she was upset with Heartwood³⁰ right now, “they can be too

³⁰ Heartwood is an association who states that they are dedicated to the health and well being of the nature of the Central Hardwood Region, and its interdependent plant, animal, and human communities.

extreme.” Yet she feels that part of the mission of the BSFNRRRA is to be a sanctuary for animals and plants.

Active Alternative

One resident from McCreary County who preferred the **Active** alternative commented:

I wish they would go ahead and build the Bear Creek lodge. They should stick to what they said they were going to do before they do anything else...I would like them to build some place for kids to play, like a play ground, with open fields for camping. I have to take my grand kids to Pickett State Park so they can play. There's no place in McCreary County for kids to play except the school house....we had a park, but they [the county] gave it to Somerset College. The county gave it to the state, to UK. Now kids have no play area except school, if the park had a play area, it would be used a lot.

The resident continued to explain that he does not visit the BSFNRRRA very often because Pickett State Park and Forest is closer and provides better facilities (picnic tables, camping areas, and cabins) than the BSFNRRRA.

Other: Combination of the Three Alternatives

One resident from McCreary County who stated that he preferred a combination of the three alternatives commented:

We're running out of land, we need a sanctuary for plants and animals. Look at Lexington for example, it keeps growing. I lived in Lexington for 30 years. Now just you wait, Lexington will cover Fayette County in ten years...The Park Service needs to be careful not develop the park too much...People often depend on the government to do things....they [residents] should start small and grow through it...though the Park Service must allow for the development of growth. I think that the park is big enough for development in some areas but preservation in most areas....there's enough land there for everyone to be happy, including the birds and the bees...I would like to see more native species of flowers, scrubs, and trees planted around the Blue Heron area...like local azaleas, there's a flaming azalea that grows around here that would look nice...and there should be more open spaces so different wild grasses can grow, and you'll have different habitats for animals.

In summarizing, the majority of residents stated that they preferred the BSFNRRRA to be managed “as it is now,” with the “primitive area” moved to the gorge as legislation outlines. One resident felt this could be accomplished by combining all three alternatives. For example, the Blue Heron, Bandy Creek, and Charit Creek could be the Destination areas, the plateau could be more Active, and the gorge should possess Rustic or primitive qualities as outlined in the original Master Plan. In addition, the former comments demonstrate the various differences about how the BSFNRRRA should be managed among residents within the study area.

Phase Two Findings: Part II

Preferences Regarding the Final Two Alternatives of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA

Because of conflicting remarks which emerged from the majority of local residents over the plateau area having further restrictions on its development, the primitive area for the final two alternatives was only to include the gorge area, as outlined in the original Master Plan for the BSFNRRRA. The significance of this change demonstrates how the NPS reviews citizens concerns and in this case incorporated their concerns. Analysis of participants’ preference between the final two alternatives for the GMP developed by the NPS is demonstrated in Table AII.2, followed by residents’ comments.

Table AII.2: Residents Preferences Regarding the Final Two Alternatives of the GMP for the BSFNRRRA

	<u>*Yes/N</u>	<u>%</u>
Active	16/28	57%
Rustic	12/28	43%
Other	0/28	0%

*=Number of responses from the second set of ten in-depth interviews and five focus groups (with a total of 18 participants).

/N=28

Forty-three percent of those who participated in the second set of focus groups and the final ten in-depth interviews during Phase II of this project stated that they preferred the Rustic alternative. The majority of participants, 57%, stated that they preferred the Active alternative.

Rustic Alternative

One resident who preferred the **Rustic** alternative stated:

People can always move or commute to jobs, at least those who want to work, lots of people around here come up with excuses why they don't work...It's not so easy for plants and animals to move...We're developing more and more, if we don't try and preserve what little wilderness that's left, there won't be any left. I would like to think that my grandchildren will be able to experience what their ancestors experienced when they first came to the area. The Big South Fork is home to a lot of endangered animals and plants; we've already killed off enough species with our greed and love of development.

Active Alternative

Comments from residents who demonstrated preference for the **Active** alternative include:

I understand that it's important to save land for the animals of the area, but

McCreary County is already poor enough, a lot of our county is taken up by the Daniel Boone National Forest. The Sierra Club is standing up for the animals, but who is standing up for us and our rights?

It's hard to choose between the two alternatives. I'm glad they moved the "primitive" area to the gorge, but I think they should have more development in the plateau area, especially places like the Blue Heron and Bandy Creek.

An overarching theme between participants who prefer either the **Rustic** or **Active** alternative is that the BSFNRRA is big enough to allow both development and preservation of plant or animal species in designated areas.

Phase Two Findings

Perceived Barriers or Residents' Resistance to Local Participation in Planning

The following section presents responses based on the twenty in-depth interviews and first set of focus groups that I conducted during Phase Two of the Research Project in regard to residents' participation in, resistance to, attending the second set of NPS Open House meetings held from December 1998 –to January 1999. Analysis of public participation appears in Table AII.3, followed by residents' reasons for not attending the NPS Open House meetings. As discussed previously, the NPS Open House meetings were held to acquire residents' preferences on the three original alternatives for the GMP. Open House meetings were not conducted by the NPS to obtain residents' preferences in regard to the two alternatives, instead newsletters were sent to the public for their reply. Therefore, this section only documents residents' participation in, resistance to, or perceived barriers to their involvement in the second set of NPS Open House meetings.

Table AII.3: Participation in Second Set of NPS Open House Meetings

	<u>*Yes/ %</u>	<u>*No/ %</u>
Did you participate in any of the Open House meetings held by the National Park Service (NPS) pertaining to the General Management Plan for the BSFNRRRA?	15 /70 21%	55/70 79%

*=Number of responses from twenty in-depth interviews and seven focus groups (with a total of 50 participants).
/N=70

Seventy-nine percent of those who participated in the twenty in-depth interviews and the first set of focus groups stated that they did not attend any of the Open House meetings held by the NPS. When participants were asked, “Why did you not attend any of the Open House meetings,” several themes occurred in their responses. The primary theme was that they **did not know** or that **they were not informed** about the Open House meetings. A few of the responses from various individuals include:

Didn't know anything about them, you would think that if they're going to all that trouble to have the meetings, that they would let us know, unless they already know what they're going to do;

Who heard! and not knowing (from paper or radio) anything was being considered - though a person here [focus group] did see info. in a Scott County paper-didn't know;

Not informed, our tax dollars put to great use.

While inquiring with a NPS employee about residents not being informed about the Open House meetings, the employee informed me that this is partially true. The problem is a lack of communication and knowledge of the local community. For example, in Scott County, Tennessee there are two newspapers, the *Independent Herald* which is only printed on Wednesday and the *Scott County News* which is only printed on Thursday. In McCreary County, the one newspaper, the *McCreary County Record*, is only printed on

Tuesday. One of the NPS employees from the Atlanta office tried to post an announcement in the local newspapers but missed the deadline for doing so, not realizing that the local newspapers only “come out” once a week.

Two residents stated the reason they did not attend the Open House meetings was that they **heard about the meetings too late**. Comments include:

I had a conflict of schedule, I didn't hear about it soon enough to plan to attend;

Conflict in schedule, however, you could do more to promote your meetings;

Two residents stated that they did not attend the meetings because **the NPS already knows what they are going to do** or that the **NPS is not going to do anything with the information they gather**.

Why should I waste my time going when they already know what they're going to do, I'm a busy man;

I'm not wasting my time when they already know what they're going to do, if they do anything at all. A couple of years ago they had these roads and trails meetings, I went, but they never did anything with the comments they collected. People around here are getting tired of all these meetings, especially when nothing comes from them.

