

FROM COOK TO COMMUNITY LEADER:
THE WOMEN OF HIGHLANDER RESEARCH AND EDUCATION CENTER

by

COLLEEN MCDERMOTT

(Under the Direction of Thomas Valentine)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the roles of the women of Highlander and how these women influenced not only the curriculum but also the institutional structure of Highlander. This study sought to determine the roles undertaken by women at Highlander and the ways in which these roles were gendered. The theoretical framework guiding this study was from Robnett (1997) who, after analyzing women's roles in the Civil Rights Movement, developed the concept of bridge leader in order to explain the critical role of women in the Civil Rights Movement which she suggests significantly contributed to the movement's success. Like women in the Civil Rights Movement, women's roles at Highlander are largely unknown and under analyzed.

In order to uncover and understand these roles, a qualitative study of the women of Highlander was conducted. Through the analysis of in-depth interviews with 30 women who worked at Highlander in the decades from the 1940s to today, the correspondence of women who worked at Highlander in the 1930s and 1940s, and the analysis of a 1994 women's workshop, I found seven roles undertaken by the women staff at Highlander. These were cook, cultural worker, educator, caregiver, researcher,

adviser and director. In addition to these roles, interviews with the women of Highlander revealed another emerging theme related to conflicted relationships which required further analysis. Categories of analysis developed by Maher and Tetreault's (2001) study of feminist classrooms informed the analysis of Highlander's conflicted relationships.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, women were instrumental in shaping Highlander. Second, women both accepted and challenged traditional gender roles while at Highlander. Third, women confronted inequity at Highlander from its very beginning. Even though Highlander's common analysis included only race and class oppression, women named other categories of oppression such as gender and education-based oppression early in its history. The women and the men on staff continue to confront any inequities that may arise, but today they have arrived at a communally created structure which embodies the democracy which Highlander's mission has always promoted.

INDEX WORDS: Adult Education, Culture, Feminist Pedagogy, Highlander Folk School, Highlander Research and Education Center, Popular Education, Social Movements, Women's Learning, Women's Studies

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to the women and men who have worked tirelessly at Highlander to change the political and economic structure of the United States. They remind us that we have the knowledge and power we need if we can join that power with others in the struggle.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The story of history is all too often the story of great men. Even institutions dedicated to social change are not exempt from this tendency. Robnett (1997) has highlighted how this played out in the Civil Rights Movement in which agencies expressly designed for change and equality mirrored the injustices in society within their own ranks.

The same is true for what is arguably the most admired social-change institution in the field of adult education. Highlander Research and Education Center is the primary example of an adult education institution which works for social justice. Highlander has worked steadily to fight various forms of injustice for over seven decades; yet the story that is told is one of a great man, Myles Horton. Although he was a great man, he was not the only great person who was there. This dissertation will try to tell the story not of a great man, but of the great women who affected this institution.

A Brief History of Highlander Research and Education Center

Before turning to the purpose and details of this study, it seems necessary to present a brief history of Highlander with special emphasis on the women who worked there throughout its history. Highlander Folk School was founded in 1932 in Monteagle, Tennessee. Since that time it has gone through several transformations and two moves. In 1961, after the school lost its charter and the Monteagle property was seized by the state, Highlander was reestablished in Knoxville with a new state charter and a new

name, Highlander Research and Education Center. In 1973, the Knoxville property was condemned due to an urban renewal project, and so Highlander Research and Education Center moved to its present location in New Market, Tennessee. For the purpose of this writing, however, I am going to refer to all these institutions as Highlander.

Highlander was founded in 1932 to bring together community leaders to change the oppressive political and economic structures in the American South (Adams, 1975; Berson, 1994; Glen, 1996; Horton, 1971/1989; Horton & Freire, 1990; Gaventa, 1991; Kohl, 1991). In the 1930s and 1940s, Highlander was instrumental in building and supporting the Labor Movement in the South and became known as the “Singing Labor College” (Glen, 1996) due to the use of music and drama in workshops with union locals and on picket lines. During the 1950s and 1960s, nearly every Civil Rights leader visited Highlander at some point (Morris, 1984). Rosa Parks was sent to Highlander by her local chapter of the NAACP just a few months before she started the Montgomery Bus Boycott which began the Civil Rights Movement (Crawford et al., 1990; Glen, 1996). Additionally, Highlander’s educational coordinator, Septima Clark, created and developed the Citizenship School program which ultimately led to the voter registration of nearly one million African Americans throughout the South (Berson, 1994; Crawford et al., 1990; Clark, 1990; Glen, 1996). Both of these movements succeeded in reshaping the political and economic structure of the South and threatened the elite white power structure.

From the very beginning, Highlander was attacked by businessmen and politicians who feared Highlander’s influence. They used the fear of communism to attack Highlander in the press, in the legislature, in the courts and in person (Adams,

1975; Glen, 1996, Horton, 1989, Horton, 1990). Periodically, the Ku Klux Klan went to Highlander to threaten and physically and emotionally abuse staff and to damage property. Highlander staff members were arrested for a variety of reasons. The first time Horton was arrested was in Grundy County at the local miners' strike. He was arrested for simply attending the strike. The charge was for "coming here and getting information and going back and teaching it" (Horton, 1990; Glen, 1996). The FBI investigated Highlander to assess its "communistic" influences and found little evidence of this. But, in 1961, the state of Tennessee seized the property and revoked the Charter of Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee. Anticipating this action, the staff of Highlander had transferred the Citizenship Schools to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and had applied for and received a new state charter for the "new" Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville (Glen, 1996).

Myles Horton and Highlander

Much of the adult education literature of Highlander focuses almost exclusively on Horton. Although Horton claims to have originally conceived of the idea of Highlander, he did not create Highlander by himself nor was he the sole developer of Highlander's educational methodology. Horton had grown up in the mountains of Tennessee and attended a small college in South Carolina. In order to pay tuition, Horton worked as a summer missionary for the Presbyterian Church which assigned him to mission work in his home state. The genesis of the idea of Highlander came from Horton's experience as a summer missionary at Ozone, Tennessee. Horton had been hired to work primarily with the children offering vacation bible schools, but within the first weeks there, he gathered the parents for informal conversations. At first, the parents

thought Horton had invited them to share his wisdom and solve their problems for them. Instead, he facilitated their conversations, drawing out their analyses of their situation and the ways in which they might address these problems. In Horton's (1990) autobiography, *The Long Haul*, he describes this experience:

I wanted to deal with some of those problems (in the community) that I was becoming aware of; so, what I did was to pass the word that I'd like all the parents and other adults to come to a meeting. I didn't tell them what it was going to be about.... When we got there, we spent about five minutes talking about the daily vacation Bible school – it's the kind of approach the community-based priests use now, in Central and South America. They get the people talking about the Bible and then get them into discussions about organizing and revolution. (Horton, 1990, p. 22)

These meetings were so successful that some people walked over five miles to attend; at the end of the summer a local resident invited him to stay. From this point on, Horton viewed adult education through the lens of his experience at Ozone and looked for ways in which he might replicate and sustain it over “the long haul” (Adams, 1975; Glen, 1996; Horton, 1989; Horton & Freire, 1990; Thayer-Bacon, 2004).

Horton's search for educational models led him to Union Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago, Jane Addams's Hull House and, finally, to Denmark and the Danish Folk School. It was these folk schools, with their intentional use of Danish folk music, art and story to foster national pride in order to rebuild Denmark's economic and political systems, which provided Horton with the model for Highlander. In his autobiography, *The Long Haul*, Horton states that after meeting with some of the founding members of these Danish folk schools, he knew he was ready to begin. Horton shared these ideas with classmates Zilla Hawes and Jim Dombrowski at Union

Theological Seminary, who joined Horton to develop the “mountain folk school” (Intra-staff Correspondence, 1932; Glen, 1996).

While the experience at Ozone was a defining moment in Horton’s development (it planted the seeds of the idea for his work at Highlander), the emphasis on Horton and Ozone ignores the contribution of others in the founding of Highlander. In 1932, Horton, along with Don West, founded Highlander Folk School as a school for community organizers (Adams, 1975; Berson, 1994; Bledsoe, 1969; Glen, 1996; Horton, 1989; Horton & Freire, 1990; Gaventa, 1991; Kohl, 1991). They quickly developed a practice which built upon indigenous knowledge and experience to empower local leaders and community organizing. Around the same time that Horton was thinking of starting a folk school, Don West had also decided to found a school with similar goals of addressing the economic, social and cultural issues of the Southeast. Both West and Horton had decided on the model for their schools after studying the ways in which Danish Folk Schools contributed to the cultural and economic revival of Denmark. In 1932, they were searching for locations when they were introduced to each another by Will W. Anderson, the executive director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who suggested they work together. Glen (1996) writes, “After several days of discussion, the two men decided that since each had something to offer – Horton the financial backing for a school and West a physical location for it – they should secure ... (the) property and operate a school as co-directors” (p.22). West had found a patron, Dr. Lilian Johnson, an educator and activist who was ready to retire and might allow her property to be used for this “new mountain school.”

After meeting West and Horton, Johnson donated the use of her farm in Monteagle, Tennessee to establish Highlander. Johnson had a history of supporting progressive educational efforts. In 1925, she hired May Justus and Vera Campbell to teach children during the day and adults in the evenings. All three women were involved with Highlander from its inception. Justus served on the board for many years. In an interview with Wigginton (1992), she recalls,

After Myles and Don came, we had a group that met in the public school and they organized a garden co-op.... Then Mom Horton, Myles' mother had a sewing co-op and ... they marketed things in cities.... Then there was folk music and that was entirely Highlander. Zilphia Horton, Myles' wife, was an accomplished musician and ... after, she came, the interest in music grew. (pp. 75-76)

This demonstrates the community foundations of Highlander in which women and men worked together to fund, house and construct the work and method of Highlander's educational activities.

Within weeks of the opening of Highlander, Hawes and Dombrowski came to join Horton and West. Hawes was one of Horton's colleagues from Union Theological Seminary. She is listed on the original charter along with Horton, West and Dombrowski (a fellow student from the seminary). Hawes's letters indicate that she frequently went out to local communities to organize union locals and to provide labor education. But when she returned to Highlander, not only did she continue to offer labor education classes with "the boys" (Hawes, 1934), she also cooked and cleaned for them. In a letter to a women friend, she states that she hopes some of the new boys who were coming to work at Highlander would bring a sister, girlfriend or wife with them so that she could get some help. There is one letter from Dombrowski to Hawes which acknowledges the

extra work she is doing and suggests that they should not keep asking this of her, but there is no indication that this pattern ceased.

Dombrowski, Hawes, Horton and West worked to create a curriculum which would foster leadership and support organizing. They strived to develop “education for liberation” (Horton & Freire, 1990). In their talking book (the conversations they had were taped, transcribed and then edited to produce a “talking book”), *We Make the Road by Walking*, Horton and Paolo Freire (1990) define the concept of education for liberation as an “educational practice that simultaneously creates a new society and involves the people themselves in the creation of their own knowledge” (p. xxx). They identify two underlying themes as the most important:

First is the fundamental belief in the importance of the freedom of people everywhere.... Second is the radical democratic belief in the capacity and right of all people to achieve that freedom through self-emancipation.... real liberation is achieved through popular participation (which is realized) through an educational practice that is both liberatory and participatory. (p. xxx)

These beliefs came from Horton and Freire’s experience of their own childhood poverty, cultural alienation, and restricted access to education and resources in their regions.

Many of the social activists interviewed for Wigginton’s (1992) oral history of social activism attest to similar childhood experiences of poverty and racism which shaped their beliefs and led them to Highlander. These activist educators analyzed societal barriers that restricted individual and group freedom and developed methods of education which assisted others to identify their own expertise in order to learn to read words as well as the world around them. They decided to emphasize culture and community in the educational practice and method of Highlander (Austin, 1991; Carawan, 1991; Horton & Friere, 1990; Glen, 1996).

The first activities of the school were social evenings. Social and cultural activities provided a rich source of outreach to the surrounding community and the women of HFS [Highlander Folk School] were particularly involved in this development.... During its' first three years, HFS established a union for the WPA workers, a community cannery, a community nursery school and a quilting cooperative.... By the end of 1935, HFS had become the social center of the community. (Crawford et al., 1990 p. 146)

While they stated that the inclusion of culture was a part of the curriculum and methodology (Glen, 1996), in the first few years of the Highlander, Dombrowski, Hawes and Horton struggled to adapt their classical education to fit the needs of local labor organizers and community activists. In 1935, Zilphia Johnson arrived at Highlander to attend a six-week workshop for labor educators (Crawford et al., 1990, Glen, 1994). She had planned to attend this workshop and then leave to work with a local union. She never left. Five weeks after her arrival, Zilphia Johnson and Myles Horton were married. Johnson had just completed a degree in Music and Drama, and she applied this expertise to Highlander's labor education programs. While Horton had desired to include music, art and drama in the educational methodology of Highlander, neither he nor any of his Union Theological Seminary colleagues had any experience or training in this. In fact, the earliest classes at Highlander resembled college courses in which they discussed Socrates and ancient labor education. Zilphia Johnson's arrival and expertise radically changed this. Testimony from staff who worked at Highlander at that time, attests to the ways in which she could adapt music and drama for the students (Women's Workshop, 1994). Not only did she introduce songs and plays to workshop participants, but she also taught them how to write their own songs and plays which they then used on the strike line or in labor education with their own union local. The use of music and drama was so successful, Highlander became known as "the singing labor college" (Glen, 1996).

Highlander's Pedagogy

In *We Make the Road by Walking*, Horton discussed the importance of people organizing to bring about change. He perceived that facilitating educational goals and growth in knowledge was the primary role of an adult educator. Horton stated, “We do education and they become organized...education makes possible organization” (Horton & Freire, 1990, p.115). Horton discussed the need to “sacrifice” the goal of organizing in favor of helping people grow, but believed that education is a constitutive element of organizing. The goal for both was to produce educators and, specifically, liberation educators. Horton (Horton & Freire, 1990) reported that Highlander’s staff distinguished between education and schooling, which they believed is so focused on prescribed goals that it sacrifices the growth of the students to the set objectives and curricula. Horton discussed the need of the educator to speak with authority bringing in acquired knowledge to assist in the analysis in a manner that is not authoritarian. According to Oldendorf (1990),

Workshops (at Highlander) were organized around four important ideas:

1. Learning and purpose go hand in hand. Literacy is an important part of becoming a first-class citizen.
2. Teachers should experience the activities they themselves would be conducting.
3. Teachers should experience teaching as an activity done with others, not in isolation. The teachers should build bonds with the other teachers and the work-shop leaders by living the same place, eating together, and singing together.
4. Teachers should see the “big picture”: that, as teachers, they were doing something important, that their work was valuable, and that through their participation in democracy should increase. (p. 200)

Respect for culture was a key element in the work and theory of Highlander. The pedagogy of Highlander is rooted in understanding the culture of the people with whom they work. Both Freire and Horton discussed being invited to assist in projects and beginning by studying the culture of the people working in the project. Highlander's educators analyzed the culture and citizenship requirements of those at St. John's Island and developed successful citizenship schools that were adapted to the needs of communities throughout the Southeast.

