

**We Are the Horses:
Identity Work in the Southeastern Missouri Ozarks**

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ABSTRACT

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In the face of extreme conditions such as a natural disaster, social upheaval and forced relocation, how do populations maintain cultural continuity with identity and tradition? This dissertation considers a specific community's response at the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries to government appropriation of traditional territory and forced relocation. The residents of Carter and Shannon Counties in Missouri, forced to abandon and change their long-time relationship to the land, were faced with the task of maintaining their identity after the 1964 establishment of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR), a National Park Service (NPS) project in the Missouri Ozarks. The primary research question posed here is: what factors inform and influence the identity work of Ozarkers in the face of extreme insults to their community, most importantly the loss of ownership and community control of traditional territory? I argue that an historic pattern of domination by external entities (who have often vilified residents), including the establishment of the ONSR and the forced removal of a community subset, have given rise to an interpretive oppositional identity framework of symbols produced by affected residents in Shannon and Carter Counties. This framework functions to protect, assert, refine and maintain identity constructions by guiding identity work that includes resistance.

This document is dedicated to my Granny Beulah from whom I first learned to understand hillbillies, and to my Mother and Father who transmitted to me a love for education and a penchant for fairness.

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Table of Contents

Chapter One Background and Introduction.....	8
Growing Global Displacement	9
Site Selection and Background	12
Place and Poverty in Carter and Shannon Counties: Geography, Population, Education and the ONSR	15
Methods and Limitations of the Research	20
Organization of the Dissertation	24
 Chapter Two Outsider Interventions and Historic Marginalization.....	 27
Introduction.....	27
Settlement Patterns, Core Values and Attachment to Place	28
Settler Subsistence Patterns	30
The Civil War	31
Origins of the Hillbilly Stereotype.....	35
Forest Depletion, Cultural Deficit and Renewed Government Intervention 1880-1940	37
The Creation of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways	42
Summary.....	52
 Chapter Three The Past in the Present: History, Landscape and Contemporary Processes of Identity Construction	 54
Introduction.....	54
Theory on Identity Work	54
“Who We Are”	57
To Be “Local”	58
Ancestral Values	59
Attachment to Landscape.....	66
Constructing the “Other”: Identity and Relative Deprivation.....	69
The “Other” and Relative Material Deprivation: Economics and Artifacts	71
The “Other” and Relative Deprivation of Authority and Stewardship: Land Management and Trust in Government	77
The “Other” and Land Use Deprivation: Access, Fishing, Tourism, and Recreation	81
Insider Constructions and “Who We Are Not”	86
Summary	92
 Chapter Four Resistance as Identity Work.....	 94
Introduction.....	94
Background: Resistance and Identity.....	95
Forms of Resistance: Backtalk as Everyday, Micro-Political Resistance	98

Cultural Memory: A Template for Whom, Why and How to Resist.....	101
The Civil War	102
The Imposition of Conservation Laws.....	105
The Creation of the ONSR.....	106
Every Day Forms of Micro-Political Resistance: Defending “Who We Are” in	
Opposition to ONSR Policy.....	112
Resistance to Boating Restrictions.....	113
Resistance to Hunting Restrictions	115
Resistance to Fishing Restrictions	118
Resistance to Restricted Access.....	119
Organizing and Macro-Political Politics: The Case of the Wild Horses	122
Summary	130
Chapter Five Analysis.....	132
Introduction.....	132
Symbolic Anthropology and the Formulation of Key Symbols in Oppositional	
Identity Work	132
Symbol Content and Historic Reformulation	134
A Typology of Symbols.....	136
Identity Work and Key Symbols: “The Ozarks,” “Government,” and “Wild	
Horses”.....	139
The Identification of Key Symbols.....	139
Key Symbol Functions in Identity Work: “The Ozarks” as Summarizing	
Symbol, “Government” as Root-Metaphor, and “Wild Horses” as Key	
Scenario.....	143
Key Symbols in an Interpretive, Oppositional Identity Framework.....	147
The Oppositional Identity Framework and Sustained Resistance: “Who We	
Are” as “We Are the Horses”	151
Summary	154
Chapter Six Findings and Summary Conclusions	156
“We Are the Horses” and Relevance in the Ozarks.....	158
Identity, Resistance and Symbols: Theoretical Support	161
“We Are the Horses” and Other Communities: National and Global Forces	
of Assimilation.....	162
Future Research	167
References.....	169

Chapter One

Introduction and Background

Introduction

“Why do people persist?” is the question George Castille asks in the preface to the edited volume *Persistent Peoples* (Castille and Kushner 1981:xx). In the face of extreme conditions such as a natural disaster, social upheaval and forced relocation, how do populations maintain cultural continuity with identity and tradition? This dissertation considers a specific community’s response at the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries to government appropriation of traditional territory and forced relocation. The residents of Carter and Shannon Counties in Missouri, forced to abandon and change their long-time relationship to the land, were faced with the task of maintaining their identity after the 1964 establishment of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR), a National Park Service (NPS) project in the Missouri Ozarks. The primary research question posed here is: what factors inform and influence the identity work of Ozarkers in the face of extreme insults to their community, most importantly the loss of ownership and community control of traditional territory?

In answer to the question that opened this document, Castille (1981) cites Spicer (1980) in asserting that “the defining characteristic of a persistent people is a continuity of common identity based on ‘common understandings concerning the meaning of a set of symbols’” (xviii).

Following Castille (1981) I argue that an historic pattern of domination by external entities (who have often vilified residents), including the establishment of the

ONSR and the forced removal of a community subset, have given rise to an interpretive oppositional identity framework of symbols produced by affected residents in Shannon and Carter Counties. This framework functions to protect, assert, refine and maintain identity constructions by guiding identity work that includes resistance.

Growing Global Population Displacement

Natural forces such as flood and drought as well as unintentional human destruction of the environment can fragment communities. Equally devastating forces can occur as a direct result of intentional human intervention. In the United States, the democratic political system ideally grants equal participation to every citizen, but the capitalist economy produces stratification through differential monetary reward. The fundamental contradiction between these basic institutions produces conflicting value systems wherein equity is undermined by economic competition. A related tension can result from the subordination of individual rights for purposes deemed to serve the greater good.

Patterns of subordination are often manifested in planned change structures that achieve legitimacy by making claims to operate in the interests of the larger community. One example is government use of eminent domain for projects that require the forced relocation of residents. Best known among these are megalithic infrastructure development projects such as the building of dams and highways, urban renewal projects, mining ventures, and creation of protected areas (PA's) that displace families and disrupt communities for commodification purposes (Carion 1999; Colchester 2004; Fisher 1999; Nevins and Peluso 2008).

Guggenheim and Cernea (1992:1-2) proclaimed the 1980's a global "decade of displacement" estimating that "one to two million people per year is not [an] unreasonable" estimate of those displaced by development alone. However, by 2006 those estimates had been revised to include 200 million persons, roughly 10 million people per year between 1980 and 2000 (Cernea 2000).

A subset of development-related displaced populations includes rapidly growing numbers of conservation refugees forcibly evicted from PA's, including national parks. In 1961, there were approximately 1000 registered PA's in the world (Dowie 2005:4) including parks like the ONSR. By 2005, the number had increased to include 108,000 registered protected areas covering 11.75 million square miles, or roughly 12% of the earth's surface equal to a land base larger than the African continent (Adams and Hutton 2007:148; Dowie 2005:4-5).

The exact number of conservation refugees in the world is unknown because many of the evictions are not officially designated as "forced." However, estimates in Africa alone put the number at 14 million, where approximately one million square kilometers have been reserved for PA's in the name of conservation (Colchester, 2004:19; Dowie 2005:5). Growing pressure from non-governmental organizations (NGO's) to increase the world-wide PA land base in cooperation with governments in developing countries, that can impose powers of eminent domain, assure that evictions will continue (Adams and Hutton 2007; Brockington and Igoe 2006).

By the 1980's, governments and conservation NGO's began to grapple with how to integrate PA's and resident populations based on a growing literature in political ecology and environmental anthropology critical of the negative social

impacts of conservation related evictions (Adams and Hutton 2007:151). An opposing trend, increasingly influential in the last fifty years, is a neoliberal push to privatize and commodify nature in the name of conservation. (Adams and Hutton 2007:169-170). Nevins and Peluso edited a volume in which authors (2008:1-4) describe neoliberal practices in Southeast Asia whereby states and state agencies designate land as under-utilized commodities according to best-use principles, including conservation, providing a rationale to revoke private and communal property rights and create “enclosures.” (Nevins and Peluso 2008:3).

The drive to preserve ‘Nature’, to create ‘ecological sustainability’ or even more old-fashioned and explicit production strategies aimed at ‘improvement’ or ‘development’ result in restricted access to the enclosed resources and spaces. At times these restrictions end up ignoring or further marginalizing already vulnerable populations, ones not imagined as ‘belonging’ to a particular space despite active presence within it. Advocates of these enclosures also argue that they are for ‘the public good’ thus tying newly restricted ‘nature’ to contemporary notions of the nation and citizenship and making them much more difficult for local users to challenge. [Nevins and Peluso 2008:18]

Displacement resulting from conservation-related development includes not only the forced eviction of residents; it also includes the displacement of economic activity, livelihood strategies and lifeways for people living around PA’s (Brockington and Igoe 2006). These changes result in structural and physical violence that discipline residents to new and different land use strategies (Nevins and Peluso 2008:3-4). “People inside the bounds or in the vicinity of a park, who understand their surroundings as their gardens, farms, or backyards, have to be convinced—or forced—into understanding them as ‘parks’” (Nevins and Peluso 2008:19). These conditions foster resistance by both evictees and area residents.

Beyond material loss to livelihoods or dwellings, protesters fight their symbolic obliteration from the landscape—their removal from its history, memory and representation. Other groups protest their loss of power and control over their environments, the interference of the conservation regulations in their lives in ways over which they had little control. Else they protest the interference of different value systems into local economies, the commodification of wildlife and nature into things which tourists can purchase, but which locals can then no longer afford. [Brockington and Igoe 2006]

How and why people are able to maintain coherent communities in the face of growing development related displacement is a globally relevant question. Residents of rural areas and communities in Carter and Shannon County, Missouri provide ample opportunity to study the relationship of material, social, and cultural loss to collective identity work and persistence in the context of the struggle over contested territory appropriated to create the ONSR.

Site Selection and Background: Southeastern Missouri Ozarks

Since its resettlement mainly by Euro-Americans in the early 19th century, the ruggedness Ozarks topography prevented the development of large population centers and caused institutional developments (e.g. systems of government) to lag behind those of other more densely populated rural and urban areas (Murphy 1985:19-20). The thick forests and mountainous terrain have both contributed to the lifeways of residents and effectively slowed settlement patterns (Murphy 1985:1). Culture in the Ozarks is often characterized by rural isolationism, a factor used by outsiders to explain external perceptions of cultural deficit (Sauer 1920; Hammer 1935). An alternative and more recent interpretation holds that cultural adaptations required for survival in the area resulted in innovative and diverse lifeways and subsistence strategies (Gibson et al. 1999). Further, some authors argue that mountain cultures in

Appalachia and the Ozarks have never been completely shut off from the outside world because of geographic isolation; rather, people in these regions have chosen to remain independent and self-sufficient in order to protect their autonomy (McKinney 1990; Pudup 1980).

Residents of Carter and Shannon Counties have persevered through multiple intrusions by government forces and private economic enterprise that have disrupted their lives and fragmented their communities. Historic external intervention can be divided into four broad periods: the Civil War and reconstruction, which impacted the area at least until the 1880's; the period of intense resource extraction by national lumber companies from the 1880's until resources were depleted in the 1920's; the imposition of conservation laws beginning in the 1930's* ; and the ongoing intervention of the NPS, beginning with the establishment of the ONSR in 1964. As a direct result of the forced contact between less powerful locals and more powerful governmental and corporate interests, Ozark residents have been and continue to be pejoratively depicted in popular imagery and discourse as Ozark Hillbillies (Anglin 1990, 1992; Gaventa 1980; Harkins 2004; Hsuing 2000; Pudup 1980; Stewart 1989, 1990; Whisnant 1983; Waller 1988).

Beginning in 1960, many long-term residents were forced by the NPS to relocate permanently in order to establish the ONSR. Over 80,000 acres of privately owned land was condemned to establish the Riverways (Sarvis 2002:232). Of the

* Less intrusive, 20th century government forces and quasi-government forces that preceded the ONSR include the Missouri Conservation Department, the Forest Service and the Pioneer Forests, each of which asserts jurisdiction and public ownership over large tracts of land distinct from those of the ONSR.

880 tracts obtained by the NPS, 680 were sold by individuals in sizes ranging from .18 acres to several hundred acres (US Department of Interior, ONSR Land Tract Maps, 1974).

The process of forced removal and the ensuing jurisdiction of the NPS in the ONSR became the most immediate and important threat to those displaced and other residents in the area where external agents now controlled citizens' most important economic, material, social and cultural assets. Property owners who experienced forced relocation suffered the most severe material losses of the sort that are well documented (e.g. Aberle 1993; Cernea 1993; Gellert & Lynch 2003; Hanson & Oliver-Smith 1983; Shami 1993; Schuh 1994; Scudder 1973). Though the population of persons who were forcibly removed for creation of the ONSR constitutes a community subset rather than the total population of the area, the forced removal of these families came to symbolize the changed relationships that all residents of the area were about to experience. Residents not forced to relocate experienced permanent changes in their relationships to the land and the rivers.

The river areas, including the three state parks, were excised from resident community control, eliminating long-established central locations for socialization, recreation, commerce, hunting and fishing, burials and other ritual family gatherings where community memory and identity were territorially inscribed. Access to the river also changed drastically when land control moved from private owners (who could grant or deny access to their river fronts at will) to federal jurisdiction over river bank and water access. With the incorporation of state parks into the ONSR,

social life and subsistence, anchored in land use patterns, were drastically changed for all whose lifestyles had once been integrated with the land and rivers.

Forced relocation, the loss of control over traditional environmental resources, the influx of outsider tourists, and negative representations of Ozark residents have created considerable stress and animosity for residents. These conditions are particularly ironic for a population that values self-sufficiency, independence, and isolation with fierce attachments to this physical geography, its beauty, and its abundant natural resources. These factors result in conditions under which people who own a coveted natural resource, but who are also poor and therefore politically less powerful, find their authority, land, and lifeways, in short, their identity, threatened.

All of these experiences have created perceptions of “relative-deprivation” that impede local constructions of identity based on interpretations of history (Aberle 1960). Today, over forty years after the establishment of the ONSR, hostility between residents of the area, the NPS, and tourist populations continue. Under the veneer of the natural beauty promoted by the NPS and enjoyed by visitors to the area, is a tense and often hostile relationship between residents, government agencies, and ONSR visitors.

Place and Poverty in Carter and Shannon Counties: Geography, Population, Income, Education and the ONSR

The larger region known as the Ozarks (possibly a derivation of the French phrase *Aux Arcs* meaning “with bows,” a reference to Native American tribes in the region) has no clear borders. “In a word, the boundaries of the Ozarks are vague to

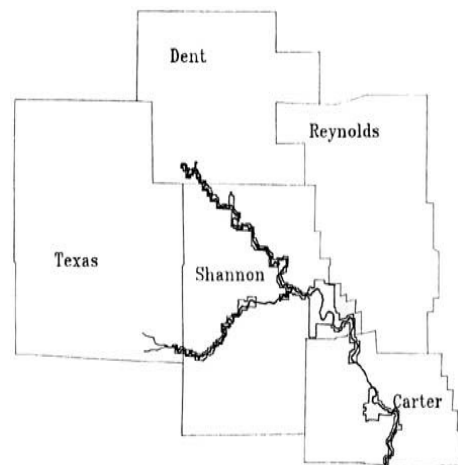
most people and subject to interpretation and disagreement by the experts” (Rafferty 1988:1). Geographers suggest that the territory encompasses roughly 50,000 square miles, an area the size of Florida, including 93 counties in parts of northern Arkansas (1,000 square miles), northeastern Oklahoma (13,000 square miles), most of Missouri south of the Missouri River (33,000 square miles) and into southern Illinois (1,000 square miles) (Geological Survey and Resource Assessment Division 2002:20; Rafferty 1988:1).

As later chapters will show, residents in the study area have been dependent on the forests, springs, rivers and wildlife for economic subsistence. People have also developed an attachment to place in this particular physical geography because they have developed an ecological niche wherein a symbiosis exists between their cultural practices and the region’s natural resources.

As the following illustrations indicate, the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways lies primarily within Carter and Shannon Counties contained within the Southeastern Missouri Ozark Highlands.



ONSR within the State of Missouri (Stevens 1994)



ONSR within County Boundaries (Stevens 1994)

A review of federal, state, and local data (see following table) reveals that these counties share several markers of social and economic difficulty. Among these are poverty imbedded in a deep history of regional economic stress, social isolation and relatively sparse population density with lack of access to educational opportunities, and non-local ownership of land.

The population density and growth levels in Carter and Shannon Counties are well below national and state averages. Median household and per capita income levels are slightly more than half state and national figures and graduation from high school is roughly three-quarters state and national levels. Carter and Shannon County are among the poorest counties in Missouri and in Appalachia generally, and they have been designated “persistently low income” counties since 1950 (Morrison 1999:5). These data (cited in the following table) suggest a link between low education, income and persistent poverty in the region.

Selected Population, Income and Poverty Statistics 2000-2007												
Carter and Shannon Counties in Missouri												
	Population 2000	% Population Growth Since 2000	Pop. Density Per Square Mile			Med. H.H. Income 2004	% of State Median Income	Per Capita Income 2004	MO County Poverty Rankings N=116	% of Persons in Poverty	Chronically Poor Appalachian/Ozark Counties N=91	% .H.S. Education 2002
			1870	1920	2007							
Carter County	5,941	.03	6-8	15	12	\$27,113	66.3	\$21,700	109	23.2 (1,222)	53	66.5
Shannon County	8,342	2.2	2-6	12	8	\$22,926	56.1	\$18,051	114	20.7 (1,935)	62	66.6
Missouri						\$40,885		\$30,081		13 (735,642)		81.4
United States						\$50,046		\$33,090				80.3

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 2007a; 2007b
 OSEDA 2007
 USDA 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2007

This region of the Ozarks “has more low-paying, low skilled jobs and seasonal employment than most other regions in the state and nation and the area evidences a persistent pattern of extraction of wealth and resources by outside interests” (Morrison 1990:90). This point is important because, in lobbying for the ONSR, the NPS argued that significant local economic benefits would accrue. They frequently used Gatlinburg, Tennessee a city featuring retail shopping and tourism services that blossomed next to the Great Smokey Mountain National Park as a model for projecting what would happen in Eminence and Van Buren. However, as contemporary economic realities reveal, predicted economic benefits have not accrued. Both counties are still consistently poor, and people must utilize diversified employment strategies that are supplemented with traditional subsistence patterns to survive. In addition, government-owned land taken out of taxation has placed a

greater burden on remaining property owners with low incomes to maintain city and county infrastructures. As later chapters will show, contemporary opposition to the ONSR occurs in part because the economic impact of the ONSR has not delivered on the promise to eliminate poverty or increase employment, which has created perceptions of government-imposed deprivation resulting from the combined experiences of loss and failed expectations.

In both counties, half or more of the county acreage is owned by government entities or by Leo Drey, owner of the Pioneer Forests. This concentration drastically reduces the property tax base and the revenues available for local infrastructure. According to George Myers, the Carter County Assessor, approximately 50 percent of the 321,000 acres in Carter County are owned by government entities including the NPS, the Missouri Conservation Service, the Forest Service and the Federal Highway Department. Mr. Myers explained that exact figures are unavailable and most often in flux because government entities continue to purchase additional land, as in the most recent case of the widening of Missouri State Highway 60, which crosses the southern edge of Carter County (Personal communication with the author, 4-18-2007:11:45; USDA Missouri Agri-facts 1996).

Shannon County Property Tax Assessor Summer Crider reported the latest approximate figures of land not included in the tax base from 2005. Of 642,000 acres in Shannon County, the Pioneer Forests owned by Leo Drey include 96,342 acres; the State of Missouri owns 135,000 acres under the jurisdiction either of the Missouri Conservation Department or Forest Service; and the federal government owns 115,100 acres. Of the 115,100 acres owned by the federal government, 42,000 acres

is under NPS jurisdiction in the ONSR and, 73,100 under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service (Interview with the author, 6-15-07:3:00; USDA Missouri Agri-facts 1996). Approximately 54% of the acreage in Shannon County is exempt from property tax. The low property tax base has been particularly problematic for school funding in both counties.

In summary, independence achieved through geographic isolation has been a cultural preference for residents of Carter and Shannon County; however, these characteristics are also correlated with extremely low population density, few and low-waged employment opportunities, high levels of poverty, and comparatively low educational achievement. Roughly half of the land in these counties is under the jurisdiction of government and conservation organizations, which contributes to a poorly funded infrastructure and public education that exacerbate conditions of poverty.

Methods and Limitations of the Research

The primary research question posed here is: What factors inform and influence the identity work of Ozarkers in the face of extreme insults to their community, most importantly the loss of ownership and community control of traditional territory? To answer this question I posed three hypotheses. The first hypothesis argues that identity work for many participants in this study is centered on constructions that define “who we are,” “who they are,” and that defend and assert “who we are not.” The second hypothesis holds that residents engage in forms of resistance against the National Park Service, specifically by opposing jurisdiction in the ONSR as it threatens constructions of identity. The third hypothesis argues that

historic events—including the Civil War, government-imposed conservation policies, and the creation of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR)—constitute a symbolic framework that directs contemporary, oppositional identity work for residents in the study area.

To investigate the research question, I analyzed ethnographic data originally commissioned by the NPS in 1999 and drawn from a small, purposive, non-random sample of 106 extended interviews focused on residents of Van Buren and Eminence Missouri. Nearly half of the sample (n=46) consisted of interviews with old-timers who had lived most of their lives in the area. The remainder of the sample included young people and local business owners connected to the economy of the Riverways, a number of people who had recently moved to the area, and workers employed in local industries. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. The interview data were supplemented with archival research regarding the recorded history of significant events as identified by respondents, participant observation in community activities, focus group discussions, and data from oral history interviews on file with the NPS (Gibson, et al., 2000).

The analysis of interview transcripts in this dissertation involved identification of patterned responses among residents with regard to several themes. Interpretations of historic lifeways and connections to landscape create a basis for determining contemporary constructions of identity. Themes involving intervention by government and other outsiders in conflict with insider constructions of identity provide a basis for determining who the primary “other” is. A final theme involves

significant events connected to the establishment and maintenance of the ONSR including reports of benefit and loss, and reports of resistance to NPS policy.

A particular methodological limitation of this study is that the research question presented here was posed after the data were gathered. During 1998, in an effort to improve maintenance practices in the ONSR and to alleviate local resentment, the NPS commissioned a research team from the University of Kansas to study the historic and contemporary relationships local people maintained with the land and rivers in the region of the Riverways. Ethnographic, life-history data for the NPS report were gathered during the spring of 1999. I was one of the three researchers involved in that project.

A consistent and over-riding theme running through the data involved descriptions of intense and long-term opposition to the NPS on a variety of topics, including the forced removal of land owners within the ONSR boundaries. However, because the NPS project did not specifically seek to address local opposition, much of the data collected were not relevant to the study report. An analysis of the processes that have facilitated the maintenance of the oppositional relationship between residents and the NPS remained uninvestigated. This study represents a recovery of these important data.

In the fall of 2007, I completed follow-up interviews in Eminence and Van Buren. I also collected additional archival research in the ONSR Cultural Resources Center. I developed a new informed consent statement for interviewees and indicated the shift from my earlier status as a researcher employed by KU, to a researcher gathering data for my dissertation. The content of these interviews was remarkably

consistent with the 1999 interviews and provides support for the accuracy of data collected during both periods.

In addition, the focus here is a representation of resident, insider perspectives rather than the institutional perspective of the NPS. Many NPS employees were interviewed, particularly those with insider status. However, NPS officials undoubtedly have perspectives on events and behaviors that are not incorporated here. Analysis of the NPS institutional perspective would provide the basis for another study requiring a different data set. Other potential foci in data collection that were not explicit goals of the original field work might have yielded additional and potentially different perspectives. For example, data on the role of gender and internal class struggles exist only anecdotally in the data set. Additional research on these issues would undoubtedly broaden and refine the findings on oppositional identity work presented here.

At the outset of the project in 1999, many NPS officials forewarned the research team that locals would be reluctant to be interviewed. In fact, these warnings were consistent as well as frequent, revealing a pattern of key assumptions on the part of NPS officials. They informed us that locals “don’t like the NPS, don’t like educated people, and are not responsive to women.” As three female researchers employed by the University of Kansas, we represented all of these characteristics. However, with one exception, these perceptions were unfounded. For the most part, resident respondents were willing and eager to share their stories. Three parties refused to be interviewed. All three were elderly, and one refused because she believed the stress of recounting and conveying her personal history would be too

traumatic for her health. The other two persons were an older couple who had unsuccessfully resisted the acquisition of their riverfront land through the court system in the early 1970's. Several local people explained that the couple maintained extreme bitterness and distrust toward the NPS as a result of their belief that the acquisition of their land was a swindle and, as one local suggested, "They smelled Park Service!" However, we were able to interview other members of the couple's family.

In retrospect, and as this study will demonstrate, the high level of cooperation was undoubtedly related to a perception that a neutral research report, focused on internal perceptions, could leverage and validate their identity and resistance to outsider audiences, giving them a potential advantage in their struggles with the NPS. In addition, the interview process was also an opportunity for residents to enact and perform their identity.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter shows the significance of the research question and describes the study area, methodology, and organization of this project. Chapter two describes the marginalization of Ozarkers through historic events that provide the context for contemporary identity work. These events and processes include three historic periods of state intervention, including the conditions created in the area by the effects of the Civil War and its aftermath, by government conservation policies imposed during the 1930's and 40's following the timber boom, and by the creation of the ONSR in 1964. Chapter two also describes the historic origin of externally

imposed narratives of a subaltern Ozark culture that is manifested in the “hillbilly” stereotype.

Based on the constructions of history provided in chapter two, chapter three describes processes of oppositional identity construction and identifies the ways in which people deploy historic symbols of opposition to construct identities. The processes of identity work described in this chapter includes insider identity constructions based on perceptions of ancestral lifeways, the designation of a generalized and exteriorized “other” responsible for perceptions of deprivation, and processes deployed to negotiate and reconstruct externally imposed negative valuations via the “hillbilly” stereotype.

Chapter four defines and describes various patterns of individual, micro-political resistance and macro-political, organized resistance that people interviewed for this study employed in opposition to NPS policies in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR). These processes are also informed by historic resistance. The chapter also describes how resistance may be viewed as a form of reflexive identity work that defends, strengthens and refines identity constructions described in chapter three.

The fifth chapter is an analysis of the identity work presented in previous chapters that shows how a meta-dynamic of meanings that function on a symbolic level and operate as a framework for ongoing oppositional identity work. The data gathered in the southeastern Ozarks show that an additional dynamic that supports oppositional identity work, and that motivates resistance, is to be found in an analysis

of the locally-assigned meanings of historic events which are sustained through the representation of shifting symbols over time.

Chapter six summarizes the findings of this research project and considers the implications for the study area, for specific theory in anthropology, and for issues related to the identity, resistance and persistence of other dislocated and marginalized populations.

The most backward and deliberately unprogressive region in the United States. . . There are men in the Ozarks who sleep in cord beds and hunt with muzzle-loading rifles; there are women who still use spinning wheels and weave cloth on homemade looms; there are minstrels who sing old English ballads brought over by the seventeenth century colonists; there are old settlers who believe firmly in witchcraft and all sorts of medieval superstitions; there are people who speak an Elizabethan dialect so outlandish that it is well-nigh unintelligible to the ordinary tourist from Chicago and points east. [Randolph 1931:4-5, 21]

The thing our government does best is disrupt people's lives. They did it first to the Indians and now to us.

George Dale, Shannon County resident, 1999.

Chapter Two Outsider Interventions and Historic Marginalization

Introduction

For many residents in the study area, identity work is defined in part by the conflict between core values of settlers in the region and historic forces for change that have threatened residents' autonomy and culture. By the 19th Century settler values were manifest in traditional subsistence strategies highly integrated with the land and the rivers of Carter and Shannon Counties. A central value for people who settled the region was to achieve independence from government authority through geographic isolation. Ironically, the topography and natural resources in the region have encouraged an almost constant flow of external intervention that threatens local autonomy.