One resident stated that they did not attend any of the Open House meetings because they **like how the NPS is managing the BSFNRRRA**.

I like how they've managed things so far, they know more about what's going on than I do.

In summarizing, major themes that residents expressed for not attending any of the Open House meetings held by the NPS included: residents did not know that the Open House meetings were being held; that they were not informed ahead of time in order to make arrangements to attend the meetings; that the NPS already knows what they are going to do or that the NPS is not going to do anything with the information they

gather; or that residents already like how the NPS is managing the BSFNRRRA and have faith in their judgment on how to manage the area in the future.

Residents’ Expectations of Open House Meetings and Suggestions for Increasing Public Input

Analysis of participants’ expectations who attended the NPS Open House meetings during Phase II of this project, a total of 15 participants from my research, appears in Table AII.4. This is followed by reasons the NPS Open House meetings met or did not meet participants’ expectations. Residents’ suggestions for increasing public participation are also presented.

Table AII.4: Expectations of NPS Open House Meetings				
	<u>*Yes/</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>*No/</u>	<u>%</u>
Did the Open House meeting meet your expectations?	5 /15	33%	10/15	67%
*= <u>Number of responses from the fifteen residents who participated in the Open House meetings held by the NPS during Phase II of this project.</u>				
<u>/N=15</u>				

Thirty-three percent of residents who participated in the Open House meetings held by the NPS during Phase II of this project stated that the Open House meetings met their expectations. Sixty-seven percent stated that the Open House meetings did not meet their expectations. Participants who stated that the meetings met their expectations were asked, “In what ways did the Open House meetings meet your expectations?” Only one resident responded:

Didn’t have any. Though I’m glad the park is trying to talk with us for a change.

Participants who stated that they felt the meetings did not meet their expectations were asked, “In what ways did the Open House meetings not meet your expectations?”

Responses include:

Lack of focus and factual statement.

Didn't like all of the alternatives having the primitive area in the same place, not much choice. Seemed like we were being railroaded into a choice the park folks had already decided on. They seem to care more about giving the bears a place to roam instead of us whose families have been here for lots of generations.

Finally, participants were asked, “How can the NPS increase public input in the management of the BSFNRRRA?” The majority of participants emphasized the need for better **publicity/communication**. Responses include:

Publicize ahead of time, Let us know more!;

More publicity, survey forms in newspaper or telephone or direct mail;

Open House meetings, surveys, news articles, TV;

Public radio announcements throughout the day-UT/UK local radio announcements, local store notices, maybe church notices;

Other participants emphasized the need for better **public relations** between the NPS and local residents. Comments include:

From people in the Rugby area-more, regular presence, publicize more, put in paper [newspaper], or radio, TV, we feel like we're an orphaned child on this end of the park;

Participate more in local meetings, i.e. Chamber of Commerce, Tourist Commission, etc.;

Increase their PR efforts. Actually listen and do what the local citizens want;

Better attitude, advertise in local paper with perhaps Big South Fork column, word of mouth.

Four residents emphasized that the NPS needs to recognize that the BSF is still a part of their **social identity** and **heritage**.

Recognize that the area that is now the park was once our families, and is still important to us as part of our heritage. They seem to just see us as a nuisance, though they roll out the red carpet for outsiders;

Put notices in the newspaper or on the radio so more people can feel like they are still a part of what goes on in the area, don't shut us out;

Let people know about possible ways of input. ASK people, ATLANTA & Washington, DC know little of this area but MAPS, we've lived here all of our lives, talk to us.

Two participants stated that they felt the **NPS was doing fine** in gathering local input for the management of the BSFNRRRA:

You seem to be doing fine;

Keep doing what they are doing lately, like this meeting [focus group] and other meetings, but let more people know about the meetings.

In summarizing, two residents stated that they felt the NPS was doing **fine** in increasing public input in the management of the BSFNRRRA. The majority of participants, however, emphasized the need of better **publicity/communication** and **public relations** between the NPS and local residents, especially with the NPS recognizing that the BSF area continues to be a part of residents' **heritage** and **social identity**.

Suggestions for Improving Focus Groups

Participants who attended the twelve focus groups, a total of 68 residents, were asked, "Do you have any suggestions on how this focus group could be improved?"

Suggestions from residents include:

Not one meeting, but attendees and others could get together on own and further discuss and send info. to NPS office;

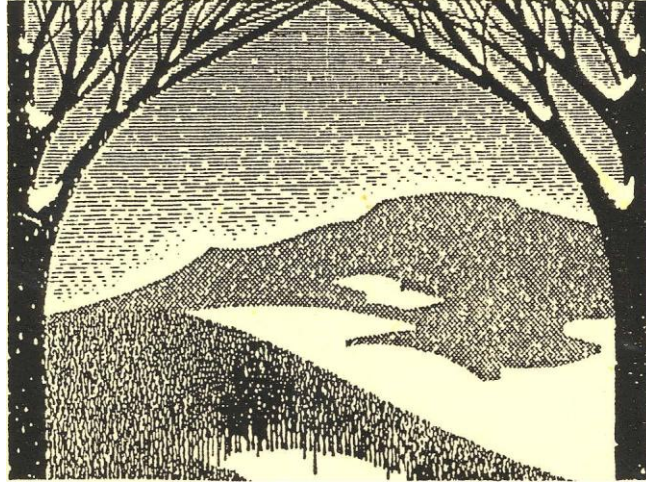
This seems to be better than the Open House meeting that my husband and I went to, we didn't get a chance to talk about things so much, ...you were more told what was going on, this is more comfortable for me. This is good, but you need more of them, ...and it's nice to have the meeting here at the community center instead of the court house.

Suggestions for the focus groups were to have more meetings in the future and to have those who participated in the focus groups go out and hold additional meetings. Other suggestions were to have more materials to be handed out at the meetings, a newsletter for example. One resident felt that focus groups were a more comfortable way of disseminating and gathering data than NPS Open House meetings. The resident also described how she prefers meeting at a more informal setting such as a community center or church, stating that courthouses and town halls can be “too political.”

APPENDIX III

Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area Survey

Citizens' Thoughts About the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area



My name is Carol Jo Evans and I am a graduate student at the University of Kentucky. I am collecting information on how residents in your area think the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area should be managed. Please have the self-designated head of your household complete this questionnaire. Only a very small number of residents in your area were chosen to participate in this survey, so your responses are very important to me. I will use the information residents provide in this survey as a starting point for discussions next Spring with people who live in the Big South Fork area or who are members of different groups that use the Big South Fork. This survey and next Spring's discussions are part of my dissertation research focused on how local residents are involved in the management of public lands.

If you would like to participate in next Spring's discussions, please write your name, address, and phone number on the back of the return envelope.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary and your responses to the questions are confidential. There is a code number on the return envelope so that I can keep track of the return mail. There is no code number on the questionnaire, so once you have returned it, your name will never be associated with your responses.

Thank you for taking a few minutes to respond to this questionnaire. When you are finished, please mail it back to me in the stamped envelope. Please feel free to call me at the University of Kentucky if you would like more information about my research. My phone number is (606) 257-5124.