Establishing a learning community was critical to Highlander's educational practice. Horton called these learning communities the "circles of learners" (adapting the method and terminology from Gruntvig's model of the Danish Folk Schools) thus illustrating a non-hierarchical approach (Horton, 1990; Horton & Freire, 1990). He recognized the responsibility of sharing knowledge with the people, and after the founding years refrained from using the lecture method. Highlander staff developed a question-driven process deriving from the life experiences of the learners. Into the process, the educator inserted examples or facts that might be helpful to the process. This could be facts about "ancient Greece, if that throws light on the subject, or if they are ready to talk about what's happening in Patalonia or Brazil" (Horton & Freire, p.152).

Rosa Parks (quoted in Horton and Freire, 1990) reported that in her experience at Highlander she "found *respect* as a black person and found white people she could trust.... (Horton suggested that) you speak by the way your programs are run. If you believe in something, you have to practice it" (p.153). Social equality was the goal for a new more just society and it was taught through its practice at Highlander. These

educational practices were holistic, creative and visionary. Their goal was to “generate freedom” (p. 181).

The Labor Years

In the 1930s and 1940s, Highlander trained many labor leaders and was instrumental in the labor movement in the Southeast (Glen, 1996; Horton, 1990; Horton & Freire, 1990; Zacharakis, 1993). Highlander, which was then called Highlander Folk School (HFS), was formed as workers were attempting to recover from the Great Depression of the 1920s, to address unjust and unsafe labor practices. In fact, “one of the first attempts to bomb HFS was due to the school’s support of workers during the 1933-34 Wilder coal strike” (Crawford et al., 1990, p.147). In Horton’s (1990) autobiography, he discusses Highlander’s emphasis on the education of activists rather than on the success of movement organizing. He states; “The Highlander staff didn’t approach it theoretically or intellectually, they just decided to get the people together and trust that the solution would arise from them” (p. 98). This frustrated the organizers at times who felt Horton was “holding back” information. Once he was threatened physically to tell the workers what would work when they were negotiating. Horton refused to provide the answer, questioning what they would do when he left. Highlander provided the space in which workers could grow their leadership skills (Waller, 1991).

In the 1940s, Mary Lawrence joined the Highlander staff and went out to various communities as part of its extension program. She found that the remnants of the “traditional” educational method which Highlander was still using were simply not effective with local union members in the field. She utilized the music and drama developed by Zilphia Horton and moved away from the lecture method that they had

experienced at Union Theological Seminary and were still using at times to better meet the needs of her students. She experimented with the method, evaluating and adapting after each session. After nearly 4 years in the field, Lawrence brought these methods back to Highlander, thus facilitating the change to a more learner-centered approach (Horton, 1971/1989, Glen, 1996).

Labor leaders attended residential workshops at Highlander throughout the 1940s and into the early 1950s. Highlander worked with labor leaders from the Work Progress Administration, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Workers Alliance and American Federation of Teachers. For a time, Highlander was recognized as a certified labor school by the CIO (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1993).

Short-term institutes and conferences became regular features of the HFS residence program in the late 1930s. Union educational directors used the weekend institutes to tell new members about the history and current operations of their organizations and to discover and develop effective local leaders without having to pay employers for the union members' lost time. (p.63)

In a speech given in 1936, Horton (quoted in Jacobs [2003]) says, "We are becoming accepted as a part of the southern labor movement. The HFS's most important contribution will be to help the workers to envision their role in society and in so doing, make the labor movement the basis for fundamental social change" (p.76).

Despite a long tradition of segregation in the South, Highlander's workshops were integrated. Blacks and whites shared meals, living spaces, ideas and memberships. They did not discuss this. They simply did not provide segregated space. After workers had eaten a few meals together, danced and sang together and lived together in the dormitory housing, the workshop leaders would facilitate a discussion of the experience. This process extended to their work with unions. Highlander refused to work with any unions

which discriminated based upon race (Adams, 1975; Glen, 1996; Horton, 1990; Jacobs, 2003; Wigginton, 1992).

Highlander withdrew from working with labor organizations due to the “red-baiting” in the early 1950s, when labor organizations succumbed to the pressures of McCarthyism and requested that Highlander’s workers sign loyalty oaths. Highlander’s staff refused to do this, not because they were communists but because they believed it was unconstitutional.

The Citizenship Schools and the Civil Rights Movement

Early in its history, Highlander conducted integrated workshops and assisted in contract negotiations in which blacks and whites received equal rights and equal pay. The majority of civil rights leaders received training at Highlander at some point (Adams, 1975; Berson, 1994; Glen, 1996; Horton & Freire, 1990; Horton, 1990; Langston, 1990; Morris, 1984). The most influential program created by Highlander was the Citizenship Schools.

At that time in the 1950s and early 1960s, many southern states required that African Americans pass a literacy test before they were allowed to register to vote. Septima Clark had recently come to Highlander after being fired from her teaching job in South Carolina for her involvement with the NAACP. Horton requested Clark’s help in developing a program for St. John’s Island. Initially, he conceived of a brief program in which Horton and Clark would show the John’s Island people how to register, but Clark had worked and lived on the island and knew the literacy test was not a simple matter and would require more extensive work. She insisted that Horton accompany her to St.

John's Island so that they could meet the people and study their culture in order to develop a curriculum rooted in their society and in their needs and interests (Clark, 1990).

Within two months, the majority of the students finished the class, passed the literacy test and registered to vote. The outcomes were twofold: African Americans voted throughout the Southeast thus greatly affecting its political power base and other communities replicated the model and opened their own Citizenship Schools. Horton testified that the idea spread like wildfire. He met women from Mississippi who described this new program they had developed using the Citizenship School Model. They had never been to Highlander, but had implemented their program based upon the story of success of the Citizenship Schools. Clark and Robinson developed workshops to train teachers from throughout the South (Clark, 1990, Crawford et al., 1990, Gyant & Atwater, 1996).

By 1962, there were over 600 schools active in the Southeast (Clark, 1990). As mentioned previously, Highlander ultimately lost its State Charter and had its property seized by the State of Tennessee. This was in large part due to the success of the Citizenship Schools which threatened the political power structure of the White racist south. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) took over the Citizenship Schools during the time of the seizure and relocation of Highlander (Glen, 1996; Horton, 1971/1989). Clark went with the program as the educational director while Robinson remained with Highlander although she had become the primary "teacher of teachers." Clark was joined by Dorothy Cotton and Andrew Young after the program was transferred to the SCLC (Clark, 1990; Wigginton, 1992). Martin Luther King was repeatedly asked by other leaders (male ministers) in the SCLC why Clark was on the

staff and on the board. He would remind them that she had developed the “whole program” for the Citizenship Schools (Clark, 1990). Andrew Young (quoted in Wigginton, 1992) suggests that these Citizenship Schools “laid the whole foundation” for the Civil Rights Movement.

After the seizure of its property by the state of Tennessee and relocation to Knoxville, Highlander continued to provide workshops for civil rights leaders. Although Highlander had turned over the Citizenship Schools to the SCLC, it continued to provide space for college students to meet with Ella Baker and other more experienced organizers. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed after meetings at Highlander and in colleges in North Carolina (Glen, 1996). Highlander held voter education workshops in the Mississippi Delta, assisted in the planning for Freedom Summer and established the Southwide Voter Education Internship Project to assist the newly enfranchised voters in the South (Glen, 1996). In a 1968 speech, Horton said, “Highlander was the place to which students came, labor came, SNCC, people from Martin Luther King’s organization came and [we] were able to work out programs for these organizations” (quoted in Jacobs, 2003 p.114). However, Horton (1990) reports that by the mid-sixties the success of the Civil Rights Movement led Highlander staff to consider changing their focus to groups and organizations that were beginning to organize, who might have a greater need for Highlander’s leadership training and community education. Glen (1996) reports, “The growing number of black organizations and leaders confirmed Highlander’s ... conclusion that it was no longer a necessary element in the civil rights movement” (p. 257-58). Highlander turned its attention to

rural Appalachia which “seemed ripe for change” due to the federal programs stemming from President Lyndon Johnson’s 1964 War on Poverty.

Highlander after the Civil Rights Movement

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Highlander staff worked almost exclusively with the people of Appalachia and their particular concerns. As stated previously, in 1971, Highlander Research and Education Center moved to its current location in New Market, Tennessee. By then, Highlander’s educational focus had once again shifted. Highlander resumed its involvement in labor education and union organizing. In addition, Highlander worked with women and men fighting toxic waste and strip mining in their communities (Highlander Archives, Glen, 1996).

In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Highlander staff assisted their students to link their local experiences to the experiences of workers across the world. Labor education in 1970s included offering adult literacy classes and led Highlander staff to become involved with the International Association of Adult Education and to assist with a 1983 gathering in Nicaragua. Highlander assisted Union Carbide workers to reach out to those affected in India after the Bhopal Union Carbide disaster in a plant very similar to theirs. Plant closings in the 1990s influenced Highlander staff to develop economic justice workshops as well as to create the “Mountains to the Maquiladoras” program in which former plant workers in Tennessee met with their counterparts in Mexico. According to Susan Williams, Highlander’s coordinator of education, these interactions formed into a multi-national group which worked together to fight the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Upon returning to the United States, the former factory workers noticed the growing number of Mexican immigrants in their communities. In some places, they assisted the Mexicans to organize new union locals. Since the early 1990s, Highlander has offered educational workshops for these new immigrants and is currently working with Latinos in the South to develop a new social movement. In addition to this work with new immigrants, today Highlander workshops support LGBT work, youth and young adult leadership development, cultural work, and organizing work in African American communities as well as supporting local community organizing.

There is very little research and analysis of the work of Highlander after 1965. Even when the literature does not focus on the labor movement and the civil rights movement, it focuses upon the method and the critical pedagogy of Horton, ignoring the work of Highlander's educators like Septima Clark (see Phenix, 1991; Thayer-Bacon, 2002, 2004). Bill Saunders (1991), an organizer in the South Carolina in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, attests to the support he received from Highlander. "For all these actions I took part in, Myles and Highlander were an integral part" (p.62). Mike Clark (quoted in Clark and Greer, 1991), who served as the director of Highlander in the 1970s, states; "No one has ever looked very closely at the accomplishments of our work in the seventies. If a complete analysis were done, we might discover that our work helped lay the foundation in Appalachia for the rapidly growing American environmental movement" (p. 56). Highlander's work focused at that time on "strip mining, health clinics, black lung disease, mine health and safety, cultural revival, union organizing, and toxic pollution."

John Gaventa (1991), the director during the 1980s, traces the development of Highlander's educational programs during his tenure. He states that in the eighties the

programs expanded to “include other cultural and geographical parts of the South ... economic education, youth leadership, participatory research” (p. 69). This was in addition to the focus on environmental pollution established in the seventies. Horton traveled throughout the country and the world in the last decade of his life to gather data from other Highlander-like schools of workers and activists (Gaventa, 1991; Kohl, 1991). Gaventa and the Highlander staff used these contacts to

develop working partnerships with similar popular education centers in other parts of the world ... to create educational exchanges between communities affected by Union Carbide toxic chemicals in West Virginia and Bhopal, between women textile workers in Tennessee and the maquiladora zone in Mexico, between popular educators in Appalachia and Nicaragua, between human rights activists in the South and in Latin America. (Gaventa, 1991, p. 70).

According to Pam McMichael, Highlander’s current Executive Director, Highlander staff have been working with Mexican immigrants since the early nineties, conducting environmental workshops since the seventies and continue to address labor issues and racism as they have throughout its history. They did not address sexism until the early nineties (Clark & Greer, 1991; Morris 1991). Mike Clark “confesses” (quoted in Clark and Greer, 1991), “I completely missed the chance to connect Highlander to the women’s movement -- despite the best efforts of some staff and friends who tried to educate me” (p.56). Morris (1999) notes that the strict focus on “adults as the agents of change” ignored the role of teenagers in the civil rights movements as well as in other historical social movements. Highlander is addressing this today through its youth leadership program (Heller & Hawkins, 1995).

Problem Statement

Women have had a profound impact upon the work of Highlander. This can best be summarized by the following:

- Zilphia Johnson Horton brought music and drama to Highlander thus transforming the educational methodology.
- Mary Lawrence constantly adapted and improved labor workshops to incorporate indigenous wisdom through constant evaluation and innovation.
- Septima Clark created the most influential and successful education program in Highlander's history, in which she developed radical educational methodologies similar to those espoused by Freire a decade later.
- June Rostan brought her experience as a working class feminist to Highlander, thus incorporating specifically women's issues and women's needs into the curricula for the first time in the 1970s.
- In the 1980s, Vicki Creed and Linda Martin challenged the hierarchical power structure of Highlander by instituting a collaborative leadership model.
- In the 1990s and 2000s, Suzanne Pharr and Pam McMichael became the first women to be appointed executive directors of Highlander. They broadened the direction of Highlander through their work to build coalitions across race, gender, creed, generation, sexuality and ethnicity.

Despite these profound and far-reaching actions, the story of the contribution of women is always told as an anecdote or a slight embellishment on the story of "the great man," Myles Horton. The profound actions of these women have been eclipsed by the need to

tell this story as a great man narrative. There has not been a history written that puts women at the center of the narrative.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the roles of the women of Highlander and how these women influenced the curriculum and the institutional structure of Highlander.

The research questions are:

1. What are the roles that women played at Highlander?
2. How did these women's actions impact the curriculum and institutional structure of Highlander?
3. How did the women of Highlander negotiate conflicted relationships?