Data gathered for this study indicate that contemporary identity work is heavily influenced by three historic periods of state intervention: the conditions created in the area by the effects of the Civil War and its aftermath, government

conservation programs imposed during the 1930's and 40's following the timber boom, and the 1964 creation of the ONSR and ongoing NPS administration. Local narratives about these three periods of state intervention have become symbols of opposition that represent as unjust the imposition of various forms of deprivation at the hands of the state. Data also indicate that externally imposed narratives of a subaltern Ozark culture that manifest as the "hillbilly" stereotype are appropriated to form a fourth symbol of opposition that influences identity. This symbol also has well-documented origins in history.

These events have become symbols of externally imposed economic impoverishment, and ideological stigma that cast residents as subalterns responsible for their own plight and permanently shaped Ozarker opposition to the government and other outsiders. Together, these symbols constitute a deprivation framework that as chapter five will show, guides contemporary identity work.

This chapter describes the marginalization of Ozarkers through historic events that provide the context for contemporary identity work that will be presented in chapter three. Data in this chapter are drawn from documentation in the historic record, from additional scholars who have analyzed the effects of outsider interventions in the region, and from local narratives.

Settlement Patterns, Core Values and Attachment to Place

Eighteenth century Euro-American settlement in the southeastern Missouri Ozarks was encouraged by geographic isolation, low land prices, and abundant natural resources. The topography and terrain of the Ozarks is difficult to traverse, so it was one of the last regions of Missouri to be settled by Europeans. However, by

1792, land prices in Tennessee and Kentucky were two dollars an acre and rising, whereas in the Ozarks, Spanish authorities sold land for only registration and survey fees, thereby encouraging settlement (Murphy 1985:19-26).

By 1820, Missouri was declared a first-class territory replete with rights to governance. A state constitution was developed and, in 1821, the Missouri Territory became a state (Murphy 1985:30-33). Early Ozark settlements in what is now Carter County were established by 1829, and in 1859, the area was officially designated a county named after Benjamin Carter, the first settler who arrived in 1807 (Oakley 1970:6; Ellis 1929:91). The city of Van Buren was eventually designated the Carter County seat. The first Shannon County settlement was created in 1819; by 1841, it was designated a county, and the town of Eminence was named the county seat (Murphy 1985:42-48; Ellis 1929:91). Most available land in the area was sold by 1859 (Murphy 1985:65-70). By 1860, the population of Shannon County was 2,284; Carter County had 1,235 people by 1859 (Murphy 1985:77-78).

Cralle (1930) described the area during this time as:

Typically American . . . in the vanguard of the Great American Frontier roughly between 1800 and the Civil War, although with the discovery of Gold in California, it became more and more a way-station to the newer frontier. From the beginning it drew the greater portion of its people from Anglo-Saxon sources, but it was an Anglo-Saxon culture tempered by a few generations of rural life in the colonies and states adjacent to Virginia. Influenced somewhat by topography, it drew from two divergent types: the small farmer and hill man, hostile to slavery because in competition with it, and the prosperous plantation owner who found in Missouri a region favorable to the institution. . . There was a general tendency of the slave-owning class to occupy the northern fringe along the Missouri River and to penetrate the Ozarks proper only by way of the valleys of those streams of the region flowing to the north. [435-436]

In addition to affordable land, the hill farmers and frontier people who moved into the Ozark Highlands sought isolated areas as a refuge from state-imposed authority (Otto and Anderson 1982). Sauer (1920a:217) suggested that “with the filling up of adjacent regions, the Ozarks became a sort of refuge to men who clung to frontier life.”

The geographic isolation and abundant natural resources of the region were well suited to people whose values for independence, autonomy, and self-sufficiency were fortified through traditional subsistence practices (Cralle 1930; McKinney 1990; Rafferty 2001; Sauer 1920a). It is important to note that isolation in the Ozarks highlands was never such that people were completely shut off from the outside world (McKinney 1990). However, low population densities and unobtrusive local governments afforded early private land owners in the area a high degree of autonomy, and this independence was—and still is—understood as an exercise of personal choice more than as a result of geographic circumstances (Pudup 1980). Thus, settlers in the region could easily adapt their cultural traditions to the ecology of the Ozarks.

Settler Subsistence Patterns

In the “mixed hardwood forests of the Ozarks and Ouachitas, settlers could reproduce their traditional way of life, including use of slash-and-burn [field-forest] techniques” which continued well into the twentieth century (Otto & Anderson 1982:137-139).

Offering reliable yields of foodstuffs in return for relatively little money and labor, range herding and slash-and-burn farming furnished a suitable subsistence base for the highlands’ farmers—people who valued even a minimal level self-sufficiency and economic

independence above possessions or position. Consumerism and financial dependence had no place in their way of thinking. And these practices were best suited for subsistence agriculture, since they imposed a ceiling on productivity. Each year only the scrub stock could be harvested in order to prevent deterioration of the herds. And since most of the land lay fallow to allow for gradual reforestation and restoration, less than a third of the land on a farm could be tilled at a time. [Otto & Anderson 1982:142]

Thus the identity of settler communities became highly integrated with the forested hills and spring-fed Current and Jacks Forks Rivers, resulting in an attachment to place rooted in strong kinship and community networks, economic self-sufficiency, and the autonomy afforded by geographic isolation (Gibson et al. 1999).

According to Bradbury and Wehmer's (2003) arguably pejorative description, county organization and successful commercial/economic development existed in the area by the 1850's; however, "hooliganism, feuding and fighting had a long tradition in the Ozarks" (xviii). Whatever the level of social unrest in Ozark culture by this time, it surely paled in comparison to the events about to be foisted on the area by the Civil War: the first in a series of state imposed interventions in the region that for many residents, inform contemporary oppositional identity work.

The Civil War

Clearly, the death and human injury that occurred during the Civil War represent the ultimate trauma in a range of insults experienced by residents of the Ozarks. In addition, state and rogue forces on all sides of the conflict radically diminished local autonomy by alienating residents from each other and from the resources they needed to survive. The events of the Civil War also initiated persisting opposition and a defensive posture toward a government that is perceived to continually fail to protect residents of the area.

The Southeastern Missouri Ozarks, including Carter and Shannon Counties, suffered unique and long-term disruption to community during the Civil War. One measure of resistance to one side or the other was that more men from Missouri joined to fight in the conflict than any other state in the country: 109,000 men enlisted with the Union and 39,000 with the Confederacy (Butler 1983:14; Murphy 1982:92; Rafferty 1980:85). The Ozarks was a region where the war became harsh very early; neighbors threatened neighbors and prisoners were seldom taken by either side (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xix-xxix).

The study area was sandwiched between radical Union battle lines near Rolla, Missouri on the north and rebel Confederate lines south of the Missouri-Arkansas border, which caused it to become lawless and chaotic. The region was fertile territory for “patrolling, foraging, recruiting, conscripting, and constabulatory activities [that evolved into] guerilla-style combat, hit-and-run raids, running firefights, ambushes, and bushwhacking” directed primarily at the noncombatant population in a kind of no-man’s land between northern and southern fronts (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xiv, xxii-xxiii). Ash (1994:205) suggests that banditry from all parties was the “most striking consequence of the collapse of communal authority and the un-tethering of individual volition in no-man’s land.”

All the combatants lived off the land, a practice that led to the worst abuses of civilians during the war as each side committed depredations against the other’s known or suspected sympathizers. The armies rapidly depleted slim reserves of livestock, corn, and military-aged men in the resource-poor Ozarks. There were also common criminals, deserters, and draft dodgers hiding in the hills, often garbed in military mufiti [sic] indistinguishable from legitimate soldiers, who plundered local inhabitants unmercifully of everything from livestock and food to bedclothes and kitchen utensils. Conscription, forced requisitions, theft, arson, and murder, whether by regular troops, partisans, or

freebooters, persuaded thousands of civilians to opt for life as refugees. Inexorably, more and more civilians abandoned the interior Ozarks for safer places as the war continued. The flight of the noncombatant populace, in turn, created a larger, unstable depopulated zone, the haunt only of armed men (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xxiii).

Violence in the area destroyed the farming infrastructure and made survival precarious. In a typical example, Oakley (1970) described the losses recorded by Zimri A. Carter, who was promised repayment by the Union army for supplies appropriated from his farm on several separate occasions. In December of 1862 items garnished included livestock, grains, cigars, tobacco, household goods and burned buildings estimated at \$4,099.50 (Oakley 1970:26). Mr. Carter was never repaid. Farms were plundered and burned, and many people fled the region. Death in the remaining resident population occurred more frequently at the hands of rogue armies than as a result of armed conflict between state forces: Bushwhackers if they claimed allegiance to the South, and Jayhawkers if they claimed allegiance to the North (Oakley 1970:24).

Though the official end of the Civil War occurred in 1865, residents continued to suffer chaotic conditions in the Ozarks for more than a decade. By 1867, bushwhacking was still prevalent, particularly in Oregon and Shannon Counties (Murphy 1982:104).

Many [bushwhackers] remained in the region and became powers unto themselves when the last Federal units left the Ozarks in the summer of 1865. The outlaws continued to plunder the locals and run sorties from hideouts to steal horses and loot country stores south of the rail lines. They persistently defied attempts by local officials, whether former Confederates or northern carpetbaggers, to reestablish civil authority . . . They robbed and murdered enrolled militiamen, mail riders, traveling merchants, and inoffensive citizens, plundering even the most isolated settlements. There is no doubt that these outlaws,

known generically as ‘bushwhackers,’ comprised yet other armed forces roaming the interior Ozarks. Often purporting to be legitimate combatants of one side or the other, these outlaws besmirched families and neighborhoods (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xxxii-xxix).

In 1867, Marshall Law was declared and former Unionist and Confederate soldiers were combined to form the 11th Battalion Missouri Militia; for the next twenty years they were assigned control of the area (Murphy 1982:104; Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xxxii). However, former soldiers called back to duty by the Missouri State Militia also abused their reappointments to avenge scores not settled during the war. Despite their status as government employees, Radical (Unionist) militiamen also undertook raids during which they ransacked stores, terrorized citizens, took prisoners and shot others (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xxxii-xxxiii).

Militia abuses included the use of force to influence post-war voter registrations in favor of Radical/Republican (Unionist) sympathizers. In one congressional election, anti-conservative sentiments in Jefferson City attempted to void the votes of Madison, Butler, Carter, Ripley, Oregon, and Shannon Counties for their support of conservative candidates who sympathized with Confederate positions. The attempt was unsuccessful, so the Missouri Secretary of State simply refused to certify the votes (Bradbury and Wehmer 2003:xxxiii). In addition, both Missouri and Arkansas demanded a loyalty oath that required voters to swear they had never aided or sympathized with the Confederacy (Rafferty 1980:90). These moves effectively disenfranchised former Confederates and other voters honest enough to admit their leanings, leaving the area politically impotent. As a result, the Unionist post-war Radical Party was largely unopposed in promoting black suffrage in Missouri, a position which further enflamed the area populace (Bradbury and

Wehmer 2003:xxxiii-xxxiv). The relationship to political control rooted in the Civil War translated into a “political destiny of the Ozarks [that] was shaped by forces outside the region. During the entire span of white occupation of the Ozarks, the region has contributed relatively few elected state officials” (Rafferty 1980:90). The role of state forces in the Civil War resulted in destruction of kinship and community networks, traditional subsistence practices, property loss, and disenfranchised voters to create permanent opposition toward government. The Civil War was also the genesis for a history of externally imposed negative images of Ozark culture that created further opposition toward outsiders.

Origins of the Hillbilly Stereotype

In addition to wreaking death and destruction, the Civil War had stripped people of their material and political autonomy. Another legacy of the Civil War for people in the region was the emergence of derogatory representations of Ozark lifeways that ultimately became a permanent fixture in American culture. Military personnel dispatched to the area from various parts of the country pejoratively referred to Ozarkers as “butternuts,” a label that preceded the term “hillbilly” and stemmed from the walnut and butternut squash extracts used to dye clothes (Fellman 1989:159). Negative judgments of Ozarkers by northern soldiers stemmed at least in part from the ideological gulf between the abolitionist movement and the pro-slavery position that people in the Ozarks were perceived to hold.

The chaotic conditions created in the Highlands by the war made neutrality the only practical position for the remaining unprotected, non-combatant population (Fellman 1989:159; Murphy 1982:94-97). Despite declarations of neutrality, soldiers

from the north in particular suspected that Ozark residents harbored hidden Confederate loyalties. Confederate support for the institution of slavery was believed by Northerners to be coupled with ignorance and a lack of value for education. Therefore, Ozarkers were labeled as people culturally bereft and unfit for citizenry with a status lower than that of the slave population:

Many soldiers from outside the state believed that poverty, ignorance, and secessionism in this backward breed [sic] were linked to the institution of slavery. With a typical sense of Yankee cultural superiority . . . degenerate whites [sic] were often depicted by northern soldiers as intellectually slower than their slaves [and were considered] an ignorant and backward lot. Pukes abounded. [Fellman 1989:160-159]

The status of Ozarkers had negative material consequences during the war. Fellman suggests that externally imposed, negative stereotypes combined with guerilla-style warfare created conditions in which soldiers carried out “genocidal fantasies” on the resident population (1989:159-162). And Ozark regiments in the Union Army stationed outside Missouri were similarly ridiculed by soldiers from out of state as “a clownish lot . . . lazy, ignorant, and incapable of fighting the rebellion as might be expected given the general social level of the population” (Fellman 1989:161). Though the war eventually ended, by 1900, negative valuations of culture that emerged during this period had evolved into the hillbilly stereotype.

Autonomy, self-sufficiency and citizenship rights for people in the Missouri Ozarks were eliminated by forces of the state during the Civil War. Community infrastructure was destroyed, residents lost control over personal property and political participation, and negative external valuations of Ozark culture that originated during this period persist. As the next chapter will show, the events

surrounding the Civil War have become significant historic symbols that inform contemporary, identity work among many residents in the study area. Though short-lived, recovery from the material effects of the Civil War began to occur in the 1880's in the form of wage labor via the extraction of timber by companies external to the region.

Forest Depletion, Cultural Deficit and Renewed Government Intervention 1880-1940

From the 1880's through the 1920's, the extraction of timber from the Ozarks by companies external to the region provided wage labor for residents of the area. While the timber boom did provide short-term economic recovery, the majority of profits went to absentee owners rather than to local investors or community infrastructure (Morrison 1999:145). Flanders (1977) suggests that the "timber industry was openly exploitative. Logging operators of all types and sizes cut trees as fast as possible, and made no effort at all to sustain the resource by even the most rudimentary forestry practices," or to respect residents' traditional dependence on the environment for food and fuel (Murphy 1982:227).

In less than forty years, the forests were depleted and investors had pulled out. The "cut and run" policy of the lumber companies left residents to try to survive by cutting the scrap lumber that still remained on their own land (Murphy 1982:197-205; Rossiter 1992:381). In addition to scrapping for lumber, locals tried to survive by returning full time to the traditional subsistence complex of field-forest agriculture, a type of swidden farming, supplemented by foraging and free-range herding (Benac and Flader 2004). The return to traditional subsistence strategies as a mechanism for

survival, rather than the adoption of more modern forms of intensive agriculture, was critically attributed to the “backwardness” of Ozark culture (see for example, Sauer 1920).

By the 1930’s, assessments from academia laid the blame for forest depletion squarely on traditional subsistence strategies and other cultural practices in the Ozarks while ignoring the role of big business and external timber companies’ profit motives. Traditional subsistence strategies like swidden agriculture came to be seen as a regressive and wasteful use of arable land, whereas commercial, intensive agriculture, which required mechanized equipment and synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, had become the hallmarks of agricultural progress. The widely cited geographer Carl O. Sauer argued this position and also suggested that the depletion of the timber resource in the Ozarks was the result of swidden farming (Sauer 1920a:222).

By contrast, Otto and Anderson argue that intensive agriculture would not have been a productive innovation in many parts of Appalachia or the Ozarks because it was expensive, ineffective on thin soils and steep slopes, and the terrain and geographic isolation of the Ozark interior prevented the import and use of mechanized technology (Otto and Anderson 1982:141). These scholars contend that swidden or field-forest farming was highly adaptive because the practice of deadening trees created dew and fog patterns that retarded frost, reduced surface wind patterns, prevented erosion, and held snow packs that retained moisture and slowed evaporation. Burned brush provided fertilizer, killed insects, and conditioned the soil so that it could be worked. The whole process required less time and labor than

clearing fields (Otto and Anderson 1982:141). However, by the 1930's, field forest farming had become impossible because timber depletion rendered the land useless for virtually all purposes.

The water table dropped drastically. The thin top soil quickly washed away; virtually nothing grew in the remaining rocky barrens. Choked by the silt and gravel washed from the denuded hillsides, the once deep and clear rivers and streams dried up. Many of the profusion of springs once found in every hollow, disappeared and never flowed again. But, due to the accelerated runoff from the naked hills, floods became more severe than ever. Wildlife vanished. [Rossiter 1982:380]

External assessments of the day did not attribute poverty in the Ozarks solely to the obsolescence and presumed detrimental effects of field-forest farming. Sauer also suggested that problems in the Ozarks were the result of deeply embedded cultural deficits connected to frontier attitudes: "Hill farmers are largely of the shambling, furtive, and shiftless type that is associated with 'hillbillies'" (1920a:307).

The Ozark farmer in short is following a system of production that is in reality simply exploitation. . . Exploitation is a mark of the frontier and the perpetuation of the frontier is recorded strikingly in this general condition . . . The reasons for this peculiar fixation of a frontier are not difficult to determine. In the first place, to a degree not equaled elsewhere in the Middle West, the people of the Ozarks are descended from frontiersmen. The parent stock represents a certain aversion to orderly and sustained endeavor and therefore to intensive production. . . The difficulty with his ancestry seems to lie not so much with physical inheritance as with the traditions among which he is brought up. At the least, he has not inherited the agricultural experience and interests with which his neighbors of the plains are surrounded. He goes back to a more primitive ancestry . . . The average inhabitant of the Ozarks is still an unspecialized small farmer, rather than a farmer following an intelligent practice of diversification. [1920:216 & 220]

Conrad H. Hammer, from the Agricultural Economics Department at the University of Missouri, offered a similar analysis by attributing economic decline to

presumed inadequacies in Ozark culture, most especially the tradition of field-forest farming and the value for self-sufficiency.

The causes of Ozark decline, as measured by the depletion of its natural resources lie deeply imbedded in certain habits of its people. These habits trace back to frontier life, when trees and fertility existed in such abundance that there was no need to conserve them. Now when the shift must be made from an exploitative system of agriculture and forest use to an economic and social structure based on foresight and leadership, the descendants of pioneers find their inherited attitudes and institutions in conflict with the measures necessary for a more prosperous regional life. Stern economic realities are working to resolve the conflict in the long run by creating new attitudes. A succeeding institution, the effects of which have been and will continue to be far-reaching, is the almost child-like faith of Ozark people in private initiative regulated by competition alone and the near abhorrence of governmental interference in the interests of conservation. Those who insist upon the prerogative of the pioneer 'to wear no man's yoke' will for the most part be out of place, for accomplishments will be by groups and by cooperative rather than by individual effort. [Hammar 1935:843-850]

The assessments of both Sauer (1920: 1920a) and Hammer (1935) reflect the era's modernist agenda for intensive, commercial agriculture, which was considered state-of-the-art in the early decades of the 20th century. In addition, both authors identify cultural deficit as an explanation not only for the absence of intensive agriculture, but for the decimation of the Ozark forests. However, more recent authors (e.g. Gibson et al. 1999; Murphy 1982; Otto and Anderson 1982; Rossiter 1982) suggest that it was actually external, extractive industries that were primarily responsible for the destruction of the forests, followed by short-term population increases resulting from the Great Depression in the 1930's which further taxed the carrying capacity of the land. Because cultural practices of the residents of the region were deemed responsible for environmental and economic destruction, the formula for recovery required the imposition of new land use

strategies that would further reduce local autonomy. Forces of the state soon began to promote intervention in the region.

In the 1930's the U. S. Forest Service (USFS) began to promote a transition from field-forest farming, field burning and open-range grazing to more "productive" forms of farming, ranching and forest management, in an effort toward reforestation. Earlier restrictions on land use, for example the Missouri State Fish and Game of 1905, had been met with local resistance and were unenforced and largely ignored by residents (Benac and Flader 2004:39-40). In the 1930's, local people continued in their efforts to oppose USFS policies. They also feared that large tracts of government-owned land in the area would result in a crippling of the local tax base (Benac and Flader 2003:39; Murphy 1982:275). Murphy suggests that local resistance to USFS policies resulted from

reluctance to change, complete faith in private initiative and fear of government intervention in private affairs. Many feared . . . local government would be destroyed, that the reforestation of game was designed only for city dwellers and that spring burning and open-range grazing would be eliminated. [1982:274-275]

Despite local opposition, in 1934, the State of Missouri gave in to federal pressure and granted the USFS approval to begin buying land (Benac and Flader 2004:39). By 1935, 144,494 acres in Carter County (44% of the land in the county) and 124,219 acres in Shannon County (19% of land in the county) were under Forest Service jurisdiction (Murphy 1982:277).

Eventually, the Forest Service reduced local resistance to their management strategies when they chose not to force land acquisition via eminent domain. They also allowed land to be managed with multiple-use strategies, and educational

outreach and land improvements were implemented by local USFS-trained employees (Murphy 1982 275-279).

Ozarkers also opposed the 1930 amendment to the Missouri State Constitution requiring a “bipartisan conservation commission with full authority for fish, wildlife, and forestry” (Benac and Flader 2004:40). But the State Forestry Act, which would penalize the annual practice of burning underbrush, encourage reforestation, and end the practice of free-range herding, was not passed until 1947. Even then, a ban on free range herding was suspended until 1967 because of local resistance (Benac and Flader 2004:39).

To summarize, between 1880 and 1930, timber companies based outside the Ozarks had intervened to extract and deplete the timber resource. Though the timber boom provided short-term economic relief, when the timber was gone people were left in poverty. Ironically, outsider explanations of Ozark poverty attributed the ecological disaster to traditional subsistence strategies rather than to timber companies themselves, paving the way for further intervention by the state. By the 1950’s, government interest managing the region increased and the National Park Service (NPS) ultimately presented an even greater threat to individual and community autonomy.

The Creation of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR)

The Civil War and the land-use restrictions in the 1930’s and 40’s today are locally remembered—and symbolically represented—as government interventions that threatened local autonomy, vilified local culture and creating a history of opposition and resistance to outsiders. Yet a more egregious threat to local autonomy

began in the 1950's. Nation-wide, the number of people seeking recreation venues increased after WWII. A growing middle-class with disposable income and more leisure time took vacations by automobile on new and improved highways. During the same period, there was considerable national attention being given to the preservation of natural resources under the auspices of a developing environmental movement (Sarvis 2000a:37). Beginning in the 1930's with the acquisition of the Florida Everglades and the Smokey Mountain National Park, NPS management had begun to act on the perceived need for resource preservation in addition to tourist accommodation. This concern eventually expanded to include preservation of seashores, lakeshores, and rivers. "The Ozark rivers in eastern Missouri became an early arena where federal land managers, Congress, and diverse advocacy groups and private citizens tested and discussed these concerns" (Sarvis 2000a:38).

By 1950, specific threats to local control in the study area came from the United States Army Corps of Engineers (ACE) which proposed building a series of three dams on the Jacks Forks and Current Rivers after passage of the 1950 Flood Control Act (Sarvis 2002a:35). The publicity surrounding the resistance to dams, influenced by growing national sentiment for the preservation of wilderness areas, fueled debate between federal agencies about the future of natural resources. At the local level, people living near the rivers who feared losing their property "appealed to state-wide preservationist and sportsmen's groups [with a] preservation-recreation" platform for help in resisting the development of dams, and after several "acrimonious" public hearings, the idea was shelved (Conover 1973:6-7).

When dams were no longer a threat, the USFS and the NPS were left to battle over how the recreation potential of the area would develop. The traditional differences in land management philosophy between the USFS and the NPS were at the heart of the inter-agency conflict regarding land use. The USFS advocated multiple-use utilitarian/conservation strategies which allowed for the operation of controlled farming, timber and mining interests. Conversely, the NPS advocated single-use recreation/preservation strategies (Conover 1973:14; Sarvis 2000a:31). At the local level, the linchpin of the debate was land ownership: the USFS aim was to allow land owners to maintain title to their land, whereas the NPS would require property owners to sell their land. Between 1956 and 1962, various studies of the region were commissioned and proposals from both federal agencies reached Congress (Conover 1973; Sarvis 2000a; 2000b).

Critics of the NPS proposals argued that they created a “dichotomous debate between ecological preservation and accommodation of mass tourism” (Sarvis 2000a:44).

On the one hand, the NPS would accommodate hundreds of thousands of tourists. On the other it would struggle to protect the area’s sensitive habitats, which because of increased recreational visitation, would face greater human impact. [Sarvis 2000a:31]

Simply put, mass tourism would threaten preservation and, furthermore, neither tourism nor preservation advocates considered local land use patterns or potential reduction in the local tax base. The NPS would also require the incorporation of 350,000 acres of land under USFS jurisdiction and, to the permanent consternation of residents, “the eventual elimination of all private land use” (Sarvis 2000a:36; Conover 1973:7).

On the other hand, opposition to USFS proposals centered on doubts that multiple-use strategies could ensure preservation or develop the recreation potential of the area. The NPS also argued that economic gains from tourism would more than off-set tax loss resulting from land in government jurisdiction and taken off local tax rolls (Hartzog 1961:49-50). Supporters on both sides formed grass-roots coalitions and claimed to have several hundred members including noted politicians and environmentalists of national stature.

Area land owners and long-time residents mounted considerable resistance against an NPS-managed resource. In the late 1950's, a grass-roots group called the Committee for the Preservation and Development of the Current and Eleven Point River Country (CPDCEPRC) formed to address resident concerns about the region's future. The group argued that residents were being left out of planning processes, and they needed to become proactive about the matter rather than wait to have someone else decide the fate of the rivers (Sarvis 2000a:40; ONSR 1959a; St. Louis Post-Dispatch 10-10-1959). In 1959, the CPDCEPRC developed into a formal, regional organization called the Current and Eleven Point Rivers Association (CEPRA). The goal of CEPRA was to support USFS-style river preservation and maintain the rights of property owners (Conover 1973:35; Sarvis 2000a:40). An attendee at the first major meeting of CEPRA in 1959 stated, "It looks like I'm going to be treated the way the Indians were when the white man came here" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 10-10-1959). In correspondence with a state representative, C.P. Turley, Carter County Magistrate wrote, "While we should be grateful to outside inspiration and outside

support, our organization should be ‘obf’—Lincoln at Gettysburg: of, by and for the people” (cited in Sarvis 2000a:40).

An opposing coalition of local businesspersons formed the Preservationists-Public Outdoor Recreationist-Economic Beneficiaries Coalition (PPOREBC) to support an NPS-owned resource that would promote tourism, bring economic benefit through controlled recreational use, and protect against over-commercialization (Conover 1974:15-16). The NPS held a series of public meetings in Carter and Shannon Counties in 1961 to muster support for the proposed NPS Ozark Rivers National Monument in an effort to counter local opposition. Before being appointed National Park Service Director, George Hartzog, then an NPS Regional Director, was asked to visit the proposed ONSR area to “move the project along.” In his memoir, *Battling for the National Parks*, he described the first public meeting as a “long and testy affair” and, shortly after leaving to drive back to St. Louis, his car quit running because someone had put sand in his gas tank (Hartzog 1988:60-61). One individual reported to Hartzog that he attended the public meetings in order to detect the potential lies the NPS would tell. Hartzog determined that “getting this park” would not be the “cakewalk” he had naively anticipated because of his wrong assumption that those who opposed the park were apathetic or outnumbered by supporters, and so the fight would have to go to the Congressional level (1988:62).

The USFS and the NPS presented opposing bills before Congress in 1961. Following is an excerpt from the written testimony of the CEPRA Board of Directors entered into evidence in support of the 1961 USFS bill:

We are living here because we love this beautiful area, which was settled by our forefathers, and the Forest Service proposal would be

less disruptive to our traditional way of life. The best farmland in the area would not be arbitrarily removed from production; and the men farming it, who help to form the backbone of the community, would not be deprived of their means of livelihood. This region has been settled for generations, and people should not be uprooted, when the scenery can be preserved through the Forest Service alternative, without dispossessing us. The Park Service tells us we will prosper from the tourists who will be attracted by their monument, but most of us who will be driven from our homes and present occupations do not have the financial resources necessary to build good motels, and we are not trained either to supply service for tourists or to go to the city to live and hold jobs. [U.S. Congress Forest Land Hearings F76/36:74:1961]

This excerpt suggests that resistance to the NPS proposal was motivated not only by a desire that people maintain property rights and livelihoods inherited from the region's settlers. It also indicates that some people did not believe NPS predictions about the economic benefits of tourism.