*Citizens' Thoughts About the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area
(Also referred to here as the BSFNRRRA)*

1. How familiar would you say you are with the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area? Would you say you are Very Familiar
 Somewhat Familiar
 Not Very Familiar
 Not Familiar At All

2. Please indicate by checking "yes" or "no" whether:

- you have ever lived within what is now the BSFNRRRA. Yes No
- at least one member of your family once lived within the BSFNRRRA. Yes No
- you currently live adjacent to the BSFNRRRA. Yes No
- have ever visited the BSFNRRRA. Yes No

3. In the first and second columns, please indicate whether you have done each of the following in the BSFNRRRA. In the third column, please rank in order your level of enjoyment for each activity you have done in the BSFNRRRA. Begin your ranking with "1" being the most enjoyable, "2" being the next most enjoyable, etc..

	Have Done	Not Done	Ranking
• Canoeing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Kayaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Fishing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Swimming	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Picnicking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Partying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Hiking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Camping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Rock climbing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Bird watching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Horseback riding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Hunting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Riding OHV or 4WD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Other (_____)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___
• Other (_____)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	___

-
4. Are there certain places you cherish within the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area because they have a lot of personal meaning to you? These places might be family homesteads, cemeteries, native burial sites, moonshine stills, or other places that are meaningful to you.

No, not really.

Yes [☞] Would you please describe each of the places you cherish in the BSFNRRRA that is meaningful to you and also describe where the place is located?

If you do have meaningful places in the BSFNRRRA, has your use of any of these places been restricted by the National Park Service?

No

Yes [☞] How has your use been restricted?

5. Imagine the BSFNRRRA as you would like it to be in 10 years. What would be different that would make the Big South Fork better?

6. Given how you have described what you want the Big South Fork area to be like in 10 years, what needs to be done to achieve this goal?

7. Are you aware of the discussions over different future uses of the O & W Railroad bed?

No

Yes [☞] Please rank in order your preferences for different future uses of the O & W Railroad bed.

- ____ Restore the railroad bed with a working locomotive.
- ____ Restore it as a horse-drawn wagon trail.
- ____ Restore it as a trail for biking, hiking, and horseback riding only.
- ____ Vehicular access.
- ____ Other: _____
- ____ Other: _____

Do you have any additional comments on the future of the O & W Railroad bed?

8. Are you aware that public access is prohibited in certain areas of the BSFNRRRA, such as the river gorge and some areas where people used to hunt?

No

Yes [☞] How much has prohibited access affected your enjoyment of the Big South Fork area?

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> My enjoyment is very affected | } | Why do you feel this way? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat affected | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not very affected | } | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not affected at all | | |

9. Do you feel more trails should be created in the BSFNRRRA?

No

Yes [☞] Where and what types?

10. Compared to people who live outside your area, how much input do you think local residents *should have* in the management of the BSFNRRRA?

- Local residents should have *more* input than people who live outside the area.
- Local residents should have an *equal* input to people who live elsewhere.
- Local residents should have *less* input than people living elsewhere.

Why do you feel this way?

11. Since the creation of the BSFNRRRA, how much input do you think local residents *have actually had*, compared to people who live outside your area, in the management of the BSFNRRRA?

- Local residents have had *more* input than people who live outside the area.
- Local residents have had *about the same* amount of input as people living elsewhere.
- Local residents have had *less* input than people living elsewhere.

Why do you feel this way?

12. How satisfied are you with the ways the National Park Service is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area over the next 10 years (for example, the open house meetings)?

- Very satisfied }
 - Somewhat satisfied }
 - Not very satisfied }
 - Not satisfied at all }

Why do you feel this way?

13. Below are some ways people have suggested to include local residents in decision making. In the first column, please indicate how effective you think each option would be. In the second column, please indicate whether you would participate.

	<u>Effectiveness</u>			<u>Would You Participate?</u>	
	Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Effective	No	Yes
• Open House meeting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Focus group meetings or group interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Personal interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Mail-out surveys	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Questionnaires at local businesses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please write any suggestions you have for increasing local residents' involvement in the planning process for the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.

14. Do you think there should be cooperation and coordination between local people and the National Park Service regarding the BSFNRRA?

No _____ Why not?

Yes

↓

↓

↓

↓ _____ How do you think cooperation and coordination could be achieved?

15. How much cooperation and coordination between local people and the National Park Service exists now?

A great amount of cooperation and coordination exists.

Some cooperation and coordination exists.

A little cooperation and coordination exists.

No cooperation or coordination exists.

16. Are you female or male? Female

Male

17. How old are you? _____ years old

18. Where were you born? _____
Name of town or city Name of county Name of state/country

19. How long have you lived in the county where you live now? _____ years

20. Does your property lay adjacent to the BSFNRRA boundary?

No

Yes

21. Would you be interested in talking with me in more detail about your views on the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area?

No

Yes ☞ Thank You. Please write your name, address, and phone number on the back of the return envelope when you mail me this questionnaire and I will call you.

Thank you very much for answering these questions. Please feel free to use any space on this questionnaire or in a separate letter to tell me any additional thoughts you have about the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.

APPENDIX IV

Findings From Research Period Three

Results of Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area Survey

Below is a detailed description of responses to the survey submitted to local residents in McCreary County, Kentucky and both Fentress County and Scott County, Tennessee. Table AIV.1 presents a summary of demographic variables of those who participated in the survey, in addition to subjects' former residency within the BSFNRRRA. Table AIV.2 lists subjects' participation in activities within the research area. The section then presents findings pertaining to participants' descriptions of cherished places within the BSFNRRRA, and how these cherished places have been restricted by NPS regulations. Participants' awareness of prohibited motorized access to certain areas of the BSFNRRRA, such as the river gorge, is also addressed, in addition to how this has affected their access and enjoyment of the Big South Fork area. Other survey questions inquire about residents' level of input in the management of the BSFNRRRA, their satisfaction with the ways the National Park Service is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA, participants' suggestions for increasing local residents' involvement in the planning process for the BSFNRRRA, and participants' thoughts about cooperation and coordination between local people and the NPS regarding the BSFNRRRA. The section concludes with a statistical comparison of variables that may or may not effect residents' satisfaction with the methods the NPS utilizes in trying to acquire public input for planning how to manage to BSFNRRRA (the use of NPS Open House meetings for example).

Demographics

Table AIV.1 presents a summary of demographic variables of those who participated in the survey, in addition to subjects' former residency within the area.

Table AIV.1: Demographic Variable List and Results

Demographic and Residency Variables	*Frequency	%	Comments
Age			(Age Range 21-87)
Gender/Sex			
Female	45/N	41.7%	
Male	61/N	56.5%	
No response	02/N	01.9%	
Current County of Residency			
McCreary, KY	37/N	34.3%	
Fentress, TN	31/N	28.7%	
Scott, TN	40/N	37.0%	
Ever live within BSF?			
Yes	40/N	37.0%	
No	57/N	52.8%	
No response	11/N	10.2%	
At least one family member once lived within BSF?			
Yes	56/N	51.9%	
No	29/N	26.9%	
No response	21/N	19.4%	
Property currently lies adjacent to the BSFNRRRA?			
Yes	72/N	66.7%	
No	23/N	21.3%	
No response	11/N	10.2%	

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

User Groups and Participation of Activities Within the BSFNRRRA

Table AIV.2 presents activities that survey participants stated that they have participated in within the boundaries of the BSFNRRRA.

Table AIV.2: Participation in Activities Within the BSFNRRRA

Activity	*Frequency	%
Canoeing	36	33.3%
Kayaking	03	02.8%
Fishing	84	77.8%
Swimming	77	71.3%
Picnicking	83	76.9%
Partying	25	23.4%
Hiking	78	72.2%
Camping	75	69.4%
Rock climbing	21	19.4%
Bird watching	24	22.2%
Horseback riding	36	33.3%
Hunting	67	62%
Riding OHV or 4WD	64	59.3%
Other	17	15.7%

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Other activities reported by participants include photography and riding horse-drawn wagons, and riding jeeps (jeeping) within the area.