Significance

This study provides an analysis of the role of the women of Highlander. It also describes and analyzes the internal power struggles of this particular social movement organization. In my social justice work over the years, I have found that many activists and community leaders have an idealized view of social movement organizations such as Highlander. They expect that if an organization is working for justice and equality, the organization itself must always act justly. This ignores the social location of the institution and the ways in which its workers may exhibit unexamined and unjust attitudes or practices. The story of the women of Highlander can assist workers in other social movement organizations in dealing with their internal power struggles as well.

This study will contribute to our understanding of the history of Highlander by reframing the telling of the history from the "great man" story of Highlander to one which focuses upon the communities of (in this case) women who shaped it as an

institution and created its unique educational methodology. This study will also make a contribution to the field of social movements. Until recently, much of social movement literature analyzed formal leadership roles which were mostly filled by men. Robnett's (1997) study of the role of women in the Civil Rights Movement developed social movement theory by adding the new concept of "bridge leaders" which were mainly filled by women. An analysis of the roles played by the women of Highlander should contribute to our understanding of the function of bridge leaders in other social movements and social movement organizations.

In addition, this research will contribute to the field of Women's Studies. Many researchers who study the women's movement struggle to reframe the common periodization of the movement into first, second and third waves. These have been critiqued by women of color who suggest that these periodizations focus solely upon white and middle class women's struggle while ignoring the continued activism of poor women and women of color throughout the 20th century (Roth, 2004). In *Separate Roads to Feminism*, Roth (2004) chronicles how Black women and Chicana women negotiated feminism within race and culture-based civil rights movements. Her study documents the ways in which women of color incorporate the struggle against sexism while working within these movements. This study of the women of Highlander could contribute to women's studies literature by chronicling the work of women in Appalachia and the South and how they also incorporated feminist principles in their work towards economic and racial justice.

Finally, the study will contribute to the Field of Adult Education by adding to our understanding of Highlander itself. Many adult educators take pride in being a part of

field which supports social justice. Highlander is one of the few social justice-focused institutions of adult education which we study as adult educators and offer as an example of adult education as social action. It is a unique adult education institution which has educated activists for over seventy-five years. It is critical that we, as adult educators, continue to document and analyze this institution in order to further our understandings of the connections between education, community organizing and social movements.

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation has been written as a book; consequently, I did not use the traditional five chapter format. Rather than a free standing literature review succeeding this chapter, the literature is dispersed in the opening chapter and in the findings chapters. The review of the literature about Highlander is included in this chapter. I discuss my approach and offer an overview of the literature of Women's Learning and Feminist Pedagogy in Chapter 2. A review of social movement literature and a presentation of my findings of the various roles of the women of Highlander are included in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I discuss conflicted relationships at Highlander. I discuss the implications of these findings and how they may contribute to improving educational practices in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the method that I used in this study.

The chapter has six major sections. In the first section, I deal with the organizing framework. In the second section, I review the literature of women's learning and feminist pedagogy. My subjectivity statement is presented in the third section. In the fourth section, I discuss how I became involved with Highlander and in this research. An overview of the approach is presented in the fifth section. A description of the data is included in the sixth section.

Organizing Framework

Although this is an inductive study in which my primary goal was to let the data talk, my research was not without an orientation. Perhaps the most important organizing concept for me as I approached this work is drawn directly from Robnett's (1997) book, *How long? How long? African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*, and the notion of bridge leader. Robnett (1997) conducted a qualitative, historical study in order to examine the leadership roles of women in the Civil Rights Movement and concluded that the gendered roles of women in the movement led to its success. Through this analysis, Robnett (1997) discovered the ways in which gendered roles and tasks formed two tiers of leadership. Robnett (1997) posits that women filled the role of "bridge leader," connecting national or regional leadership to local constituents.

Robnett's findings of the particular leadership roles which women played in the Civil Rights Movement caused me to question Highlander's traditional narratives which attribute much of its success to Myles Horton. As I reviewed the literature, I noticed that the work of the women of Highlander was rarely documented and scarcely analyzed. Robnett's findings directed me to attend to the roles of women and to the ways in which they may have contributed to Highlander's innovative educational practices and continued success. Therefore, as I approached both the data collection and data analysis, this idea of bridge leader was uppermost in my mind. This led me to look specifically for instances in the data that illustrated this in the specific context of Highlander.

A second influence on the framework for this study was Maher and Tetreault's (2001) book, *The Feminist Classroom: Dynamics of Gender, Race, and Privilege*. Whereas Robnett (1997) dealt with structural issues focusing primarily on roles, Maher and Tetreault (2001) bring this into actual classroom interactions. Such concepts as mastery, authority, voice and positionality become key to the understanding of the interactions of these women not necessarily in the classroom per se but in the social environment of an educational organization as a whole. This led me to constantly question as I was working through the data. To what extent are the women of Highlander speaking with authority? To what extent do they have a voice in the decisions? To what extent did their positionality deny them either that authority or that voice?

Maher and Tetreault's (2001) study investigates feminist teachers and their classrooms in different institutions of higher education across the country. They discuss their findings using four themes common to interactions in all classrooms. These are mastery, authority, voice and positionality. The educators in Maher and Tetreault's

(2001) study worked to establish learning environments which challenged patriarchal as well as racist, classist and heterosexist structures. While many of the women educators of Highlander would not self-identify as “feminist teachers,” the questions and concerns they presented in the 1970s and 1980s regarding the intersections of racism, classism and sexism at Highlander and in the region in which they work (Women’s Workshop, 1978; Women’s Workshop, 1996) suggested that utilizing Maher and Tetreault’s (2001) framework would be useful in understanding their struggles as educators.

Feminist Pedagogy and Women’s Learning

In order to better explain how Maher and Tetreault’s (2001) conceptual framework will assist in the analysis of this conflict category, I offer the reader a review of the literature of women’s learning and feminist pedagogy which is very similar to Highlander’s radical educational methodology. The literature reviewed in this section comes from the fields of adult education and women’s studies. The literature is analyzed utilizing the framework of educator, learner, process, context and method.

Women As Learners

Tisdell (1998) suggests that in adult education research, while there is an increasing discussion of women as learners, there is a tendency to consider ‘generic women’ with limited consideration of race, class, or sexual orientation” (p. 140). This leads to an essentialist position in which “there is an immutable, eternal, and transhistorical essence of femaleness” (Kolmar & Bartowski, 2005 p.47). Tisdell (1998) states that the conception of “women as learners” shifts within the various feminist frameworks from radical to progressive to postmodern.

In a similar manner to which early adult education researchers described adult education programs and how these programs demonstrated that adults can learn (Thorndike et al., 1928 as quoted in Merriam, 1993 p. 6), early researchers of women's learning, focused upon describing the treatment of girls and women in formal educational institutions and the ways in which women were excluded from educational opportunities, research and curricula across a variety of fields of study (AAUW Report, 1992; Sadker, 1994; Warren, 1998). The emphasis of these studies was upon the ways in which patriarchal domination is communicated overtly and covertly through preferred treatment of men in education in the classroom structure as well as in the selection of topics focused upon men and "men's concerns."

Women's Ways of Knowing (Belenky et al. (1986/1997) is one of the most frequently cited studies of women's learning (Hayes & Flannery, 2000; Maher & Tetreault, 2001; Tisdell, 1998). This study includes interviews with 135 women from a variety of ages, classes, races, ethnicities and institutions. It is the first comprehensive study of women's learning. In *Women as Learners*, Hayes and Flannery (2000), use a feminist perspective as the organizing framework.... to address the prevailing lack of information and understanding about adult women's learning and education" (pp. xi-xii).

Their stated purpose was to

assemble, in one place, knowledge about women and their learning ... place women's learning experiences in the contexts where women live – namely, the prevailing interactive and dynamic social structures (economic, political, social and cultural) and institutions that influence women's learning and their participation in educational activities ... promote understanding of women's diversity.... (and) make recommendations for future research and practice. (p.xiii)

Hayes and Flannery (2000) identified four important themes in their review of the literature: identity and self-esteem, voice, connection, and transformation. Belenky et al. (1986/1997) identified six “ways of knowing” exhibited by the women they interviewed: silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge/separate knowing, procedural knowledge/connected knowing and constructed knowledge.

The “silent” woman “experiences herself as mindless and voiceless.... with an external locus of control” (Belenky et al., 1986/1997, p. 15). She accepts the traditional women’s role, “sees authority as all powerful....and blind obedience (as necessary) to keep out of trouble” (p. 28). She is “seen but never heard” (p. 32). Flannery (2000) suggests that the “silent” woman’s learning as well as other women’s learning is greatly influenced by the woman’s sense of identity and self esteem. She states, “Identity is developed through internal and external influences” (p. 55) and that the process of identity formation is gendered and begins even before birth. This gendered process of identity formation is reinforced throughout women’s lives by their families, schools, churches and even in the workplace.

The woman who learns through received knowledge perceives “listening as a way of knowing ... words as central to the knowing process.... (and) experiences listening as a very active and demanding process. The ideas she hears are concrete and dualistic” (Belenky et al., 1986/1997, pp. 36-37). Like the silent knower, the receiving knower looks to “authorities” for her knowledge whom she depends upon “to tell what is right and what is wrong ... (she does) not realize authorities have the capacity to construct knowledge” (p.39).

Hayes (2000) found that the concept of voice was a “pervasive and powerful image in women’s stories about learning, . . . complex with many layers and facets of meaning” (p. 80). She found three uses of voice in their reading of the literature: literal in which voice refers to actual speech; metaphorical, in which voice is related to identity; and political, in which voice represents political power. The concept of voice is critical to the formation of subjective knowing, procedural knowing and constructed knowing as described by Belenky et al. (1986/1997). The silent woman provides one example of the importance of voice (or lack of voice) which Hayes (2000) found in much of the literature.

Subjective knowledge is defined as inner voice. “For many of the women, the move away from silence and an externally oriented perspective on knowledge and truth eventuates in a new conception of truth as personal, private, and subjectively known or intuited” (Belenky et al., 1986/1997, p. 54). The “quest for self” is a critical feature of subjective knowing. Within this kind of knowing, there is a “distrust of logic, analysis, abstraction and even language itself” (p. 71) which makes it difficult to relate this inner knowing to others or even to articulate the new sense of self that emerges in the transition to subjective knowing.

Procedural knowledge reaches beyond the “gut” or intuition of subjective knowledge and recognizes “how intuition may deceive . . . (It states,) some truths are truer than others. Truth can be shared. Expertise can be respected”(Belenky et al., 1986/1997, p. 93). Procedural knowers “Speak in measured tones . . . and engage in conscious, deliberate, systematic analysis” (p. 93-94). Objectivity reenters the knowing

process and the learner discovers differing perspectives of knowledge, construction and “truth.”

Belenky et al. (1986/1997) divide procedural knowledge into two types of learning and knowledge: separate and connected knowing. This too is dependent upon the image of self. In separate knowing, the learner experiences the “self as predominantly separate.... morality is based on impersonal procedures for establishing truth” (p.102). In connected knowing, the learner experiences the self as connected in which truth becomes known through caring. Many of the separate knowers had “recently graduated from a traditional, elite, liberal arts college (Belenky et al., p. 103). Doubting is central to separate knowing. This is the opposite of subjective knowing. It is objective, rational, and analytical. It deliberately excludes the intuition of subjective knowing. “Separate knowers try to ‘weed out the self’ so that the flowers of pure reason may flourish” (p. 109). Conversely,

connected knowing builds on the subjectivists’ conviction that the most trustworthy knowledge comes from personal experience rather than pronouncements of authorities ... connected knowers develop procedures for gaining access to other people’s knowledge. At the heart of these procedures is the capacity for empathy. (Belenky et al., 1986/1997 p. 113)

Because connected knowers experience the “self” through connection to others, they begin by listening for the “smaller truths” of others’ lives. They withhold judgment and seek to learn collaboratively in groups with other connected knowers. They recognize that it is possible to arrive at smaller, partial truths only because they can never truly understand another’s experience. Through deep listening they not only begin to understand (although only partially), but they also begin to “shift the focus to other people’s ways of thinking” (p. 115). Belenky et al. (1986/1997) discovered that

connected knowing was the most common type of knowing used by the women they interviewed. Flannery (2000) develops this concept further by describing connected learning in conjunction with the self and with others. She suggests,

The Common elements of connection with/in the self ... global processing, subjective knowing, and intuition, ... deal with connection to one's body, one's experience, one's feeling. They emphasize the importance of and the validation of personal experience ... the connection of oneself to others is about learning and knowing where affiliative connection with others occurs (Flannery, 2000, pp. 123-124).

Constructed knowledge “integrates feeling and thinking” (Belenky et al., 1986/1997 p. 130). Constructed knowers are “articulate and reflective people.... Each concerned herself with issues of inclusion/exclusion, separation and connection (p. 133). They come to understand “all knowledge is constructed and the knower is an intimate part of the known” (p. 137). They emphasize the importance of the commitment to act upon knowledge in order to benefit the larger community. This process is similar to some of the processes of transformative learning as discussed by Brooks (2000 in Hayes and Flannery).

1. It requires the sharing of particular experiences and the collaborative development of abstract concepts.
2. It includes a moral dimension as the narrator weaves a criticism of the past and implies an idea of a better future.
3. This transformative process engages us not only mentally, but emotionally, spiritually and physically. (p. 152)

Hayes and Flannery (2000) describe women's learning as a kaleidoscope in which they divide ideas of women's learning into three categories: psychological, structural and post-structural. Psychological feminist theories “emphasize an understanding of the differences between women and men, using constructs as gender-role socializations” (p.

10). This was the primary lens through which *Women's Ways of Knowing* was analyzed and written (Tisdell, 1998). Structural feminist theories focus “on understanding the social structures that contribute to women’s oppression. They attempt to explain how patriarchy and capitalism affect women’s status and experience”(p. 12). Structural feminist theories focus upon the impact of the social context on women’s learning. Post-structural feminist theories “attempt to recognize and understand how each of us is at once oppressed and privileged and how this experience continually changes according to the contexts in which they find themselves.... (This) emphasizes the intersections of multiple oppressions (pp. 13-14).

The Learning Process

This discussion of the learning process focuses upon the process for constructed knowers which appear to be the foci in much of the literature discussing feminist pedagogy and women’s learning. Maher and Tetreault (1996) discuss the process of the construction of knowledge in the classroom in “*Women's Ways of Knowing* in Women’s Studies, Feminist Pedagogies, and Feminist Theory.” The process begins with individual’s story, explores the history of groups that form that story, analyzes the group dynamics of a particular event in that story and connects it to the wider society to reveal deeper cultural and institutional elements.

hooks (1994) refers to the creation of a “participatory space” as crucial in the process of emancipatory education (p. 15). Emancipatory education requires a process of constructed knowledge in order to examine oppressive structures and systems.