In 1962, for reasons unknown, the Forest Service was asked to "desist" from promoting its bill (Sarvis 2000a:47-48). Without a USFS proposal to support, CEPR made one last-ditch attempt to prevent acquisition of the land by the NPS. To no avail, letters of intent were circulated and signed by land owners who pledged to tend the land as if it were a scenic easement. They also agreed not to "cut timber, build structures, litter the landscape or otherwise disrupt" the scenic beauty of the area. This offer was contingent on the maintenance of private ownership accompanied by the supervision of a private group with the potential transfer to a state agency at some point in the future (Sarvis 2000a:48-49).

The NPS bill was revised, reintroduced, and passed in 1963 in the Senate and 1964 in the House (Senate Bill 16:1963; H.R. Bill 1803:1964). The bill was amended to eliminate parts of the Eleven Point and lower Current Rivers from the project; the

total acreage of the park was reduced to 94,000 and the total acquisition of private lands to 65,000 acres. The acquisition of some land could be obtained as scenic easements. Hunting and fishing would be allowed based on Missouri law, and land within two miles of the border of the towns of Van Buren and Eminence would be left in private and municipal ownership (Conover 1973:13-,20; Limbaugh 1997:126). An excerpt from the Congressional Hearings of 1963 indicates the level of local acrimony surrounding the project in the testimony of J.S. Allen of Van Buren:

This measure and the monument bill before it have caused much dissention in Carter County. While we are not about to shoot or ambush each other, there is more resentment and bitterness than has existed since the days of the jayhawkers and bushwhackers. [Cited in Conover 1973:22]

The final legislation was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson in 1964. However, local resistance did not end with the passage of the law. The bill also required the transfer of three state parks (Big Spring, Alley Spring and Round Spring) within the proposed ONSR boundaries to NPS jurisdiction. Members of CEPRA lobbied against the transfer, and as late as 1967, they collected petitions and were able to persuade the Missouri Committee on Parks and Recreation to reject it. Opponents argued that their descendants would have to pay user fees to ONSR if the parks moved from state to federal jurisdiction; that the state could more efficiently and economically administer the parks; and that the federal government was acquiring the land simply to broaden its control to eventually acquire the entire watershed (Colley 1967). Nonetheless, the state parks were transferred to NPS jurisdiction in 1970 (*Current Local*, January 15, 1970).

Despite NPS predictions in 1967, that land condemnation would be a rare case of last resort, many land owners refused to sell. Area newspapers regularly published transcripts of condemnation hearings and lists of purchased tracts (See for example, *Current Wave* August 9, 1967; *Current Wave* January 25:1968). The complex process of acquiring land required government assessors to survey and appraise the land in question. For those who sought higher compensation, and who could afford to hire attorneys, condemnation proceedings were implemented. Many tracts were initially sold without contest; however, by 1967, there remained two to three hundred tracts of land that could not be agreeably acquired because people did not want to sell, and because the land valuations offered by government appraisers were believed to be well below market value (Limbaugh 1997:127). Land owners argued that the assessment, valuation and compensation offers made by the government were based on inadequate standards that were inconsistently applied. Many people who had previously supported the NPS mission now identified with land owners because it appeared that, in addition to usurping private property rights, the government was deliberately trying to undervalue the actual worth of land (Colley 1967).

Sarvis (2000b:25) determined that monies allocated for land acquisition “were ridiculously low and, in many cases, had no relation to actual market value” for two reasons. Poor planning processes resulted in low spending caps and, therefore, deliberate undervaluation; in many cases, appraisers were inexperienced and poorly trained. In addition, there were attempts by appraisers to “frighten or intimidate” land owners into accepting low land values (Sarvis 2000b:23-28). To the relief of those

land owners who could afford to hire private attorneys, pay for private appraisals and contest condemnation in federal court, judges typically rendered much higher compensation than the government appraisals had offered (Sarvis 2000a:22).

The case of R.F. and Mae Shockley, adjudicated in 1970 and 1971, illustrates the problems manifest in the government appraisals and speaks to the larger objections that land owners had to the application of eminent domain. R.F. Shockley, et al. received notice of the condemnation of the entire 538.37 acres of their family farm on May 30, 1970. The parties were given twenty days to contest condemnation or forfeit the government valuation offer. Lawyers for the plaintiff, Ward and Reeves of Caruthersville, Missouri and McHaney and Welman of Kennett, Missouri, filed a response in memorandum to the court regarding the condemnation and government appraisal figure objecting on several counts to the government offer of \$60,975.00 for the entire farm plus the value of existing timber. Private appraisals commissioned by the Shockleys ranged from \$159,270 to \$167,910 (U.S. v. R. F. Shockley et al., 1970). In their preliminary and concluding statements, lawyers for the plaintiff argued:

The measure of damage is a brutal one . . . because there is no measuring tool to precisely determine the damages suffered by a person who has devoted his lifetime to his home and his farm when it is taken in condemnation . . . doubts regarding value should not be resolved against these farmers whose lands were not for sale and who had no choice regarding the sale of this property . . . The government takes the position that this project has created an increased value of property in that area and that recent sales reflect this increase and therefore are not useable as comparable. This position admits that a farmer would be unable to buy comparable property with his award. Therefore the government insists in applying a harsh measure of damage rule [which] presents an interesting dilemma for the government. We invite them to address themselves to the proposition that it is morally right for a government to take property at a lesser

price than it would cost to replace it. The compensation offered did not cover the costs of moving, attorney and witness fees and trial expenses including the costs of photographing, surveying and appraising the property; expenses which other states do include in condemnation processes. This suit has created many hardships and is destroying the lifetime plans of a father and his son. Many objective people can make a strong argument against this entire project. That is not an issue here. However it is not disputed that the Shockleys are losing their lands and their lifetime plans are being destroyed in order to benefit a lot of other people . . . The least these men could expect from any fair and equitable government is a sincere and honest effort to fairly and equitably appraise their damages.

The plaintiff's memorandum argued several further points: the acreage had considerable riverfront-footage and, therefore, considerable recreational value, which amounted to more than the agricultural standard the government applied; comparable sales standards were also inappropriately applied; and the government appraiser lacked experience and neglected to include the value of buildings and other improvements. Lawyers claimed that the "appraisal demonstrates either total incompetence or total partisanship" (U.S. v. R. F. Shockley et al., 1970).

The case was ultimately concluded on February 5, 1971. The court recognized and accepted many of the arguments submitted by the Shockleys and ruled that the highest and best use of the land was commercial development and agreed to increase compensation to \$125,087 (U.S. v Robert Shockley et al., 570C22, Conclusion of Law 1971). The final judgment did not cover attorney and other fees incurred by the Shockleys, and it was 24% less than the average of the two private appraisals, but it was more than double the original government offer.

The last cases were tried in 1970, though land titles are still being transferred as property owners become deceased and as NPS boundaries continue to change through new land acquisitions (Limbaugh 1997:131). On Saturday, July 10, 1972, the

ONSR was opened and dedicated by Tricia Nixon Cox in a ceremony officiated by George Hartzog who, by now, was Director of the National Park Service (St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 6-10-72:1A).

The creation of the ONSR rescinded private property rights, and permanently changed land use strategies for farmers and everyone else who used the rivers and the former state parks. It was an extremely divisive intervention that created permanent rifts among residents. Mae Shockley reported in 1998, “People that had been friends forever and ever and ever; old people turned against each other. It was really sad. Close, close friends” (Sarvis 1998). Her husband Carl added, “And I dearly hate every one of them” (Sarvis 1998). Local resistance to NPS jurisdiction in the ONSR continues. Former ONSR Superintendent Art Sullivan stated:

We did not have strong allies. There was a great deal of intimidation going on from the local people. I think a great many people really feared physically, for their own physical well being, to come down to the Riverways and support us too loudly. And with some understanding. During my tenure there—or even before my tenure—I think we counted five homes burned, occupied by rangers, over the years. I mean the intimidation was real. [Sarvis 1998:42]

Summary

The hardships of the Civil War period extended into the 1880’s and savaged the autonomy of settlers by destroying property, kinship, and community networks upon which livelihoods depended. In addition, people were disenfranchised and local culture was denigrated. Between 1880 and 1930, extraction of the timber resource by external timber companies left residents in poverty and with a decimated environment. Because external explanations attributed the cause of economic decline to Ozark culture, government intervention was encouraged in order to change cultural

practices and protect the environment from resident use. Various state forces then vied for control of the region. Ultimately, the creation of the ONSR and the ongoing jurisdiction over the Riverways by the NPS represent a permanent state presence which continues to challenge local autonomy, authority and lifeways. Historic interventions by forces of the state have reduced local autonomy and produced cycling themes of cultural deprivation and local resistance that guide contemporary identity work. As the next chapter will show, these periods of government intervention have become symbols that guide contemporary oppositional identity work for many residents of the region.

The worst thing you can do to a hillbilly is take away his land.
Kerry Linden, Carter County, 1999

Chapter Three

The Past in the Present: History, Landscape and Contemporary Processes of Identity Construction

Introduction

Chapter two has shown how historic events coupled with ancestral values for autonomy and self-sufficiency provide a basis for the production of a framework of oppositional symbols from which resident Ozarkers construct identity. The events of the Civil War, the imposition of conservation laws in the 1930's and 40's, the 1961 creation of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR), and historic processes of outsider denigration of "hillbilly" culture continue to influence how residents construct an identity in opposition to contemporary National Park Service (NPS) policy in the ONSR. This chapter describes how people construct and deploy constructions of collective identity beginning with a discussion of theories of identity formation.

Theory on Identity Work

Castille (1981:xvi) argued that studies of "collective identity systems" in anthropology are best understood from a "culturological rather than a psychological point of view." Analyses of collective identity constructions have shifted from essentializing, categorical descriptions to a focus on "identity work" loosely defined as a process through which groups negotiate, assert and renegotiate who they are in relation to the other (Hale 1997; Aberle 1985; Anglin 1990, 1992; Assman 1995;

Gaventa 1980; Gibson 1995; Hale 1997; Hemmings 2000; Hsuing 2000; Liu and Histon 2005; Moore 1998; Scott 1990). Recent literature on collective identity in sociology and anthropology has developed from the study of social movement processes (Holland et al. 2008). This body of theory argues that identity formation is best understood as a relational, reflexive, and socially negotiated process wherein the construction of individual identity is dependent on socially constructed meanings and therefore merged with collective identity (Collinson 2006:270; Holland, et.al, 2008; Snow and Anderson 1995; Stewart and Strathern 2000:11-17).

Collective identity is variously defined to include degrees of group consensus and solidarity about common interests, group membership, and cultural content that are publicly asserted within “fields of action” that range from “talk,” to organizational and political foci leading to action (Holden 1997; McAdam 1994; Melucci 1996; Taylor and Verta 1989; Paletmaa 2005; Johnston, Larana and Gusfield 1994). Most recently, Holland (2008) argues that anthropological analyses of collective identity is best understood as a decentered, dialogic process that occurs in

dynamic cultural productions which form and reform in local socio/historic time and space,” that “defy static description,” conceptually “resist definition” and function to create “group solidarity . . . individual belonging, and “a platform for action. [97]

Further, Paletmaa (2005:446) argues that in order to analyze collective identity, research must focus on identity work (2005:446).

Identity work is also variously defined to include activity related to group boundaries, manipulation of physical space and resources, and symbolic meanings (Snow and Anderson 1987; Schwalbe and Mason-Schrock 1996; Snow and McAdam 2000). Sveningson and Alvesson (2003:1165) define identity work as a process

through which people “engage in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness.”

Shared interpretations of history provide content for identity construction and constitute what Assman and Czaplicka (1995:125-132) have called “cultural memory” defined as:

the body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image. . . Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.” [Assman and Czaplicka 1995:126-132]

Cultural memory based on shared constructions of history functions to provide both internal group identity and identification of the other. As a result, the literature on identity work is frequently focused on the construction of, and interaction between insider/outsider statuses (Gibson 1996; Herlinger 1972; Holland et.al, 2008; Paletmaa 2005). Further, Ozedimir (2003:23) explains that identity work manifests not only as a dynamic relationship between both an insider “self-assessment” and an “other assessment,” but an additional dynamic that includes outsider “images” of insiders.

Herlinger (1972) provides a similar model of identity work as a dialectic dynamic between insider/outsider statuses in her analysis of ethnic identity in Branson, Missouri, a popular tourist destination featuring representations of “hillbilly” culture. In Branson, identity work follows not only from insider constructions of “natives” on the one hand, and “city people” on the other, but a third dynamic in which insiders perceive that “city” views of “natives” as hillbillies misrepresent how insider’s view themselves (1972:94-121). Herlinger argues that

these contested outsider views of hillbillies serve to strengthen identity by clarifying for insiders not only who “city people” are, but what being “native” is and is not (Herlinger 1972:95).

Gibson (1996:384) provides another model that articulates processes of identity work arguing that identity formation for people in rural Florida is constructed around “contested meanings of whiteness.” Poor, marginalized, residents negotiate identity first in terms of identification with privileged whites that constitute “who we are”; second, by refuting externally imposed images of “poor white trash” that constitute “who we are not”; and third, by deflecting images of “poor white trash” onto a perceived inferior: a black “other” (Gibson 1996:384-387). In both models, an additional dynamic that fortifies constructions of “who we are,” and who the “other” is, involve processes that re-articulate contested images imposed by the “other.”

Following Gibson (1995) and Herlinger (1972), data gathered for this study indicate that identity work for people in the study area occurs in a similar kind of process. In a dialectical manner insiders not only assert insider identity as distinguished from outsiders, they also refute and rearticulate their perceptions of hillbilly images imposed by outsiders. In the following analysis the data will show identity work in the area is informed by collective memory that can be viewed as a dialogic process occurring among constructions of “who we are,” “who the other is,” and “who we are not.”

“Who We Are”

Insider constructions of “who we are” are centered on the maintenance of ancestral values for autonomy, self-sufficiency and trust supported by the replication

of traditional subsistence practices and attachment to the land and the rivers of the Ozarks.

To Be “Local”

To describe identity work for people in the study area based on conceptions of “who we are” requires that insider/outsider boundaries be distinguished. Data gathered for this study suggest that insider/outsider status is distinct, consistently asserted, widely accepted, and dependent on historic residence in the area. Virtually all participants agreed that insider status belongs to people who were either born in the area or who have lived there for at least fifty years. Respondents were quick to define themselves as either an insider and therefore “local,” or as an “outsider.”

Richard Bateson, provides a typical perspective.

We don't consider people local unless they've been here fifty years. To be born here is even better. Or if your grandparents were born here. Country people you know, if you don't rock the boat you're welcome. That's what I like about this area, you know where you stand. You know who you can trust and who you can't. There are people around here that I would bet my life on. They are all locals. I don't know any outsider that I would trust very much. You know, I'd give them the benefit of the doubt up until I saw I couldn't trust them. I can read someone real quick, real quick.

And Floyd Heston describes a similar perception that limits insider status to being born and raised here and thus being “alike.” He juxtaposes constructions of “who we are” against outsiders to whom he refers as “they” in a general sense, but he also refers to NPS personnel specifically as “they.”

You take a man to come in here for instance from California. There's as much difference in a native of California . . . and they [the NPS] got a lot of people that come here from a lot of different places, you know. There's as much difference between me and a native-born Californian as there is me and some fellow from India over there. I know, because I was out there among them one time. These people in this area here

have the qualifications that I have. I was born and raised around these people. We're all the same. Here and Arkansas are the friendliest people there are.

Many residents suggest that the historic strength of kinship and community bonds that facilitated survival have been reinforced by the need to protect the community from deprivation caused by outsiders. Tom Dade traces these values to the Civil War and suggests that they have been reinforced by subsequent government interventions. He believes that self-preservation was and continues to be facilitated by community solidarity that creates opposition to outsiders. The insularity he describes is also founded in a template that defines insiders to other insiders in terms of family history.

Obviously the people that are here go way back to the days when Eminence was originally burned by Bushwhackers. They would come in and loot and steal and burn and there's been a distrust of people that aren't from here because all along they'd come in and what they'd do is take advantage of the people that are here. So, the people that are here had to stay tight. And they are. They'll fight and gossip and argue amongst each other but they're the first to lend a helping hand when somebody needs something too. You know it's like a huge family. And it's different from most any place that you'll find because you are who you are by your name. Who was your grandma, who was your grandpa? You know and if they weren't much on work and stuff then you really have a hard time outgrowing that. It's kind of hard to explain unless you've experienced it. It's really kind of hard for an outsider to come in and establish themselves. It all goes back to the days when it was a survivor thing.

Ancestral Values

A central component of "who we are" in identity construction is the generational transmission and maintenance of "resonant" cultural values (Paletmaa 2005:446). The data in this section show that identity work for people participating in this study begins in the transmission of values from collective memory. In essence,

people work to maintain the values of their ancestors and to engage in lifeways that support those values. Mr. Bateson's story suggests that autonomy and self-sufficiency, kinship and community interdependence are facilitated by trust. Self-sufficiency is also supported by attendant values for a strong work ethic, diverse subsistence and wage-based work, resilience, innovation and frugality.

Contemporary descriptions of "who we are" typically begin with stories about how "we" are like our ancestors. Because these stories are drawn from the reservoir of cultural memory they connect people to the past, reinforce the present and guide the future.

Bea Rundig described memories of childhood reflective of core values for self-sufficiency, family, and community interdependence that are typical in the region. To be self-sufficient, her family exploited diverse subsistence strategies: her father had a paying job, and her family was still dependent on domestic and wild food sources which they frequently shared with neighbors. Today, she continues to process, store and prepare food beyond what she can eat to provide both hospitality and assistance for anyone who may need it. Mrs. Rundig's story also moves back and forth between the past and present affirming the continuity of her values and behaviors with those of her ancestors.

We had to raise sheep and we had a lot of hogs. Back then, we had open-range. And basically, our family was rich, but we didn't know it, because we have never, never went without food. I've had people ask me, 'Bea, during the Depression how long did your family have to go without food?' and I said, 'We never did.' I know they think I'm lying, but I'm not. . . One reason we did was because, when the blackberries were ripe, several of us kids would be in the blackberry patch at daylight, and my mother would stay home and she would wash the fruit jars . . . and that's what she'd use in the winter time. She'd have dinner ready for us and we would be tired from picking

blackberries. And she would can the berries after lunch. We canned everything; green beans and tomatoes and . . . you name it, we canned it. And when we butchered we didn't have deep freezes or anything back then. We'd hang them in the smokehouse and when you sugar-cure them, you have to hang the shank part down so they would drain, and people used to smoke all their meat in the smokehouse. I mean even after we lived here, we would sugar cure our hams. I tell you what, that is good eating. This guy asked my son the other day, wondered if I still had a sugar-cure recipe for curing hams and stuff, and I said, 'yeah, I still got it.' My dad was always . . . like when we butchered, if someone came by, he'd give them an armload of meat to take home. One reason that we have never gone without anything to eat is . . . I've got a big freezer full of stuff and I've got things that I've canned, and I have all kinds of cans of this and that, you know, that I bought. I know a lot of people would think I was nuts, but to not be able for someone to come in and not have a thing to fix them, not even an egg sandwich? That would really get me.

Like the canned goods Mrs. Rundig makes, considerable material evidence supports the maintenance of traditional values and lifeways among residents who participated in this study. During the interview process, as people spoke to us about the historic and contemporary importance of food production and other traditional activities, they were eager to show us their quilts, gigs, turkey callers and guns that they either made themselves or inherited from their ancestors.

In addition to values for independence and self-sufficiency supported by domestic food production and food sharing, contemporary subsistence strategies also include a variety of hunting and fishing practices. Traditional hunting and fishing are still widely practiced and highly valued. Giggling, turkey and deer seasons are the most popular.

Traditionally, giggling, also known as fire fishing, was done at night from three- person john boats maneuvered up river by long poles. The practice required the use of torches or fire jacks in the middle of the boat to light up the water and

illuminate the fish. Today, gigging has evolved to include electric lights and small outboard motors. The fish are impaled by throwing the spear-like gig on a trajectory to the river bottom. The impaled fish and gig are then pulled back into the boat via a cord tied to the end of the spear. As in the past, men achieve local renowned for their gigging skills, for boat building, and for crafting well balanced and fast gigs.

Further, gigging stories are an important part of local oral history and a central feature of the traditional Friday night fish fries held along the river banks. Tom Dade described the contemporary importance of maintaining these traditional behaviors.

I go to the river every chance I get. My nephews and son-in-laws have john boats and they just love to gig and fish and hunt. In fact, I would say a lot of people here are just like when they had to hunt and fish for survival. It's something that helps to feed their family. And then they all still like to have hound dogs and coon and possum or whatever they can chase, rabbits. And traditions are still carried over. That's what everybody does.

McKinney (1990) argues that, historically, Ozarks highland communities exploited diverse subsistence strategies supplemented with varying degrees of cash exchange. Today, dependence on a cash-poor economy that provides few full-time, year-round, wage-based jobs continues to require residents to exploit diversified subsistence strategies which include part-time employment supplemented by gardening, hunting and fishing (Gibson et al. 1999). As a result, people perceive themselves to be like their ancestors; innovative and resilient people who can survive adversity through interdependence and diversified work and subsistence skills. June Devlin provided a representative perspective of this perception.

The Ozarkian people here are survivors. They can survive on nothing, which they do. What they make their living on here is the timber and practically everything that pertains to the land. They make their living on that. They're very much survivors here in the Ozarks. My sisters

always told me if we were to ever have a food shortage, we'd come to you because you'd feed us out of the woods.

Bob Hersh explained how his family managed to survive by combining various subsistence strategies with wage-based employment. It is important to note that wage-based employment in forestry, sawmills, manufacturing and construction is often very risky work and on-the-job injury occurs frequently. Mr. Hersh and many other residents have been injured on the job and, unlike their ancestors, they collect "disability," often more than once during their lives. In this sense, disability income can be viewed as a contemporary strategy that people have incorporated into the historic pattern of exploiting diverse forms of subsistence that facilitate survival in the area. Mr. Hersh and his father before him hunted, gardened and raised livestock while working a variety of full and part-time jobs in sawmills, in local factories, in construction, and in the service sector.

When my father first came down here he hewed out ties with a broad ax and a broad cut saw. He worked for himself and sold ties to the Frisco railroad company for about ten years. We had chickens and sold ties, eggs, and cream and that was our living. That fed six kids and put six kids through school. I still have eighteen hens. Then my father went to St. Louis to work at a tool and dye company while the family stayed here. He did that for six or seven years until 1951 when he smashed his toe and got gangrene and they had to take it off. My mother worked for the Angelica Uniform Company and my wife is now the supervisor of the plant in Mt. View.

When I was growing up, I probably ate one meal a day, and most of that was living off the land. We basically ate the wildlife. I still hunt for food: deer, squirrel, rabbit, quail, and turkey. I've never hunted for sport. I shot a ten point buck this year and everyone asked if I was going to get it mounted, but I told them I don't trophy hunt. I ate it. That's something my old man never did—waste anything. So everything I kill I use. It's a great place to grow up, but it's rough. You've got to learn to do a lot of stuff. In order to make it here, you have to be raised here. This is a hard area with no good paying jobs. People here can survive better with nothing. It is a tough life.

Ancestral values for self-sufficiency and reciprocity required people to be resourceful and frugal to prevent waste as Mr. Hersh suggests.

“Waste-not, want-not” strategies support values for frugality and inspire innovation. Kerry Linden describes how these inherited values influence the way people manage the material objects of their lives which illustrates a conservation ethic.

My grandparents and my parents dealt with the Depression and that just amplifies what Scotch-Irish people had to start with. My grandparents never threw anything away. I live in one of my grandparents’ houses. I still find fruit jars that my grandmother had and she’s been dead for 15 years. It was poor here. People didn’t have jobs and couldn’t buy anything, so you had to use something you already had to do whatever it was you wanted to do. So, they would see the picture of something in the Sears catalog and say ‘Well I can make that!’ So they would go out and get a piece of metal they had broken off of something else or that came from some other device and a block of wood and some wire and they would make whatever the tool was. They would make things they saw, that you would recognize and could have bought new, but they used something that they had around to get by with. You never throw a piece of wire away or a screw or a bolt or something, which doesn’t go with today’s throw-away society. I’m getting to the point where I’m old enough now that I can find things I’ve had for ten years and I haven’t used for ten years and can finally logically decide that I don’t need, but I can’t throw it away.

In both Carter and Shannon Counties, many residents can trace their ancestry at least back to the 19th century founding families in the region. The following excerpt provided by Roger Fields emphasizes the value of kinship and loyalty as fundamental to contemporary physical and economic survival, and the deliberate enculturation of those values based on ancestral history.

We’re still a little backward and clannish. There’s still family, you know. The Charles family [i.e. county founders]. Even though they may not own anything, they’re a Charles and they’re part of the Charles family. They stick together about things. The Tafts over here

. . . three brothers all work together. And you know they just stick up for each other about anything that comes along. Right or wrong, they stick up for each other. Their dad taught them that way and they'll teach their kids that way. It's just part of the county.

The values embedded in the foregoing stories indicate that identity work for people with “insider” status begins in conceptions of history. Insiders believe that they hold the values their ancestors held and they attempt to maintain those values through behaviors that reflect the lifeways of their ancestors. Bea Rundig and Tom Dade describe the contemporary values for food sharing, hunting and fishing as behaviors learned from their ancestors. Roger Fields suggests “there’s still family you know,” and Tom Dade attributes community interdependence “to the days of the Bushwackers” indicating the continuity between historic and contemporary values for kinship and community. When Kerry Linden describes his own inability to throw things away as a trait descended from his grandparents, or Bob Hersh describes how necessity required both him and his ancestors to exploit diverse forms of subsistence and employment, they are using interpretations of the past to explain who they are now.

Contemporary identity is constructed around ancestral values for self-sufficiency, for kinship and community interdependence. To support and maintain these values, people engage in behaviors they believe are also similar to their ancestors including hard work, frugality, innovation, reciprocity, and diverse subsistence and employment strategies. These data contain constructions of “who we are” based on historic values (Paletmaa 2005). However, assessments of “who we are” that tie people to each other and to their ancestors are also dependent on ties to territory.

Attachment to Landscape

Territory is a central motif in the construction of “who we are” for virtually all persons interviewed who defined themselves as insiders. As the foregoing discussion illustrates, interpretation of the past and the life histories that emanate from those interpretations are situated in landscape. Stories that people in the study area tell about themselves and their community are almost always fixed in specific homesteads, cemeteries, rivers, sand bars, fishing holes, hollows, and forests. As George Dale said, “I drink Current River water; I was raised in it all my life. It’s just like you’re part of it or it’s part of you.”

Landscape can operate as a mnemonic that creates energy and motivates and reinforces the construction of cultural memory wherein identity is inscribed (Assman and Czaplicka 1995; Murphy 1993; Olick and Robbins 1998; Stewart and Strathern 2000). For participants in this study, identity is literally grounded in the physical space where the past was enacted. Often these sites are named after historic events and families, and they become intersections between the past and the present that reinforce identity. Tom Dade illustrates how landscape functions as a mnemonic intersection for identity in his family.

Parts of the river are named after the family. Panther Bluff: there’s a story about a panther up the river that got after one of Dean Dade’s kids. He took the hound dogs and ran it up a tree and killed it. It was a black panther. My great-grandpa, when he came here he was in the original mills that were here and they were logging with a team of horses and he started over there on what they call Delaware. It was at Broken Hollow and the house that he built is still there. And then he started logging on his own and by the time he got ready to buy the farm that we have now, he had enough money saved up to pay for it. He would buy a piece on time, log it off, clear the land for the fields and then sell the timber. And he saved the money until he had enough to buy 160 acres, the original 160 acres that was the Dade farm. The

family that are still living, still come back. I used to have a boat that I could take them up and down the river and show them and they never did lose the love of the river. They would take me and show me the little one room schools. It's hard to get to those old places now because they're off the river, for the briars and stuff, but when we see them they tell me the stories of all of the families. How they moved up and down the river and how they had to work together to clear the fields, and their good bottomland fields and they had to cross that during time of flood or whatever. And they'd go up and down and help the neighbors.