Cherished Places

When participants were asked, “Are there certain places you cherish within the BSFNRRRA because they have a lot of personal meaning to you? These places might be family homesteads, cemeteries, native burial sites, moonshine stills, or other places that are meaningful to you,” 66.7% replied “Yes,” 32.4% stated “No,” and 0.9% did not answer the question. Table AIV.3 summarizes these findings.

Table AIV.3: Cherished Places Within the BSFNRRRA

	*Yes	%	*No	%	*No Response	%
Cherish places within the BSFNRRRA.	72/N	66.7%	35/N	32.4%	1/N	0.9%

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Participants who answered “Yes” were then asked, “Would you please describe each of the places you cherish within the BSFNRRRA that is meaningful to you and also describe where the place is located.” A salient theme that arose amongst participants pertaining to cherished places refers to **family homesteads** and **cemeteries**. Examples of comments include:

The No Business area. My family is buried down there, I can't go visit them without a park ranger taking me there. Who wants a stranger standing over you when you are reminiscing [sic] and grieving?

I cherish my home, but it is located in the BSFNRRRA, the government owns it now.

Grandparent's home place between Big Island and Williams Creek, home places along No Business Creek.

Homesteads and cemeteries at Bald Knob and Ledbetter's Place.

White Pine Church and family cemeteries.

You are born here, live here, and die here. It's who you are.

My dad was born and raised at the top of the gorge before turning into Brandy Creek, his house was torn down when the BSF moved into the area.

Another salient theme that arose pertained to **traditional hunting grounds** and **fishing or swimming holes**.

I have been hunting near the mouth of Difficulty Creek for 35 years and fishing below Devils Jumps. Access to these places means very much to me.

The old oil well at the river where I and my granpaw went fishing and swimming when I was young. The road has been closed off now, and it is too far to walk. I can not enjoy this place with my two sons as my grandfather and father did. So it don't mean the same anymore, it's not something you can share with your family anymore.

Williams Creek and the Herican,[sic] and No Business, good places to relax and fish and camp.

My grandfather taught my father how to fish at Williams Creek, and my father taught me, and I taught my son. My son won't teach my grandson how to fish there, our family tradition has been broken.

Scaling Pole Branch and Troublesome Creek, these places hold many memories of hunting and fishing trips up to being denied access into the gorge area except by horseback or backpacking.

Other areas were cherished as places for their **scenic beauty**, for **hiking**, **camping**, **horseback riding**, **"jeeping,"** and for **picnicking**. Residents describe their experiences when they state:

The Natural Arches, especially the twin arches are beautiful, and Potter's Cave. There are many places that I cherish, but especially the No Business area. I lived

at No Business when I was married, for about 3-4 months. I'd go jeeping, horseback riding and hiking in the area.

No Business, family tradition to camp and horseback ride each year during deer season until we weren't allowed to drive there anymore. No longer enjoyable since we can't drive there.

The Zenith area and an area next to Burnt Mill Bridge at the top of the hill. We camped in there a lot. We can't get there now because we have to walk and we are not able to do that. They have put barriers up, we can't get in there anymore. They're [NPS] taking away our family traditions.

We have always enjoyed spending summer days and picnicking at Zenith and Burnt Mill Bridge at the O & W.

Other responses that demonstrate the importance of the O & W Railroad bed to local residents include:

The O & W Railroad and the Railroad Bridge over the BSF river.

Burnt Mill Bridge, there's a scenic overlook of the river and O & W RR bed. It should be used for access via rail, tram, or horse carriage, they're [NPS] talking about closing it off. This place means a lot, to a lot of people around here.

The O & W RR is the prettiest area of the park which is accessible by auto, well so far, if they close it off, the place won't mean the same anymore, the BSF is losing its charm.

Residents also stated that places were cherished, or had meaning, because family members **worked** in an area or collected natural resources to **supplement their incomes** from certain areas.

Mine 16, where my dad worked as a coal miner when they used carbide lamps, Mine 18, where my wife's dad worked. Surrounding woods where my grandfather cut timber for the Stearns Company.

My dad worked in the coal mines, Mine 18. I remember him talking about how the Stearns Co. always took care of their workers, with a place to live, a church, and even a school. Go to Blue Heron and you will see.

Mt. Helen areas of Fentress County, digging arrowheads and digging genseng [sic] are no longer available. This was extra \$ and food on the table.

The whole area is cherished, it kept us alive. We could collect wood and scraps of coal for warmth, berries, nuts, wild greens for the table, hunt, fish as we pleased. And what we didn't use we could swap.

One resident best summarizes two salient themes that ran throughout participants' responses, **home** and **family tradition**:

The whole area means a lot, my family line goes back to the Native Americans. Bear Creek Horse Camp, my father was born there, divides road where the flints was worked down. Yahoo Falls where my grandmother, 7th generation in the area, and family were killed. But you're taught to pass on family traditions, that way they live on. If we can't pass on family traditions or stories about our family, it's like they died again.

For those residents who stated that they did have cherish places of meaning, they were asked, "If you do have meaningful places in the BSFNRRRA, has your use of any of these places been restricted by the NPS?" Of the residents, 44.4% stated that cherished places of meaning have been restricted, 28.7% stated that they have not been restricted, and 26.9 did not reply. Refer to Table AIV.4 for a summary of these statistics.

Table AIV.4: Cherished Places Restricted

	*Yes	%	*No	%	*No Response	%
Cherish Places within the BSFNRRRA restricted?	48/N	44.4%	31/N	28.7%	29/N	26.9%

*=Number of responses from surveys returned.
/N=108

Residents who replied “Yes,” were then asked “How has your use been restricted?” The primary theme was the **closing off of roads to vehicular access.**

Comments include:

Iron gates, waterbars, and dirt mounds, closed trails and roads. Certain areas we can't enter and other areas, cemeteries, we must contact park rangers and arrange an escort.

Places like Parch Corn and No Business have road blocks. Can't visit relatives graves-now under BSF rules, people who are disabled or can't walk long distances have to be escorted by park personal that are not at the least interested in doing so.

You cannot go to No Business, Shiprock, Bald Knob, by vehicle, you have to walk or ride a horse. A lot of us can't walk very well anymore, and we don't have a horse.

Roads are blocked which restricts some people from going because of health or age. It can be a hassle.

Not very easy for older people to use because roads are closed to motor vehicles.

After 20 years, they are closing more and more roads and wanting to make wildness areas that were not supposed to be a part of the BSFNRRRA.

Now closed access, in most places you have to walk a mile before you even start over the bluffs to the river, BSF is a rich man's playground, if you can afford horses you can go wherever you want, if you just have an old truck, your family has to walk.

We can't ride our 4-wheelers because they have been restricted and it's too far to walk and pack fishing equipment to fishing holes.

One resident stated areas are not so much restricted, but that the roads are so narrow.

Roads are narrow entering the area, cannot pass without damaging vegetation, park rangers have been arresting people for damaging the vegetation, not enjoyable to be arrested for nothing.

This quote also demonstrates residents' feeling of “routine repression.”

Prohibited Access

Participants were then asked, “Are you aware that public/motorized access is prohibited in certain areas of the BSFNRRRA, such as the river gorge and some areas where people use to hunt?” From the respondents 78.7% answered “Yes,” 17.6% answered “No,” and 3.7% did not respond (Table AIV.5).