Goldberger, Maher and Tarule (1996) discuss methods and concepts which require this participatory space as well. Dialogue that forms relationship and constructs or shapes

knowledge occurs within this space. The creation of the space and facilitation of the dialogue require respect for the students, the teacher and the free exchange of experiences and ideas. The aim of emancipatory education also requires the liberation of the students and the teacher and the engaging of the voices of the oppressed and silenced in order to oppose the dominant power structures and ultimately to build a more just society.

hooks (2003) discusses the importance of spirituality for the learning process in the following:

It is essential that we build into our teaching vision a place where spirit matters, a place where our spirits can be renewed and our souls restored ... to me the classroom continues to be a place where paradise can be realized, a place where spirit matters, where all we learn and all we know leads us to greater connections, into greater understanding of life lived in community (p.183).

Creating a truly safe space means that all aspects of that space must be examined: the foundation or context (to be discussed below) in which the space resides, the voices and positionalities of the students and teachers who construct the space and the concepts of mastery which hold the space together.

Community seems to be important for the process of learning in a safe space as well (hooks, 2003). Sometimes a class may develop into a community but more important is the position of students and professors within communities that nurture and challenge. Much of the literature of feminist pedagogy and women's learning refers to the need of educators to reflect upon their teaching with other feminist educators. Belenky et al. (1986/1997) emphasize the need for "a community apart" which nurtures women or people of color and sustains them in opposition. Nurturing and challenging communities are needed to continue the work of the safe feminist classroom in order to create a society in which all may grow and contribute for the benefit of all.

Maier & Tetreault (2001) suggest that naming is critical in building a safe space of feminist learning. The need for involvement in community must be named and its development encouraged as part of the learning process. Naming the privilege represented by the institution, students and professors is necessary for true dialogue and critical analysis. It is vital to the formation of this truly safe learning space that students and professors who have been “de-centered by society” come to voice and name their experience and expertise.

Belenky et al. (1986/1997) suggest that “confirmation of the self as knower” (p. 193) is critical to creating a successful learning process for women. Many of the women they interviewed reported being treated as though they were stupid. This was particularly true for less privileged women. While much of traditional education may begin by deconstructing previous knowledge to get to the “truth,” this is detrimental to women’s learning and, especially, for older women returning to school. Some feminist teachers may affirm these women’s ability to learn, but they “need to know they already know something” (p. 195). Belenky et al. (1986/1997) utilized the concept of connected knowing to develop the concept of connected teaching. They suggest the metaphor of the “teacher as midwife (who) helps learners articulate and expand their latent knowledge” (p. 217). The aforementioned learning processes reflect a variety of educational philosophies - humanistic, progressive and radical - as well as a variety of feminisms from psychological to structural to post-structural.

The Context

Hayes (2000) stress the importance of understanding women’s learning from their particular social context. Hansman (2001) states,

The core idea of situated cognition is that learning is inherently social in nature. The nature of the interactions among learners, the tools they use within these interactions, the activity itself and the social context in which the activity takes place shapes learning. (p. 45)

Maher and Tetreault (1996) demonstrate how the institutional context affects feminist pedagogy as well as voice and positionalities. Goldberger, Maher and Tarule (1996), Maher and Tetreault (1996) and hooks (2003) point to the importance of naming White privilege operating in the classroom and in society in order to create oppositional learning opportunities. Hayes (2000) discusses the importance of analyzing education systems, practices, method and content for evidence of hidden curricula in which “implicit messages are conveyed” (p. 25). These hidden curricula affirm traditional and subservient roles for white women, women of color and poor women. Hayes (2000) suggests that “to understand women’s learning, it is important to understand the ‘texts’ they encounter in relation to gender, race, class and other social structures” (p. 26). This understanding of “context” challenges structures and attempts to understand women’s learning in relation to these structures.

As previously mentioned, hooks’ (2003) and Maher and Tetreault (1996) emphasize the importance of community in feminist education. These writers suggest that community is vital to creating the appropriate context for learning which they define as a safe, trusting and open space in which learners are nurtured and challenged. hooks (2003) also stresses the necessity of a diverse community of progressive educators who witness by their alternative relationships to the hegemonic patriarchy of educational institutions. Maher and Tetreault (1996) discuss the communal nature of knowing in their presentation of “positionalities.” They analyze the classroom discourse from the

viewpoint of positionalities which rely on assisting students to identify and analyze the communities and community relations which form them as students. Some of these formational communities are broad-based and some are specific. The “individual’s positionality is relational and evolving and as such is subject to critique... as long as their own locations (and relations) within these networks are explored.” (Maher and Tetreault, 1996, p.160).

hooks (2003) emphasizes building trust in forming community. She stresses the importance of radical openness to this process which requires “generosity of spirit, courage, solidarity and willingness to reconsider long-standing beliefs” (p.110). She presents a dialogue with a white male colleague who is also working to address racism and sexism. This dialogue reveals another crucial community – a community of diverse but like-minded progressive educators who challenge and nurture one another. She discusses teaching as a calling to serve others.

Feminist Pedagogy

Feminist pedagogy troubles privilege. At its best, it questions dominant male, white, wealthy privilege as it analyzes gender, race and class dynamics at work in the classroom, society and the world (hooks 1994). This definition of feminist pedagogy most closely resembles the radical educational philosophy in the post-structural feminist tradition (Tisdell, 1998). Post-structural feminist pedagogy foregrounds positionality and the connections between individual and social structures (Maher and Tetreault, 2001; Tisdell, 1998).

Ellsworth (1989) also presents a post-structural feminist pedagogy when she challenges the concept of dialogue in the feminist classroom when the students’ and the

teachers' "knowledges are contradictory, partial and irreducible" (p. 321). She suggests that in dealing with the multiplicity of oppressions, dialogue is not always possible and suggests that classroom practices "must support the kind of contextually politically and historically situated identity politics called for by Alcoff, hooks and others" (p. 322). Her emphasis is upon the shifting meaning of identities and the realization that the classroom can be a "site of dispersed, shifting, and contradictory contexts of knowing that coalesce differently in different moments of student/professor speech, action and emotion" (p. 322).

Weiler (1991) places feminist pedagogy within the radical (post-structural) educational tradition as well in her discussion of "Freire and Feminist Pedagogy of Difference." Both Weiler (1991) and Malka Fisher (2001) tie feminist pedagogy to feminism as a social movement and discuss the ways in which the method of consciousness-raising may be brought to feminist pedagogy; thus locating this pedagogy and these learners within the feminist social movement.

Johnson-Bailey and Lee (2005) reveal how the social context of White supremacy impacts authority in the classroom in their discussion of the resistance they encounter as women of color in positions of authority as feminist professors in "Women of Color in the Academy: Where's Our Authority in the Classroom?" They state, "At best, student resistance is operationalized as apathy and, in its extreme, as open hostility" (p. 117). Some of these students resist feminist pedagogical methods since they are different from traditional classroom methods. At its mildest, this kind of resistance simply occurs as a response to change. The article also discusses another form of resistance that replicates dominator culture in the classroom. The role of the teacher's authority in a feminist

classroom is very important to clarify and make transparent. As Maher and Tetreault (1996) discuss, it is important to make visible the various power structures in the classroom and the academy. So too, it may be helpful for the teacher to reveal her own “coming to voice” process.

Warren (1989) also discusses authority but concentrates upon the bias of “received authority” in most disciplines and recommends an integrative model for curriculum transformation. Warren suggests that her model provides a framework to reshape a discipline from “malestream” to “redefined and reconstructed” to women and men of all backgrounds, races, classes, lifestyles and nationalities. With a similar goal in mind, but utilizing a different method, hooks (2003) encourages students and teachers to become active resisters to patriarchal, white supremacist, capitalist, and heterosexist systems through involvement in communities with diverse members. She encourages teachers to form community with other teachers who have similar values to investigate what is “mattered” in their classrooms, in their practice and in their research. These communities support and critically evaluate and confront one another and the structure. They work to matter new practice, new actions, new structures, new knowledge to form a new and better society in which all are valued and recognized as real human beings with knowledge, gifts and talents for the benefit of all.

Deay and Stitzel (1998) created exercises so students would reflect upon the community within which they lived. hooks (1994) described the necessity for whites to engage in activism for racial justice which draws them into diverse communities. Deay and Stitzel’s (1998) exercises challenged their resistant students to identify sexism, racism and class privilege. They suggest that classes employing feminist pedagogy

trouble students' core values rooted in privilege. This should be done within a "safe class." Underlying the concept of the safe class is respect for all people in the classroom and the belief that all are capable of learning and changing; so that while the topics of the class may feel unsafe, its foundation of open, caring and managed learning provide structures of support for dialogue and change (Maher and Tetreault, 2001).

At the conclusion of their book, Belenky et al. (1986/1997) provide a portrait of the connected teacher:

This teacher managed not only to present herself as a person while retaining her objectivity but to present objectivity as a personal issue. By her actions as well as her words she made it clear that to overlook or ignore or throw out a piece of data of another person's words was a violation of her own person.... The personal became professional ... and the subjectivity and objectivity became one. (p. 226)

Hugo (2000) challenges the field of adult education to incorporate the findings of these authors and others who include women's learning.

As professionals, we have a problem knowing how best to respond to the diversity of women who are learners in our contexts. We need to understand how broader social structural factors constrain some kinds of teaching and encourage others. One of the stronger implications of this volume is that adult educators need to understand better their own locations within their social worlds in order to recognize and negotiate the individual or collective issues women bring as learners. (p. 188)

Much of the literature of women's learning and feminist pedagogy stresses the predominance of connected knowing which requires a plan for connected teaching, but it is important to note that Belenky et al. (1986/1997) found different ways of knowing among those women they interviewed. The emphasis on the intuition of subjective knowing and connected knowing or procedural knowing mirrors societal structures with the hidden curriculum of constructing "traditional women." While these studies

emphasized the impact of social structures upon women's ways of knowing, the emphasis on connected knowing, affectivity and intuition resembles the centuries old debates that "men think" and "women feel." It is still problematic to discuss "women's" learning in that it may lead to unitary concepts of women that lock women into "biologically-determined" roles.

However, it is important to understand social structures which constrain or enable the learning of women, to identify these structures and attempt to subvert them in order to create more equitable learning environments. In following the writing of Ellsworth (1989) and hooks (1994, 2003), it may be important to work with students in order to address social injustices outside formal learning settings. Highlander is a setting in which these kinds of interchanges can take place. While the work of Belenky et al. (1986/1997) state that it is vitally important in understanding the diversity of "ways of knowing," it is important to identify structures that subvert these individual conceptions, to deconstruct "accepted binaries" which represent categories of oppression and to incorporate cooperative learning which enables learners to act upon their social context as well.

While Highlander's educational methodology does not privilege women and the analysis of gender-based oppression, it does promote a radical educational methodology similar to feminist pedagogy. According to Helen Lewis, the first woman to serve as Highlander's Acting Director, Highlander's pedagogy also troubles privilege and attempts to subvert the South's "colonizing economic and political system." It too relies on an "engaged pedagogy" within a "participatory space" similar to that discussed by hooks (1994). The educators of Highlander value an experiential or subjective knowledge and emphasize the indigenous knowledge of their workshop participants. Likewise,

community, activism and collaboration are critical components to both the workshop participants who come out of community organizing groups and to the learning process which is located within the residential community at Highlander.

Subjectivity Statement

I have been involved in social action and the education of activists for the past fifteen years. In fact, it was the dearth of good research about adult's roles in social movements, and in particular young adults' involvement in social movements, that led me to return to the academy and seek this degree. I came to this study of the women of Highlander in order to better understand how people become involved in social movements. As an educator, I hoped to use the findings from my studies and my research in order to educate future generations of activists working for social change.

I came to the academy highly suspicious of "objective" research. My passion for social justice and skepticism of "objective truth" of history stems from my childhood. In reflecting upon my life, I find that people and place are critical in my experience of transformative learning. As a child, my family and I traveled extensively in Montana, visiting relatives. We would stop on the side of the road for a break and read the historical markers, signs which often commemorated triumphant battles of the U.S. government subduing the hostile Indians or of massacres of settlers by Indians. We also stopped and noted the journey of the Nez Pierce Indians who fled the U.S. Army and nearly escaped to Canada before they ran out of food. My mother deconstructed these historical signs and we talked about the American Indian Movement and genocide (this was in the 1970s at the height of the American Indian Movement).

We visited my Great Aunt Annie frequently. She lived in the mountains near Glacier National Park in a small house with electricity but no running water. My memory of these visits is of the freedom to roam the woods and play in the creek, carrying water from it to the house. But mostly, I remember my extended family's day-long conversations about the state of the world and the ways in which it should be changed in order to be more just. When I was quite young, I was encouraged to join in these conversations. This, then, is the context in which I was formed. I was taught that the U.S. Declaration of Independence did not include everyone and that freedom and self-determination still do not exist for all. I was taught to question authority.

My grandmothers' lives also provided a model for me. My maternal grandmother had six children and my fraternal grandmother had twelve children. Both of their husbands were alcoholics. Therefore, both of my grandmothers separated from their husbands and provided for their children themselves. Their lives taught me to challenge patriarchal structures. They valued education and supported me in my educational endeavors. Whenever I think that life is hard, I remember them and think, "I have their strength in my blood and bones. I can do anything." Their courage to move outside traditional marriage frameworks in order to survive provided me with my earliest questioning of patriarchy and sexism. I find this feminist worldview is so ingrained that at times it is difficult to identify.

Maher and Tetreault (2001) discuss the importance of analyzing the influence of positionality upon the role and learning of the students; likewise I believe it is important for me as a researcher to identify the ways in which my positionalities have shaped me and might influence me as a researcher. At this time in my life, I feel that I am in a

privileged positionality. I live in the United States, a notoriously privileged country, and am studying in one of the top adult education programs in the country. During most of my studies, I was a full-time doctoral student and had a research assistantship that allowed me to live, however simply. In reflecting upon my positionality, I find that I have been raised to problematize concepts of race, class and gender.