Even though many people have lost territory inside the ONSR boundaries, they remain attached to the land. They take on a protector role and monitor how it changes. The following excerpt, provided by Manny and Agnes Sutter Chisolm, is an illustration of how landscape provides an intersection for both collective memory and new experiences of kinship and community. The Chisolm family farm was condemned and purchased by the NPS to create the ONSR. While they no longer own the farm, Manny and Agnes describe plans to meet with other family members to measure the size of trees on the former family homestead. In this case, the family will undoubtedly share stories of the past with younger generations as they remain watchful of and connected to the landscape in ways that continue to mark the place as unique, and alive, and theirs in a way that transcends ownership.

Agnes: My mother's mother and dad ran the mill at Alley in about 1903.

Manny: Well your grandfather homesteaded that place there in 1870 at Mt. Bakery.

Agnes: I rode a horse from our house to Alley, down the river, to pick up the mail, once a week. Our house set up on a hill. They sold out to the park.

Manny: On our walks we go up there to a big, flat-top bluff just below their house. It's way high above the river and you can see all of her farm, and you can see a Sutter graveyard up on the hill behind her house. And we ran across a big sassafras tree, bigger than any tree we've ever seen, but we didn't have any way of measuring how big around it is. We're going to go up there and measure that tree this afternoon.

Agnes: We counted the fence posts and it's near the center of a wire fence there.

Manny: Since her granddad homesteaded the place it was her family that put that fence there. Her sister and her niece are going to meet us up there we'll all walk up together and have a picnic.

Because identity for people in the study area is inscribed in landscape, changes that negate their ability to protect the land also threaten identity. As a result, residents remain acutely aware of how the land is managed and who manages it.

Moore (1990:368) argues that identity often relies on stories of "sacrifice for territory" that are told at the intersections of memory and landscape. Dale Anderson, of Carter County, argued that attachment to territory requires residents to sacrifice material wealth.

The philosophy of a lot of the people that live here, if they make ten thousand a year, they're going to live on it, if they make a hundred thousand a year, they're going to spend it, but it's worth giving up some of the conveniences of life for the privilege of living here and being able to roam and run free, and not smell city smoke.

Bob Leonard, whose family owned a tourist business in Shannon County prior to the creation of the ONSR, juxtaposes his perception of insider values for and uses of the landscape against those of outsiders. He emphasizes how insider attachments to the land have required that they make economic sacrifices in order to protect it.

People around here, whenever I was growing up, they looked at the river with reverence. If the river was flooding, you didn't cross it. You didn't jump into it. Today, it's a thing to be enjoyed. Tourists don't have the spiritual concept of the river my dad's people or my mom's people had who lived along it. Course my Dad got his back wet every Saturday night crossing to go to a dance somewhere along the river, you know. My dad played the fiddle and he said it was a good way to make a living.

I think there is a shift from the real feel of the river as someplace they went down to have a family picnic on Sunday afternoon or they enjoyed drink from while they'd fork the hay. The river was a source

of nourishment. But now, the river is a source of recreation. It's not a living thing. You know, the tourists come and enjoy it and then they leave. They can't wait to get here, and they can't wait to leave! . . . I remember, the tourists would just step through the door and they'd tell my mother 'My God! We've got to save this river!' I'll never forget, my mother would always say, 'From whom?' You know? I remember one of the biggest issues that local people had was over the pulp mills coming in. We had all this hardwood timber, it was an ideal situation for pulp mills. We had lots of water. But they voted on it as a county. They did not want pulp mills, and they fought against it. . . They protected their environment.

Constructing “The Other”: Identity and Relative Deprivation

The data presented in the previous section indicate that identity work is centered on internal constructions of “who we are” based on perceptions of historic values for localism, self-sufficiency, community and family interdependence, and connections to landscape. Identity work also requires that constructions of “we” be “constituted *vis-à-vis* others in terms of similarity and difference” (Collinson 2006:270). Data presented in this section suggest that the primary “other” against whom constructions of “we” are distinguished is the government, and in particular, the NPS as agent of the government. As an example, Eldon Wright of Shannon County very simply stated, “The Park Service equals the government.”

Constructions of the NPS as the primary “other” are motivated by collective perceptions of the NPS not only as an “outsider,” but with the added dimension of an “outsider” who has taken from insiders what they believe to be rightfully theirs. Aberle (1961:211-210) argues that the reference point for a sense of relative deprivation is the comparison of “one’s past versus one’s present circumstances” causes people to “regard themselves as worse off than they should be.” In the Ozarks, the standard against which people judge relative deprivation is related to how

significantly their lives have been altered by state interventions that have disrupted and threatened constructions of “who we are.”

As chapter two described, historic events including the Civil War, the imposition of conservation laws in the 1930’s and 1940’s, and the creation of the ONSR in 1961 have resulted in an historic pattern of government-induced deprivation. As this section will show, NPS jurisdiction in the ONSR continues to create perceptions of relative deprivation for residents in that people believe they are worse off than before the ONSR was established. It is important to note that constructions of the NPS as the “other” is first about defining the NPS as descriptively different from “who we are” in insider/outsider terms. However, because the NPS is the “other” deemed responsible for various forms of relative deprivation that threaten insider constructions of “we,” the relationship is also distinguished by dimensions of sociopolitical opposition and resistance. As a result, residents of the area have constructed an oppositional identity in relation to the NPS as “other.”

The following data include contemporary perceptions of relative deprivation that have occurred at the hands of the NPS, the primary “other” for Ozarks insiders. The data presented here are organized according to themes that include material deprivation; deprivation of authority and stewardship; and land use deprivation. These themes loosely correspond with Aberle’s (1961:210) deprivation typology which includes deprivation of possessions, status, worth and behavior. Stories of relative deprivation result primarily from the creation of the ONSR and ongoing NPS policy, but, as the data suggest, they are often conflated with perceptions of historic

deprivation experienced during the Civil War and by the imposition of conservation laws.

The “Other” and Relative Material Deprivation: Economics and Artifacts

People in this study say that the NPS deprived them materially through ONSR land acquisitions; through the loss of future economic potential for individual land owners and for the entire study area; and through reduced taxation when ONSR land was taken out of private ownership. Perceptions of material deprivation have also been created by changes in landscape that included the demolition of farm structures and homes, and cemeteries or other landmarks that have been left untended and thus degraded.

Stories of relative economic deprivation typically begin with the creation of the ONSR, but are often described as part of an historic pattern. As an example, Colt Casey recalled one of the many Civil War stories he knew about his great, great grandfather Casey. The details of Mr. Casey’s grandfather’s Civil War losses were described in chapter two. Mr. Casey’s construction of 19th Century deprivation in the Civil War is paralleled by 20th Century government-imposed deprivation resulting from ONSR land acquisitions. His story is also typical of the intensity of insider connections to an historically contested landscape that has been lost to government control. In effect, the new Yankees are the NPS; both are forces of the state that appropriated local resources resulting in immediate and future economic loss.

During the Civil War they were wiped out by looters and Kansas rednecks. Yeah, they took everything. And supposedly they gave them a list one time of what they’d taken. They’d taken all their horses and all their cattle and all their hogs, everything you know. Even down to the rolled cigars. They [the Union regiment] recorded everything and then gave them a list and said ‘You’ll be repaid.’ Of

course it never happened, they lost their property and you know probably some man said, 'here I'm going to write you this list and act like I'm going to pay you' kind of like today.

In 2007, I asked Mr. Casey to clarify whether or not he was making a connection between government forces during the Civil War and the NPS acquisition of land for the ONSR.

Well, yeah, in the case with the land here I was. Things are changing even more. Land value now is so much greater than it was when they bought the land. Now you'll pay hundreds of thousands of dollars for just a tiny piece of river front land. A fifty by seventy-five lot sells for thirty thousand dollars a lot, more or less. Considering they were given twenty thousand dollars for a hundred acres. . . I also realize that times have changed. There's more money now than there was then. The future earning potential of the land would have helped them out tremendously.

As chapter two described, objections to the formulae the NPS applied in land acquisition processes were numerous and complex. As Mr. Casey's suggests, people believe the NPS deprived land owners of the exponential increases land values typical of popular vacation venues.

More than forty years after the fact, one might assume that people would gloss perceptions of compensation that resulted from the ONSR land acquisitions simply as low government compensation, but this is not the case. People participating in this study repeatedly differentiated the complexity of economic issues of low per acre valuation from loss of future investment potential via tourism. They articulated the inability that many people had to fight their cases in court and the tactics of intimidation suffered by those who did. Each of these issues are still articulated as separate insults in the same process. In the 1960's Dale Anderson was asked to testify in court hearings over land acquisition and here he argues that the creation of

the ONSR victimized farmers and created lasting deprivation for each of the foregoing reasons. Further, he describes a common perception government cannot be trusted.

On one hundred and forty miles of the river there, at least a hundred families had to give up their land.* I got called into federal court as an expert witness on land values. If a developer would have come in and wanted to develop all of Current River, they could have developed it at a profit and the farmer could have gained a lot more money out of their land than the Park Service paid. The Park Service tried to argue that because they were moving into the area, they caused the increase in the values of the land. The prices they offered were low and very unreasonable. The people that had the means to go to court got three to five times what they were offered. But a lot of people couldn't go to court for this reason: they were sitting there working that farm. The Park Service came in and condemned their land and they had to be moved out, say, in sixty days. It might be a year and half before they had the court hearing but they didn't yet have the funds from the amount that the Park Service offered them because it was put into escrow until the case was cleared in court. So, they didn't have those funds to go somewhere and buy a home or another farm or what have you until the court hearing was over with. People that were broke, you know making a living from week to week, couldn't afford to fight them. They had to sell at the price offered and they got way below market. The people that went to court . . . Some of them who had been offered twelve thousand, wound up getting a hundred and twenty. I argued that all the land had a potential for recreation, all of it. . . And the river frontage right now, what little's left, brings two to three hundred dollars a front foot. . . I'd say the biggest thing my son has learned is not to trust our government.

Another form of perceived economic deprivation includes the failure of the ONSR to bring about the financial boom that Ozarkers believe the larger community was promised by the NPS. They frequently mention that the NPS used Gatlinburg, Tennessee that reputedly thrived as a tourist destination after the 1934 creation of the

* Conover (1973) made a non-referenced statement that the 1961 proposal that included the Eleven Point River would have required taking over 150 homes, removing 400 people. However, the final NPS bill eliminated the Eleven Point River which would have reduced the total number of removals. According to various NPS officials in the ONSR, the actual number of homes and families eventually removed does not exist in official documents.

Great Smokey Mountain National Park, as a model for what could happen in Carter and Shannon Counties. As chapter one indicated, both counties remain persistently poor. Bob Leonard notes local disappointment.

There were people in local businesses . . . most of them have died and gone . . . that felt this would be a real money maker. You know, money would pour in because the Park Service came, and they got a big disappointment. You know the filling station operators and the local people in business. They were in favor of the Park coming in on those grounds. It didn't happen. There went the big avalanche of money.

For many residents, the perception of unfulfilled economic promise is exacerbated by the reality that when the NPS acquired the land, it was taken out of taxation and Carter and Shannon Counties lost personal property tax revenue. This put a greater tax burden on remaining land owners. Residents of Eminence in particular blame the Park Service for their failing infrastructure. As the demographic section of chapter one indicates, approximately 50% of the land in each county is currently not subject to property taxes. Al Bohlander, who resides in Eminence, discussed a common view of the consequences.

People in this community are realizing that we need a new school. The buildings we have are anywhere from forty to eighty years old. The gymnasium up on the high school hill was an old building when my mother went to school there. And it's not just the school district. It's all over. We're realizing that we need to upgrade facilities all over. But we face a little problem in that sixty percent of our county is either owned by the federal government, the state government and one major landowner.* When you put it all together, out of six hundred thousand acres in the county, I can account for three hundred and fifty thousand of it going to... you know, being taken out of the private

* The land owner to whom Mr. Bohlander refers is Leo Drey who owns 64,000 acres of timberland called the Pioneer Forests. Mr. Drey has worked closely with various government agencies and achieved national renowned for his development of sustainable forestry practices. He also pays substantially lowered personal property tax on the land he owns.

market so to speak. And the state pays no real estate taxes, school taxes... The feds don't and the Park Service pays no school taxes.

Residents also perceive lost income from the NPS prohibition on harvesting timber or any other flora, with the exception of a few hay fields. Many people in the area depended on the timber crop for income. Fred Dixon argued this point.

I would sure like to the Park Service sell off some of their timber. Timber is a crop. If it is not picked, it will rot. The Park Service just lets nice logs that have blown down lay there and rot, and that's not right.

Timber that is allowed to rot in the forest is locally perceived as wasteful management of natural resources. The NPS has imposed further land use restrictions inside the ONSR that are discussed in the next section.

Economic deprivation resulting from government intervention is perceived to have been particularly devastating for individual property owners, but a reduced tax base and the failure of the ONSR to generate economic growth, provide jobs, and reduce poverty in the region affects all residents. Study participants believe the NPS applied the power of eminent domain in a dishonest and untrustworthy manner, and NPS land management strategies, in contradiction to local, traditional strategies, do not allow people to harvest natural resources within the park.* This has created hardship for some, but for many others it constantly underscores perceptions that the NPS dismisses local knowledge and local needs, and that NPS management strategies are wasteful.

* Deer, turkey, pheasant and grouse can be hunted in remote areas of the ONSR with considerable restrictions on location and the transport of firearms. Fishing is allowed according to Missouri State game laws. Picking, or harvesting any flora, or gathering any other natural artifact is illegal.

Perceptions of relative material deprivation are not only economic in nature. Participants also reported significant losses in material culture that include changes in revered landscapes. Bernie and Clarisse Ellis provided their view of a contradiction between NPS policy and residents' expectations. Like many, the Ellises believe the NPS deliberately misled the public, and authority over cultural resources shifted from insiders' hands to an untrustworthy source.

Bernie: When the early directors were trying to sell the NPS, they may have been saying the NPS is going to take care of those cemeteries, but there is a document that says the NPS never intended to maintain those cemeteries.

Clarisse: That's the reality and that's what's written, but just like my dad's sisters who participated in those meetings said, the person representing the park service said 'Yeah, we're gonna, gonna, gonna . . . It's like trying to sell a car to somebody and they said 'Well OK, he was wearing a hat and a uniform so . . . My aunt said that they told them they were not only going to protect the cemeteries but they were going to maintain them.

Bernie: And then you get these cemeteries that are way off and the park service starts closing down roads and stuff and there's no way to get in there because the place is way out and difficult for families to maintain with no access.

Clarisse: It's going to be really, really soon when no one's going to be able to tell you where one little baby's buried on one of the farms now that it's overgrown and not in pasture any more.

Jeff Gorton describes the destruction of local villages and the loss of good farm land left to go fallow.

If you want to see some real nice ground, go right down there to C highway, take F highway, it'll come all the way out at Big Springs Park. It turns into gravel; you can drive it with a car. You'll just see those old farms just grown up, one right after another way down there. At the Deaton cemetery, the Deaton's were my grandparents and my great-grandparents, if you go down there you'll see a headstone that says Fred Deaton, who was married five times, once to the same woman. All four of his wives are buried right next to him. . . Of all the houses up there, there's only one of the homes left. Traditional homes. And the majority of the old farms down in what they call Grubb

Hollow, they went through and they burned all those houses down.
Burned every one of them down. Barns--burned them.

These stories indicate that people in the study area define the NPS as an “other” who created material and economic deprivation. Deprivation was imposed on individual land owners in ONSR acquisition processes and on the larger community through the reduction in the local property tax base. Poverty deepened because of the combined effects of a reduced tax base and the failed promise of widespread economic benefit through tourism. In addition, farm land, cemeteries and other valued artifacts in landscape have been destroyed and or left to deteriorate. These conditions contribute to perceptions of the NPS as an “other” who has imposed material deprivation that is linked to deprivation imposed by the government in the past. Contemporary perceptions of deprivation also include the denial of local authority and experience in NPS land management strategies.

The “Other” and Relative Deprivation of Authority and Stewardship: Land Management and Trust in Government

The data indicate that perceptions of relative deprivation related to authority and land stewardship are significant themes in identity work that construct the NPS as an oppositional “other.” Loss of authority is related to the imposition of NPS land management strategies that contradict identity constructions of “who we are” as protectors and stewards of the land. In essence, insider strategies to maintain and protect the landscape have been devalued and replaced by NPS land management strategies that are locally deemed inadequate. This perception has also reinforced historic patterns of distrust in government. In this sense, the NPS is constructed as an

oppositional “other” who creates relative deprivation by severing residential authority in land management; devaluing traditional knowledge and betraying trust.

Jeff Gorton, quoted above, continued his comment with a juxtaposition of traditional land management strategies, which he defines as good stewardship, against NPS land management strategies that he perceives to be fraught with waste, caprice, self-interest and a disregard for local use and input. Mr. Gorton implies that the NPS is dismissive of the sense of responsibility and care that residents have for the landscape. Further, Mr. Gorton argues that though the NPS now owns the land, people struggle to maintain authority over land stewardship based on their history of residence and attachment to the land.

The thing that irritates people here the most, I think, is that we’ve lived here all our lives. Our ancestors lived here. We’ve always known how to take care of the land. We always took care of it. The reason the Park Service has what they have now is because the people that were before them took care of the land. They farmed, but they took care of it. And now then they feel like the Park Service doesn’t think they have enough sense to know what they’re even doing. You know they talk about us being the ‘locals’. . . . The horse issue up the river*—whether those horses were there or not, they’re not hurting anything. Let them stay there. They talk about natural habitat, but they don’t tell you about all the wire cages and rock they put on the bank to keep the river from taking Big Springs Park and the spring itself, because it’s heading right across toward the spring. They kind of change their format once in a while to benefit them. They still cut some hay off down the lower river to keep some of the fields up, but yet they’ve let other parts of the farms up through there just grow up.

Chapter two described the paradox in NPS land management strategies that intends both to preserve the resource and increase tourism. This inherent contradiction is not lost on people in the area. There are environmental concerns

* The “horse issue” to which Mr. Gorton refers involves a defeat of resistance to the NPS proposed removal of a group of feral horses within ONSR boundaries. This issue will be further described in chapter four.

about the health of natural resources that people believe attribute to the loss of traditional land management and authority. These changes range from issues about river quality, to changes in river depth, to the depletion of fish populations. Many people believe that these changes are due to increases in NPS-sponsored tourism. Don Hersh provides a series of explanations, that he believes account for declining fish populations culminating with his characterization of the NPS as “bad neighbors.”

Since the Park took over, more people have come in so all the wildlife is moving away from the river. Also the forest is much thicker with undergrowth now because there is no open grazing. This makes visibility much more difficult. . . We used to have river holes 15-20 feet deep for fishing before the park took over. Part of the reason that you can't fish the big fishing holes any more is that the Park Service has banned clear cutting, and all those areas have grown up, and the dead leaves and dead trees fall into the river and fill up in the holes. The park service also traded turkey for rattlesnakes and set them loose. They also thought they needed otters. The Conservation told me they eat five pounds of fish a day. There are thousands of otters now and no suckers just within two years. You can't gig any more. Otters will also follow the hollows and clear out people's ponds. The Park Service has been more of a problem for the local people than a help. The Park Service are bad neighbors. When they took over, everything could come in. The park brought in riff-raff, druggies, city people, and caused people to close and post their land. Now I hunt on private land, mine and my neighbors. Out-of-state people even climb into private property and shoot livestock.

Perceptions that NPS land maintenance strategies have negatively affected landscape have also reinforced distrust in government. Many residents believe they were deliberately misinformed about NPS intentions to maintain the land “as is” when it became part of the ONSR. For residents' this meant that their cultural artifacts, landscape and physical access would continue to be maintained as they had been in the past.

The application of eminent domain in the Ozarks plays a key role in constructing the NPS as “other.” Whether people supported the creation of the ONSR, most identified NPS processes of acquiring land through eminent domain as an egregious and persistent example of government’s unjust appropriation of local resources, life-ways and autonomy. The question of how and why the NPS granted some individuals, and businesses in particular, the right to retain their property rather than condemning their land is still contentious and reinforces existing distrust in government, specifically the NPS. The perception of many residents is that cronyism and corruption in NPS acquisition processes privileged some land owners and deprived others.

In explaining her long-term involvement in the local tourist industry, Mary Turner described opposition to the application of eminent domain that is still widely held in the area.

One thing, a lot of people didn’t have any trust in them. They didn’t want the scenic easement. That’s the reason there are such few scenic easements. They had no faith in the government, and they had lied to them, and been caught up in it... And that’s kind of an Ozark tradition... it sets a bad example--lying to a person. They respect you if you’ve got a difference of opinion, but to just tell them one thing and do something else, it causes problems, and that’s one of the things they’ve done. They told several falsehoods on this land acquisition deal. A sore spot with the local people is that they condemned and took the land of the individual, yet some businesses got to keep theirs private. I know Mr. King was a farmer that did not want to sell, and they condemned him, and he hates them to this day! He hates the government. They said it’s good for the right eminent domain and I disagree with it too! It’s good for the masses of people, but you take any one of the masses of people that says it’s good, and take their home away from them, and it’s not good. They’ll never feel that way again. And there are several of them in this area that feel this way.

Residents believe that the dismissal of traditional land use strategies and authority have been replaced by NPS land maintenance strategies claiming to preserve the land while promoting tourism are inherently contradictory and ultimately destructive. These processes combined with the imposition of eminent domain to acquire land have created distrust and deprivation. Perceptions of deprivation also extend to traditional subsistence and recreational uses of the land that have been significantly altered and or eliminated.

The “Other” and Land Use Deprivation: Access, Fishing, Tourism and Recreation

Relative deprivation of land use includes issues related to access to landscape, changes in fishing and other subsistence and recreational activities that residents have traditionally engaged in. This kind of deprivation bears strong similarity to Aberle’s (1961:210) concept of relative deprivation of behavior. Access to important landscapes and landmarks has been blocked either by unfettered overgrowth of natural vegetation, or by road closings. And, land uses in popular venues like former state parks and riverside campgrounds, were either eliminated or significantly altered under NPS jurisdiction. Additional changes in land use resulting from increased tourism have changed and/or eliminated traditional subsistence and recreational behaviors of residents.

An impact of NPS policy resulting in widespread changes in landscape and land use created by the acquisition of three state parks for the ONSR and a shift in jurisdiction to the NPS. Alley Spring, Round Spring and Big Springs formerly under the jurisdiction of the Missouri State Park system came under NPS control. When these highly valued public spaces became part of the ONSR, immediate material

changes were imposed by NPS administrators which included removing traditional access to the river and removing river-side camp grounds. Traditional concessions, tour boat excursions, and access to the springs were also changed. Alan Reno describes the broad negative impact of these changes in the following excerpt.

Yeah. It was pretty radical when the Park Service came in. They came in with the agreement with the state that there would be some development in the state parks. I worked for the Missouri State Park system. I know what that park looks like now and how it was managed prior to the NPS. And the NPS came in and radically developed all these new roads, and campgrounds out in the middle of nowhere. They brought in their own perceptions of what these parks should be. But underneath that, everybody remembers what was working. Down in Big Springs . . . it was like a little concessions stand where you could go get ice cream and sit on a bench and watch the spring branch. There was probably a lot more activity at Big Springs on hot summer days. Everybody used to go down there and just gather round and watch the people take boat rides up and down on the tour boats. The tour boat system's gone and the NPS totally relocated all of our campgrounds. They dramatically altered the visitor use of Big Springs and Alley... And nobody's gotten over that. That's a history that they cannot forget.

Another common perception is that when riverside camping was eliminated, families were no longer attracted to the area and the tourist populations shifted to people who come primarily to float for one or two days in inner-tubes and canoes rented from NPS-regulated concessions. These tourists are also perceived to do all of their purchasing through these outlets rather than making purchases in town and, as a result, downtown businesses have closed.

Weekend tourists "floater" generally travel in large groups and stay only for a couple of days. They tend to be young, college age singles and couples who drink large quantities of alcohol during their stay. Residents describe the behaviors of this type of tourist as disruptive and offensive and therefore disrespectful of local people

and of the resource. Many people believe the Current and Jacks Fork Rivers have come to be known as “red-necked party rivers” with all of the attendant problems of substance use and abuse. They report frequent exposure to rude and lascivious behavior at the hands of drunken tourists that is incompatible with a family atmosphere. Because of this, many people have eliminated their traditional social activities on and around the rivers believing that these changes have effectively transferred river use over to tourists who come to the river to party. Shelly Court described how tourism has forced her to change how she enjoys the river with her children compared to her childhood experiences.

I'll tell you, spending time on the river has really changed. That's very negative now. There were times you could take your family down to the riverside. Now, a family couldn't go down under the bridge anymore on weekends. You sit there and people come in on the canoes, it's not all of them, but you'll get younger people that are so drunk, they can hardly stand up. The language is horrible. I remember one instance, we were out on tubes and I had one of my girls with me. It was a family thing. We floated from the bridge down to the spring and we got about half way down there, and there was a young couple really enjoying each other on the river bank, and it was like turn your heads. . . It's gotten to the point you don't want to take the family down there. We pretty much quit going and I kind of hated that. And being a working mother, weekends are basically the only time you can go spend time on the river and we pretty well quit. We go and use the public pool here and people say 'But you live on a river' and I'm thinking, 'Yeah, but you just don't know.'

Landscapes and landmarks have become inaccessible because of road closings and overgrowth isn't cut back or burned off as it once was. Annual burns under traditional forms of stewardship kept the land clear, and county control of the roads meant they stayed open.

Hank Wayne of Shannon County describes how maintenance issues now prevent the elderly and people with disabilities from connecting with places which

affirm and reinforce identity grounded in the past. This issue is also related to the NPS maintenance of burn bans in the park that were first begun by the conservation strategies imposed in the middle of the last century.

I do not have access in the manner I would like to places I would like to go... All my friends and peers, especially old people like me, whenever they haul these big rocks up and down the road, putting them in the path... if an old person, especially a disabled person, has to walk a quarter of a mile, which doesn't seem like much, it's a complete block of the access. Well, they're doing it all up and down the river. From Blair's Creek along the river toward the upper part. And up around Horse Camp is what they call it. It's the old Trail Ride and they've blocked off a lot of places up there. You won't notice it unless you're looking for it. But there'll be these big rocks, big as this table and you can't get through. And down around Van Buren, there are lots of places down there, too. And they've just systematically closed off access to ninety percent of the land they have under their control. You don't go anywhere, except on county or state roads, and every time the county quits grading a road, or they get the chance, they close those roads. And since I'm old and decrepit, and in poor health, I'm getting ready to get another bureaucracy involved: under the Americans with Disabilities Act, to see if they might not open up some of these areas, so I can get in and watch the birds fly around and take a picture or what have you. The only way you can get in and enjoy most of this park is by foot. Otherwise, they're closed. You can go by a county road or a state road, but all of the access roads into the National Park land that are not on a county or state level are in their day use area campgrounds or what have you. Anyone disabled . . . there's no way they can use it!

Interviewees reported competition between local, motorized john boats used primarily for fishing, and tourist use of canoes and tubes for floating. Residents often find that their traditional practices of pole fishing and gigging are impossible in the summer months, particularly on weekends when the tourist population increases. Both tubes and canoes create a problem for residents because of the increased traffic, and because "floaters" have a pattern of hooking up across the breadth of the river which interrupts fishing lines and prevents the free passage of motor boats. As a

result, locals compete with tourists for space on the river with regard to their differing activities. Elizabeth Martin of Carter County described her frustration with congestion on the river resulting from NPS-sponsored tourism. She connects her opposition to the land “taken” to create the ONSR, to her perception that irresponsible tourists have prevented residents from using the river. In addition, she believes that tourist activities on the river are given preference by the NPS over local uses which she sees as unfair because she defines the land and the rivers as “ours.”

They [tourists] take over during the summer . . . there’s just no chance of ever going to the river and nobody being there, you know. There are always tons and tons of canoeists and you can’t enjoy it because they’re all around you, and they’re all drunk, and they don’t know how to paddle a canoe. And they just take over the river. They tie themselves to each other and block the river off and you have to wait for them. They’re just too many of them all at one time. You may sit in one place and count fifty canoes go by in five minutes. . . . It’s crazy. They [the NPS] think tourists are everything. They think they’re just wonderful. Well they’re not you know. Some motorboat causes them to dump, and they think that we’re all just terrible. That’s not it at all. You know, it’s our river too. And we pay taxes on it. And then they think that they can just rule us. They take over our land. . . . That’s why we’re so under-populated, because you can’t move in here. I mean, they own it all. You can’t buy any land because there’s not any land to buy. Some people would say the Park Service is nothing but bad.