Table AIV.5: Awareness of Prohibited Public/Motorized Access

	<u>*Yes/N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>*No/N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>*No Response/N</u>	<u>%</u>
Awareness of Prohibited Access	85/N	78.7%	19/N	17.6%	4/N	3.7%

*=Number of responses from surveys returned.
/N=108

Those who answered “Yes” were asked, “How much has prohibited access affected your enjoyment of the Big South Fork area?” Table AIV.6 summarizes these findings.

Table AIV.6: How Much Prohibited Access Has Affected Enjoyment

<u>My enjoyment is:</u>	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>Very</i> affected	44/N	40.7%
<i>Somewhat</i> affected	27/N	25.0%
<i>Not very</i> affected	10/N	09.3%
<i>Not</i> affected at all	11/N	10.2%
No response	16/N	14.8%

*=Number of responses from surveys returned.
/N=108

Participants were asked, “Why do you feel this way?” Residents who described their enjoyment as being **Very Affected** because of prohibited access responded:

Because we have lived here all our lives and now we can't bring our children up and take them to the places we used to go.

Our children are going to miss out on many places and activities that have been part of the lives of their ancestors.

Because it takes away the enjoyment we once had, being able to camp, ride, hunt and fish. We were free.

I would like to say that I was harassed by a park ranger for being in the woods and looking for a place to deer hunt.

We have to carry our camping and fishing equipment for miles. If we go in by canoe we have to paddle for miles down and back up the river. We need better access.

Every access to best fishing holes have been restricted for 4-wheelers.

I don't like park service or what it stands for, they have closed roads and the park rangers think they are gods.

Because local people can't use it. Rights being taken away.

We feel like we are not allowed there anymore, someone else has all the authority. It doesn't mean or feel the same anymore, it's like we're trespassers now.

I have always moved freely in the area, to prohibit access to certain areas is like saying don't travel on my own property.

You were free to roam, but not anymore. It's like living in a fenced in place, you are just allowed to go so far, we're being watched because we're locals.

A central theme that may be construed from resident comments above is an impingement on their inalienable rights, life (right to self-sufficiency), liberty (right to move freely), and pursuit of happiness (free from harassment).

Residents who described their enjoyment as being **Somewhat Affected** because of prohibited access responded:

My age prohibits my making use of the gorge. You miss out on a lot of scenery or enjoyment of the park.

There is [sic] some areas now that I just don't have the time to go because of the limited access. I have to walk where once I rode. But I can see this as having to be.

I am a hunter and it is very hard to retrieve big game without a vehicle.

Residents who described their enjoyment as being **Not Very Affected** because of prohibited access responded:

Well fishing is allowed, that's good, hiking that's good, still can have baptizing there, that's good.

Residents who described their enjoyment as being **Not Affected at All** because of prohibited access responded:

Because you don't need to hunt around congested areas, someone might accidentally get shot.

Safety first, too many careless individuals and groups.

Residents were then asked, "Compared to people who live outside your area, how much input do you think local residents should have compared to people outside?"

Findings are presented in Table AIV.7.

Table AIV.7: Local and Outside Input

	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Local residents should have:		
<i>More</i> input than people outside the area.	78/N	72.2%
<i>Equal</i> input than people outside the area.	29/N	26.9%
No response.	01/N	0.9%
* = Number of responses from surveys returned.		
/N = 108		

When participants were asked, “Why do you feel this way?” comments from those who stated that local residents should have ***More input than people outside the area*** stated:

Because it effects our lives every day.

We have to deal with the BSFNRRRA daily, unlike people living elsewhere.

The citizens feel left out on all decisions, they bring in outsiders to make as it seems all the decisions.

Local people have always lived here and they know more about what surrounds them.

We live here (12mo/yr) and before the park I think we did a good job taking care of the land and river, the forest service did a lot of damage by clear cutting, but everything else worked out fine.

Those who live outside are here for a week or two a year, we have to live with the park and their “policy” 52 weeks a year.

Because the park directly influences the economic opportunity of this region.

The previous statements demonstrate residents’ feelings that management decisions about the BSFNRRRA affects their life daily, while “visitors come and go.”

Comments from those who stated that local residents should have *Equal input* than people outside the area stated:

Because everybody pays taxes and everybody should have an equal say in the matter.

Federal money is everyone's money.

What bothers me the most is that I'm paying taxes to maintain the roads for those fancy horse trailers, and then they try and run you off the road.

From the comments above and those presented previously, one may deduce that residents are concerned with "taxation without representation."

Local Residents' Input in the Management of the BSFNRRRA

In trying to understand residents' feelings of their involvement in the management of the BSFNRRRA, they were asked, "Since the creation of the BSFNRRRA, how much input do you think local residents *have actually had*, compared to people who live outside your area, in the management of the BSFNRRRA?" Participants' responses are reported in Table AIV.8.

Table AIV.8: Local Residents Input in the Management of the BSFNRRRA

	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Local residents have had:		
<i>More</i> input than people outside the area.	03/N	2.8%
<i>About the same</i> input as people outside the area.	27/N	25.0%
<i>Less</i> input than people outside the area.	69/N	63.9%
No response.	09/N	08.3%

*=Number of responses from surveys returned.
/N=108

From the responses, 2.8% felt that “Local residents have had *more* input than people who live outside the area.” Twenty-five percent felt that “Local residents have had *about the same* amount of input as people living elsewhere.” A higher percentage of respondents, 63.9%, felt that “Local residents have had *less* input than people living elsewhere.” Several salient themes evolved when participants were asked, “Why do you feel this way?” One of the central themes among residents was the feeling of a **lack of respect or concern for local residents** and **emphasis on outside visitors**. Participants’ comments are presented below.

Many decisions have been made with no local knowledge of change.

Our rights and privileges have been infringed [sic] on.

Because I think the Big South Fork Management intended from the beginning to exclude all local input.

Because of the way things have been managed. When the CORP would tell people one thing then do the opposite and BSFNRRRA have left it the way the CORP did it.

Home place was sold without consent.

Things have ben [sic] introduced in the park (bears, etc.) we would rather not have. The park service has no respect or concern for locals, only tourists or environmentalist.

We get more tickets and complaints for using these areas and a lot of older people don’t know things have changed.

Local residents get harrassed [sic] and others don’t, like outsiders who bring in their horses.

I belive [sic] the park officials are going to do what they want. Instead of caring about the people who live in the county.

The biking, horseback, and canoe organizations know how to work the system to get what they want. Many locals don’t have the time, money, and knowledge to work the system. Environmental organizations, Sierra Club, for example have a great influence on the administration policies; they know how to work the system.

Many outsiders use the Park once or twice a year. We are here year round.

There should be special rates with free passes to local citizens.

Another salient theme among comments includes the **lack of communication** between local residents and the NPS.

Don't feel that we are well informed.

Because we never know what is going on around until everything is already done.

I haven't met or know of anyone that had any input into Big South Fork, the Park Service doesn't keep us informed on what's going on and when.

Because locals have not gotten as involved as others. The locals only take up certain challenges & don't get involved, and others don't know how to get involved.

Another theme among comments includes the **lack of access** to traditional places or places of meaning.

We can't get to the places we did go.

Because we've had no say about the blocking of trails and roads in our area.

In trying to obtain knowledge on residents' satisfaction with the methods the NPS utilizes in order to obtain public input on planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA, residents were asked, "How satisfied are you with the ways the National Park Service is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area over the next 10 years (for example, the NPS Open House meetings)?" Table AIV.9 presents residents' comments.