I am white and yet not-white. I am part Cree, but mostly Celtic. I spent my early childhood in Montana where there are McDermotts still living as part of the Cree Indian Nation. I was told by my uncle, "We don't talk about being Indians" and we never visited "those relatives" or participated in Indian Days which were equated with poverty and alcoholism in my father's mind. But, my mother, a natural radical educator, took every opportunity to remind us of our heritage. I have an awareness of being "not white" and "passing" in Montana, and yet everywhere else, I am identified as white and thus have frequently benefited from white privilege.

I am middle class through my education and profession, and yet I experienced poverty at various times as a child when my parents were out of work or in school. The awareness of this poverty is an adult awareness, however. There was extreme poverty in my parents' childhoods (they grew up without running water and adequate food); but as a child I didn't see us as poor. It is only as an adult, through conversations with middle class friends, that I recognize that I have a different worldview formed out of my experience of poverty and the critical education that surrounded me as a child. Growing up, I discussed class and poverty and critiqued our society. These past experiences and positionalities place me within the radical and progressive traditions of adult education (Zinn, 1997; Zinn, 2004) in which I value the learner and the learner's experience and

believe that education which fosters critical thinking and the questioning of dominant power structures has the potential to bring about true democracy and a more just society. I bring this bias toward radical and progressive education with me as a researcher as well as in my selection of topics and the relationships I form with the women I interview.

I am a woman and have experienced sexism in my education and career. I was among the second wave of women to attend engineering school in the early 1980s. At that time, some companies would not hire women because they said that the chemicals they used might affect women's reproductive systems. Some professors questioned the value of teaching women who they thought were surely there to get a "Mrs." instead of a B.S. After leaving engineering school, I earned degrees in mathematics and theology and worked as a lay minister in the Catholic Church. I have been the first woman hired for several ministry jobs throughout my career. While I was thoroughly supported in my work as a lay minister, I experienced the personal and institutional conflict of being a woman working in a blatantly and unrepentantly patriarchal structure. Being in the forefront of women in engineering and women in ministry has led me to always look for the ways in which women act and are treated in any environment. It led me to seek a certificate in women's studies so that I would have more academic tools with which to analyze women's roles and women's resistance.

Another positionality marker which greatly affects me and my concern for justice is my Roman Catholic faith tradition and the tenets of Catholic Social Teaching (DeBerri, Hug, Henriot, & Schultheis, 2004). Catholic Social Teaching is rooted in the concept of universal human rights which respect the unique gifts and needs of all people, the belief in the concept of subsidiarity in which local knowledge and talents should

shape responses to local problems, and the right to and responsibility of education to serve the needs of society. Catholic Social Teaching and my understanding of liberation theology and work with Central American Refugees align with the concepts of the radical educator in which we, educators and learners, must work cooperatively to bring about social change and form a more just society.

One of the areas in which I worked in the 1980s was Central American solidarity work. In 1992, I traveled with a group of college students to El Salvador where we met with some of the organizations with which we had been working. We met with Father Jon Sobrino, a professor at the University of Central America (UCA). He was the sole survivor of a religious community that had been massacred by a Salvadoran Army militia unit in 1989. The members of the religious community were the administrators of UCA and had established a research policy in which all research had to analyze El Salvador and its civil war in some way. Sobrino justified this overtly non-objective policy by stating, "To be objective in this situation is to be on the side of the oppressors" (personal communication, June 19, 1992). This has shaped my vision of research and higher education. I believe it is paramount that research matters. It should represent the work and vision of the oppressed and those who work on behalf of the oppressed. It is never right to be neutral and to use that neutrality, wittingly or unwittingly, to further exploit people. The research must serve more than me with my goal to complete my dissertation and attain a doctorate. Because of my past experienced and worldview, I was very excited to get involved with Highlander. When I found an opportunity to conduct research at Highlander Research and Education Center, I entered into a relationship with the staff and soon became part of the "History Project Team."

I bring these beliefs regarding the need to work cooperatively and suspicions of objectivity to my study of the women of Highlander. So, as I approached writing up this study, I brought with me a bias in favor of Highlander. I believe Highlander is an important adult education institution which has served to educate activists for more than seven decades. I think that is a valuable organization and hope that it will continue to educate activists for the next seventy years. In the process of working on the history project and this study of the women of Highlander, I have formed a strong working relationship with Highlander staff. In fact, at some Highlander workshops, they have introduced me as a Highlander researcher. This has impacted my research by providing me with easy access to archival data and with the women whom I interviewed. It has also impacted my writing.

Like the women I interviewed, I am concerned about how this study might be received. Some women feared that discussing conflict at Highlander could damage Highlander's legacy and myth impacting organizing in the South. In addition, Highlander relies on individual donations and grants to continue and some of the women I interviewed feared that a study which presented internal conflicts could impact these donations and grants. These concerns certainly have affected my writing. I have struggled with how to present conflict at Highlander and how the women managed this conflict. However, I think I have struggled successfully and believe that I have depicted a true and accurate picture of Highlander. At no time, did I suppress information.

How I Came to Be Involved in the Study

This research represents collaboration between the staff at Highlander and me. In May, 2006, I offered to assist Susan Williams, Highlander's coordinator of education,

with a history timeline project created to tell the story of Highlander for its 75th anniversary celebration in the fall of 2007. I told the staff that I was working on a dissertation in which I wanted to analyze adult education and social movements and that I would be interested in combining my research interests with their anniversary celebration needs. For approximately 2 ½ years, I worked as a member of the History Project Team comprised of myself, Susan Williams and Margaret Bonham from Radford College. Williams asked us to conduct interviews with workshop participants and educators who have worked at Highlander since the Civil Rights Movement because, while there has been considerable study of Highlander's work in the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s and of Highlander's work in the Labor Movement in the 1930s and 1940s, there has been little documentation or analyses of their work since then.

In preparing for these interviews, I conducted a thorough review of past studies of Highlander. I found a research gap in my review of these previous studies of Highlander. While a few studies mentioned particular women by name, only one unpublished study by Langworthy (1990), *Struggles Within Struggles: Women's Experience at Highlander Folk School*, analyzed women's experiences at Highlander. After reviewing the findings of Robnett's (1997) investigation of the critical role of women in the Civil Rights Movement, I believed that a focus upon the role of women at Highlander exploring previously unexamined leadership roles and roles assignment at Highlander would be a fruitful and informative study. When I shared this interest with Williams and the current women staff at Highlander, they voiced excitement about a project which would directly focus upon the women of Highlander; therefore, I interviewed mainly women for my part of the timeline project.

I worked regularly as a member of the Highlander History Project to create a timeline chronicling events in its seventy-five-year history. Our goal was to create various ways by which to tell the story of Highlander in order to make it accessible to a variety of interested people. To meet this goal, we worked to create several products which communicate Highlander's history. The first product was a large temporary six-panel display presenting a timeline divided into five distinct periods. We showed this temporary display to Highlander staff to attain feedback and carried it to several conferences to present the history and solicit feedback from former educators and workshop participants. We developed a smaller and more portable timeline which we shared with those whom we interviewed. We presented the results of our research at twelve conferences where we sought and received feedback from former Highlander staff and workshop participants. We used our preliminary findings to create a history booklet which was sold at the 75th anniversary celebration.

Overview of Approach

The purpose of this study was to analyze the roles of the women of Highlander and how these women influenced not only the curriculum but also the institutional structure of Highlander. I began this study with two research questions. The results of the preliminary analysis however triggered a third research question. The research questions are:

1. What are the roles that women played at Highlander?
2. How did these women's actions impact the curriculum and institutional structure of Highlander?
3. How did the women of Highlander negotiate conflicted relationships?

This is a qualitative study of the women who worked at Highlander. The research methodology was shaped by feminist research methods (Harding, 1998; Reinharz, 1992) which challenge traditional methods emphasizing an objective truth that is to be discovered by the detached researcher. Feminist research methodology proposes that researchers enter into relationship with their study participants and treat them as conversation partners. Feminist research methods challenge us as researchers to eschew colonizing methodologies in which the researcher enters the place of the other, extracts their intellectual property and reproduces it for the academic audience. Instead, using feminist research methods, researchers are encouraged to consider ways that they may “give back” to the community in which they are conducting research.

Highlander, like any social organization, is enormously complex and lends itself to any number of approaches. Even having decided to study the notion of gender, where to get a toehold on this became a bit of a challenge. I wondered if I should get down to the point where I was doing discourse analysis noting every “he” or “she” or noticing everything interviewees said about this or that. I cannot pretend as I approached this work that I was either uninvolved or naïve about the issues that were emerging. I had clear expectations for what goes on. Some of the gendered interactions stared me in the face immediately. As a way of taming this indeterminacy, I decided to analyze the role of women throughout Highlander’s history.

Data collection began in January 2007 and continued through October 2008. Interviews were transcribed for analysis throughout the data collection period. The data was analyzed using an iterative process of continuous coding of interviews and through the analysis of educational materials and other archival materials. Interview questions

were adjusted after initial interviews in order to incorporate findings from a preliminary analysis of the initial interviews and archival data.

I entered into the interviews in January 2007 with few previously conceived notions of topics or themes. In order to better understand the recent history of Highlander, I worked with Highlander's education coordinator and archivist to construct the questions for use in semi-structured interviews. The interview questions can be found in Table 1 on the next page.

These questions allowed me to explore the experience of many women who came to Highlander as participants and, later, joined the staff. But there were a few women who joined the staff without attending workshops first and so I designed another interview schedule for them. These questions are listed in Table 2 which can also be found on the next page. The questions were adapted and changed to present tense for the current staff who were also asked when they first came to Highlander. The starting point for this study was the belief that women have played a vital role in the creation and continued success of Highlander. Preliminary findings were shared with some of the women I interviewed as part of the collaborate process. Their feedback was incorporated into this study.

Description of the Data

A multi-faceted data set was utilized for this study. There are two forms of data: that which I collected myself and that which is stored in Highlander's archives. A secondary way of dividing the many data sources is into major data sources and ancillary data sources. The major data sources are those that were most relevant to my work. The

Table 1: Interview Questions for Workshop Participants

1. When were you at Highlander?
2. What brought you to Highlander?
3. Who would you identify as the people who shaped Highlander and your Highlander experience? Please describe your interactions with these people.
4. Why did you go to Highlander the first time? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What issue or relationship led you to your organizing? b. What organization are/were you connected to? c. What is/was your role in that organization? d. What workshop did you attend and when?
5. What did you hope to learn at Highlander? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What had you heard about Highlander that made you think it would be helpful to go there? b. Or – Were you sent by your organization and what did they hope you would bring back?
6. What happened when you went to Highlander? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Could you describe your experience there? b. What were your responsibilities? c. Who came to the workshops you attended? d. What were the issues for women? e. What were the issues for women staff?
7. What did coming to Highlander mean to you?
8. Is there anything else you can add about the impact of Highlander in the region?
9. Are there other people that you would recommend we interview?
10. Could you please review this Highlander timeline for the area in which you were active? Are there any activities you would add to the timeline?
11. Is there a favorite story that you would like to share from your experience at Highlander?

Table 2: Interview Questions for Past Highlander Staff

1. When were you at Highlander?
2. Who was the Director of Highlander at that time?
3. What were your responsibilities?
4. What were the issues during the time that brought people to Highlander?
5. Who came?
6. What were the issues for women?
7. What were the issues for women staff?
8. Do you have a favorite story that you would like to share from your experience at Highlander? Is there someone else who you think we should interview?

ancillary data sources were used for background but these were not subjected to systematic analysis. Table 3 (below) depicts major data sources which I relied on to answer my research questions. These were coded and analyzed systematically. Table 4 (below) depicts ancillary data sources that I used to provide essential background information for this study. These were used to supplement the analysis of the major data sources.

Table 3: Major Data Sources

Major Data Source	Description
Face-to-Face Interviews	30 Semi-structured interviews which lasted one to one and half hours.
Group Interviews	4 group interviews consisting of groups of 2 to 4 women. These interviews lasted approximately 2 hours.
Women's Workshop Notes and Tapes	Notes from participants of 1970s and 1994 Women's Workshops. Audio Tape of 1994 Women's Workshop.
Women's Correspondence	Correspondence of women staff from Highlander archives.
Member Check	Review of findings by key informants.

Table 4: Ancillary Data Sources

Ancillary Data Source	Description
Participant Observation	Attendance at Highlander workshops and work as member of Timeline History Project.
Workshop Tapes	Audio and visual tapes of Highlander workshops.
Women's Workshop Notes	Notes from participants of 1970s and 1994 Women's Workshops.
Women's Correspondence	Correspondence of women staff from Highlander archives.
Program Reports	Archival data.
Newsletters of Women's Workshops and Women-Focuses Programs	Archival data.
Interviews with Male Directors	Three of five of Highlander's male directors who are still living were interviewed.

Data sources included in-depth interviews with educators, review and analysis of video and audio-taped workshops, examination of educational materials used in the workshops and analysis of archival data concerning the early women educators of Highlander. One workshop in particular greatly informed my preliminary analyses. In the spring of 1994, Highlander sponsored a workshop for women who had worked on the staff of Highlander or had served on the board. Women from across the span of Highlander's history, from the earliest labor workers in the 1930s to Highlander's then current staff and board members, attended the workshop.

Face-to-Face Interviews

I conducted face-to-face interviews with women educators of Highlander from March 2007 to October 2008. Following the directives for "movement-relevant research" (Bevington & Dixon, 2005), I worked closely with Susan Williams to develop a study which "puts the needs of social movements at its heart" (p. 186). Therefore, she assisted me to construct a purposeful, theoretical sample (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in order to select workshop participants who represent the diversity of age, organizations, locations and time periods. We identified women from each of the time periods of Highlander: the Labor Movement period (1930s and 1940s), the Civil Rights Movement period (1950s and 1960s), the "Back to Appalachia" period (1960s and 1970s), the "Connecting to the South and the World" period (1980s and 1990s) and the Multi-Coalition Building time period of today.

These interviews were conducted in a variety of settings, in interview rooms at Highlander, conference rooms at the Appalachian Studies Conference and in women's homes. I conducted 24 interviews with women who worked at Highlander from 1946 to

2009. All these interviews were taped. First, the interviews were transcribed by a transcriptionist. Next, I listened to the tapes to check the transcripts and made corrections as necessary. Then, the transcripts were coded to find common themes. Nearly all the women whom I interviewed chose to have their full names included in this study. Many of them referred to their experience of being public figures already as community activists or as well known community educators. Only two women asked that I keep their names confidential; therefore, I assigned them pseudonyms. They appear in this study as Donna Davis and April Allen.