Stories in this section suggest a general perception that traditional uses of the land and the rivers by residents have been significantly altered and or eliminated by the NPS in a context that now privileges the recreational behaviors of tourists. Both the values and behaviors of tourists are perceived to be disruptive and in conflict with local values and behaviors. Many residents believe that negative stereotypes both facilitate and exacerbate the imposition of deprivation by outsiders.

Insider Constructions and “Who We are Not”

Another dynamic that informs contemporary identity work for residents of the region involves externally imposed, negative stereotypes of Ozark culture. As chapter Two describes, these stereotypes became prevalent during the Civil War. They persist as a construct of subaltern caricatures of Ozarkers as “hillbillies” now highly integrated in American culture (Anglin 1992; Harkins 2004; Whisnant 1983). Scholars of Appalachian studies have written about externally generated local color narratives as a type of hegemony that co-opts, commodifies, appropriates and thus undermines and misrepresents local tradition to further an external, capitalist agenda to extract resources (Anglin 1990, 1992; Gaventa 1980; Hsuing 2000; Pudup 1980; Stewart 1989, 1990; Whisnant 1983; Waller 1988). These analyses explicate the role of creating a narrative of a “subaltern other” for the purpose of appropriating local resources. Frequent references to various versions of the hillbilly stereotype in data collected for this study suggest that the “hillbilly” stereotype guides identity work for residents. Nearly everyone interviewed for this study communicated experiences and attitudes related to negative aspects of the hillbilly stereotype.

The hillbilly stereotype is a dichotomous image that juxtaposes positive characteristics including the pioneer spirit, strong kin networks, and rugged individualism against negative characteristics including stubbornness, ignorance, drunkenness and laziness. How these images are constructed and deployed depends on one’s insider/outsider status (Harkins 2004; Herlinger 1972). As residents with local status refute externally imposed images, they create a discourse about questions

of power and authority in an attempt to reclaim and reposition their identity on their own terms (Anglin 1992; Stewart 1990).

For insiders, or people with local status, the hillbilly stereotype manifests as a historic symbol of opposition to outsiders in general, but it also frequently underpins discourse in relation to the NPS. The following stories from residents with local status are excerpts of dialogue that oppose, contradict and redefine perceptions of local color narratives that originate both from a generalized other and from NPS and ONSR personnel in particular.

In relation to a generalized other, residents with local status often neutralize the inherent negative aspects of the term by redefining it in geographic terms, as the following example from my interview with June Devlin, from Carter County, illustrates.

Let me tell you what they used to do to me. Mr. Calahan has the bed and breakfast down river. When he would have his guests, and they were judges and lawyers and even Riverways stays down there, he used to bring them up town here and he would say 'Now, I want you to meet a real live hillbilly'. And I would look at the people and I'd say, He's correct; I am a real live hillbilly. I was born and reared here in the hills and I do claim to be a hillbilly'. He really thought he was making a bad pun at me, but I think it's wonderful here. And I had a good friend from Buffalo, New York and she'd call people hillbillies, but she did it in a derogatory way and I'd say 'Sue, I'm a hillbilly.' She'd say 'No you're not.' And I'd say, 'Oh yes I am. I've lived here all my life, I went away to school, but I have lived here the rest of my life,' and I said 'I am a hillbilly. And I'm a typical hillbilly'.

Residents also frequently identify and appropriate aspects of the hillbilly stereotype which they determine are useful or positive, and refute those that they interpret as negative. For example, people often use internally accepted aspects of the stereotype as a source of pride that distinguishes them from the "other." In the following excerpt, Earl Dunn plays up local storytelling skills.

Twenty five of us on the fire crew were sent to Idaho. That many hillbillies in one place with people from so many different places . . . we told stories and people were fascinated.

In other responses, people directly object to negative aspects of the stereotype by redirecting insults back at the perpetrator. In an interview with Dale Anderson, of Carter County, he consistently referred to himself as a hillbilly and I asked him to clarify what the term meant to him. His story is reflective of outsider judgments of people in the Ozarks as characters similar to those in hillbilly comic strips who are typically dependent on urban economic and cultural superiority. It is important to note that Mr. Anderson's family was not willing to achieve financial gain by letting assaults on their identity stand.

Well, a hillbilly is someone who is raised here that loves the country, and is not going to conform to society. I had a banker down from St. Louis when I was developing. I had a loan application in for about three hundred thousand, and I had a friend that recommended me, and I had adequate collateral, and the loan was pretty well set up. That fellow came down and we took him out to fish fry, went gigging, and during the course of the evening we had a few drinks and he started talking about the 'dumb' people here and the kind of houses they lived in and what have you. I said, 'We don't have anything as bad as some of your slums in the city'. He kept on. Finally my wife looked over and said, 'You old red-headed son of a bitch, you ain't nothing but a wet blanket'. Didn't get that loan. Another time . . . we were working on a community project on a charcoal plant, and had the SBA loan about approved and they asked me to go to St. Louis to meet for their final approval. I went in and sat down and the [loan officer said] 'Van Buren Missouri, that's a little like Dogpatch isn't it'? I said, 'Yeah I guess so.' He said, 'Well, see, I spent the night there and it just reminded me of Dogpatch in the funny papers. What do those dumb people do for a living down there?' I said, 'Just us smart ones left. The dumb ones have either moved to the city or gone to work for the government.' Didn't get that loan either. If you don't have a lot of money in the bank, they don't think you know anything.

Mr. Anderson objects to the negative aspects of outsiders, perceptions that constitute "who we are not," and repositions "who we are" by deploying the same

insult to define the “other.” He has thereby neutralized the difference between insider/outsider status in dialogic terms.

Non-local discourse around the hillbilly stereotype is frequently very different. For residents who are non-local, there was often identification with negative aspects of the stereotype. Liv Black has status that is somewhat ambiguous in that she identifies herself as a non-local resident, but as one who has achieved a high degree of acceptance. Ms. Black’s great grandparents homesteaded in the area and remained until after her father’s birth. She was born elsewhere, but has moved in and out of Shannon County for brief periods of time. Her historic connections to the area undoubtedly encourage the empathic, even the romantic quality in the following description, but ultimately she sees herself as an outsider and she uses the third-person plural to distance herself from locals in the area. Here she reveals ambivalence consistent with her ambiguous status.

A lot of them are related, or hark back to the same original families. And so that makes them a close community. Very stubborn and very proud. They’re definitely attached to a sort of rebel tradition it seems. They want to belong to the great Confederate Empire, and belong to something glorious, you know. They want those days to come back. There are a lot of survivalists down here. People that do not want any government interference. Twenty years ago, there was somebody down here talking about civil defense preparations. If the St. Louis area were targeted, a lot of people would be streaming down here to get away from the city and find a place to live. And so somebody in the group stood up and said, ‘Yeah? Well, we’ll bomb those bridges, and they won’t get down here, because you know, we’re the ones down here and if they wanted to live here, why don’t they move down here now?’ They’re very serious about being resourceful and being independent. They’re very patriotic and sincere Americans. But they’re isolationists, and they don’t want people interfering with how they do their business . . . they just hate that . . . You’ve got people that settled here because they wanted to be left alone. They wanted to live in a secluded place, and they wanted to live their life the way they wanted to live it. I was trying to [write about how] they’re unique, but

[a friend] said, 'Are they unique or are they just white trash?' It makes you wonder sometimes. They just have a common heritage.

As this discussion suggests, people with local status engage in discourse about outsider representations to reconstruct and defend their identity. Often, this discourse is directed at an outsider perception that represents a generalized other. However, many residents perceive that negative outsider perceptions underlie the attitudes and behaviors of ONSR personnel. Therefore, discourse around outsider perspectives is also often directed at the NPS as the primary "other" against whom residents assert their oppositional identity.

Many people reported their perceptions that ONSR personnel treat them in disparaging ways which they believe are influenced by external, negative representations of culture in the Ozarks. The terms "corncob", "hick", and "hayseed" are synonyms for the term "hillbilly" (Harkins 2004) that study participants suggest have been either implied or, used directly, in their interactions with ONSR personnel. Many study participants perceive that these negative images make them the recipients of differential and obtrusive assertions of power from ONSR law enforcement personnel. Floyd Heston, an avid fisherman from Carter County, represents this perspective in his objection to the policy restrictions imposed on fishing behaviors. Here, using the first person plural to identify with other insiders, he describes an attitude typical of local fishermen and hunters in their perspective toward NPS personnel. And while Mr. Heston is quick to qualify that he wasn't actually called a "corncob", he nonetheless believes that some ONSR personnel are guided by outsider narratives that define residents as if they're incompetent and need to be told what to do, thereby justifying interference with their fishing activities. In response, Mr.

Heston's story reflects his rejection of negative aspects of the hillbilly stereotype (e.g. incompetence, and lawlessness) that are inferred in his use of the term "corncob", and asserts that ONSR outsiders do not understand residents and do not possess positive local qualities of being friendly.

You take them little old game wardens . . . they like to send them in here from California or somewhere, and they don't understand these people here. We're a different kind of people. And they're a different kind of people. They'll aggravate you half to death sometimes. They sit around and watch you through glasses, all this and that kind of stuff; trying to catch you . . . Well they'll give you a ticket for anything at all. He comes in there and he's gonna teach us 'corncobs,' he'd call us . . . well I won't say he said that, but to me, that's their attitude. You know, they're gonna cram something down our throat whether we like it or whether we don't like it. I don't know if he ever called anybody that, but I'm giving you my version of it.

Hank Wayne, a local Shannon County man, expressed similar sentiments by referring to what he and others believe is the over-vigilant surveillance of residents' hunting, fishing and boating behaviors based on pre-existing negative attitudes about local culture. In addition, he expresses a commonly held perception that locals receive differential treatment at the hands of ONSR officials. Mr. Wayne also indicates that ONSR personnel refer to locals using derogatory labels and define them as suspicious, defensive, incompetent and unwilling to follow the rules.

They've set us aside from the public as locals and different. We don't really know how we're different, but they refer to us as 'locals.' They'll speak of the 'public' and then they'll speak of the 'locals.' And what's good for the 'public' is not necessarily good for the 'locals.' It's hard for me to be specific about that . . . it's definitely true. I don't know why it is that the people they bring here . . . well, there was one from Indiana that tried to run me off the park grounds up there for parking in a bad place . . . Well, he said it was a bad place. It turned out to be perfectly legal. In fact he got so graphic with his talk, he says, 'You sons of bitches don't know where to park. You can't read. You can't tell where to park.'

One thing is that the people that work for them somewhere along the line are indoctrinated with some kind of an idea that the locals are out to get them. Now, they don't tell me that, but I get that impression, and it's a feeling that I can't be rid of: that the locals are suspicious people. And every time you meet with one of them, you should be sure that everything is A-okay. . . There's no reason in the world for these people [ONSR staff] to make enemies out of the local people. . . If they'd just treat them half-way decent, and not act suspicious of them every time you have eye contact.

Subaltern descriptions of culture are perceived to influence interactions with a generalized "other" and with NPS personnel in the ONSR in particular. Many people also perceive that negative and inaccurate valuations of local culture influence NPS policy in ways that limit traditional, local behaviors in the park, and are disparaging and dismissive of local people and local knowledge. These data have shown that negative, outsider images of insiders in the study area are operative in dialogue for both outsiders, in the case of Ms. Black, and insiders. As Mr. Heston and Mr. Wayne indicate in their interactions with NPS personnel, insiders typically assert their objections to negative, external characterizations in their constructions of "who we are not." These assertions may neutralize negative projections by defining them in geographic terms as indicated by Mrs. Devlin's assertion that a hillbilly is "from the hills." Mr. Dunn deployed positive aspects of term as a source of pride in hillbilly storytelling. And, Mr. Anderson refuted and redeployed "Dogatch" caricatures to define the "other."

Summary

This chapter presented data that suggest contemporary identity work for many residents in the study area is asserted through references to ancestral lifeways that influence what people value and behaviors that support those value in their

constructions of “who we are.” A parallel process distinguishes the NPS as a focal point for a generalized “other” that imposes deprivation and threatens conceptions of identity. Finally, this chapter reveals how people negotiate and reconstruct conceptions of identity by rejecting and redefining negative valuations of culture that constitute “who we are not” imposed by a generalized “other” and by the NPS in particular. Each of these processes is influenced by historic symbols of opposition that provide a foundation for “who we are,” “who they are,” and “who we are not.”

The data also suggests that resistance is a fourth process operative in identity work for participants in this study. And, the NPS is the focal point of resistance to the generalized “other” against whom identity is asserted. Chapter four defines and describes how people in the study engage in processes of resistance to NPS policy in the ONSR.

Chapter Four

Resistance as Identity Work

Introduction

Chapter three described identity constructions and identified the ways in which the people of these rural Missouri Counties deploy historic symbols of opposition to construct and define oppositional identity in the present. The data collected for this study also suggest that resistance is an additional form of oppositional identity work utilized by residents against perceived threats to identity imposed by the National Park Service (NPS). Study participants have employed various acts of resistance in opposition to NPS policies in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (ONSR). These acts of resistance are, in turn, continually recycled as components in the framework of oppositional symbols at the disposal of this community. People share stories of their struggles in a symbol-making process that will be further explored in chapter five. This chapter describes how resistance may be viewed as a form of reflexive identity work that defends, strengthens and refines identity constructions described in chapter three.

The data indicate that resistance as identity work is first informed by historic symbols of opposition that provide a template for “whom, why and how to resist.”

Resistance functions in two primary ways:

- On the micro-political level individuals assert everyday forms of resistance to NPS policies and attitudes that impede and obstruct identity constructions of “who we are” in the course of their daily lives.

- On the macro-political level, groups assert organized resistance that adds the potential for empowerment and increased micro and macro-level protection for constructions of “who we are.”

Background: Resistance and Identity

Seymour (2006:305) defines resistance as “intentional and hence conscious acts of defiance or opposition by a subordinate individual or group of individuals against a superior individual or set of individuals . . . in a context of differential power relationships.” Resistance as identity is multifarious and occurs in multiple sites and on various time/space continua (Holland et al. 2008; Moore 1998; Poletta and Jasper 2001).

Ortner (1995) suggests that the literature on resistance would benefit from greater emphasis on ethnographic, Geertzian “thick description” to illuminate the roles of “consciousness, subjectivity, intentionality, and identity” in resistance processes. Various scholars also argue that resistance studies are under-theorized in part, because they gloss the motivations for resistance under the rubric of human agency without answering questions about why people are motivated to resist (Moore 1998; Ortner 1995; Paletmaa 2006; Seymour 2006).

In answer to these concerns, one recent social movement theory suggests that while collective identity is a basis for belonging, it also provides a basis for motivating people to resist (Holland et al.. 2008). As the focal point of analyses, collective identity is a way to “explain how interests emerge [and to] capture better the pleasures and obligations that actually persuade people to mobilize” (Poletta and Jasper 2001:284). Identity is also a platform from which movement outcomes can be

analyzed (Holland et al. 2008; Poletta and Jasper 2001). In addition, Scaglione and Norman (2000) suggest that studies of resistance based on life history data shed light on the reality that individuals do not merely respond to external agents of force. Rather, these narratives actively shape internal constructions of identity.

Espeland's (1994) work with the Yavapai bridges some of the existing theoretical gaps regarding the role that identity plays in motivating resistance, and the role that resistance plays in reinforcing and refining identity. She illustrates how these processes have worked in her study of Yavapai resistance to the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 which justified the proposed construction of Orme Dam on Yavapai territory (Espeland 1994:1151)-1151). Federally mandated Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) were produced in the proposal process. The EIS used a rational choice model that quantified Yavapai interests in their land based on "fair market price . . . and [potential] suffering" (Espeland 1994:1157). Beyond the proposed monetary compensation, the EIS concluded that because the Yavapai had successfully relocated in the past, they were therefore culturally equipped with "survival elements" (Espeland 1994:1157-1173).

The Yavapai resisted the EIS findings by holding a protest walk across the length of the territory to be flooded that symbolically reenacted the tragic 1875 Yavapai Trail of Tears (Espeland 1994:1152). The protest garnered huge public support and created among the Yavapai a "new interpretation and a renewed appreciation of their own 'otherness'" and motivated further political resistance (Espeland 1994:1152-1174).

Subsequent Yavapai resistance efforts required the construction of legal arguments that demonstrated how the “rational choice” decision making process employed by the government could not structurally incorporate Yavapai concepts of “participation with the land” through ancestral tenancy and preservation (Espeland 1994:1160-1174). Yavapai resistance was successful in that in 1981, the dam project was cancelled. Espeland argues that by articulating and defending their territory, the Yavapai renewed, refined and reinforced their collective identity.

One consequence of this defense of themselves and their land was a heightened sensitivity, appreciation, and reinterpretation of what made them Yavapai. Their repeated and protracted struggles with the government required them to construct a portrait of themselves in categories that made sense to them, that would privilege their experience and authority, and that were defensible and stable and sturdy enough to withstand intense scrutiny. As a result of having to spend years explaining to others their special claim to their land, of self-consciously taking stock among themselves about the content and meaning of their culture and their collective identity, of developing new and more elaborate explanations of their attachment to this place, their appreciation has deepened and their explanation of their difference have become more self-conscious, more articulate, and more institutionalized. Some residents also feel a renewed sense of pride and greater sense of their political efficacy. [Espeland 1994:1168-1169]

In her analysis of resistance efforts among the Yavapai, Espeland’s work addresses theoretical concerns regarding motivation, reflexivity, and the evaluation of resistance processes. Espeland’s work provides evidence that identity motivates, strengthens and refines constructions of identity, and identity as a platform for determining the success of resistance outcomes. As subsequent discussion in this chapter will show, the relationship between identity and resistance among the Yavapai is analogous to the role of resistance in identity work in the Ozarks.

Forms of Resistance: Backtalk as Everyday, Micro-political Resistance

In the Ozarks, resistance is enacted on a continuum from individual and informal acts of everyday resistance at the micro-political level, to group-level formal, macro-political movements. The entire range of resistance behaviors has and continues to result in varying degrees of success and many of the micro-political forms of resistance carry varying degrees of the potential for violence.

For the subjects of this study and for other relatively powerless groups, resistance seldom takes the form of large scale, organized rebellion. Resistance for these groups occurs most typically in the form of easily accomplished individual acts of human agency that often go unrecognized. Ortnner (1995:174) argues that Foucaultian conceptions of “everyday forms of power” led to theorizing resistance as more complex than reductionist explanations that define protest as an organized response to institutionalized power and domination. An example of this influence is provided by Scott (1985) who determined that powerless people are much more likely to engage in acts of “everyday resistance” that typically require few resources; do not involve direct confrontation or require planning; and can include “foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on” (xvi). Moore (1998) further describes everyday resistance as occurring in a micro-political arena with the intention to improve the daily functions of life rather than to overthrow existing hegemonies.

It is important to note that, in the context presented here, the many examples of oppositional discourse in relation to constructions of “who they are” and “who we are not” contained in the life history data excerpted in chapter three are in fact forms

of everyday, micro-political resistance. Stewart (1990:237) describes resistance asserted through oppositional discourse as “backtalk” that people use to continually construct their identity in a dialogue with insiders where they can have the last word. The re-articulation and repositioning of the externally imposed “hillbilly” stereotype also described in chapter three are particularly important acts of backtalk because the “last word” typically privileges insider constructions of “who we are” in relation to “who the other is.” Mr. Anderson’s excerpt in chapter three describes an incident involving direct confrontation of outsiders’ perceptions of hillbillies, but direct confrontation would likely limit the ability of residents to have the last word. Stories are, nonetheless, often constructed in such a way that this occurs.

The examples of oppositional discourse presented in chapter three and defined here as forms of backtalk are similar to Espeland’s analysis of resistance in identity discourse among the Yavapai in three ways: first, “backtalk” frequently privileges local authority in land use strategies, lifeways and traditional attachments to place over NPS strategies imposed in the ONSR; second this discourse consistently links historic acts of resistance to contemporary resistance, thus repeating their protracted struggles with the government. Third, both of these forms of identity work result in a heightened sense of “who we are” as people who oppose and resist identity threats imposed by “who they are” and “who we are not” (Espeland 1994:1169).

Micro-political resistance can be distinguished from macro-political resistance based on differing syntagms, or sequences of events that characterize each type. Hanson (1998:288) argued that a semiotic analysis of history reveals that all human

events and processes have underlying, syntagmatic structures which paradigmatically link seemingly disparate events.

In the data presented here, the syntagmatic structure common to acts of micro-political resistance begins in an initial, externally imposed insult or obstruction to individual, routine behaviors. Responses to these insults, typically of Scott's (1983) "everyday" sort, are not intended to effect permanent policy change. Rather, responses are immediate and informal negotiations that result in the temporary alleviation of the immediate problem on the micro-level. The story is often communicated as a triumph for the insulted individual, but the conditions that produced the insult or obstruction have not changed. For example, Mrs. Shockley's story excerpted earlier in this chapter involved her violent response to the insult represented by the government agent's insinuation that her family must make "plans" to leave their land. Her response was to threaten the man's life. The threat did not change the fact that she and her family eventually did have to make "plans" to leave their land, but as she tells the story, her threat successfully resolved the insult posed by that particular agent because he was "taken out of land buying."

A second example is Elizabeth Martin's story excerpted in chapter three. Ms. Martin describes interference in her boating activities from tourists. She clearly blames the NPS for crowding and bad tourist behavior and she adds that the NPS stole the land and is responsible for larger problems. In blaming the NPS in the context, she has resolved the issue in the only way she can: through backtalk. Using these examples, the syntagmatic structure of events that characterize micro-political

resistance can be summarized as insult—individual response—temporary, micro-level resolution.

Though forms of everyday, micro-political resistance are common among participants in this study, on occasion they also engage in larger scale, political mobilization. In comparison to micro-political resistance, the syntagmatic structure of macro-political resistance differs in that it follows from the initial insult, to an organized group response that often engages sympathetic and potentially more powerful external audiences and people (e.g. legislators, lawyers, advocacy groups, etc.) in formal processes in an attempt to create permanent change via rational-legal means: insult—group response—legislation—resolution. Mobilized, macro-political resistance was evidenced by the organization of a coalition opposed to the creation of the ONSR described in chapter two, and more recently through a coalition to fight NPS removal of feral horses inside the ONSR boundaries described later in this chapter.

Cultural Memory: A Template for Whom, Why and How to Resist

Moore (1998:169) emphasizes that resistance is shaped by collective identity through the “social memory” of prior experiences of deprivation. Assman and Czaplicka (1995) similarly describe the concept of “cultural memory” as an obligatory, yet reflexive element of collective identity which provides an interpretive framework for how people “explain, distinguish, reinterpret, criticize, censure,

control, surpass, and receive . . .” (132).^{*} And White (1986:55) argues that perceptions of historically imposed deprivation actually intensify resistance.

Chapter two described the scholarly and local discourse about area effects of the Civil War, the origins of the hillbilly stereotype the imposition of conservation laws beginning in the 1930’s, and the creation of the ONSR as primary symbols of historically imposed relative and absolute deprivation and threats to constructions of “who we are.” Here these symbols are re-examined specifically with regard to how they influence contemporary resistance by providing a template for whom, why and how to resist in the present.

The Civil War

Resistance to government interventions that threaten local people, their lifeways, and thus their identity have a long history in Carter and Shannon Counties. However, during the Civil War, individual acts of civilian resistance to guerilla warfare and or state armies were limited because such acts typically meant instant death (Fellman 1989:39). Tom Dade of Carter County indicated that people in the area are very aware that resistance during the Civil War was a lethal undertaking.

It’s kind of an old family tale that there were three brothers that left out of Europe and came over here, and when they hit here they kind of split up. . . We don’t really know a lot about how those three brothers did it because back during the Civil War, Charlie Dade, my great-great grandfather, left to go chop some wood and that’s the last they ever saw of him. It was a well known fact that when the soldiers rode through and recruited you, if you didn’t want to go on their side, it didn’t matter which side, you know. And if you didn’t go with them they just left you laying there. So we just assumed that that’s what happened to him.

^{*} The role of symbolic, interpretive frameworks in the identity work of people in the study area is further analyzed in chapter five.

Reports do exist of individuals or groups of neighbors employing everyday, micropolitical resistance (Scott 1985; Moore 1998) by outsmarting enlisted soldiers and guerillas. The Civil War story of Zimri A. Carter referred to in chapters two and three regarding his attempts to hide his stock from invading armies is such an example (Fellman 1989:39). Margaret McKinney also described how the Shannon County Courthouse in Court House Hollow was burned during the Civil War and a civilian hid the contents of the county treasury until it was safe from marauding armies in an effort to preserve resources to rebuild community. It is interesting to note that Mrs. McKinney does not indicate whether it was a Union, Confederate, or guerilla party responsible for burning the court house—perhaps because they were all essentially “others.”

During the Civil War the court house was burned at Round Spring and a man named Alex Dethridge was the treasurer and a man named Carter who had some office with the county was also there when they came in and burned the court house. Those two men escaped. They caught Carter and hung him. But, Alex Dethridge escaped with the money that belonged to the county and some of them said it was gold--it wouldn't have been paper money--and he hid it in a cave. When the war was over, and that war lasted five years, they had a meeting of what was left of the men to organize the county again. There was no law, no sheriffs or anything, and they got together, and Alex Dethridge showed up with the money so they could get started.

After the Civil War, people in the area also resisted invasive policies of large and externally-owned timber companies that created “company towns” and attempted to control the religious and social behaviors of employees to increase productivity. The historic record indicates that people rejected the “urban and industrial values” imposed by the timber companies and refused to work on Sunday, to attend the “company church, or to follow company prohibitions on alcohol” (Benac and Flader

2004:36-38). Whether these acts of resistance occurred individually or as collective and organized forms of protest is unclear. However, residents who participated in this study did not include stories of resistance to the social engineering imposed by timber companies. In fact, the stories communicated about the era of exploitive timber extraction involve fond memories of a time when jobs were plentiful, local infrastructure improved, and values for subsistence-level living based on hard work through the harvest of local resources was achievable.

These interpretations of history are important because they provide an example of internal collaboration with external forces of domination. In her study of peasant resistance in South-east Asia, White (1986:55-56) argues that resistance studies must incorporate the potentially more common forms of “everyday collaboration,” in this case with capitalist forces of domination, within which subordinated people are necessarily subsumed. Further, Ortner (1995:175) suggests that “the dominant often has something to offer, and sometimes a great deal . . . the subordinate thus has many grounds for ambivalence about resisting the relationship.” It is probable that, in the Ozarks, residents were resistant to the efforts of timber barons to control their private lives which potentially threatened behaviors that were part of their identity constructions. But, residents were complicit in the over-extraction of area resources (and perhaps unaware that the resource was exhaustible until it was too late) because they benefitted from the temporary wage labor provided by these companies, and because the mode and level of compensation for that labor complemented their identity constructions.

The Imposition of Conservation Laws

Rural resistance to government interventions that threatened traditional land management began as early as 1914 when the federal government failed in its attempts to establish national forests in Missouri. And resistance successfully prevented any kind of state control over area forests until 1924. In 1905, the State of Missouri passed a fish and game law but residents of the Ozarks “dodged regulations and game wardens” (Benac and Flader 2004:39).

As Joe Turner’s excerpt in chapter three indicated, these acts of everyday, micro-political resistance have been generationally transmitted. Mr. Turner’s perception as a child was that people did not pay any attention to fishing and gigging limits. Further, Alan Reno described how poaching is still an historic subsistence strategy of some people who, therefore, must resist game laws as a matter of biological and social survival.

There are people who poach here, and everybody’s philosophy when I was a kid was poaching is not bad, because if you need to eat the meat, then that’s what you have to do. And most people that wanted to poach needed the meat. And when the game laws and enforcement levels accelerated through the park service, poaching became, well, you don’t poach. No poaching and that’s it. And that was some of the initial clash in historical use of the land. A kid I graduated from high school with a kid who just did about three years in the federal penitentiary for poaching all over the country. And he was an intelligent kid. But, he grew up that way. His dad did that, and passed it on to the next generation, and he passed it on to his son. It turned into a grudge match with the government and law enforcement. It was a challenge. I know kids that were poaching that didn’t need the meat. It was just a game. ‘I wonder if I’m gonna get caught.’ Just like shoplifting. It’s an impulse. Something they’re gonna do.