Table AIV.9: Satisfaction with National Park Service’s Methods for Obtaining Local Input on the Management of the BSFNRRRA

	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<i>Very satisfied</i>	13/N	12.0%
<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	35/N	34.4%
<i>Not very satisfied</i>	23/N	21.3%
<i>Not satisfied at all</i>	25/N	23.1%
<i>No response</i>	12/N	11.1%

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Statements from those participants who responded, **Very satisfied**, include:

I’m glad for the Park Rangers. It keeps a lot of crime down. If it weren’t for them it would not be safe to even go down there.

Maybe we will finally get treated with some respect from the Park Service

Below are statements from those participants who responded, **Somewhat**

Satisfied:

If local resident’s ideas are considered.

It’s a good start. I think they are trying to work with us.

For giving the local people some say in what the tax dallor [sic] is being spent on.

Don’t feel that we are well inform

Not very satisfied statements that were reported by participants consist of:

They involve some and not others.

Never know when there is a meeting or anything else concerning the park.

I don't know when Open House meetings are scheduled.

Meetings need to be advertised more so more people would be aware.

Other participants who responded that they were **Not satisfied at all** with the methods that the NPS utilizes in obtaining local input include:

I am unaware of anything going with the Park Service, I've given up on caring. They're going to do what they want, or what outsiders with the big bucks wants them to do. It's all about money now. They took our home and made it into a tourist attraction, and I guess they see us locals as the freak show.

Nothing to my knowledge has been done for the benefit of "the locals" except for certain special interest groups.

They have meetings but they already know what they are going to do before the meetings start.

The people that live here are not satisfied, because they can't do some of the things that their families have done from generation to generation, and that's camping and hunting on the river.

As far as I'm concerned the public has never been involved. The park came in, the park took over.

We have too many restrictions put upon us, such as where we can hunt, fish, ride horses, ride ATVs, etc. Example: Are you aware that if you or your child picks a flower in the BSF you will be fined!! FACT. A local Head start group on tour was asked by employees of BSF to leave area due to this!

One resident from McCreary County, Kentucky commented:

Public planning meetings are a thing of the past, Once the Corps of Engineers got the land, they laid to one side their implementation of these plans. A vast area now lays unattended and unsupervised awaiting development as promised. Local people have been harassed and by passed in decision making processes and the Tennessee area has been favored.

In trying to discover residents' preference of methods in obtaining local participation in the management of public land, participants were asked, to complete the following question "Below are some ways people have suggested to include local residents in decision making. In the first column, please indicate how effective you think each option would be. In the second column, please indicate whether you would participate." Table AIV.10 summarizes residents' comments on their feelings of the effectiveness of research methods.

Table AIV.10: Methods in Acquiring Local Input in the Management of Public Land

Effectiveness Of Methods	*Very Effective	*Somewhat Effective	*Not Effective	*No Response
Open House meeting	18/N (16.7%)	57/N (52.8%)	16/N (14.8%)	17/N (15.7%)
Focus Groups/ group interviews	21/N (19.4%)	52/N (48.1%)	15/N (13.9%)	20/N (18.5%)
Personal Interviews	33/N (30.6%)	39/N (36.1%)	14/N (13.0%)	22/N (20.3%)
Mail-out Surveys	33/N (30.6%)	42/N (38.9%)	12/N (11.1%)	21/N (19.4%)
Questionnaires at local businesses	17/N (15.7%)	44/N (40.7%)	26/N (24.1%)	21/N (19.4%)

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Table AIV.11 summarizes residents' comments on their willingness to participate in the research methods.

Table AIV.11: Participants' Willingness to Participate in Research Methods

Participate	*Yes	*No	*No Response
Open House meeting	58/N (53.7%)	26/N (24.1%)	24/N (22.2%)
Focus groups/ group interviews	54/N (50.0%)	29/N (26.9 %)	25/N (23.2%)
Personal interviews	57/N (52.8%)	24/N (22.2%)	27/N (25.0%)
Mail-out surveys	73/N (67.6%)	8/N (7.4%)	27/N (25.0%)
Questionnaires at local businesses	63/N (58.3%)	19/N (17.6%)	26/N (24.1%)

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Participants were then asked to “Please write any suggestion you have for increasing local residents’ involvement in the planning process for the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.” Suggestions include:

I don't know, it is hard to deal with people and government officials. You can't please everybody.

These will be effective only if they listen. Set up a board of local people who do not have monetary gains from park programs. i.e. horseback riding, hunting, canoeing, etc. then listen to them. They (those who live outside) are here a week or two a year. We have to live with the park and their 'policy' 52 weeks a year. A little trust and respect would help.

Restaurant-swimming pool-less restrictions for 4 wheelers more trails-please stop the rangers from acting like the military police. Wildlife viewing, introduce Elk-more deer.

The park needs to have more work programs for local people. This would increase more interest in the park.

Offer Grants and Funds for business that would be associated with the park...Recognize local people for what they are.

The only way locals are ever going to be involved in the park is for the park service to ease up a little. Their rules are THE rules and God forbid you should do something that they don't approve of. Like stop to look at a deer. That seems to upset the Park Rangers quite a bit.

By letting the residents who have lost property to the park have a voice in what should be for the future of the park use.

By using the local ideas for older people and handicap people ATV trails by building the Lodge and campground at Bear Creek. Improving boat ramp at Alum Ford & Yahoo Falls. Kentucky's side of the Park was left behind in development the CORP sped most of the funds in Tennessee and didn't develop the Kentucky side as promised to the people in Kentucky.

Become involved in local organizations would be one way of reaching some residents, such as Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Lions, etc.

Bi-partisan-deal boards with leadership from both Kentucky and Tennessee, tied in with County officials and state official representatives, with regular meetings.

Look at what people are doing and where, talk to local picnicker, hunter, fisherman, hiker one on one and make them fill [sic] it will mean something this person must be a local person that people trust and know what question to ask.

One comment aimed more towards the use of focus group meetings.

I think that a formation of a focus group that represented B.S.F. region and if local residents effectively could in fact make a difference in a positive way. Simply by empowering the focus group you will force cooperation.

The final question participants were asked pertained to cooperation and coordination between local people and the NPS. When residents were asked, "Do you

think there should be cooperation between local people and the NPS regarding the BSFNRRRA?,” 89.9% said “Yes,” 1.9% stated “No,” and 8.3% did not answer. Refer to Table AIV.12 for a summary of participants’ responses.

Table AIV.12: Cooperation between Local Residents and the National Park Service

	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	97/N	89.8%
No	02/N	01.9%
No response	09/N	08.3%

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

Participants were then asked, “How do think cooperation and coordination could be achieved?” Responses include:

By the park service being more considerate of the local people giving them the chance to express their points of view rather than being left out side and abiding by their rules.

When they first came in here, there were no coordination, they just told you what they were going to do and that was the bottom line.

The park service should back off and give the locals a say in what happens.

Work with local clubs-Chamber of Commerce-local governments.

Employees of NPS and BSF should not be as strict, all these rules and rumors of restrictions limits our community in using the area.

Local people should be treated as equals.

At least that the local people be recognized and told or asked about some things before shutting things down.

Put local residents in each area in charge of obtaining local complaints and problems to members of BSF. Have 1 designated person in each area work closely with BSF staff.

Finally, residents were asked, “How much cooperation and coordination between local people and the National Park service exists now?” Responses are reported in Table AIV.13.