In addition five other transcribed interviews were included in the analysis. Three of the interviews were conducted by Susan Williams and Margaret Bonham, the other members of the History Project Team. I also included previously transcribed interviews with Mary Lawrence and Jane Sapp because I was unable to interview them. According to many of the women I interviewed, both Mary Lawrence and Jane Sapp made significant contributions to Highlander's educational and cultural methodologies. The women suggested that the insights of Mary Lawrence and Jane Sapp would be important for this study; therefore, I searched the Highlander archives for interviews with them and coded and analyzed their interview transcripts as well. (See Appendix A for a complete listing of all these interviews).

Group Interviews

Bogdan and Biklin (1998) suggest, "group interviews can be useful in bringing the researcher into the world of the subjects" (p. 100). One of the interviews involved speaking with women who had worked collaboratively to develop and execute educational programs in the 1980s. The interview process mirrored their work process

which challenged the hierarchical structure operative at Highlander at that time. Two group interviews were conducted in one of the women's homes, one was conducted at Highlander and one was conducted during a trip to Highlander's archives in Wisconsin. These interviews were also taped, transcribed and coded to find common themes just as the face-to-face interviews were.

Audio Tapes and Notes from Women's Workshops

In analyzing the tapes of workshops as well as the remaining major and ancillary data (Women's Workshop Notes, Women's Correspondence, Program Reports, Newsletters, Director's Files and Photographs) I utilized methods of Historical Inquiry (Merriam, 2000). As recommended by Merriam and Simpson (2000) I analyzed these historical documents in order to find common themes.

There were workshops for women beginning in the 1970s. Although there are not many records of these workshops, there are program notes and correspondence for them. There are notes of a gathering of women staff of Highlander in 1978, program agendas and summaries of health workshops and leadership workshops for women union leaders and transcripts of and notes from several participants in the 1994 Women's Workshop. The 1970s notes are housed in Highlander's archives located in the Wisconsin State Archives at the University of Wisconsin - Madison. The transcripts of the 1994 Women's Workshop have not yet been sent to Wisconsin. They are housed in the archives at Highlander in Tennessee. The transcripts from the 1994 Women's Workshop and the notes from the 1978 Women's Workshop were analyzed and coded as well.

The 1994 Women's Workshop was immensely helpful to my analysis of women's roles and conflicted relationships at Highlander. The Women's Workshop brought

together women who worked at Highlander from 1940 to 1994. In this workshop, panelists presented the contribution of many of the women who had worked at Highlander. Other panelists discussed the struggle to incorporate an analysis of sexism as well as classism and racism in Highlander's workshops. The final panel identified current issues for the women of Appalachia which they thought future Highlander workshops should address.

Women's Correspondence

In Highlander's archives at the Wisconsin State Archive, there are 110 archive boxes containing Highlander's records from 1932 to 1999. Most of the boxes contain staff correspondence including the correspondence of the women who worked at Highlander during its founding. A preliminary analysis of this correspondence revealed issues of gendered roles and responsibilities from the very beginning of Highlander. The analysis also revealed that women were aware of gendered roles and challenged these practices. In order to better understand women's roles, women's interactions at Highlander and their impact upon Highlander's organizational structure and educational methodology, I selected the correspondence from the 1930s and 1940s of women who were specifically named in the 1994 Women's Workshop. These women are Elizabeth (Zilla) Hawes, Zilphia Johnson Horton, Mary Lawrence and Lilian Johnson. So that you will understand the significance of their voices, take a look at Table 5 below which identifies their connection to and positions at Highlander. The volume of information from their correspondence was read repeatedly and in order to make sense of their words and to be able to draw conclusions, I systematically analyzed and coded the data highlighting key words and phrases and then grouping them thematically.

Table 5: Women at Highlander in the 1930s and 1940s

	Time at Highlander	Position at or Connection to Highlander
Lilian Johnson	1932 – 1956	Donated Monteagle farm to Highlander and served as adviser thereafter.
Elizabeth (Zilla) Hawes	1932 – 1937	One of original founders of Highlander, teacher and advisory board member.
Zilphis Johnson Horton	1935-1956	Cultural Worker
Mary Lawrence	1938-1949	Teacher and Corrdinator of Highlander’s Extension Program

Member Check

From the beginning of the collaborative History Project, we presented preliminary findings to selected board members and staff. Five of these “fact checkers” were board members and staff who were selected because they had been involved with Highlander for more than three decades. They were selected because they lived the history. Two of the “fact checkers” were newer staff who were asked to join this group as well. They were invited in order to ensure that we were not communicating using “in-house” language. These new staff had been hired in December 2006, a month before the History Project began. This process of presenting findings to these board members and staff was continued from January 2007 to October 2008.

The first gathering of these “fact checkers” was January 2007 at the Horton House at Highlander. Seven current and former staff viewed our initial history panels and offered their suggestions for additions and changes. We incorporated their suggestions in the next formation of the history panels which we brought to various conferences in

the spring and summer of 2007. In addition, we, the History Project Team, created a timeline packet which we showed women and men who were interviewed for the history project throughout 2007 and 2008. I met monthly with the History Project Team and the “fact checkers” from January 2007 to July 2007 and then on a quarterly basis until data collection was completed October 2008. Initially, the member check related primarily to the timeline. This enabled me to better understand the particular context of each of the women whom I interviewed. During my quarterly trips to Highlander, I met with the “fact checkers” individually to share additions to the timeline as well as some of my preliminary analysis. These women connected me to other women to interview and helped me to clarify my analysis particularly as it related to culture work, research, popular education and conflicted relationships.

Participant Observation

Merriam and Associates (2002) states, “observational data represent a firsthand encounter with the phenomenon of interest rather than a secondhand account obtained in an interview” (p. 13). I started working as member of the Highlander History Project in January 2007. And, my research continued for 2 and ½ years. In addition to my work as a team member, I attended a variety of workshops offered by Highlander at the U.S. Social Forum in June and at the 75th Anniversary Celebration in August. I also participated in a three-day song leaders’ workshop. I took detailed notes throughout our working meetings and as a workshop participant. I have recorded both the content of the workshops as well as the educational methodologies used throughout. I recorded field notes after the meetings and workshops. These field notes were used to inform my understanding of Highlander’s educational methodology.

Workshop Tapes

Highlander frequently tapes its workshops. There are approximately 2000 audio and visual tapes of workshops from throughout Highlander's history. As I stated previously, tapes from the 1994 Women's Workshop provided key information for this study. The women's workshop, like many of Highlander's workshops, was three days in length. There are 9 audiotapes of the workshop. Throughout Highlander's history, cultural workshops were recorded as well. Today, not all workshops are recorded, but I was told that all cultural workshops have been recorded since the 1970s. Since there are approximately three to four cultural workshops per year, there are 100s of videos documenting Highlander's cultural work.

In order to understand Highlander's educational methodology and cultural work, I selected 30 tapes to review which represented a variety of programs and time periods from the 1970s to today. These were ancillary sources to supplement the primary data sources. They were not subjected to systematic analyses. These audio and visual tapes informed my understanding of the role of women as cultural workers and educators. 1638 tapes are in Highlander's archives at the Wisconsin State Archives; however, I had limited time in Wisconsin; therefore, I selected audio and visual tapes which are still available at the Highlander Center in Tennessee.

Program Reports

Some of the workshops which specifically addressed women's issues or included only women union leaders are not well documented. For these workshops, I relied on the summaries provided in program reports. The program reports from the 1970s are also located in Wisconsin State Archives. Program reports from the 1980s, 1990s and since

are located at Highlander. Some are in the archival room and others are still in file cabinets in the office. According to some of the women I have already interviewed, many of these program files and reports are missing from the 1980s which made it particularly difficult to explore how the work of the women educators of Highlander shaped the curriculum and structure after the 1970s.

Newsletters

There are newsletters from 1970 to 2007. These newsletters are communication from Highlander's director and staff to Highlander's supporters and workshop participants. The newsletter discuss current events at Highlander and promote upcoming workshops. The length and style of the newsletter vary over the years. Their average length is four pages. There are approximately 400 newsletters with various titles. The current newsletter title is "A View from the Hill" which is distributed electronically. While there is no consistent format over the decades, the newsletters did provide summaries highlighting specific workshops and programs. Additionally, they introduce the new staff and so were reviewed to determine the jobs and responsibilities of women working at Highlander or serving on the board. Margaret Bonham, from the History Project Team, compiled lists of activities, interns, board members and staff after reviewing newsletters from the 1970s and 1980s. The newsletters of the 1970s and 1980s were particularly helpful because there are fewer records of these time periods.

Interviews with Male Directors

I interviewed three of the five remaining men who are former Executive Directors of Highlander. The interviews with the male directors were used to inform my understanding of the social context from their perspectives of their individual time

periods. These interviews helped me to situate the women's interviews in their particular times. The men gave me an overview of all programs which were being conducted at Highlander during the times they were directors. Many of the women I interviewed did not have access to this global picture since they were often focusing on a particular program or a specific role at Highlander. The interviews with the men who were directors also gave me a sense of their conception of Highlander's institutional structure and internal processes. Sometimes their accounts mirrored the women's accounts and sometimes they differed radically. These interviews were helpful in directing me to notice times of conflict at Highlander.

However, because this study centers on women, their roles and their experience, I elected to use the women's narratives as the primary data source for this study. Like the other ancillary sources in this study, the interview with the men who were Highlander's directors were used to help me to understand the background of the women's experience. They were also not subjected to systematic analysis. The women's experience as narrated by the women themselves anchors this study.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS – WOMEN’S ROLES AT HIGHLANDER

In this chapter I discuss the women of Highlander, their roles and the impact of their work. First, I summarize the purpose of the study and the methodology that I used which led me to these findings. Second, I review the social movement literature which led me to select the theoretical framework which guides the analysis presented in this chapter. Third, I discuss the findings themselves. The findings section begins with an overview of the findings. Next, I describe each role and the ways in which they impacted Highlander’s curriculum or structure. Women played many roles at Highlander. The most common were those of cook and teacher. However, no woman was only a cook or only a teacher. The findings sections includes a discussion of the variety of roles played by women at Highlander: cook, cultural worker, educator, caregiver, adviser, researcher, director. Fourth, I conclude with a discussion of the findings and a reflection on the roles undertaken by women of Highlander.

Purpose and Methodology

Highlander Research and Education Center was founded in 1932 to change the economic and political structure of the South through the education of community activists and labor leaders. The official story of Highlander, as told by a Highlander staff and adult education researchers, focuses almost entirely upon Myles Horton’s life and work at Highlander. This official story of Highlander names some of the work of women but leaves out much of their work. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the

roles of the women of Highlander and how these women influenced not only the curriculum but also the institutional structure of Highlander. In this chapter, I deal with the first and second research questions. These are:

1. What are the roles that women played at Highlander?
2. How did these women's actions impact the curriculum and institutional structure of Highlander?

There are two tasks here. One is to analyze the role and effect of women's work. The other is to examine the work of women which has previously been left out of the official story and has been previously unknown by researchers and Highlander staff. This is not a history of all the women of Highlander. However, I have selected women to discuss as exemplars of the many women who have carried out a variety of work at Highlander. These exemplars will illuminate the role or roles played by women at Highlander. In addition, the exemplars may demonstrate the ways in which women adopted or co-opted assigned roles and reinterpreted or expanded the meaning and content of the roles.

This is an inductive study in which I allowed the women's stories to shape the questions and guide my analysis. However, my decision to focus upon the roles of the women of Highlander was guided by the work of Robnett (1977) who conducted a comprehensive study of the women's leadership roles in the Civil Rights Movement. As discussed in chapter two, Robnett's analysis of these revealed the ways in which gendered role assignment contributed to the success of the Civil Rights Movement. The published histories of Highlander are similar to those of the Civil Rights Movement in that they also focus upon formal male leadership. Therefore, I decided to use an

approach similar to Robnett's. I analyzed interviews with 30 women who had worked at Highlander in every decade from the 1940s to today. In order to understand the roles of the women in the 1930s, I analyzed the correspondence of some of the women who worked at Highlander then. As previously discussed, the interviews were then transcribed and analyzed. The correspondence was also analyzed. Quotes from these interviews, the correspondence of women working at Highlander in the 1930s and 1940s and from the 1994 Women's Workshop are included throughout chapters three and four. These quotes are not used merely to substantiate my assertions as is common in many qualitative studies. Where it was possible, I included longer quotes in order to tell the story of the women of Highlander in their own words. They are a part of the narrative of this dissertation.

Social Movement Literature

Although adult educators perceive a critical role for adult education in social movements, social movement theorists diminish or ignore the role of adult education in these movements. Likewise, much of the development of contemporary social movement theories' classic texts (Morris 1984 and McAdam 1982) was based upon analyses of the Civil Rights Movement which excluded the role of women and women's leadership because it stressed formal leadership roles as well as formal institutions and organizations and ignored non-formal leadership, informal networks and community programs such as Citizenship Schools and the Highlander Folk School. Clark (1986) and Morris (2000) critique the discourse of the early social movement theories of Morris (1984) and McAdam (1982). Morris (2000) now attests to the ways in which the social movement activities are gendered but does not acknowledge his own role in the gendering of social

movement theory in which he reproduces gender inequality by analyzing only formal organizations and structures and popular narratives of the Civil Rights Movement. The work of Morris and others reifies the concept that “women organize and men lead” (Payne, 1990). This is a problem not only because it contributes to continued sexist presentations of social movements but also because the explanatory power of these theories is weakened by lack of analysis of the role of women and the role of education.

Defining Social Movements

Tilly (1984) defines a social movement as a “set of people who voluntarily and deliberately commit themselves to a shared identity, unifying belief, common program and collective struggle to realize their program” (p. 303). Political process theory (McAdam, 1982), resource mobilization (Morris, 1984) and frame analysis (Benford and Snow, 2000) are among the current theories widely accepted by social movement scholars. McAdam’s (1982) and Morris’ (1984) analyses of the Civil Rights Movement dramatically challenged the theories of earlier scholars and changed the study of social movements. Prior to their work, classical theories suggested that social movements were spontaneous, non-rational and dependant on charismatic leaders (McAdams, 1982). There was a psychological emphasis in the analysis with an emphasis on the emotions within this non-rational framework. In a more recent essay, Morris (1999) suggests that the previous classical theories reflected racist beliefs that Blacks and members of other social movements were incapable of rational, sustained action without external impetus.