By 1935, there was enough support in the state to pass a constitutional amendment to create the Missouri Conservation Commission that would have

jurisdiction over fish, wildlife and forests, though the measure was still rejected in Carter, Shannon and 29 other counties in the Ozarks. Due to resistance in the Ozarks, annual burns were not penalized until 1947, and free-range herding was not eliminated until 1967 (Benac and Flader 2004:40). As chapter three indicated, people are still opposed to the burn bans imposed by the NPS inside the ONSR, and by the Missouri Conservation Department on private property.

The content of cultural memory related to resistance during the Civil War and resistance to the imposition of conservations laws provide a subtext suggesting that government interventions threaten identity and must therefore be resisted. These informal everyday forms of micro-political resistance are potentially more successful than large-scale forms of organized, macro-political resistance. However, the data indicate that the creation of the ONSR is by far the most potent historic symbol in the cultural memory that guides resistance in identity work. Resistance during this period incorporated the mobilization of organized, group-level, macro-political opposition.

The Creation of the ONSR

Stories of specific acts of resistance to the creation of the ONSR are numerous and they range from informal, individual, micro-political acts, to formal and organized, collective, macro-political movements. The primary example of organized, macro-political resistance to the ONSR began in the late 1950's with the creation of the Current and Eleven Points River Association (CEPRA). The role of CEPRA is documented in the historic record and described in chapter two. Resistance to the ONSR proposal was mounted because it threatened ownership and control of the land on which residents inscribe identity.

It is also important to note that resistance included the Preservationists-Public Outdoor Recreationist-Economic Beneficiaries Coalition (PPOREBC), an opposing coalition that supported the NPS proposal to create the ONSR, and which was composed largely of local business owners who believed they stood to benefit economically from the creation of the Riverways. The PPOREBC provides another example of residents' collaboration with external domination, in this case the NPS, and, again, the motivation for collaboration was economic in nature.

As previous chapters have illustrated, the creation of the ONSR did not result in the predicted economic benefit and both Carter and Shannon Counties continue to be classified as "chronically poor" (Morrison 1999:2; USDA 2006). Because of this, many people believe that at least some of the leading local business persons who were members of the PPOREBC came to regret their support for the ONSR. Though many of those persons are now deceased, Bill Frost a long-time business owner and member of the former PPOREBC, was recommended as someone who would confirm that perspective. Mr. Frost consented to a telephone interview in 2007. However, he did not indicate that he regretted his support of the ONSR; on the contrary, he reported that though the NPS should have done some things differently, in general he still believed that the creation of the ONSR was a "good thing."

It is clear that resistance to the ONSR-created class struggle pitted local business owners against less privileged land owners and wage laborers. As Mr. Frost's interview indicates, this struggle between "collaborators" and "resisters" continues, and today is also reflected in NPS employees with "local" status. Interestingly, resistance to NPS policy among NPS employees with "local" status

interviewed for this study was complex in that those persons in salaried positions tended to be more critical of NPS policy than wage laborers. This is perhaps because the security and economic benefits of salaried government employees afford greater confidence and, thus, freedom to resist.

Beyond the formation of opposing coalitions, individual acts of resistance to the creation of the ONSR were frequently reported in interviews. Before being appointed National Park Service Director, George Hartzog, then an NPS Regional Director, was asked to visit the proposed ONSR area to “move the project along” (Hartzog 1988:60). In his memoir, *Battling for the National Parks*, he described the first public meeting about the proposal as a “long and testy affair” and, shortly after leaving to drive back to St. Louis, his car quit running because someone had put sand in his gas tank (1988:60-61). This story represents everyday, micro-political resistance. The following story illustrates direct assertions of insider power that carried the potential for violence.

Several respondents told the story of an incident that occurred during one of the many trips that legislators and other federal bureaucrats made to the Ozarks to float the rivers in 1961 during the ONSR planning stages. Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall was among the group. As his flotilla moved along the river, shots were fired by someone under tree cover on the river banks. All of the government officials and reporters ducked their heads, prompting a local man in the party to say, “There’s nothing to worry about. If he’d meant to hit you, you’d already be dead.”

A newspaper version of this story was reported in the *Kansas City Star* (September 24:1961) that indicated a “hillman” stepped out of the woods holding a

.22 rifle to watch the flotilla pass. Because of the type of rifle he was carrying, officials identified him as “only a squirrel hunter.” The armed boat in the group turned back to observe the “sniper”; nonetheless, Interior Secretary Udall reported being “charmed” rather than intimidated by the trip.

It is interesting to note that when residents tell the story, the gunman actually takes control of the situation by shooting with such good aim that he could choose to scare the officials rather than kill them. This interpretation attributes authority and control to insiders within their own identity constructions and indicates that the immediate aims of this act of resistance were achieved (Espeland 1994). Both versions of the story also included the detail that “No Monument” signs had been nailed to trees up and down the river as anonymous forms of protest directed at the government flotilla.

As chapter two indicated, several land owners resorted to the court system to resist land condemnations and offers of compensation. However, the court transcripts of the case of R.F. Shockley et al. excerpted in chapter two did not indicate the level of resistance that existed outside the court proceedings. And as chapter two also indicated, Carl and Mae Shockley were two of three people who refused an interview for this project. Many people referred to the Shockley case during the interview process indicating high levels of support for the intense resistance they maintained to the acquisition of their land. The Shockleys discussed their ordeal in a 1998 oral history interview with the Missouri State Historical Society. In that interview, Mae Shockley described her response in the late 1950’s to the government agent who was sent to their farm to deliver the government offer of compensation. The conversation

with the agent represented a direct threat to her land, her livelihood and her independence, all of which are central to constructions of “who we are.” Mrs. Shockley responded to these threats with violent threats of her own.

He came down there, this guy they sent down there to buy it. He sat down at our kitchen table; me and him and Carl. And he was as tall as Carl. He got him a cigarette. Stretched out under the table and lit his cigarette and laid back in the chair and said, ‘What are your plans?’ I came unglued. I went across that table and I slapped my hands down on it right in his face. I was in his face. I said, ‘What the hell do you mean, plans? Who can make plans for you?’ And about the third time they sent him down there—Mr. Wright, I believe, was the superintendent [of the ONSR] up here then—I called him. I said, ‘If you send that son of a bitch down here again you’ll carry him out on a slab.’ They took him out of land buying. [Sarvis 1998:8]

After the park was established, resistance continued. As chapter two also indicated, CEPRA organized resistance to the incorporation of the three Missouri State Parks into the ONSR boundaries through petitions and letter writing campaigns. There was significant local involvement in this process, because the parks were central to the history and interaction of members of the community. People feared that the transfer of the parks would significantly alter their historic patterns of interactions with these landscapes. Resistance efforts were not successful, and as chapter three indicated, the shift in the jurisdiction of the parks to the NPS has in fact resulted in perceptions of deprivation that have negatively impacted constructions of “who we are.” However, covert acts of violent resistance continued.

Art Sullivan, the longest running ONSR Superintendent, held the job from 1976 to 1995. In a 1998 oral history interview for the Missouri State Historical Society, quoted in chapter one, Mr. Sullivan described local resistance during his tenure as a period when NPS employees felt serious “intimidation” from residents as

evidenced by the arson of five NPS homes. Mr. Sullivan didn't mention the accompanying violent and menacing threats represented by the several times that severed deer heads were left in the driveways of NPS personnel, though these incidents were frequently reported by residents.

These data show that resistance to government and other outsiders has a long history in the region. In addition, stories of resistance are manifest in the cultural memory of study participants and, as Moore (1998) indicates, necessarily influence contemporary forms of resistance designed to protect identity (Stewart 1990). The data also indicate that the creation of the ONSR is by far the most potent historic symbol of opposition guiding resistance in identity work processes.

The cumulative effect of stories of resistance to repeated government interventions define resistance as necessary to protect "who we are" by simultaneously identifying "who they are" and, through rejection, "who we are not." These stories identify the government as the primary other who has consistently imposed deprivation and threatened identity and whose actions therefore must be resisted. And despite the reality that these stories contain examples of resistance by individuals and groups who have engaged macro-political forces through rational-legal means, these resistance efforts did not succeed. For people in the study area, covert and informal, everyday forms of micro-political resistance that, at times, threaten violence, are historically far more common, though arguably no more successful, in mitigating threats to identity. However, given the prevalence of everyday forms of resistance contained in cultural memory, it is likely that these

forms of resistance function for residents as Scott (1985:xvii) suggests, to both improve the daily functions of life and to make their “political presence felt.”

Historic symbols of opposition have provided a template suggesting that resistance is necessary to protect constructions of “who we are” from absolute and relative deprivation imposed by “who they are.” And forms of everyday resistance at the micro-political level have been the most effective means of asserting resistance in defense of identity. As the next section will show, much of the contemporary resistance exhibited by people in the study area follows this template.

Every Day Forms of Micro-political Resistance: Defending “Who We Are” in Opposition to ONSR Policy

Data gathered for this study indicate that resistance to NPS policy in the ONSR continues two decades after creation of the park. Typically, resistance to NPS policy is asserted against forced changes in livelihood strategies that are central to constructions of “who we are”; trapping, boating, hunting, fishing, land access and other traditional activities. While the most common forms of resistance are of the everyday, micro-political sort, people also resist NPS land use management policies by engaging in macro-political resistance through the court system—with varying degrees of success. The most important of these events, described more fully later in this chapter, successfully prevented the NPS from removing the feral horses from the ONSR. However, additional examples involve trapping rights and concessionaire contracts.

In the 1980's, attempts by the NPS to revoke trapping privileges in the ONSR failed when a group of trappers took the case to court.* The court ruled that because the ONSR enabling legislation stipulated that hunting, fishing and trapping would be allowed, the NPS could not end the practice (Sarvis 2002). In 1983, the NPS also sued and won a court case against local concessionaires who were systematically attempting to circumvent ONSR regulations that controlled the number of canoes on the river (8th Circuit Court Brief 82-22246-EM 1983). Though these cases are examples of ongoing resistance to NPS policy that residents of the region are aware of, neither of these cases was prominently reported in the data gathered for this study. During the interviews, the NPS suit against concessionaires was referenced by some of the concessionaires, and the trapping issue was mentioned by one trapper.

Resistance to Boating Restrictions

In May 1990, the NPS reduced the legal horsepower limit for motor boats on the rivers from no limit, to a range of ten to forty horsepower depending on location (ONSR Press Release March 1990; 36CFR7.83). The NPS position was that larger motorboats damaged the bottom of the river and upset floaters (i.e. primarily tourists on inner-tubes). Many residents mentioned the resistance to lowered horsepower limits, but they also indicated insiders were divided over the issue. Most people reported that they agreed with the NPS argument that lowered horsepower limits would protect the health of the river and they perceived resistance to be motivated by status issues among younger residents with enough income to afford fast motorboats that would be made obsolete by the regulation.

* The data gathered here indicate that trapping is traditional but not widely practiced today.

Those who opposed limiting motor size disagreed that large motors harmed the riverbed if used responsibly and they believed the NPS just wanted to protect the river for tourists by taking away local privileges. They argued that residents are responsible with their boats and that the NPS does not acknowledge the frequent role of these vessels in rescuing drowning or injured tourists.

Resistance to the lowered limit includes verbal and written opposition*, and some overt hostility toward tourists demonstrated through boating behaviors that have led to physical confrontations. Deloris Hahn of Shannon County provided an example of backtalk as resistance that is representative of the small but vocal group of residents who opposed the horsepower limits, including some who deliberately used their boats to antagonize tourists.

We get a lot of people from St. Louis and up in that area that come down here. I don't have anything against canoers or anything. I mean, they've got the same right to use the river as everybody else, but I don't feel like they ought to come down here and expect everybody just to get out of their way. As far as I know, there are probably only two or three people that own motorboats that actually do try to sink them . . . They had so many complaints from canoers. You know, I can remember a couple of times when there were just all-out fights on the gravel bar.

From Mrs. Hahn's perspective, resistance is directed toward NPS policy that is perceived to prefer the behaviors of tourists at the expense of the behaviors of residents. The motorboat horsepower issue has become an avenue through which some residents indirectly confront NPS policy and NPS-sponsored tourism.

However, the potential value contradictions and motivations for resistance to this particular NPS policy are complex in that, for some people, resisting the

* The NPS has on file approximately a dozen letters from both sides of the issue.

government supersedes traditional values for land-stewardship. This example of resistance is also interesting because, though some residents did politically resist the NPS through a rational-legal letter writing process, it was ineffective. Thus residents' behaviors in large motorboats are assertions of power and control on the river directed at tourists in ways that the NPS cannot ignore. This is because NPS impediments to local identity are manifest in the daily intersections between tourist behaviors that contradict traditional, local authority on the river. Resistance is also directed toward interference with traditional hunting behaviors.

Resistance to Hunting Restrictions

Whether they were hunters or not, many people reported resistance against newly enacted NPS policies that required all guns to be broken down when in certain areas of the park or when crossing or driving along roads in the ONSR. As chapter three indicates, hunting is an extremely valued and widely practiced activity that complements contemporary subsistence. Though hunting is allowed in certain areas of the ONSR, the NPS rationale for new gun restrictions was to increase safety and decrease the incidence of road hunting and deer spotting in the park.*

Richard Bateson provided a description of his own opposition to the issue that is representative of other people. He indicates that the policy is primarily designed to provide an opportunity for inept and overzealous NPS law enforcement personnel to harass and try to control residents, but if residents chose to they could easily overpower the officers--a construction similar to the earlier description of shots being

* Enforcement of the unloaded/broken down gun policy in the ONSR coincided with efforts to pass a highly disputed statewide "right to carry" law in Missouri. The proposal, Proposition B, was defeated in 1999 but eventually passed in 2003 (Shinkel 2003:A1). It is possible that the coincidence of these events affected the level of opposition to the NPS policy in the ONSR.

fired at Interior Secretary Udall. In a dialogic sense, the story privileges the power and authority of residents.

In addition to demonstrating resistance as backtalk in this interview, Mr. Bateson also describes how he and other resisters have unsuccessfully engaged in formal political resistance by attending public meetings to directly confront NPS officials. For Mr. Bateson and many others, informal everyday resistance whereby the regulation is “evaded” (Scott 1985) is perceived to be the only viable option for maintaining current practice and remaining independent of policy that threatens “who we are.” Further, he argues that NPS-sponsored tourism has increased volatility in the area and residents need to carry a weapon in order to defend themselves if necessary.

The major drawback of the Park Service is the law enforcement personnel. They are gung ho. Oh god. Just like this issue we’ve got going on now on Z highway about carrying a loaded weapon in your car. They will give you a ticket if they catch you with a loaded gun in your car. I carry a gun where you can pull a pin and it falls apart. I just pull the pin out and hopefully before I get pulled over I get the gun apart.

Bateson’s interest in gun regulations stems from his identity as a marksman which taps traditional Ozarker values for hunting. However, other behaviors related to residents’ resistance to hunting restrictions also contradict traditional values.

Road hunting involves shooting animals from a moving vehicle: an illegal activity. People who engage in road hunting do not typically harvest the dead animal. This behavior is antithetical to the traditional value for harvesting all kills, and it reportedly tends to be practiced by teenagers. During a focus group discussion held with students at the high school in Eminence, some of whom were frequent hunters,

subjects reported their familiarity with the practice but they did not admit to shooting anything from their vehicles except signs. Instead, they attributed these deviant behaviors to outsiders who come in and shoot for sport without harvesting the animal and leaving it to rot. The students' deflected the responsibility for road-hunting to tourists because tourists are perceived as "others" who are interlopers responsible for many bad behaviors. This deflection is also related to the reality that road hunting is considered an extreme violation of local mores. It is illegal, and perhaps they perceived that admitting these violations to outsiders would make them vulnerable to negative judgment and legal sanction. However, Alan Reno, quoted in chapter three, described a report indicating that a young, local boy was not at all reluctant to admit his road hunting behaviors in an interview with the local newspaper. Reno communicated his dismay with both the activity and the unabashed quality of the boy's public admission.

It was and it wasn't comical. My brother-in-law sent me an article about the pretty classic, just old-fashioned way of doing things in Eminence. They interviewed the student of the month, and asked 'Well, can you tell me about road hunting?' The student said 'Well, after hours, I like to road hunt. That's just driving along and shooting things.' And I was thinking 'Where is this kid coming from?' And everybody got a big kick out of that, that this kid's focus was road-hunting.

Clearly, road hunting is a form of hunting that is in contradiction to local values. However, a tradition of resistance to game laws is evident in cultural memory and so, despite being a violation of local mores, road hunting is an act of covert, adolescent rebellion directed against the government rather than in opposition to family or community structure. If this is the case, then for reasons similar to the resistance mounted against motorboat horsepower limits, the value for resisting

government policy is more important for some than the value for maintaining responsible subsistence practices. This may explain the willingness of the boy to publically admit his behavior in a local venue where people would tacitly support it and why some then viewed the behavior with humor.

Resistance to Fishing Restrictions

Fishing, another highly valued, traditional subsistence strategy, is also regulated or managed by ONSR policy. Many people believe that NPS law enforcement personnel enforce policy in ways that are deliberately intended to harass residents and interfere with traditional land uses. Floyd Heston, a retired man who has fished on the rivers his entire life, recalled a typical experience that illustrates his resistance to an outsider NPS official who threatened his fishing behaviors and insulted his integrity despite Heston's attempts to comply with regulations. Mr. Heston's resistance to what he perceives as harassment resulted in some measure of success in that the official eventually apologized for the insult.

I liked to got [sic] in a fight with one down there in the middle of the river one time. He . . . I don't know where he was from, but they finally shipped him out of here. Eventually, some guy knocked him clear across the gravel pile up there. He was gonna lock me up! I was kind of hard-headed, and I wouldn't shut up. That's when he said, 'If you don't shut your damn mouth,' he said, 'I'm gonna take your dogs and put you in jail!' well, I didn't want to go to jail. I thought I'd better shut up, so I shut up! But I never did like him! . . . I didn't have a sticker on my boat. Just a little old sticker you put on there. It lasts about three or four years. And I know that I'd ordered that thing, and paid for it! And to tell you the truth, I thought I'd put it on my boat. And he wrote me a ticket. About a hundred dollar ticket. And I tried to explain that to him, and he got mad, and when he got mad, I got mad, and I told him what I thought of him and all the others around here like that. After that I thought I'd better shut up and take my ticket. I saw him down here off from the river then. *Ron Holt*, a local game warden was with him. I said, 'Ron, I told this SOB that I had bought that sticker!' And I said, 'I just came from that license place up there,' and

I said, 'I bought that, and they never did send it to me.' I tried to explain that to him but he wouldn't listen to me. He said, 'If you've bought and paid for the sticker like you said you have I'll tear that ticket up, but you'd better not be lying me!' Well, he accused me then of being a liar, you know, and I wanted to fight him again! He went up there and he found I was telling the truth, and he was good at his word. He tore that ticket up. He apologized to me, and I apologized to him, and we shook hands, but I never did care for him after that.

Resistance to Restricted Access

Everyday resistance is widely asserted against restricted access to important venues within ONSR including favorite fishing spots, homesteads, cemeteries, former hamlets and the closed roads that lead to these places. Chapter three described the role of landscape in identity constructions. When access to these places is obstructed, identity is obstructed. In an effort to enact identity, residents circumvent regulations by literally removing NPS obstructions to access. In Scott's (1985:xvi) terms, this form of everyday resistance is "sabotage." Residents also innovate new modes of access. Deloris Hahn, quoted previously, describes how residents circumvent NPS restrictions and innovate new modes of access.

They come in and try to close roads that have been open forever and ever and stuff like that, just to keep you from... or the way I see it, just to keep you from using the land. They don't want you driving on those old roads that wind back around and come back out onto the new country roads. They pile them full of rocks and brush and stuff, and some people take their chainsaws and cut out around it and make their own new road... So the NPS is not really helping themselves because people just create more roads out through the brush and stuff.

Opposition to road closings has motivated some residents to consider mobilizing collectively to sue the NPS based on criteria in the Americans with Disabilities Act. Hank Wayne, whose opposition to road closings was described in chapter three, has worked through formal political channels to try and impact ONSR

policies regarding access and other concerns. He provided his correspondence with ONSR management regarding access issues. In an initial letter addressed to then NPS Superintendent Ben Clary dated January 19, 1997, Mr. Wayne included various enumerated points of opposition to NPS policy in the ONSR and indicated his intention to mobilize residents for further action. The following excerpt indicates why Mr. Wayne resists NPS obstruction to landmarks, and he further indicates his resistance to the quality of tourists that the NPS is responsible for attracting.

Most of us are not very articulate and certainly I am not capable of being eloquent; however, we are capable of serious thought and very passionate about our perceived rights to continue our Ozark or Hillbilly heritage. Among the rights are . . . The right to privacy on public owned land [and] the right to use a road not usually traveled by most members of the public. The right to isolate our families from the drug users, profanity and fornication that takes place in the boundaries of the park on a regular basis . . . To seek out areas not generally visited by these trashy members of the public, we go to the most isolated areas possible and this includes the use of old roads and trails. . . The right to maximize our knowledge of our heritage by visiting as many unique and beautiful places in our area as possible. I am an eighth generation offspring from my family which has resided here since 1823 and I have a feeling of belonging here that outsiders cannot comprehend. . . I would ask for as little interference by the park as we were promised at its conception and adoption. By the very nature of a bureaucracy, it continues to exist by imposing rules and regulations on others so that the enforcement justifies its existence. So, the present idea of closing existing roads fits into this description and does not go unnoticed. There is a perpetual justification for its existence . . . That giant sucking sound is our freedom going down the National Park Service drain. As of now there is no organization promoting the concept of keeping open these roads and trails; however, there are plans to create one or to join with another that presently exists. Please respond in good old Ozark language so that we can really know your position.

Mr. Wayne's letter indicates that resistance is necessary to protect heritage. He indicates that NPS policy is a threat to residents' "Hillbilly heritage" because it impedes their ability to engage with important landscapes where their heritage is

inscribed. In the context of this analysis, Mr. Wayne's use of "heritage" is a central element in constructions of "who we are," and his modes of resistance include backtalk in the oppositional dialogue contained in this interview. He politically engages the NPS through a rational-legal letter writing campaign in an effort to secure greater access.

Mr. Wayne also provided a letter he received in response from Assistant Superintendent Tom Griffiths in February that both addressed the NPS position regarding his concerns and invited him to discuss the issue. Because the response did not come from the superintendent, Mr. Wayne declined the invitation to meet and responded in writing to Mr. Griffith's letter. Mr. Wayne restated his arguments in more specific terms and communicated his intention to publish the correspondence in the Eminence newspaper, the *Current Wave*, which prompted a written response from Superintendent Clary. Clary reiterated the NPS position on tourism and conservation but Mr. Wayne reported that he did not find the correspondence helpful or satisfying and he proceeded to publish his own comments in the newspaper.

In these stories, resistance is employed as praxis on a daily basis to assert, defend and protect the ability to enact "who we are." Though resistance is motivated by identity, it is also complex in that some forms of resistance to government require people to contradict insider values. People in the study area employ pragmatic forms of everyday resistance to reduce NPS imposed obstructions to enacting identity in their daily activities. However, as the data show, everyday resistance also functions as oppositional micro-political action that the NPS cannot ignore. Though most of these stories describe how people resist in the micro-political arena, they also engage

macro-political forces through letter-writing campaigns, formally expressing opposition to the NPS at public meetings, and through lawsuits. However, residents are frequently ignored, denied and are otherwise unsuccessful at effecting policy change that would facilitate their ability to enact “who we are.” As the next section indicates, the success with which residents were able to organize and engage macro-political forces to prevent the removal of feral horses from the ONSR empowered their ability to defend and protect identity in the face of external threats.

Organizing and Macro-Political Politics: The Case of the Wild Horses

In 1990, a local-regional coalition, The Missouri Wild Horse League (MWHL), was formed to fight ONSR attempts to remove two small herds of feral horses from within ONSR boundaries. This issue illustrates the reflexive nature of resistance as identity work in that it both empowered and refined Ozarker constructions of “who we are” in ways similar to those suggested by Espeland (1994). And, it illustrates organized, macro-political resistance in the Ozarks.

After free-range grazing in the Ozarks Highlands was abolished in 1967, there remained a group of about twenty feral horses, affectionately referred to as the “wild horses.” They inhabited a relatively small area inside what had become ONSR boundaries. The horses were shy and hard to find, and horse spotting became a favorite local pastime. In May of 1990, then ONSR Superintendent Art Sullivan, with support from the U.S. Department of the Interior, made a public announcement that the NPS believed the horses created an ecological threat as a non-indigenous species, and they would need to be removed from the park (*Daily American Republic* January 28, 1994a). There was a huge local outcry against removal, and the situation

quickly received attention in the national media. Sympathetic national attention effectively fortified local resistance to removing the horses.

The MWHL enjoyed broad regional and national support. Their goal was to protect the horses from removal. Through private funding and pro-bono legal work, they received a federal injunction to temporarily bar removal in June, 1992. In his ruling against the NPS, Judge Limbaugh argued that the horses were not an ecological threat, that they were unique and exciting to see, and that they were an important part of local history. However, in June of 1993, the NPS appealed, and the case was eventually heard by the U.S. Supreme Court who upheld the NPS's right to remove the horses but did not specify a time frame (ONSR Summary 1993; *Poplar Bluff American Republic* 1/28/1994).

The official ONSR plan was to find adoptive homes for the horses. However, by 1993, it was reported in the *Poplar Bluff* newspaper that removals had already begun in 1990 and 1991, and Superintendent Sullivan was quoted as having said that if the horses wound up being slaughtered, no one would have to know (Friedrich 1993). In response to the report of this incident, Superintendent Sullivan immediately wrote a letter to the editor of the *Daily American Republic* that was subsequently published, in which he vehemently denied having made that comment. He also emphasized that the ONSR was "indefinitely postponing" the removal of the horses because of public concern and was "interested in working proactively with all interested parties to find a viable solution" (Art Sullivan Letter 10/7/93).

The MWHL were distrustful of the NPS, especially in view of the agency's use of the qualifier "indefinitely," and they continued to negotiate with the NPS for a

more permanent solution to maintaining the horses in the ONSR. They developed a proposal to take permanent responsibility for managing the health of the horses and the fields they inhabited inside park boundaries. They also offered to limit herd size through adoption and to field potential complaints from the public and take responsibility for and rectify any damage caused by the horses. At Superintendent Sullivan's request, they contacted private land owners and the Missouri Department of Conservation regarding possible objections on land adjacent to the ONSR, and there were none. In May of 1993, the MWHL presented their proposal to ONSR officials. Superintendent Sullivan reported that the proposal would have to be reviewed by NPS officials because there was no precedent for protecting non-indigenous animals on federal park lands (*Daily American Republic* April 24, 1994b; May 23, 1994c; May, 25, 1994d).

The MWHL responded by organizing a massive public protest on October 3, 1993 that included hundreds of people on horseback from all over the country who rode from the town of Eminence through the town of Winona and wound up in front of the NPS offices in Van Buren (*Current Wave* August 8:1993). The demonstration was held with reportedly overwhelming success.

However, the NPS persisted in their plans to remove the horses. In August 1994, Superintendent Sullivan replied to MWHL lawyer Kennedy that the NPS would not support any proposal that did not include the complete removal of the horses from the park (*Daily American Republic* August 24, 1994e). In the meantime, state and national politicians continued to lobby the NPS against removal of the horses. The Missouri State Senate passed a non-binding resolution in 1993 opposing the removal

of the horses within ONSR boundaries (Staples 1993). This effort was also supported by U.S. Senators Danforth and Bond.

After a series of failed appeals and in an effort to bypass the court system, an MWHL-sponsored bill was introduced into the U.S House by Missouri Representative Emerson in October of 1995 and to the U.S. Senate by Senators Bond and Ashcroft in 1996 requiring the Secretary of the Interior:

Not to remove, assist in, or permit the removal of any free-roaming horses from Federal lands within the boundary of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. . . [H.Rept. 104-296; S. Rept. 104-312]

Additional stipulations included removal if the horses presented a threat to public health and safety, if the MWHL became unable or unwilling to continue to care for the horses, and a cap was placed on the maximum herd size at fifty horses. The bill passed both houses and was signed into law by President Clinton on October 3, 1996 (MWHL 2008).