Table AIV.13: How Much Cooperation and Coordination Currently Exists Between Local People and the National Park Service

	<u>*Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Amount of cooperation:		
Great amount	06/N	05.6%
Some	31/N	28.7%
A little	41/N	38.0%
None	19/N	17.6%
No response	11/N	10.2%

*=Number of responses from 108 surveys returned.
/N=108

As a final question, participants were asked to “Please feel free to use any space on this questionnaire or in a separate letter to tell me any additional thoughts you have about the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.” Responses from participants include:

A lot of the hostility that locals around here have is because of the way the Corps railroaded us into what they wanted, a lot of broken promises, a legacy that the park service has to live with.

The BSF area doesn't have the same meaning that it had when I was growing up, we were free to come and go as we pleased, and I think we took good care of the area. It was the industries that messed up the land, not us. This is our home, well

it was, and we took good care of it. Now we are treated as if we don't belong here.

The Big South Fork River has always been a part of who we are, it was a part of our life. Now we are restricted to even go to it in places. It's like someone cutting off your oxygen. The place is dead to me now.

Statistical Analyses

The following section of the chapter presents statistical analysis comparing variables that may or may not effect residents' satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA. Residents were asked, "How satisfied are you with the ways the National Park Service is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area over the next 10 years (for example, the NPS Open House meetings)?" Answers were coded with: 1 **Very Satisfied**; 2 **Somewhat Satisfied**; 3 **Not Very Satisfied**; and 4 **Not Satisfied at All**.

Hypotheses

The previous question was compared to satisfaction levels between different user groups to result in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis I: Those user groups who experience prohibitions/restrictions to traditional resources or areas (hunters and ATV users) will demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those user groups who experience an increase of access due to developments of trails and services (horse back riders and mountain bikers).

Null Hypothesis I: Those user groups who experience prohibitions/restrictions to traditional resources or areas (hunters and ATV users) will not demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those user groups who experience an increase of access due to developments of trails and services (horse back riders and mountain bikers).

Quantitative analysis does not support the argument that there is a difference in satisfaction levels between different user groups with the methods the NPS utilizes in trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA. The mean satisfaction level is 2.31 with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among horseback/mountain biker user groups, in other words they tend to say that they are **Somewhat Satisfied** with the NPS. The mean satisfaction level is 2.64 with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among ATV/hunter user groups, in other words they tend to say that they are **Not Very Satisfied** with the NPS.

The difference between the means was evaluated using a t-test ($t = 1.11$, $df = 61$, t -critical value = 1.67, 1 tail-test, $\alpha = .05$, probability of $t = 0.16$). Statistical comparison of these means (t-test) indicates that the t-value was not statistically significant at the .05 level. Therefore we fail to reject the Null Hypothesis, although this result could be attributed to a small sample size. The evidence, as it stands, is not sufficient to provide a firm conclusion. The difference between means could be attributed to sampling error.

The former question “How satisfied are you with the ways the National Park Service is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area over the next 10 years (for example, the NPS Open House meetings)?” was also compared to satisfaction levels between those with and without restrictions to cherished/meaningful places to result in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis II: Those residents who have experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places will demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those who have not experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places. Cherished/meaningful places may include family homesteads, cemeteries, hunting grounds, traditional fishing or swimming holes.

Null Hypothesis II: Those residents who have experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places will not demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction than those who have not experienced prohibitions/restrictions to cherished/meaningful places.

Quantitative analysis supports the argument that there is a difference in satisfaction levels with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA between residents who have experienced restrictions on cherished/meaningful places versus residents who have not experienced restrictions on cherished/meaningful places. The mean sum level of satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among those with restricted cherished places is 2.91, in other words, there is a tendency for them to be **Not Satisfied** with the NPS. The mean sum level of satisfaction with the ways the NPS is trying to involve the public among those without restrictions on cherished places is 2.15, in other words there is a tendency for them to be **Somewhat Satisfied** with the NPS.

The statistical significance of the difference between the means was evaluated using a t-test ($t = 3.20$, $df = 72$, 1 tail-test, $\alpha = .05$, t -critical value = 1.67, probability of $t = 0.0014$). Statistical comparison of these means (t-test) indicates that the t-value is statistically significant at the .05 level. This means the probability is less than 1 out of 20 that the difference between the means is due to sampling error. In other words, there is a 95% certainty that the difference between the means did not occur due to sampling error and therefore one may reject the Null Hypothesis. There appears to be a difference in satisfaction levels with the methods the NPS utilizes in trying to involve the public in planning how to manage the BSFNRRRA between residents who have experienced

restrictions on cherished/meaningful places versus residents who have not experienced restrictions.

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1977 *Appalachian Isolation*. In *An Appalachian Symposium*. J. W. Williamson, ed. Pp. 77-91. Boone: Appalachian State Univ. Press.

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2004 *State-Mandate Testing and Cultural Resistance in Appalachian Schools: Competing Values and Expectations*. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 19 (1).

Xu, Jianchu and David Melick

2007 *Rethinking the Effectiveness of Public Protected areas in Southwestern China*. *Conservation Biology*. Vol. 21, Issue 2, pp. 318-328.

VITA
Carol Jo Evans

Date of Birth: May 21, 1963
Place of Birth: Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Education

1990-94 Master of Arts Degree in Socio-cultural Anthropology/
Sociology, University Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.

1984-88 Bachelor of Arts Degree in Anthropology/ History,
East Carolina University, Greenville, NC: Cum Laude.

1986 summer Universidad Nacional De Costa Rica, Heredia, Costa Rica.

1982-1984 Associate in Arts Degree, College of the Albemarle,
Elizabeth City, NC: Cum Laude.

Professional Positions

2010-present **Assistant Professor**, College of the Albemarle,
Elizabeth City, NC.

2004-2009 **Assistant Professor**, Elizabeth City State University,
Elizabeth City, NC.

2009 **SACS Assessment Coordinator for the Program of Sociology**,
Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City, NC.

2006-2009 **Program of Sociology Coordinator**, Elizabeth City State
University, Elizabeth City, NC.

2000-2004 **Adjunct Faculty**, Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City,
NC.

2001-2004 **High School Social Studies Teacher**, Pasquotank County High
School, Elizabeth City, NC.

2002 **Adjunct Faculty**, College of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City, NC.

2001 **Adjunct Faculty**, ITT-Institute for Technical Technology,
Norfolk, VA.

2001 **Tutor and Teacher's Assistant**, PW Moore Elementary School,
Elizabeth City, NC.

- 1997-2000 **Project Director and Consultant** for the National Park Service (NPS), research on the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA), Oneida, TN.
- 1998 **Consultant and Interviewer** for the US Forest Service, Department of Forestry, UK.
- 1997-1999 **Distant Learning Instructor**, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1998 fall **Tele-Course Instructor**, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1996 fall **Docent and Educator**, W. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1996 summer **Assistant Audio/Visual/Photographic Archivist**, Special Collections, M. I. King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1996 spring **Transcriber**, Oral History Department, Program for Cultural Resource Assessment (PCRA), University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1995 summer **Historic Preservation Assistant**, Program for Cultural Resource Assessment (PCRA), University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY.
- 1994-1995 **Lab Supervisor/Floatation Technician** for botanical archaeological specimens, (PCRA), Lexington, KY.
- 1994 spring **Adjunct Faculty**, College of St. Francis, Webb School, Knoxville, TN.
- 1993 summer **Adjunct Faculty**, College of St. Francis, Erlanger Medical School, Chattanooga, TN.
- 1993 spring **Adjunct Faculty**, Pellissippi State Technical Community College, Knoxville, TN.
- 1993-1994 **Exhibit Designer and Co-Curator** for the Englewood, Tennessee Textile Museum.
- 1992-1994 **Consultant (Cultural Broker)**, for Tennessee Humanities Council, Nashville, Tennessee.