How Social Movement Theory Explains Social Movements

In this section, I discuss five dominant social theories: classic theories, political process theory, collective struggle, resource mobilization, frame analyses and cultural approaches.

Table 6: Social Movement Theories

Theorist	Theory	Contribution
Weber, Durkheim, Dahl, Kornhauser, Lenski, Smelser	Classic Theories	Posited social movements as spontaneous, random and irrational. In early 1900s, emphasized psychological influences – particular emotionality as it relates to Charismatic leaders.
McAdam (1982)	Political Process Theory	Stresses political rather than psychological. Emphasizes political opportunity structure. Cognitive liberation of oppressed population is impetus for action.
Tilly (1986)	Collective Struggle	Rejects Classical theories emphasis on spontaneity and irrationality.
Morris (1984)	Resource Mobilization	Stresses mobilization of resources within the community of organizers.
Snow, D.A., et al. (1986) Benford & Snow (2000)	Frame Analyses	Analyzes the ways in which movements “organize experiences and guide actions.” The concept of frames provide a construct within which to analyze the discourse of movements as well as collective action activities.
Goodwin & Jasper (2004) Jasper (1997) Taylor (1999)	Cultural Approaches	Emphasizes the importance of including culture as well as emotion in analyses of social movements.

Political Process Theory and Resource Mobilization

McAdam’s book made political process theory hegemonic in the field (Armato & Caren, 2002). McAdam (1982) stressed the political rather than the psychological in his analysis of social movements. He presented social movements as a “continuous process from development to decline” (p.36). Political process theory emphasizes the structure of political opportunity, indigenous organization strength and cognitive liberation which he

defined as “transformation of consciousness within a significant segment of the aggrieved population ... (who must) collectively define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action” (p.51). This process of cognitive liberation is not adequately explained and is vaguely attributed to the change in political opportunity structures.

Morris (1984) refuted classical theories by developing the concepts of resource mobilization and networks of solidarity through his emphasis upon indigenous perspectives and his conjecture that “mass protest is a product of the organizing efforts of activists functioning through a well-developed indigenous base” (p. xii). He critiqued resource mobilization theorists who overemphasized the importance of external resources and suggested that the Civil Rights Movement was based upon mobilization of the resources provided by local Black institutions and networks such as Black Churches and Historically Black Colleges. Thus, he deemphasized the role of the charismatic leader, insisting that the power of the leader flowed from the power of the organization, such as the NAACP or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, within which the leader functioned. While this de-emphasis on charismatic leadership focuses upon the power of leadership within these organizations, he still emphasizes formal leadership in formal institutions and misses the role of community leaders who organize locally, creating networks of support for formal organizations. These roles were most often filled by women (Morris, 2000; Nasstrom, 1999; Irons, 1998; Robnett, 1997,1996; Gyant, 1996; Nance, 1996; McAdam, 1992; McNair Barnett, 1993, 1996).

Frame Analysis

Benford and Snow (2000) discuss the concept of framing processes which “have come to be regarded, alongside resource mobilization and political opportunity processes, as a central dynamic in understanding the character and the course of social movements” (p.611). They state:

Frames help to render events or occurrence meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action.... Collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization. (p. 614)

The dynamic and continuous nature of social movements is again emphasized in the discussion of framing processes and dynamics. The discursive processes of frame articulation and frame amplification may be of most interest if analyzing the influence of women as educators or in other non-formal leadership roles. Frame articulation is the synthesizing of social action experiences to provide a “new angle of vision and/or interpretation.... frame amplification process involves accenting and highlighting some issues, events or beliefs as being more salient than others” (p. 623). Benford and Snow note (2000) that there has been little research of these processes, but they do not refer to Robnett’s 1997 study which developed the concept of “bridge leaders” that offers an application and explanation of framing processes not developed in their earlier work. Similarly, these theorists utilizing framing processes ignore the role of adult education and of women in their theories. The concept of bridge leader will be discussed at length at the end of this section.

Cultural Approaches

The political process school has been roundly critiqued by scholars who argue that the approach underestimates the important role of culture in the development of social movements. Goodwin and Jasper (2004), for instance, argue that within the political process school, mobilizing structures are favored in cases in which culture would have greater explanatory power. They maintain that this overemphasis on structure leads to insufficient attention to how social movement ties are created, the role that culture (emotional and educational work, for instance) plays in this process, and the subjective filters through which individuals interpret potential political opportunities. Morris (2000) reinforces this very point when he criticizes political process scholars for failing to see the Church as more than an organizational structure for the civil rights movement: “The church was more than a structural entity; it contained the cultural framework through which the movement would be framed” (p. 448). And when process theorists do pay attention to culture, write Goodwin and Jasper (2004), they tend to reify it – “to conceptualize it as a distinct and delimited empirical social sphere or type of social action – instead of ... as a ubiquitous and constitutive dimension of all social relations, structures, networks, and practices” (p. 23). Goodwin and Jasper likewise criticize the concept of framing, which on the surface seems to be an effort on the part of process theorists to incorporate culture. Nevertheless, frame theorists tend to conceptualize framing processes as strategic and instrumental, thereby limiting the analysis of other ways that culture could impact upon movement development and activities. Finally, neglecting culture has gendered consequences. Taylor (1999) suggests that the lack of attention to cultural movements may contribute to the shortage

of analyses of movements in which women are more likely to participate. In addition, the attention given to the political and economic aspects of movements, rather than the cultural ones, may also contribute to a lack of attention to women's roles, as it is the cultural aspects of movements in which women are more likely to participate.

How Social Movement Theorists Perceive Education in Social Movements

Although Morris (1984) acknowledges the influence of the education at Highlander, he includes it in his analysis as a "Movement Halfway House" with few resources, but which "pulled together many of the individuals who became civil rights leaders and prodded them to become activists" (p.146). McAdam (1982) does not mention Highlander at all and suggests that "quantitative evidence is lacking" in the relationship of leadership to any one particular organization. McAdam's (1982) theory of cognitive liberation implies a shift in knowledge-making processes of a community. McAdam (1982) suggests that cognitive liberation is an important part of his theory but does not investigate its source.

In McAdam's (1982) original formulation, he specifies two cognitions that are necessary for social movements to emerge. First is "a consensus that the conditions the group is subject to are unjust or illegitimate... (and second,) the belief that oppressive conditions are subject to change through collective action" (pp. 105 -106). The development of cognitive liberation seems to imply a shift in the knowledge-making processes of a community, which would entail cultural and emotional labor at the grassroots level. But for McAdam, cognitive liberation develops out of structural conditions. For example, he explains that changing federal policy toward African Americans under Roosevelt had symbolic effects in the Black community, such that

people saw current conditions as mutable and became willing to pursue collective change. Although structural shifts may account for the initial impetus for change, *how* these changes are implemented and spread throughout the population remains under theorized. As Goodwin and Jasper (2004) remark, “Although the term seems to imply a radical change in worldview, cognitive liberation appears to be a relatively instrumental reading of available information (‘cues’) about the state’s willingness to repress dissent” (p. 25). This is a place where the lack of inclusion of an analysis of education’s role and Highlander is the most apparent. Both Morris (1984) and McAdam (1982) ignore Highlander, the organization which trained a majority of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement and, in fact, anticipated the movement itself (Glen, 1996; Horton, 1990; Oldendorf, 1990).

Additionally, Morris (1984) and McAdam (1982) do not explore how the Citizenship Schools, which assisted numerous Blacks to register to vote (Berson, 1994), provided for the mobilization of resources, thus influencing political structures. In some areas the Citizenship Schools changed the complexion of local politics, giving Black(men) access to government offices for the first time in the Southeast (Oldendorf, 1990). Both Morris and McAdam include the influence of Historically Black Colleges as institutions but do not explore the impact of education as a mobilizing resource, as a purveyor of networks or as the means to cognitive liberation.

Morris (1999) later suggests that although resource mobilization and political process theories demonstrate the importance of social movement organizations in mobilizing and collective action, “social movement theory has not developed a viable framework for understanding why at certain moments in history oppressed groups are

able to develop moral courage and make extraordinary sacrifices that collective action requires” (p.528). He also notes that sociologists failed to predict the Civil Rights Movement perhaps as a result of racism.

Adult educators perceive a critical role for adult education in social movements. However, social movement theorists frequently overlook the role of adult education in these movements. In the next section, I review social movement literature which focuses upon the Civil Rights Movement to analyze the impact of women’s exclusion from analysis. One of the activities in which women dominate is education; therefore, in excluding women’s roles in the Civil Rights Movement, social movement theorists ignore the role of education in the movement as well.

The Role of Women Within the Civil Rights Movements

The social movement researchers reflected the bias of the formal (male) leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. The researchers accepted the traditional narrative that “women organize and men lead” (Payne, 1990) which limits leadership to official structures such as the Black Church in which only men can be ordained as leaders and suggest that women are not leaders. Male leaders and institutions run by men were given precedence in these studies. Female leaders and non-formal institutions such as the Citizenship Schools were not seen and, therefore, not analyzed (McNair Barnett, 1996; Morris, 1999; Robnett, 1997).

This is particularly revealed in the perception of leadership in the Black Church. Women were recognized as the primary workers, but they were not accepted as leaders even when they functioned as leaders in organizing events or actions (hooks, 1981). Ella Baker, who assisted in the founding of both the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), also commented on the place of women in the movement. She states,

The movement of the fifties and sixties was carried largely by women, since it came out of church.... The number of women who carried the movement was larger than that of men. (quoted in Gyant, 1996, p.630)

Nasstrom (1999) offers another analysis of the sexist narrative in her study of women's leadership in the Civil Rights Movement in Atlanta in the 1940s. Initially, women were recognized as leaders in the movement when the narrative of the movement focused upon the success of the (primarily) women's grassroots organizing which increased Black voters from 7,000 to 24,000 in 1946. The original discourse and media coverage concentrated on communal success. Nasstrom notices a change in the discourse as the media and movement shifted focus to the election of the Black men to elected office in Atlanta. This shift moved the locus of success from the community to the individual (male) elected officials.

Nance (1996) investigates the roles which women filled in the Civil Rights Movement. She does not necessarily recognize their roles as leaders, but her study enfleshes the concept of "bridge leader" developed by Robnett. Her study reveals the common roles of "mama," "activist" and "friend" (p. 544). The "mama" referred to the women whom the leaders of SNCC were directed to find during their Freedom Summer activities. The "mama" was the woman who will offer support, food and housing to the students. The "activist" was the women with a history of activism in the local community which spans decades. She was crucial to the success of national actions since she connected national leaders to local constituents. The "friend" offered support to other

women in the local community. She shared family responsibilities, filling in for neighbors who were away from home due to organizing or serving jail time.

Morris (2000) and Irons (1998) in their more recent studies of the civil rights movement also discuss these roles which clearly represent “traditional” women’s roles and suggest that the nature of this work provides the emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983/2003) of the movement as well. Morris (2000) writes, “Because the assumed links between emotions and irrationality are no longer tenable, the importance of emotional work to movements is becoming increasingly clear (p. 451).

Biographies of women organizers in the Civil Rights Movement (Payne, 1990; Clark, 1986) reveal the complex leadership roles of women in the Civil Rights Movement as well. Sexism affected the perception of “women as organizers and men as leaders” and the assignment of women to roles in local networks, education and care-taking roles such as “mama and friend.” Women provided the emotional labor of the movement but little analysis of this aspect of social movements has been conducted. In reviewing the biographies of these women, it is difficult from the perspective of the 21st century to maintain that these women did not have formal leadership positions. Fannie Lou Hamer represented the Mississippi Freedom Party at the 1968 Democratic National Convention and negotiated on their behalf with national political leaders (Locke 1990, Hamlet 1996); Gloria Richardson served as a formal leader of CNCC (SNCC of Connecticut) (Foeman 1996); Ella Baker was the acting director of SCLC and organized SNCC (Elliot 1996, Mueller 1990) and Septima Clark established the Citizenship Schools and served on the board of the SCLC (Clark 1986, Langston 1990, Jordan McFadden 1980, Gyant & Atwater 1996). Yet, not only did the male clergy of the SCLC and the

male students of SNCC fail to recognize these and other women as leaders but, so did most of these women themselves. “Like many in the civil rights movement, Clark did not see herself as a leader. Rather, she saw herself doing what needed to be done (Gyant & Atwater, 1996, p.589).

Septima Clark and Ella Baker had a more inclusive vision of organizing in which many local leaders were trained and encouraged to assume leadership for a particular action or for a particular time and place. This “inclusive leadership” was not recognized as “leadership.” However, SNCC’s (mentored by Ella Baker) organizing of Freedom Summer activities reflects this more fluid style of leadership which responded in a variety of ways, encouraging more spontaneous and collaborative responses to local contexts. Clark and Baker’s vision of leadership represents a more feminist vision although both reflect that they did not have the language to articulate this until after they became involved in the feminist movement in the 1970s (Clark, 1986; Mueller, 1990).

Bridge Leaders

McNair Barnett (1996) and Robnett (1997, 1996) address the dearth of research and analysis of women in leadership positions in the Civil Rights Movement. They both conducted qualitative and historical studies in order to examine the role of women in leadership in the Civil Rights Movement and, in fact, discovered that the gendered roles of women in the movement led to its success. Through this analysis, Robnett (1997) discovered the ways in which gendered roles and tasks formed two tiers of leadership. Robnett (1996) posits that women filled the role of “bridge leader” by connecting national or regional leadership to local constituents. She defines bridge leaders as community activists who used a variety of strategies to

foster ties between the social movement and the community; and between prefigurative strategies (aimed at individual change, identity, and consciousness) and political strategies (aimed at organizational tactics designed to challenge existing relationships with the state and other societal institutions). Indeed, the activities of bridge leaders in the civil rights movement were the stepping stones necessary for potential constituents and adherents to cross formidable barriers between their personal lives and the political life of the civil rights movement organizations. (Robnett, 1997, p. 19)

Robnett (1997) states, “bridge leaders did not simply deposit a message to potential followers; rather, they engaged others in dialectic relationship, allowing for individual reconstructions of identities and interpretations of action” (p. 198). Robnett (1997) also suggests that emotion should be analyzed in the context of social relations: “Bridge leaders provide much of the emotional work ... The day- to-day interactions between bridge leaders and potential adherents and constituents provide the basis for the emotional intimacy so necessary for persuading the masses to take risks” (p. 193). Robnett (1997) proposes that bridging skills required “incorporating familiar cultural repertoires” (p. 195). Her findings are based upon an analysis of differences in leadership roles due to gender. For the purposes of this study and as seen by Robnett’s work, gender is a social construct which delimits roles and responsibilities for women and men within a society. Robnett critiques social movement scholars because “they do not sufficiently analyze power relations within a social movement. [She states,] how these relations affect the interactions of a movement and political opportunities and outcomes is understudied” (p. 198). This concept of “bridge leader” more thoroughly develops framing processes left unclear by Benford and Snow.