In virtually every interview conducted for this study, people referred to the wild horse issue. If they were unable to give details, they referred us to someone who knew more. The wild horse rally was clearly the defining moment in the process. Both the rally and the culminating legislation were perceived by most residents in the area as a victorious act of resistance to the NPS. The rally can also be viewed as a grass roots exercise of nationally protected freedoms of speech and assembly against a federal agency's claims.

Dennis Sims, a local reporter from Eminence, indicated the level of area support for maintaining the horses in the park:

Yeah. I'd say it was about ninety to one. Ninety-nine to one, maybe, was how heavily people were pro-horses. But you know, it meant a lot

to a lot of people. They saw it as the government taking away one more thing.

Mr. Sims' excerpt suggests that the removal of the horses was perceived as another example of government "taking" in a long history of government imposed deprivation. The event expressed the community's outrage over accumulated NPS offenses to a regional and national audience. And while it painted the NPS as a bureaucratic and arbitrary enforcer and reinforced constructions of "who they are," the event portrayed local people as concerned for the preservation of both tradition and the environment reinforcing constructions of "who we are." In addition, attendance was so large that local law enforcement could not enforce highway regulations. Tim Johnson and Jeff Smith provided the following descriptions of their involvement with the MWHL and in the rally.

Johnson: We went through a deal with the wild horses. We finally had to go all the way to Washington D.C. and get a bill passed to save them . . . See those wild horses have been here forever . . . We went on a big demonstration. We left from here [in Eminence]. The sheriff was leading the convoy. We were pulling horses down there, and then rode up to the Park Service gate. I was right behind the sheriff, and just as we were coming into Winona, just before we got to Casey's coming down that little slope over there, the deputy was at the other end of the bridge. He said, 'The last one just now come on the Jack's Fork River bridge, and they're bumper to bumper and wall to wall and back to back all the way to Winona.'

Smith: We put three thousand people, something like that, in front of the Park Service.

Johnson: They said you can't block federal highway. 'You can't block the highway, now'. 'Well we won't'. Well hell, the marchers and people just kept coming, and directly, there wasn't any [more room on the road] . . . Well, what were they going to do with them? They stopped by when we were around behind the courthouse in Van Buren and back on the bridge. And a lot of those truckers wouldn't go! They just parked, too. The street, the old back street, the whole main street; everything there was full of folks and people and horses. . . It went national. I had truck drivers call me from California to Florida, Pennsylvania, Maine . . . They'd be laid over, waiting for a

load, or waiting to unload, and they'd see that on TV. Course a lot of them drove through here, see. They [the NPS] kept calling for more security. They were afraid we were going to rob the bank. And see, there's a saving and loan right next door, and they were afraid we were going to rob the savings and loan and all kinds of stuff. Well, the savings and loan people weren't worried. They came out and propped the door wide open, and they came out and listened, so they got in on the deal. Hell, it was a very peaceful thing. There was not a problem. Smith: They had armed rangers inside the Park Service headquarters, so nobody was going to rush the headquarters.

Johnson: It went on for hours . . . Everybody in Van Buren left their houses and businesses, and they came out and lined the sidewalks, too. Yeah, they weren't afraid we were going to rob them. . . Most of them had their doors propped wide open, because we had that big speaker, a red loudspeaker. You could have heard that clear over to Big Springs. That's the first time that the Park Service had ever had a big scene. They'd always just done whatever they wanted to do. Whatever they decided to do is what they did. We didn't go for that did we?

Tim Johnson's characterization of the event suggests that it shifted internal perceptions that the NPS could do what they wanted regardless of local concerns. The size and support for the demonstration also effectively undermined the NPS of its power to discipline and control residents. Joe Turner described a common perception that indicates how the wild horse issue also created community solidarity and affirmed local values for autonomy in that defeating the Park Service was potentially more important for residents than protecting the horses. He also indicates that the issue affected external perceptions of people in the area by emphasizing their skill in resisting the government.

Oh, this wild horse issue turned out to be a big issue. The horses got lost in it. It got between 'we' as locals verses the National Park Service. That was more important than the horses. To win, you know. Show them that they can't just run over it. And they did, yeah. And we probably don't see it as big a deal as a lot of other people. I know I've talked to people away from here that... And the first thing they comment, 'Well, these people down there gotta know somebody because they beat the Park Service!' I've heard that comment. I heard that last year at the cattlemen's meeting. We were talking about EPA

coming in here and everything, and the regulations they were going to impose. They said, 'Well, we need to get those people in Shannon County to be part of this, cause they gotta know somebody or something. They beat the Park Service. They're the only people that have ever beaten the Park Service!' So away from here, they look at it from that aspect, too. And I think the Park Service looks at it from that aspect. They got beat. They didn't like that at all.

And Tom Dade suggested that the issue was a defeat against locally contested NPS land management strategies for maintaining a "natural environment."

I mean that was fight they had to organize just to keep those horses wild and running loose and people enjoy watching them and to keep the park service from coming in and destroying them. What we ran into here is they say they weren't native prehistorically because you know the Spanish brought them over. Well, neither was the armadillo that's probably running loose here now. I'm sure bears and cougars were but you know they want to introduce things and let the river grow back up to briars and brambles where people can't even walk off the roads to get to the rivers because that was natural and for years people struggled to clear that and if the trees fall in the water, well that's natural you've gotta leave it there.

Margaret McKinney wrote the following poem about the wild horse issue in which she argues that the carrying capacity of the land has been able to accommodate people; therefore, it can clearly accommodate the presence of wild horses, even though the government does not view either species as natural. Thus McKinney defines an unmistakable identity between the local people and the wild horses. She also distinguishes her community from the high culture of Europe (castles and cathedrals), but she portrays the pioneers as equally noble and perhaps more hard-working—and ultimately in harmony with the environment. Much like the horses, the Ozarkers in her poem are not part of the natural landscape, but they have constructed a respectful and symbiotic relationship with it.

So the government wants to remove the horses
They eat too much vegetation they say, nibbling on tender young sprouts

Tramplin' down the buck brush the farm boy used to dig out with a hoe
Making trails on the hillside that soon become ditches
The government goes all out to welcome black bear, he eats something too I
guess
But he was here before the white man so it's his country.
The government may want to remove the hillbilly's
After all, we're not native here. Come to this country in the early 1800's.
Didn't build any castles or cathedrals. Didn't carve any statues or write great
books.
Didn't make any marble monuments. Just tilled the soil. Almost wore it out.
Cut the timber, burned the woodlands, fished the streams, destroyed the
wildlife.
Let our livestock run free. Hogs rooting up plants. Cattle eating on the tree
branches.
Yeah, what right did we have here.
But we didn't ruin the hills after all. The rivers are still flowing.
Grass carpets the ground and the woods are dense and green.
If the pioneer with his ax and plow, and his sons with guns and traps
And his women folk digging roots, raising chickens and children
Didn't ruin these Ozark hills, how could a small herd of horses do it?

Defense of the wild horses was successful not only in terms of preventing their removal, but it also heightened awareness and supported the validity of “who we are” in several ways. First, the MWHL were required to articulate a rationale for why the horses were important to residents “in categories that privileged their own experience and authority” (Espeland 1994 1168). The rationale was deeply embedded in identity constructions and it served to defend the distinctive nature of those constructions to powerful outsiders. And, the “wild horse” issue provides evidence that the relationship between identity and resistance is reflexive in that internal constructions of identity were not only reinforced, they were also refined as Espeland (1994) suggests, by the inclusion of new strategies for defending identity and a sense of empowerment in residents’ ability to maintain “who we are” in the face of an authoritarian government agency.

Summary

Residents participating in this study communicated their interpretations of their ancestors' acts of resistance against government interventions that are carried in cultural memory (Moore 1998; White 1986). These stories provide a template for why, whom and how to resist in the contemporary world.

Today, people indicate that they frequently act on the opposition they maintain with regard to NPS-sponsored tourism and policy in the ONSR. Resistance exists at both the micro and macro-political levels, and is enacted by individuals and groups in informal and formal ways. These acts of resistance against the NPS range from verbalizing their opposition as “backtalk” (Stewart 1990), to additional forms of “everyday resistance,” (Scott 1985) to organized political mobilization.

Resistance against the NPS and NPS-sponsored tourism are locally conflated as resistance against the government. The data indicate that resistance as identity work is also reflexive in that it can, as in the “wild horse” issue, affirm, refine and empower identity constructions (Espeland 1994).

Resistance is defined as identity work because it is employed as a mechanism to both subvert and change NPS policy that obstructs constructions of “who we are” and prevents people from enacting identity on a daily basis. Finally, the data presented here show that the creation of the ONSR has produced internal divisions and contesting identities among resisters and those who collaborated with the ONSR. Chapter five will provide further analysis of how resistance converges with other identity work processes in a symbolic framework that guides contemporary oppositional identity work.

As the previous section indicates, micro-political forms of everyday resistance asserted against threats to identity are the most common and frequently the most effective way to resist the government. The logic underlying this reality is explained by Scott (1985) and Moore (1998) who suggest informal, everyday resistance in the micro-political arena is more easily accomplished and typically more effective at both making one's objections heard and improving or, maintaining desired qualities of daily life throughout which residents enact constructions of "who we are." These factors explain the frequency of micro-political resistance. The first example of these forms of resistance to NPS policy involves changes in boating regulations.

Chapter Five Analysis

Introduction

Previous chapters have demonstrated the role of historic marginalization in Ozark identity construction. Chapter two described regional effects of the Civil War, the origin of the hillbilly stereotype, the imposition of conservation laws, and the creation of the ONSR. The numerous references to these events during fieldwork suggest that they are important key symbols of opposition in identity work. Chapter three showed that identity work is centered in constructions of “who we are” based on shared perceptions of ancestral lifeways and landscape; constructions of “who they are” based on shared perceptions of government-imposed relative deprivation; and on constructions of ‘who we are not’ that reposition externally imposed stereotypes. Chapter four described various forms of resistance to outsider threats that function to protect and refine insider conceptions of identity. This chapter will show how these phenomena collectively create a meta-dynamic of meanings that function on a symbolic level as an interpretive oppositional identity framework.

Symbolic Anthropology and the Formulation of Key Symbols in Oppositional Identity Work

The data gathered in the southeastern Ozarks show that an additional dynamic that supports oppositional identity work, and that motivates resistance, is to be found in an analysis of the locally-assigned meanings of historic events which are sustained through time as symbols tied to identity work. These symbols explain how the

different kinds of identity work shown in previous chapters form parts of a cohesive, dynamic system.

Symbolic/interpretive anthropology developed during the 1960's as a body of theory that focuses the study of culture on meanings that are manifest in shared symbols (Ortner 1984). Geertz (1974) argued that meanings in culture exist not so much in the minds of individuals, but in symbols that exist in publicly shared relations between people. Geertz, and others, argue that symbols guide how people respond to and interpret the world (1974:11-13; Keesing 1974:79; Ortner 1973:129-130).

Cultural symbols are limitless in form and can be variously assigned to include words, qualities, ideas, attitudes, objects, events, rituals, qualities, and processes (Geertz 1973; Ortner 1965, 1973; Turner 1975). Symbols “serve as a vehicle for a conception—the conception is the symbol's meaning” (Geertz 1973:91). A complex of symbols constitutes a “cultural pattern” that can be observed through “cultural acts,” and that provide a “template or blueprint” that both “express the world's climate and shape it” (Geertz 1973:91-95, 216). Monroe et al. (2000:437) argue that the study of cultural “symbols and systems of meaning” are far more “determinative” of what people believe than the content of any supposed objective reality.

The content of symbol systems is drawn from narratives of history. Spicer (1971:796) argued that “in persistent identity systems, the meanings of the symbols consist of beliefs about historical events in the experience of the people through generations.” Particular types of historical narratives have different effects. For

example, narratives of marginalization and subjugation can create group solidarity that rises above internal divisions and drive resistance by, at a minimum, politicizing opposition (Rabinowitz 1994:28-32). Rabinowitz argues that for Palestinians around the world, identity and solidarity often hinge on historical narratives that portray people as “victims of events imposed on them by the powers, wills and predicaments of others” (1994:27-28). And while “history is the discourse of identity,” to explain oppositional identity work as a function of the repetition of static, historical narrative ignores the reality that “subjects in the present fashion the past in the practice of their social identity” (Friedman 1992:853-854). Data presented here underscore Friedman’s point that locally-assigned meanings, so central to identity work, are subjective formulations necessarily constructed in ways that are relevant in and conditioned by the present.

In the Ozarks and elsewhere, constructions of history that constitute symbol sets, must be understood as ongoing reformulations. As Castille (1981:xix) argued, symbolic systems of historic meanings that sustain collective identity

need not be historically ‘real,’ [they] need only be believed in, in some ideal sense. The symbols may in fact change, as does all else in the adapting entity, but as long as a continuity is maintained in the symbols system sufficient to define a collective identity separate from that of surrounding peoples, endurance occurs.

Symbol Content and Historic Reformulation

The reformulation of history so that it is made meaningful in the present is the subject matter of a body of theory relevant to symbolic anthropology known as “the invention of tradition.” A central debate in this literature exists between modern and post-modern conceptions of history and tradition. Modernist analyses of tradition

assume the existence of an essential, objective history that can be known: history does not change. From this position, some traditions are determined to be invented while others are authentic (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Trevor-Roper 1983; Tulejah 1997).

It is the post-modern branch of this literature that is relevant to the analysis presented in this chapter. This body of theory asserts that there is no universal, objective past: history changes. Constructions of history, tradition and, in fact, all of culture are interpreted in the present and thus, are invented. The term “invention,” in this case, refers to the position that all representations are subject to the epistemological confines of the particular context wherein they were created (Hanson 1997:204). This is equally true for oral history constructed within the cultural particularities of indigenous peoples, and documents like this one constructed within the confines of the discipline of anthropology. In addition, because the term “invention” is sometimes mistaken as a label for what is false or fraudulent, Hanson (1997) argues that reformulation, an equivocal term, is more appropriate.

Within the post-modern branch of the “invention of tradition,” history and tradition are understood as interpretive processes and “not a coherent body of customs, lying ‘out there’ to be discovered, but an a priori model that shapes individual and group experience and is, in turn, shaped by it” (Linnekin 1983:241). Traditions are viewed as “authentic” to the extent that they are deemed meaningful in the present (Campbell 1993; Jackson 1995). History and tradition are thus viewed as symbolic, processual and as “consciously shaped to promote solidarity in the present (Handler and Linnekin 1984).

Identity construction in the Ozarks data creates solidarity and meaning by shaping historical narrative in ways that support how people want to think about “who we are” and “who they are,” and “who we are not” in the present. To the extent that those meanings are contextually structured and agreed upon, they are authentic and are deployed in the practice of their social identity.

Examples of competing narratives about the historic symbols that influence Ozarker identity work are presented in chapter two. For example, Sauer (1920a), Hammer (1935), and the proliferation of the “hillbilly” stereotype, describe Ozark people and their cultural practices in a very different and pejorative light. The point is that no absolute truth-value can be assigned to any of them; they are all constructed formulations and reformulations of history that in context, can potentially be deemed meaningful, relevant and therefore authentic (Hanson 1997:200).

A Typology of Symbols

Responding to criticisms that the identification of symbols in anthropology is under-articulated, Ortner (1973) provides clarification by synthesizing various scholars’ concepts of “core symbols” (Schneider 1968), “dominant symbols” (Turner 1967) and her own conception of “key symbols.” Here she argues that important “key symbols” in culture are not “mysterious or intuitive;” rather, they are evident “objects of cultural interest” that can be analyzed for meaning (Ortner 1973:1339).

A key symbol in culture can consist of any number of “things and abstractions, nouns and verbs, single items and whole events,” and can be identified by any or all of the following elements: people say it is important, it evokes emotion, it is consistently and broadly referenced, it is elaborated by language and behavior,

and it compels the constructions of sanctions or restrictions (Ortner 1973:1339). Further, these symbols are not necessarily consciously identified in culture but they can be discerned by analyzing the meaning of “objects of cultural interest” (Ortner 1973:1338, 1343).

Key symbols can be organized into two general categories according to how they function in culture. The first of these types is the summarizing symbol which precedes all other symbols in the system. Summarizing symbols have “fundamentability,” in that they “collapse complex experience” and “relate the respondent to the grounds of the system as a whole” (Ortner 1973:1340-1344). Summarizing symbols “operate to compound and synthesize a complex system of ideas, to “summarize” them under a unitary form which, in an old-fashioned way, “stands for” the system as a whole [and] crystallize commitment” (Ortner 1973:1340-1342). These symbols constitute the context from which people operate in the world. By way of example, Ortner uses the American flag, a summarizing symbol for the “American way” which includes “a conglomerate of ideas and feelings including democracy, free enterprise, national superiority, freedom, etc” (Ortner 1973:1340).

The second category of key symbol types includes symbols that elaborate culture. Elaborating symbols are “vehicles for sorting out complex and undifferentiated feelings and ideas, making them comprehensible to oneself, communicable to others, and translatable into orderly action: they are essentially analytic” and they serve an “organizational role in relation to the system” (Ortner

1973:1342-1349). There are two sub-types of elaborating symbols. The first type, root metaphors, have organize thought by connecting experience. Root metaphors

formulate the unity of cultural orientation underlying many aspects of experience . . . [and operate to] sort out experience, to place it in cultural categories . . . that one can conceptualize the interrelationships among phenomena by analogy to the interrelations among the parts of the root metaphor” (Ortner 1972:1340-1341).

According to Ortner (1973:1340-1341), examples of root-metaphors are found in Dinka conceptualizations of cattle anatomy as a model for the operation of their social structure, or the use of the computer as a model for social processes in mechanized societies.

In addition to these examples, I argue that root-metaphors can also function to conceptualize, order and critique elements of culture that are deemed dysfunctional, oppositional or threatening. For example, during much of the 20th century, the automobile as root-metaphor symbolized the triumph of American manufacturing and corporate success that facilitated mobility, independence, individualism, social status, and commerce. However, by the turn of the 21st century, the automobile has, for many people, become a root-metaphor for the evils of American culture.

Automobiles now symbolize conspicuous consumption, environmental pollution and the depletion of natural resources. The car has become a symbol of human dependence on technology at the expense of physical and environment health. And most recently, automobiles have become symbols of corporate mismanagement and the lack of innovation in American technology.

The second type of elaborating key symbol is the key scenario. Key scenarios serve an instructive function by organizing response and

formulat[ing] the culture's basic means-ends relationship in actable forms. . . [They] may include not only formal, usually named events, but also all those cultural sequences of action which we can observe enacted and reenacted according to unarticulated formulae in the normal course of daily life. [Ortner 1973:1341]

Ortner uses the Horatio Alger myth in American culture as a key scenario that exemplifies how one can overcome adversity and achieve success (1973:1341).

In a general sense, as key symbols, root-metaphors tend to have “conceptual elaborating power” and therefore organize thought, while key scenarios have “primarily action elaborating power” (Ortner 1973:1340). However, Ortner (1973) argues that these tendencies are not mutually exclusive; there is overlap among all three symbol types. The “view of the world” implied in root-metaphors and summarizing symbols also “suggest certain valued and effective ways of acting upon it,” and the courses of action symbolized in key scenarios also “rest upon certain assumptions about the nature of reality” (Ortner 1973:1342). Ortner's typology is used here to identify key symbols and explain how they function together in identity work in the Ozarks.

Identity Work and Key Symbols: “The Ozarks,” “Government,” and “Wild Horses”

The Identification of Key Symbols

Ortner's (1973) criteria for identifying key symbols applied to the data presented here indicate that three key symbols are operative in identity work including “the Ozarks,” the “government,” and the “wild horse” issue. The identification of these symbols as themes that were consistently and broadly referenced first emerged through the analysis of an interviewee agenda that typified

most interviews. In fact the interviewee agenda frequently required that we be appropriately situated with regard to the government and to landscape before we started taping.

Before many interviews began, interviewees questioned both our awareness of local perspectives about the regional effects of the Civil War, and our relationship to the National Park Service (NPS). Some participants responded to the clarification of our status as KU researchers with the statement, “So, you’re Jayhawkers.”

Statements like this were frequently introduced into the conversation with humor; nonetheless, they required a response. In this context, a Jayhawker was not simply a reference to the KU mascot; it was an historic reference to the Civil War period when, as chapter two described, marauding bands of vigilantes and state armies, many of whom were Jayhawkers supporting Yankees, committed atrocities against civilians in their fight against pro-slavery Bushwhackers and Rebels. It was important to interviewees that we acknowledge the Civil War as a symbol of relative, and in many ways, absolute deprivation imposed on residents of the region by either the government or by government sympathizers.

Next, interviewees were concerned about our relationship to the NPS. People frequently asked how our data would be used and whether we were promoting some kind of NPS agenda. As chapter four indicated, prior to our arrival, there was heated discussion at a public school board meeting that indicated some people suspected our work was related to a new NPS attempt to remove the wild horses from the ONSR. In general, most people did not want their consent to an interview to be interpreted as tacit support for the creation of the ONSR, or for ongoing NPS policy. As chapters

two and three indicated, both the Civil War and the creation of the ONSR are perceived as examples of government-imposed deprivation.

We ensured the anonymity of all interviewees, and explained that though we were funded by the NPS, our direct employer, the University of Kansas, protected our ability to engage in research that was both neutral and empirical. When interviewee concerns about our employment relationship with the NPS were satisfied, people often continued with statements that indicated either their personal opposition to the existence of the ONSR and to the NPS, or a warning that others would communicate opposition in future interviews. Dialogue about the Civil War, the NPS and other elements of government (e.g. the Forest Service, the Conservation Service) often continued throughout the interview indicating that locally-assigned meanings about “government” constitute a key-symbol in Ozarker identity work.

Clarifications about our relationship to the ONSR, and our status as Kansans were also often followed by questions about where we were staying while conducting our research (the importance of landscape to identity constructions is described in chapters three and four). We explained that we were staying in NPS housing at Round Spring. This frequently became the first element of the interview that indicated commonality with the person we were interviewing. People responded by describing Round Spring as one of the most beautiful springs on earth; they frequently identified connections to current and former residents of the hamlet; they described events and experiences that took place there; they offered descriptions of the area and its amenities prior to the creation of the ONSR, often lamenting these changes. They asked whether we’d walked around the spring or visited the caves,

and they recommended where we should visit in the larger area to see the best pieces of history, or where we should fish, or where we could see the wild horses including the best time of year and the time of day to do so. As chapter two and three indicate, this dialogue was filled with resident perceptions of ancestral and contemporary connections to this Ozarks landscape. These frequent references also indicate that landscape, labeled here as “the Ozarks” is a key symbol that inscribes Ozark identity.

Finally, the “wild horse” issue was referenced in nearly every interview regardless of the insider/outsider status of the interviewee. Whether people participated in the “wild horse” demonstration or not, they indicated that both the wild horses and the actions that residents undertook to protect them, were meaningful and significant to most people in the area. Therefore, the “wild horses” represent a third key symbol in Ozarker identity work.

Each of these themes, “the Ozarks,” the “government,” and the “wild horses,” identified here as key symbols, fit the summary of Ortner’s (1973) defining criteria presented earlier. These symbols were all consistently and broadly referenced as important in people’s lives; they invoke considerable emotion as evidenced by the degree of attachment people have to landscape and resistance to NPS policy; “government” in particular is elaborated through a reflexive relationship between storytelling and behavior, including resistance (e.g. “the Ozarks” and “government” as symbols determine how NPS policy is understood which influences behavior); and finally, the restrictions and sanctions imposed by the NPS are intricately woven into the significance that each of these symbols has for Ozarker identity work (Ortner 1973:1339).

Key Symbol Functions in Identity Work: “The Ozarks” as Summarizing Symbol,
“Government” as Root-Metaphor, and “Wild horses” as Key Scenario

These three symbols, “the Ozarks,” “government,” and the “wild horses,” also bear strong similarity to Ortner’s (1973) categorization of symbol functions. First, “the Ozarks” constitutes a summarizing symbol. As chapter three showed, the life history data collected here is inextricably rooted in landscape. Landscape essentially summarizes and inscribes identity constructions of “who we are’ based on perceptions of “who our ancestors were.” People refer to the contested ONSR landscape in a variety of ways including “our land,” or “the land and the rivers,” or as “home,” or frequently, as their particular part of “the Ozarks.” In this sense, “the Ozarks” incorporates all that symbolizes collective identity and the inseparability of identity constructions from this particular landscape.

As a summarizing symbol, “the Ozarks” condenses identity in an undifferentiated way, and it “precedes all other meanings in a system of meanings” (Ortner 1973). The formulations and reformulations of history contained in “the Ozarks,” and described in chapters two and three, represent how people idealize themselves as Castille (1981) suggested. “The Ozarks” symbolizes the presence of the ancestors, independence from outsiders, community and family interdependence, hard-work, frugality, reciprocity, land stewardship, diverse subsistence strategies, and subsistence-level living that have always been facilitated by and accomplished in this place. In homesteads, former state parks, on the rivers, in deteriorated hamlets, in cemeteries, and in hunting camps, like their ancestors, people continue to fish, hunt,

gather together, raise families, celebrate, work and die. These sacred places and life experiences are good things, symbolized by this landscape that embodies “who we are” as honest, trustworthy and hardworking people. It is also important to note that “the Ozarks” is formulated in the present to represent how people want to idealize themselves in sacred, emotionally powerful and undifferentiated terms that do not encourage “reflection on the logical relations of these ideas, nor on the logical consequences of them” (Ortner 1973:1339-1340).

Other identity constructions described in chapter three, including “who they are” and “who we are not,” along with motivations for resistance described in chapter four, must precede from “who we are,” centered in and represented by “the Ozarks.” Just as Ortner (1973:1340) argues that the American flag summarizes the American way in national sentiment, so “the Ozarks” summarizes identity for people in the study area.

A second key symbol operative in identity work for people in the study area is “the government.” “The government” functions as a root-metaphor that serves to elaborate culture by organizing thought in such a way that it can be translated into action as illustrated in Ortner’s classification of key symbol types (1973:1342). “The government” is the essential metaphor that organizes and connects how to think about bad things (i.e. outsiders identified as “who they are”) that threaten “who we are,” by taking good things away. This symbol operates as a kind of boundary device around which people order their sense of how, why, and against whom they enact and defend “who we are.” As root-metaphor, “government” describes how “who they are,” the NPS in particular, will always appropriate resources and subjugate, marginalize, and

deprive people. Constructions of “who we are not” are also contained in “government” as the progenitor of externally imposed negative stereotypes of hillbilly culture.

People often referred to all branches of government, including the NPS, the Missouri Department of Conservation, and the United States Forest Service, each exerting extensive control in the area, as “the government.” Frequently “government” is used as a metaphor in linguistic constructions to explain problems or difficulties people face, for example; “That hospital is just like the government . . .”.

Data presented in chapters three and four indicate that the accumulated meanings in “government” as root metaphor define the government as an entity that cheats people in the appropriation of resources and the destruction of personal and community property. “Government” makes false promises and cannot be trusted; intensifies poverty and compromises community and kinship ties; disfranchises people from traditional territory; scorns local culture and disempowers area residents.

Chapter two describes the historic government interventions that continue to play a significant role in contemporary identity constructions. Civil War Yankees and Rebels alike are also constructed as “the government.” As chapters two and three also showed, the meanings that people hold about the Civil War, the imposition of conservation policies, and the creation of the ONSR are consistently related to perceptions of government-imposed deprivation and marginalization responsible for changed lifeways and the loss of ownership and control of territory.

As chapter three also showed, the meanings attributed to historic symbols of opposition and contained in “the government” are constructed to support

contemporary interpretations of “who they are” as threats to “who we are.” For example, the Civil War was frequently referenced in the data, but it was not deployed as a root-metaphor for emancipation, or the preservation of the Union as represented by official and institutionalized reformulations in the broader culture. Nor did insiders refer to the Civil War as symbol of romantic attachments to the fallen Confederacy that might be revered by some traditionalists. Rather, the war was used as an example of government imposition of mortal danger and destruction of private property and community. This kind of historic reformulation is equally true for the meanings that underlie the imposition of conservation laws and the creation of the ONSR. These events are not constructed as symbols of a responsible government instituting ecologically-minded policies to protect and preserve the environment. Rather, they are constructed to mean that government marginalizes local culture and authority, and unfairly appropriates local resources.