- 1989-1991 **Interviewer/Research Assistant** for the Center on Aging at East Carolina University, NC.
- 1990 summer **Graduate Supervisor and Field Assistant**, Archaeological Field School, Fort Neo-he-ro-ka. Department of Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC. Supervised by Dr. David Sutton Phelps.
- 1988-1989 **Administrative Assistant** of the Albemarle Regional Local Government Commission, Hertford, NC.

Grant Development Experience

Title Three Grant (2006-2007), Department of Sociology, Elizabeth City State University.

Title Three Grant (2005-2006), Department of Sociology, Elizabeth City State University.

National Park Service, Grant to act as Project Director in order to acquire local input pertaining to the future management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, Oneida, TN., 1997-1999.

Honors, Awards, Scholarships, and Fellowships

- 2008 Teacher of the Year, Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City, NC.
- 2001 University of Kentucky, Lexington, Dissertation Enhancement Award.
- 1999 University of Kentucky graduate student travel grant to present at the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Ill., November 17-21.
- 1999-2000 Ford Foundation, Community Forestry Research, Fellowship for dissertation research in the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, Oneida, TN.
- 1998 University of Kentucky graduate student travel grant to present at the Society of Applied Anthropology, San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 15-21.
- 1998 Awarded Honorable Mention for presentation, *Cooperation Between the University of Kentucky and the National Park Service in Collecting Local Input on the Future Management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*, at the Society of Applied Anthropology meetings San Juan, Puerto Rico.

- 1997 National Science Foundation, Summer Training Fellowship, for research in the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, Onedia, TN.
- 1997 University of Kentucky graduate student travel grant to present at the Society for Applied Anthropology. Seattle, WA., April 4-9.
- 1987 East Carolina University, Awarded *Outstanding Senior*, by the Department of Anthropology/Sociology/Economics.

Publications and Professional Reports

Evans, Carol Jo

- 2006 Cumberland Falls, The Niagara of the South. *In* Encyclopedia of Appalachia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- 2006 Kentucky State Parks. *In* Encyclopedia of Appalachia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- 2006 Daniel Boone National Forest. *In* Encyclopedia of Appalachia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- 1999 *Ethnographic Investigations of Local Opinions Regarding the Proposed Alternatives for the General Management Plan of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.* University of Kentucky, Program for Archaeology Research. Technical Report No. 424.
- 1998 *Ethnographic Investigations of Local Opinions in Reference to the General Management Plan of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.* University of Kentucky, Program for Archaeology Research. Technical Report No. 397b.
- 1998 *Preliminary Analysis of Local Opinions in Reference to the General Management Plan of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.* University of Kentucky, Program for Archaeology Research. Technical Report No. 397a.

Evans, Carol J. and Helen Brown, editors.

- 1993 *Then and Now: Women in the Englewood Textile Industry.* Athens, TN: Quality Printing Services Inc.

Professional Presentations

Evans, Carol Jo

- 2008 *Conflict and Collaboration From Indigenous Populations Towards Tourism Development in Appalachia.* Presented at the American Anthropological Association. San Francisco, California. November 18 -23, 2008.

Evans, Carol Jo

- 2008 *Conflict and Cooperation from Indigenous Populations Towards Tourism Development: A Case Example in Appalachia.* Presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology, Memphis, Tennessee. March 27-30, 2008.
- 2007 *Conflict Over the Management of Cultural and Natural Resources in the BSFNRRRA.* Presented at the American Anthropological Association. Washington, DC. November 29 – December 4.
- 2005 *Federal Laws Pertaining to the Management of National and Cultural Resources.* Presented at the American Anthropological Association. Washington, DC. November 30 – December 4, 2005.
- 2003 *Conflict Resolution for the Peaceful Utilization of America's Resources.* Poster presented at the American Anthropological Association. Chicago, Illinois, November 19-23.

Evans, Carol Jo and Tom Des Jean

- 2000 *Participatory Resolution of Environmental Conflict and Resistance Over the Management of Public Land: A Case Study of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area.* Paper presented at the Community Forestry Research Fellowship Annual meeting. Abiquiu, New Mexico. October 5-9, 2000.

Evans, Carol Jo

- 2000 The Value of Utilizing Focus Group Meetings in Obtaining Local Opinions Towards the Proposed Alternatives by the National Park Service for Managing the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area. Paper presented at the National Park Service's Annual Cultural Resource Management meeting for the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFNRRRA). Oneida, Tennessee, January, 19-20, 2000.
- 1999 Public Participation in the Creation of Public Policy. Poster presented at the American Anthropological Association. Chicago, Illinois, November 17-21, 1999.

Evans, Carol Jo and Tom Des Jean

1999 *Managing Cultural and Natural Resources*. Paper presented at the Community Forestry Research Fellowship Annual meeting. Perryville, Arkansas. September 23-26, 1999.

Evans, Carol Jo

1999 *An Overview of Ethnographic Investigations of Local Opinions in Reference to the General Management Plan of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. Paper presented at the National Park Service's Annual Cultural Resource Management meeting for the BSFNRR. Oneida, Tennessee, January, 19-20.

1998 *Hurry Up and Wait: Incorporating Local Voices in Public Policy at the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. Paper presented to Work Group for Development Anthropology (WGDA), University of Kentucky, Lexington. November 18.

1998 *Public Participation in the Management of Cultural and Natural Resources*. Poster presented at the Southern Appalachian Man and Biosphere Conference. Gatlingburg, Tennessee, November 4-6, 1998.

1998 *The Anthropologist as Cultural Broker Between Local Residents and the National Park Service on the Future Management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. Paper presented at the Anthropologists and Sociologists of Kentucky Annual Meeting. Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, October 16-17, 1998.

1998 *Analysis of Local Opinions on the Future Management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. Report presented at the National Park Service's Annual Cultural Resource Management meeting. Barthel, KY. January, 19-20, 1998.

1998 *Cooperation Between the University of Kentucky and the National Park Service in Collecting Local Input on the Future Management of the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area*. Poster presented to the Society of Applied Anthropology. San Juan, PR.

Evans, Carol Jo, Hege Johansson, and Rachel Mitchell

1997 *Rediscovering Motherhood: Exploring Maternal Discourse and Advocacy in Central Kentucky*. Paper presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology. Seattle, WA., April 4-9.

- Van Willigen, John and Carol Jo Evans
 1997 *SFAA/NAPA Guidelines for Training Practicing Anthropologists: Reflections on the Development Process*. Paper presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology. Seattle, WA., April 4-9.
- Evans, Carol Jo
 1992 *The Role of a Cultural Broker in the Cultural Conservation of a Textile Mill Town*. Paper presented at the Southern Anthropological Society. St. Augustine, FL., April 23-26.
- 1991 *The "Dead" Pigeon River and American Values: An Anthropological Perspective*. Paper presented at the Southern Appalachian Man and The Biosphere Conference. Gatlinburg, TN., November 4-5.
- Orbach, Michael K., John Byrd, Carol J. Evans and Kate Ferraro
 1987 *Change in the 1986 North Carolina Minimum Drinking Age Law on ECU Students*. Paper presented at the Alpha Kappa Delta Symposium, Richmond, VA.

Community Activism and Service

- 2008-present Member of Coordinator Council, Women's Safety Initiative, Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City, NC.
- 2007-present Executive Board Member to the North Carolina Sociological Association.
- 2008 Mentor, Senior Projects, Trigg School, Elizabeth City, NC.