“Government” includes all of the locally-assigned meanings that constitute a root-metaphor for what threatens and opposes identity. These meanings are repeated in contemporary interactions with the NPS and the current morass of policies that have taken local sovereignty over sacred places and livelihoods away from families and delivered the benefits of the region to outsider bureaucrats and tourists. All of these “bad” things are associated with “takers” and “liars,” and people who cannot be trusted. In this sense, as a key symbol, “government” as root-metaphor functions as the previous example of the automobile illustrates. It is a metaphor that organizes thought around what does not work well, what we should be aware of and vigilant

about, what threatens us, and what we should oppose. In this case, we should protect “the Ozarks,” from “government” and thereby protect “who we are.”

Finally, the third key symbol identified in Ozark identity work is the “wild horses.” This symbol functions as a key scenario. However, all of the various patterns of resistance described in chapter four also constitute key scenarios that instruct how people should respond to the government to defend “the Ozarks.” As Ortner (1973) suggests, key scenarios include not only specific events, but all of those unarticulated forms of daily action. In this sense, “backtalk” and other form of everyday, micro-political resistance to NPS personnel and policies, including sabotage, feigned ignorance and confrontation described in chapter four, are all key scenarios for how people make their lives livable and attempt to retain and protect their identity.

As a key symbol the “wild horses” represents a primary key scenario in the oppositional identity work for people in the study area. This key scenario is a rare example of successful mobilized resistance that residents mounted to oppose and prevent the NPS from removing feral horses from the ONSR described in chapter four.

Key Symbols in an Interpretive, Oppositional Identity Framework

The expectation communicated by many outsiders in the region, and NPS personnel in particular, was that opposition to government intervention would end or at least dissipate once people old enough to remember the creation of the ONSR were no longer living. Follow-up research conducted with key informants in the fall of 2007 indicates that resistance has not dissipated since data were first collected in

1999. Outsiders and NPS personnel in particular continue to express exasperation about the longevity and persistence of insider opposition to ONSR policy in the form of questions like, “Why can’t they just get over it?”, or “It doesn’t matter what we do, they’re never going to like it.”

In fact, many residents remain resistant to the NPS despite the fact that the ONSR was created over forty years ago, and there continue to be few insider supporters of NPS policy. Successful acts of resistance embolden and potentially encourage oppositional identity work. However, the data suggest that as key symbols “the Ozarks,” “government,” and the “wild horses,” when taken together, constitute a framework of meanings that support oppositional identity. This framework maintains both the consistency and longevity of residents’ opposition to NPS policy.

Landsman (1985) provides a model for how meanings constitute frameworks that guide the interpretation of symbols and motivate people to political action. In 1974, the Mohawk tribe of upstate New York occupied two consecutive sites within an area known as Moss Lake, a 612 acre camp under the jurisdiction of New York State within the nine million acres that the Mohawk claimed as their traditional territory (Landsman, 1985, p. 827). Non-Mohawk White residents opposed the Mohawk occupation as a disingenuous land grab. Each side formed opposition groups; the conflict became violent and strained local and state policing resources who were then blamed for poor management. The press reduced and dichotomized the issue as a racist conflict between Whites and Indians. However, for the Mohawk, the occupation was designed to achieve sovereignty by reclaiming traditional territory wherein they could reconstruct traditional culture. By defining the conflict as an

effort to achieve sovereignty, the Mohawk were able to mobilize members of the tribe and sympathetic outsiders to maintain the successive occupations of land.

For the White opposition, the underlying motivation was to emphasize perceptions that state resources were unfairly drained for downstate concerns leaving upstate concerns ignored and underfunded. While people observing the conflict believed the representations in the press, in reality the participants in the conflict defined their motivations for altogether different reasons.

Each set of disputants placed the dispute events within the context of preexisting controversies. For Whites, the controversy was that between rural upstate and urban downstate interests; for Mohawks, the preexisting controversy was the historic struggle for sovereignty. These two controversies serve as 'interpretive' frameworks by means of which dispute participants understand events and in terms of which they have acted and presented their cases to the public for support. [Landsman 1985:927]

Landsman argues that the answer "for how symbols are made to work in political mobilization can be found in the concurrence of changes in symbols within the continuity of interpretive frameworks" (1985:837). The symbols change "over time to meet new conditions" but they are only meaningful as long as they "manifest the interpretive framework held by the political actors" (Landsman, 1985:837). Any single symbol is powerful only to the extent that it attaches to a larger set of meanings within the interpretive framework.

This allows for flexibility in responding to various instances of what may essentially be the same basic controversy at different locations and times. Combined with a processual approach that reveals this process of symbol change and manipulation over time, the concept of interpretive framework thus offers insight into how symbols are used to link meaning to political action. [Landsman, 1985:837]

By integrating Ortner's (1973) typology of key symbols with Landsman's (1985) model for interpretive frameworks, it becomes clear that identity work for people in the study area proceeds from "the Ozarks" as a summarizing symbol, to "government" as root metaphor, to the "wild horses" as a key scenario for how to defend identity through resistance. These key symbols constitute the elements of an interpretive oppositional identity framework that sustains identity work for people in the study area.

"The Ozarks" functions as a summarizing symbol of the meanings contained in constructions of "who we are" in identity work: identity is inscribed in this territory. Ownership and control of territory have consistently been threatened by government interventions that have resulted in perceptions of deprivation contained in constructions of "who they are": in essence, to threaten territory is to threaten identity. Because of this, government-imposed deprivation has become a root metaphor composed of meanings that organize threats to constructions of "who we are." "Government" as root metaphor constitutes the symbol set in the framework through which contemporary government intervention via NPS policy in the ONSR is interpreted and organized. Thus representations of NPS policy and the ongoing behaviors of NPS personnel may shift, but they are still interpreted as acts of the "government" in the oppositional identity framework. NPS policy and personnel then are consistently interpreted as oppositional because they are perpetually defined as symbols of deprivation and marginalization that impede the ability for people to enact "who we are." Once events are interpreted through "government" as root-metaphor such that they represent threats to "the Ozarks" as summarizing symbol, they

motivate people to oppose or resist policy imposed by the NPS in their ongoing administration of the ONSR.

The relationship between constructions of “the Ozarks” as summarizing symbol that is consistently threatened by “government” as root-metaphor, is crucial to how people interpret events in their lives. If resident constructions of “government” defined the NPS as an entity whose agenda is to protect the integrity of the rivers for the people who live there, then key scenarios to protect identity might be about how to engage and cooperate with the NPS in support of identity.

The data suggest that the most significant key scenario in Ozark identity work is the “wild horse” issue. It is a rare example of successful large scale, macro-political resistance by insiders. As a symbol, the “wild horse” issue is a key scenario in the oppositional framework that reinforces “the Ozarks” by asserting local authority and successfully articulating “who we are not,” to both insider and outsider audiences. The next section presents a more detailed analysis of the “wild horse” issue as a key scenario. This analysis will further elucidate how the oppositional identity framework protects “the Ozarks” as a summarizing symbol for identity.

The Oppositional Identity Framework and Sustained Resistance: “Who We Are” as “We Are the Horses”

When, as chapter four describes, the NPS refused to accept any of the Missouri Wild Horse League (MWHL) proposals to take responsibility for the care and maintenance of the wild horses within ONSR boundaries, residents interpreted the move as a repetition of meanings in “government” as root metaphor.

“Government” as root metaphor contains the meanings symbolized by the Civil War

and the creation of the ONSR when people were unfairly alienated from traditional territory, resources and life-ways. Removal of the horses would have represented a further dismantling of residents' ties to valued artifacts in their traditional landscape (i.e. the horses are artifacts of history contained within "the Ozarks").

Rikoon (2006) reformulated this very issue in a similar way by arguing that the horses were objects of a struggle to control landscape between competing constructions of nature: NPS conceptions of science-based ecological beliefs about nature and local constructions of nature based on history and the lived experience of landscape in which the horses are embedded. As the data here indicate, and as Rikoon (2006) also argues, the "wild-horse" issue further symbolizes a connection to ancestral lifeways in that the horses are a remnant of traditional free-range herding practices (described in chapter two). Free-range herding was an historic subsistence strategy that influenced constructions of "who we are" described in chapter three. To eliminate a contemporary survival of the pattern was interpreted as a re-vilification of traditional land management strategies and a threat to identity. Hence, "the government" was once again interpreted through the oppositional identity framework as a threat to "the Ozarks," which motivated resistance.

As a key scenario for successful resistance to the NPS, the "wild-horse" issue was referenced in nearly every interview we conducted. The reality that the MWHL was able to garner tremendous external support was related to the widespread appeal the issue had for people concerned about animal rights, and horse enthusiasts in particular. Trail riding is very popular in the Ozarks and Eminence hosts one of the

biggest trail rides in the country which provided direct access to a large and sympathetic audience.

Though many residents communicated their support of, and attachment to the horses, I argue that the issue was also about defending against NPS attempts to create further deprivation and threaten identity. The horses, a symbol of local Ozarker meanings, presented a perfect vehicle around which people could coalesce and act to resist assumptions contained in “the government.” In fact, as Joe Turner (excerpted in chapter four) put it, “The horses got lost in it. It got between “we” as locals versus the National Park Service. That was more important than the horses. To win, you know. Show them that they can’t just run over us.” This means that Ozarkers are aware that they have reformulated the primacy of the event as a symbol of successful resistance to “government” rather than a victory for animal rights in a fashion similar to Landsman’s (1985) description of the Mohawk manipulation of symbols through an interpretive “sovereignty” framework.

Further, as a key scenario this issue has become a symbol of residents’ ability to successfully resist an all powerful government and it was referenced as such in nearly every interview. People reference the issue as a validation of traditional land stewardship and the triumph of local over outsider authority. The event has also affected interactions with outsiders by repositioning external images of Ozarker hillbillies as resourceful people who can successfully defend against external sources of power. An example of this is indicated in Joe Turner’s comment, also excerpted in chapter four.

I know I’ve talked to people away from here ... And the first thing they comment, ‘Well, these people down there gotta know somebody

because they beat the Park Service!’ I’ve heard that comment. I heard that last year at the cattlemen’s meeting. We were talking about EPA coming in here and everything, and the regulations they were going to impose. They said, ‘Well, we need to get those people in Shannon County to be part of this, cause they gotta know somebody or something. They beat the Park Service. They’re the only people that have ever beaten the Park Service!’

Chapter four showed that many people have suspicions that the NPS would like to completely eliminate their presence in the area, just like they tried to remove the horses. This is not an untenable construction of potential events for people who have lost land to the government in the past. Additionally, these perceptions are reinforced by other aspects of resistance described in chapter four including the failed Man and Biosphere proposal, by emphases in ecological paradigms that preference natural resources over people, and by increasing threats from national and global forces with the power to restructure people and resources for commodification (Nevins and Peluso 2008; Rikoon 2006).

Rikoon (2006:210) quotes the sentiments of an MWHL member who said that “as long as the wild horses remain free, then maybe there’s hope for us.” This comment also supports a conclusion drawn here, that in fact the wild-horses have now become a metaphor for the people themselves: an overlap of symbol function as Ortner (1973) suggests. However, this time, the “people as horses” were allowed to remain. Hence the title of this document: “we are the horses.”

Summary

This chapter has shown how “the Ozarks,” “government,” and the “wild horses” exist as symbols, influenced by reformulations of history, that collectively constitute a meta-dynamic framework that guides identity work. “The Ozarks” is the

primary summarizing symbol for identity constructions. “The Ozarks” and “who we are” have been threatened by historic government interventions resulting in oppositional constructions of “who they are.” These threats to “the Ozarks” have created perceptions of deprivation that, in an accumulated sense, are represented by “government” as a root-metaphor through which people interpret NPS policy. As a result of these interpretations, people are motivated to resist both individually and collectively. Acts of resistance then can be seen as key scenarios that instruct how to respond to threats to “the Ozarks.” A significant key scenario that has fortified and refined the identity constructions of “who we are” contained in “the Ozarks,” and “who they are,” contained in “the government” is the “wild horse” issue. Oppositional identity is thus sustained because new events are interpreted as representative of existing meanings in the oppositional identity framework.

Chapter Six Findings and Summary Conclusions

The primary research question addressed in this document is: what factors inform and influence the identity work of Ozarkers in the face of extreme insults to their community, most importantly the loss of ownership and community control of traditional territory? The first hypothesis argued that identity work for many participants in this study is centered on constructions that define “who we are,” “who the other is,” and “who we are not.” Chapter three provides evidence for resident constructions of “who we are” based on constructions of ancestral values, lifeways and connections to landscape. “Who we are” is juxtaposed against constructions of “who the other is.” The primary “other” has been identified as the government, today in the form of the NPS. The imposition by the NPS of relative deprivation that threatens constructions of “who we are” is a central component in the identification of the NPS as the primary “other.” This view is strengthened by shared stories that tell of a long history of government-imposed deprivation dating from the Civil War and continuing through NPS jurisdiction in the ONSR. Residents also perceive that externally imposed, negative stereotypes of Ozarkers support discrimination and marginalization of local culture, and underpin outsider discourse about residents and NPS discourse in particular. As a result, residents assert “who we are not” by appropriating, redefining, contradicting and redeploying images of valorized “hillbillies.”

The second hypothesis argued that residents engage in forms of resistance against the National Park Service, specifically by opposing jurisdiction in the ONSR that threatens constructions of identity. Evidence supporting this hypothesis is

presented in Chapter four. Resistance is informed by collective cultural memory that instructs residents as to whom, why and how to resist. Informed by these memories, contemporary resistance is directed at the NPS as an agent of the government that imposes primary threats to identity through contemporary management of the ONSR. Resistance ranges from individual micro-political, everyday forms of resistance to mobilized, macro-political resistance asserted at the group level. Micro-political resistance functions to reduce the NPS-imposed obstructions to identity work in the course of people's daily lives. This form of resistance is also an avenue through which residents make their opposition known to the NPS. Macro-political resistance is asserted less frequently and, until recently, was largely unsuccessful. However, the "wild horse" issue represents an example of successful macro-political mobilization that has protected and reinforced identity constructions. This issue has also reflexively refined identity by adding confidence and local empowerment to identity constructions.

The third hypothesis holds that historic events collectively constitute a symbolic framework that directs contemporary, oppositional identity work for residents in the study area. Chapter five presented an analysis that showed how local identity constructions and resistance constitute a meta-dynamic composed of key symbols. The "Ozarks," the "government," and the "wild horses" work in tandem to reinforce and maintain opposition to the NPS and shape identity. Together they constitute a symbolic, identity framework that fortifies oppositional identity and motivates resistance. The strength of any symbol is powerful to the degree that it is related to other symbols in the system. Over time, symbols change, but they are

meaningful “only to the extent that they manifest the interpretive framework” (Landsman 1985:837). Oppositional identity is thus sustained because new events (as symbols) are consistently interpreted to represent existing meanings in the framework. An analysis of identity work at the level of symbols thus explains the mechanisms that maintain resident identity in the face of extreme insults to community.

An additional finding, indicated by the data on internal collaboration presented in chapter four, is that the creation of the ONSR resulted in internal divisions that have created contesting identities between supporters and resisters of the NPS. Internal conflicts, as the Shockley excerpt in chapter two suggests, divided the community and created lasting animosity between residents. Residents who collaborated with the NPS in the creation of the ONSR have different perceptions about “who the other is.” As many authors point out, identity is not an essentializing, homogenous and uniformly shared category; rather, multiple, overlapping, and decentered identities exist within communities (Anglin 1992; Hale 1997; Holland et al. 2008; Ozedimir). And, tensions exist around various “internal lines of differentiation and equity” within identity systems. (Hale 1997:578). This study focused on oppositional identity as a mechanism for sustaining community. However, within the study area there are competing and potentially, complimentary identity systems.

“We are the Horses” and Relevance in the Ozarks

This study is most relevant to the people of Carter and Shannon Counties as a document that describes internal constructions of identity and the rationale for and

role of resistance as identity work. Ultimately the study explains the salience and stability of their collective identity some 150 years after the Civil War, and more than forty years after the creation of the ONSR. In essence, this document provides an explanation for how and why Ozarkers have persisted as a distinctive community.

This explanation is also relevant to the concerns communicated in comments by NPS officials described in chapter five. Those comments regarded perceptions that residents would resist NPS policy regardless of policy content. NPS officials frequently asked “Why can’t they just get over it?” Data presented herein suggest that as long as “government” as a key symbol is interpreted to mean marginalization and deprivation, NPS policy will be interpreted in oppositional terms that threaten local identity. Ozarker resistance to the NPS is best understood to emerge from an historically informed interpretive framework, rooted in marginalizing experiences that threaten families’ livelihoods, rather than as a series of unrelated responses to distinct policies and events.

In light of this finding, one logical question to pose is whether identity is dependent on resistance to the NPS. Would collective identity be diminished if the “other” transitioned from being perceived as the purveyor of threat and deprivation, to being perceived as cooperative and supportive of local livelihood strategies and associated identity? A speculative response is suggested by the data. One of the few positive themes many people reported regarding NPS presence in the region involved fond memories of living history exhibits sponsored by the NPS during the 1970’s, especially those events that took place at Alley Mill.

As chapter three described, Alley Mill functioned before the ONSR as a mill, school, general store, a center for socializing and various other activities. The living history exhibits sponsored by the NPS employed residents to distill whisky and render sorghum, build john-boats, and operate the mill, school and general store as facsimile operations. Several people who had fervently resisted the creation of the ONSR were involved in these ventures. By the 1980's, these programs were either drastically scaled back or discontinued altogether. They are now perceived as examples of broken promises that support "government" in the oppositional identity framework.

These programs were well received at the time because they functioned in a fashion similar to the role the timber companies played a century before. Residents benefitted from opportunistic, diversified, flexible and part-time wage labor as they have in the past (Gibson et al. 1999), and the work valorized identity constructions by featuring local lifeways and expertise. The exhibits reinforced insider identity constructions before outsider audiences. Despite that the exhibits represent what Nevins and Peluso (2008) would define as the commodification of the social, from a practical perspective, the benefit to resident livelihoods offset, by a small margin, the damage to livelihoods created by the ONSR. The example also suggests that oppositional identity work and resistance for people in the area is not necessarily inevitable. If NPS sponsorship of these programs had continued at the level they were introduced, and residents saw themselves as beneficiaries of the ONSR, they may have become a symbol of government support for identity. And, meanings represented by "government" might have transitioned to include constructions of the "other" as benevolent, and validating of "the Ozarks" as a summarizing symbol for

internal constructions of identity and a continuing system of material resources that sustain Ozarks families. However, when the programs were scaled back they became another symbol of “government” marginalization.

Identity, Resistance and Symbols: Theoretical Support

This study of the Ozarks supports anthropological theories of identity work, resistance and the role of symbols in culture. First, it supports existing theoretical models of identity work composed of insider/outsider constructions (Gibson 1996; Herlinger 1972). This study also supports Espeland’s (1994) analyses of the reflexive role that resistance plays in identity work. And, it further supports resistance studies by providing additional examples of Scott’s (1985) everyday resistance typology and Moore’s (1985) model of micro-political resistance among a marginalized people in the United States whose identity is based on constructions of traditional culture. In addition, Ortner (1994) argued that theory in anthropology could benefit from greater emphasis on factors like identity as a motivation for resistance processes. This document provides evidence that resistance is motivated by the need to protect and defend livelihoods and the identities that derive partially from them.

Second, this project illuminates the role that history, cultural memory, and landscape play in identity work (Assman and Czaplicka 1995; Moore 1990; Olick and Robbins 1998; Paletmaa 2005; Stewart and Strathern 2000). The identification of an interpretive framework of oppositional identity supports Landsman’s (1985) model of the role of symbolic frameworks in culture and Ortner’s (1973) typology of key symbols. This work also extends analyses regarding the subjugation and marginalization of people in Appalachia to people in the Ozarks (Anglin 1990, 1992:

Gaventa 1980; Hsuing 2000; Pudup 1980; Stewart 1989, 1990; Whisnant 1983; Waller 1988). Finally, this study represents one of very few studies of identity work among a non-indigenous population who experienced development-related displacement resulting from the creation of a national park in the United States.

“We Are the Horses” and Other Communities: National and Global Forces of Assimilation

In a more general sense, identity work for people in the Ozarks can be conceived as a struggle over who has the power to control resources in the context of local/national and local/global economies. This study is relevant to other groups around the world who are threatened by hegemonic and homogenizing forces that threaten territorial expropriation and eviction of marginalized groups.

Ozedimir (2004) argues that collective identity must “emphasize the externalization of a pre-existing culture into the political arena” and that tensions arise when political authorities attempt to assimilate “minority identities” within nationalist agendas creating “identity crises” (28-29). Ozedimir defines “identity crisis” as “a conflict over cultural issues or incongruity between the values of different groups within the same society” whereby identity becomes the “‘mode’ for dealing with tensions arising from the differentiation between the society in general and its components” (2004:25-29).

In this context, a motivation for Ozarker resistance to the NPS is not only to defend the right to livelihoods but also to differentiate their identity from those characteristics of a national identity that are in conflict with constructions of “who we are” (Adams and Hutton 2007; Nevins and Peluso 2008; Ozedimir 2004). This study

does not attempt to delineate the characteristics of a “national identity,” or demonstrate the degree of potential Ozarker alignment with such a construction. However, to the extent that American citizens value the creation of national parks and to the extent that garnering land for these parks requires individual sacrifice for the greater good, and eminent domain legally authorizes the attainment of that land, I argue that both national parks and the process of acquiring land to create them support aspects of a “national identity.”

Eminent domain is a legal tool that, when imposed by the government, threatened residents’ identity resulting in tenacious and long-term resistance. People were subsequently compelled by federal courts to submit to the creation of the ONSR which served a broader nationalist agenda to develop public spaces in the form of national parks. It is certainly relevant to argue that the event created an “identity crisis” for people in the Ozarks because of their refusal to assimilate aspects of a national identity that were in conflict with their own identity constructions. This identity crisis can also be viewed as an effect of global economic forces.

Often, government enclosures aim to incorporate the privatization of government responsibilities by subcontracting with concessions and resource extractors (Nevins and Peluso 2008:9). This reality is not lost on residents of the ONSR. Three persons communicated their resentment of outsider concessionaires with sufficient capital to win NPS concessions contracts (canoe and float rentals) and be guaranteed a government income.

As elsewhere in the world, the Ozarks is potentially a place where global phenomena fueled by neoliberal policies and practices impel the construction of the

proper, conservation-minded citizen. Similar to enclosures in Southeast Asia, the NPS created a rationale and a legal framework to enclose the land accompanied by policy management structures that discipline people to support their goals: preservation and tourism. Around the world, government imposed enclosures have produced “resistance to dispossession, appropriation, disciplining, boundary making, and exploitation” in an effort to “resurrect the ‘social’—that part of the social fabric needed for a dignified human existence but undermined by the commodification process” (Nevins and Peluso 2008:4). Resistance as a response to the “ONSR as enclosure” can be seen in a similar fashion: Ozarkers are attempting to protect an identity that has been undermined and hidden by government “glorification” of the end goal: to preserve and create public spaces for the good of the whole (Nevins and Peluso 2008:4). And it is profoundly a struggle for livelihoods that produce the dignified life promised by such “developments” as national parks.

In this sense, the creation of the ONSR by the NPS has been influenced by capitalist agendas that have defined best use policies for land and resources based on commodity values that legitimated the transformation and elimination of existing local land use strategies and authority. From this perspective, Ozark resistance to “government” functions to both mark cultural distinctiveness and “inform” externally imposed controls over resources in the macro-political arena (Nevins and Peluso 2008:4).

Rikoon (2006) identifies similar forces at work in the Ozarks study region related to residents’ resistance in the 1990’s to NPS plans to remove a group of feral horses from the ONSR. He defines this particular conflict in a local/global context

wherein the nexus of the conflict is between competing conceptions of local versus NPS ecological management. Powerful government bureaucracies like the NPS have adopted an ecological concept of nature involving preservation and conservation that does not incorporate people and their lifeways into the environment, whereas residents view the environment as resources to be managed and exploited for subsistence.

However, Rikoon's conclusions differ from the data collected here in two important respects. First, though Rikoon alludes to the role that identity plays in resistance, his focus is primarily on how hegemonic ecological strategies should be modified to incorporate people, rather than on identifying how resistance processes represent forms of reflexive identity work as is the case presented here. Second, though Rikoon is sympathetic to the reasons that the environmental movement has engendered resistance, he identifies resistance in this case as part of the right-leaning “ecocracy” political and social critique. He argues that people who hold “anti-ecocracy” positions reject the environmental movement because they are incapable of understanding it and can therefore not implement it (Rikoon 2006:209). His pejorative rationale for resistance is not supported in the data presented here.

Based on the foregoing concerns, resistance in the study area is directed not only at preserving local livelihoods and micro-level forces that impact people’s ability to manifest “who we are” in their daily lives, but the same resistance practices are also directed at macro-level forces whose broad effects could subsume and transform or co-opt local identity altogether. And though people did not often articulate their motivation for resistance to national and global processes, they are

nonetheless, aware of such forces. For example, people frequently reported the irony in their perception that they had to give up land and lifeways to provide a “playground” for privileged outsiders. In fact, the *Kansas City Star* (7/23/1959) characterized the then-proposed ONSR as such in a headline reading, “A Missouri Playground of National Status” boasting that “a national playground in the river country of Southern Missouri would certainly boost us to rank in the top 10 resort states of the nation.” In at least three interviews, respondents indicated their opposition to United Nations (UN) plans to turn the area into a World Heritage Site as part of UNESCO’s Man and Biosphere program, and they asked if we were connected to those plans. In addition, one couple asked us to read UN documents that supported their fears that a site of this nature would eliminate people from the area altogether.*

Additional data support local awareness of threats to identity and livelihoods posed by global economic forces. For example, residents blame the government for the loss of local manufacturing jobs that have been relocated to international labor markets. Adalaide Evers attributed the loss of a booming regional market for handmade quilts in the 1980’s to the government’s sale of American quilt patterns to China. Handmade Chinese quilts using American quilt patterns produced at lesser quality can be exported to the United States for a fraction of the cost of American-made quilts. According to Mrs. Evers, the standard of quality for Ozarks quilters

* Rikoon and Goedeke (2000) write extensively about the failure of the proposed Ozark Highlands Biosphere that was developed in 1988 and was nearly approved in 1994 but for the retirement of its main supporter, an employee of the ONSR. This person supported and promoted the project largely without public input but after his retirement the public became aware of the project, mounted resistance and the nomination was cancelled.

requires hand piecing and hand quilting with ten to twelve stitches per inch whereas Chinese quilts are pieced by machine and have only three to four stitches per inch. The globalization of this particular market completely undercut the regional market wherein quilts sell for several hundred dollars each compared to Chinese quilts which can be purchased in the U.S. for less than \$100. Though women still make quilts for sale, they are typically no longer pieced or hand quilted. Mrs. Evers expressed her opposition to government policies that effectively ended a viable source of economic opportunity based on traditional skills.

Future Research

Data gathered from this study provide avenues for future research. Chapter four indicated the existence of internal class struggles resulting from, or at least exacerbated by, the creation of the ONSR. There is evidence to suggest that internal class divisions follow kinship lines of the founding families in the study area. These struggles exist within and between families resulting in disputes that divide already stressed community resources. Additional ethnographic research could determine the extent of insider collaboration with outsider influences in these disputes to determine their effects on collective identity.

This study doesn't address the role that gender plays in identity work and resistance. Research could determine the extent to which traditional gender roles are influenced by an identity based on constructions of history and tradition. The evolution of identity constructions could be traced through potential shifts in gender roles.

This document leads to another research question that the data gathered here do not address. Populations under stress typically exhibit higher rates of violence, illness and mortality (Brockington and Igoe 2007; Cernea 2003). There is some evidence in the data that rates of violence are increasing. Within the last two years, the NPS constructed a new office complex in downtown Van Buren. In follow-up interviews conducted for this study, at least two people mentioned that residents were disappointed by the perceived failure of the NPS to feature the large visitor center promised in the plans presented to the public. They were further insulted by the opulence of the structure in such a poverty stricken area. Whether or not new and long-standing tensions contributed to the recent murder of a State law enforcement officer by a resident insider on ONSR land is unclear. However, as indicated on their website, the ONSR has recently taken very public steps to reduce the incidents of rowdy behavior and potential violence in ONSR.

Resistance and violence are common themes found in the recent, growing literature on neoliberal displacement of people around the world. As long as globalization and accompanying neoliberal practices continue to displace people from their homes, depriving them of established livelihoods and undermining community identities, there will be ample opportunities to study the phenomena that link livelihoods to identity work. While we lament the inevitable instability that comes with an increasingly globalized resistance, scholars may well dedicate themselves to giving voice to those struggling for local sovereignty and dignified lives.

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