Robnett (1996, 1997) attributes much of the success of the civil rights movement to the establishment of this “two tier” level of leadership which provided the movement

with strong, educated and experienced leaders at both levels of leadership. Frequently, bridge leaders even “called forth” the first level of leadership as is the case of Martin Luther King, Jr. who was invited into leadership of the Montgomery Bus Boycott by female organizers in the area. One critical task of the bridge leaders was as educators in the Citizenship Schools throughout the Southeast.

Social Movement Women

Throughout Highlander’s history, women have recognized that gendered oppression should also be included as a category for analysis in their workshops. However, like the women in Robnett’s (1997) and Roth’s (2004) studies, the women of Highlander did not consistently address sexism within the frame of social justice in which they were engaged. In her study, Roth (2004) concentrates on the feminisms of the second wave positing a situated feminism and proposing intersectional movement theory which suggests that “considering the impact of interlocking oppressions is crucial to understanding how feminism and many other movements are formed” (p. 215). She concludes that this analysis of the interlocking oppressions within a social movement reveals the “way in which social movement actors move in nested boxes of constraint” (p. 216); therefore, in this section, I discuss Roth’s (2004) study at length. Septima Clark (1986), who created and directed the Citizenship Schools attests to her experiences of interlocking oppressions. Growing up, she encountered classism in the Black community of Charleston because her father had been a slave. As a result of this experience she resolved to work across boundaries of race, class and sex to provide education and work for more equitable services and structures.

For her study, Roth (2004) selected three feminisms to investigate: White woman's liberation, Black feminism and Chicana feminism, and conducted interviews and analyzed movement documents. She concludes that these separate feminisms developed in response to their particular context and to their particular audience.

Feminists in all three political communities were concerned about the consequences of doing feminist politics and wished to do politics the right way; therefore, the ethos of organizing one's own came to have hegemonic appeal for them within an increasingly fragmented social movement sector/field in the 1960s and 1970s. The ethos helped to justify feminist organizing and keep feminisms distinct from one another organizationally. (Roth, 2004, p. 201)

White women on the left did not experience racial oppression; therefore, they created a discourse which extended the injustice frame of racism/classism to their experience in an attempt to convince the men of the left to include gender as an important site of oppression. When these attempts failed, their audience shifted from the left to women of the left. Roth (2004) suggests that in the process of this discourse, the women formed new identities as radical women. The result of this discourse was the claim of the importance of sexism over racism and classism bounded by the concept of the universal "woman."

Women of color on the left, however, shared a common experience of racism with men of color. They did not perceive sexism as "the oppression." According to Roth (2003), Black feminists recall a long history of Black women's activism. "For them, looking for the feminism in Black women entails taking the broader view that feminism is inherent in antiracist struggle" (p. 79). Second-wave Black feminism developed in response to changes in the Civil Rights Movement from the previously discussed "bridge leadership" role for women to fewer and fewer places for women in the movement. This

coincides with the movement's shift from the rural South to the urban North and the adoption of "middle-class gender roles as a means of remaking the revolutionary Black family" (Roth, 2004, p. 82). Black feminists rejected this masculinist agenda and organized but did not simply join the White women's liberation movement. They were equally critical of a movement that would ignore race or class as they would one that would ignore sex. Thus, Black feminists worked with the Black liberation movement on some projects and White women's liberation movement on other projects exemplifying the interstitiality of their feminism.

Chicana feminists also felt pressure to assume the "traditional" (submissive) role of wife and mother in the family. Chicanas had not experienced the "bridge leader" experiences that Black feminists had. They could not use the discourse of a "racist presentation" of the family as could Black feminists who could point to the Moynihan report. Instead, they "reframed" the concept of "strong family" to include "strong women" working together to resist oppression. Unlike Black feminists, Chicana feminists did not organize with White women's organization. "Distancing themselves from white feminists, Chicana feminists continually asserted that the proper site for Chicana feminism was the Chicana movement.

Roth's (2004) analysis of the feminisms in the second wave of the women's movement stress the importance of exploring

how constraints on or opportunities for social movement actors are mutually constructed by the elements of unequal and systematic social divisions, and by movements-based relationships among activists whose interactions cannot help but be shaped by those divisions. (p. 217)

Thinking about the ramifications of this for the analysis of the role of education in social movements expanded my thinking about educational activities in social movements. Just as Roth (2004) refocuses the discussion with the pluralistic view of feminisms, I refocused my singular view of education to include the variety of educational endeavors that may occur during a social movement. This affirmed my decision to identify and to analyze all the roles that women undertook at Highlander. Roth's (2004) study also encouraged me to consider the ways in which women countered oppression while working for justice at Highlander.

Findings Related to Research Questions 1 & 2

A systematic analysis led me to recognize themes tied to women's roles and positionalities. First, I examined the ways in which the women of Highlander and the official histories of Highlander identify women and women's roles. I found that, most often, women working at Highlander were hired to be educators or cooks. In addition, I found some acknowledgements of the ways in which women have shaped Highlander's educational methodology through their cultural work. In the 1994 Women's Workshops, the participants discussed the ways in which the roles which they undertook were shaped by race and class as well as by gender.

Second, I examined the ways in which the women of Highlander have assumed roles which challenged traditional gender roles throughout its history. Like any social institution, Highlander is shaped by the society and culture in which it resides. Even though Elizabeth (Zilla) Hawes (1932) discusses the ideal of equality between the sexes in a letter to a friend, she states that she is the only one cooking for "the boys" and she hopes that some of the "new boys" will bring a wife, sister or girlfriend who can help

with the cooking and the cleaning (Hawes, 1932). So, from the beginning, women struggled with traditional gender roles while working at Highlander. My interviews with women educators working at Highlander in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s reveal similar struggles. For much of Highlander's history, women were hired to cook, but shortly thereafter took on roles which challenge traditional models of "appropriate" women's work. The roles of these women as builders, founders and leaders are largely unexplored and have only begun to be discussed recently at Highlander.

Third, my initial interviews were with women working at Highlander in the 1970s and 1980s, who revealed that women challenged the patriarchal structure at Highlander. This led me to look for ways in which women throughout Highlander's history may also have challenged patriarchy. I found that in each decade, women challenged Highlander staff, systems and structure in order to pursue more democratic processes. The ways in which these women challenged patriarchy, racism and classism throughout Highlander's history will be discussed in-depth in chapter four.

In the next section, I discuss the various roles undertaken by the women of Highlander. The roles of cook, cultural worker, and educator are already a part of the official history of Highlander. Women working as cooks, cultural workers and educators are acknowledged both individually and collectively for their contributions to Highlander. However, the roles of caregiver, adviser, researcher and director have been largely unrecognized and unacknowledged. Although some of these roles began to be named during the 1994 Women's Workshop, there has been little documentation or analysis of these roles and their impact upon Highlander.

Role 1: Cook

Feeding workshop participants and Highlander staff has always been a critical need at Highlander. In *The Long Haul*, Horton (1991) discusses how “we all” pitched in to cook and clean. However, the one organizing the meals or doing the actual cooking was most often a woman. Zilla Hawes came to Highlander in the spring of 1932, shortly after Highlander was founded. The inter-staff correspondence attests to her role as labor organizer, educator, extension coordinator and executive board member. Her correspondence also reveals how the role of cook (and cleaner) was left to the women on staff.

You know, men are so funny, even if they are radicals, as these five honestly are: if they'd only pick up their clothes a little.... It's a shame the way I'm just coddling the boys along so as to get my kitchen: excuse me, I should say “the” kitchen, since it belongs to the soviet, but the funny thing about this is, the boys are so used to woman's place being by the fireside, they can't get into the notion of building a kitchen for themselves.... Of course, you couldn't get them to acknowledge their prejudices, and they are so sweet about them I just exploit them beautifully. (Hawes, found in Intra-staff Correspondence, 1934)

So, from the very beginning, women named gendered patterns and noted that these patterns did not fit Highlander's mission of working for equality and justice. It is interesting to note that Zilla Hawes chose to “exploit” these prejudices. While Zilla Hawes does not describe how she “exploits” these prejudices, this seemed to be a common strategy at Highlander which several of the women whom I interviewed discussed. Some of them described playing the “good Southern woman” in order to “get along” and do their work. Helen Lewis, in particular, discussed how those women, who had extreme personality conflicts with Myles Horton or other men on staff, did not play

this role. They were unable, as Zilla Hawes suggested, to “exploit” their prejudices beautifully.

Estelle Thompson, who worked at Highlander in 1947, offered further insight into the ways in which women’s roles were assigned by gender at Highlander and how women were able to overcome this. Estelle Thompson worked on the Dewey campaign. At the end of the campaign, someone suggested to her that she apply to work at Highlander. She was hired to be the cook in spite of the fact that she had just finished working on a presidential campaign. However, she had a sense of humor about it. She explains she only had to cook only one meal.

I went down, basically, just to cook. I got into the kitchen and I began to make lists of food that we should have. I borrowed the jeep one day and I went down to Chattanooga and I bought about \$150 worth of food. Well, when I got back, Zilphia and Myles were horrified, because, first of all, they didn't eat the kind of stuff I wanted to have, being a Jewish girl who grew up in the Bronx. And, I had spent twice the amount of money that they had budgeted. My stint as a cook was very short-lived.

It was only after it was clear that she was mis-matched to the role of cook that Estelle Thompson was asked what skills she had that might be of assistance. She told them that she had worked on the media campaign for Dewey where she had created and designed leaflets and brochures. So then, she was asked to teach these skills to labor union leaders who came to Highlander. She said that it became a significant part of the two-week workshops for union leaders.

Estelle Thompson also taught labor workshops. Her roles at Highlander demonstrate the ways in which women at first accepted the role of cook and then left it to meet other needs at Highlander by taking on non-traditional roles. For Estelle

Thompson, this extended beyond her tenure at Highlander. When I asked her what impact Highlander had on her life, she answered, “It helped me to be an architect.”

The following story not only illustrates the impact of Highlander upon her life, it also demonstrates how Estelle Thompson continued to step outside gendered work roles while at Highlander.

Let me tell you about what happened that summer and you'll understand more. We needed a new building. We needed a nursery school and a library building. There was an architect named Carl Cook who came down from Boston and volunteered to design the building for us to build. We had arranged for 16 Unitarian Work Camp kids, all of them around 16 years old to come down for a couple of months in the summer. Their job was going to be to build the building....

When we opened up the bundle of blueprints, suddenly, I realized I could read them. That was a huge revelation. I had been struggling with trying to do something to get an education; I had never been to college. I wanted desperately to go to school and when I realized I could read these architectural plans, it occurred to me, maybe I could go to architecture school.

A few years after leaving Highlander, Estelle Thompson was able to achieve her dream. She became one of the first women to attend Yale Architecture School. She described a fruitful and rewarding life-long career as an architect.

That summer, Highlander was building the daycare center and the library. Estelle Thompson's story exemplifies how the women of Highlander have used women's work and women's roles to begin their work and then moved beyond women's work and women's role while they were at Highlander. Estelle Thompson came to Highlander as the cook. She left Highlander as an educator and a builder. When asked about her experience of women's roles she replied,

Well, I never assumed that there wasn't anything I could do; it never occurred to me that I was the weaker sex. I could swing a

hammer; I could do anything the boys could do. I was a tomboy; I never, ever thought or let the idea into my head, that there was anything that boys could do that I couldn't.

While Zilla Hawes and Estelle Thompson took on roles that required them to forgo cooking responsibilities, some of the women who remained as cooks for years or even decades talked about balancing their primary responsibility of cooking with other responsibilities. Dorothy (Nina) Reining, who has been the cook at Highlander since 1977, described her various responsibilities over the years:

I like to say that I came here and I was the cook. I've had several different titles. I would always do the same thing, but it's got broader. Like, I was in charge of all the nuts and bolts of all the supplies for housekeeping all over the farm and including cleaning all over the farm. One time, for some reason, I don't know why I was in charge of transportation.

I had to find my own people to work. When I come, the guidelines was, I remember specifically he (Mike Clark) said, "Get members of your family, get your friends, get somebody in the neighborhood". Of course, I was new to the neighborhood, so that was a little hard. So I had to depend heavily on my family in times of crisis.... I was in charge of childcare too.

Dorothy (Nina) Reining has also assisted with workshops during her tenure. She is no longer in charge of childcare. However, she is known as "the cook." She is responsible for managing the kitchen, planning all meals, supervising kitchen staff and cooking as well. She has chosen to remain in this role in spite of taking on a variety of other responsibilities throughout the years. She is highly valued by the Highlander staff. In fact, she was selected by Susan Williams, Highlander's Coordinator of Education, who was also in charge of the Highlander History Project, to be one of the advisers for the project.

Almetor King was the cook from 1962 to 1977. While she also added workshops to her responsibilities, like Dorothy (Nina) Reining, she self-identifies as cook and names that as her primary responsibility while at Highlander. She described how she began working at Highlander:

I came from Harlan, Kentucky and just went to school here in Knoxville. My church was the church building that Highlander was using to have workshops for the Civil Rights Movement. When I went down to the church I saw all those people there and Reverend Frank Gordon, my pastor at the time, asked me if I would be willing to do some cooking for them....

They slept there right next door to the church and they'd come over for breakfast. After breakfast, they'd get in there and in 30 minutes the place was cleared out and they were gone. That way I could start lunch. The same thing would happen at lunch time. Supper, same thing. They'd come in, see if there was anything they could do to help, some of them.

Soon, Almetor King was asked to assist with other responsibilities just as had the other women hired as cooks before her.

It where when there wasn't workshops going on, I'd go out to the office sometimes and help do mailings. I did thousands and thousands of mailings.

She also had to balance cooking responsibilities with workshop responsibilities. Even though she went into the field to recruit workshop participants, Almetor King held onto her primary responsibility as cook. She described the process by which she became more and more involved in workshops.

Then things stopped happening in the (civil rights) movement. It slowed down and Myles decided we had a Civil Rights Movement. Now we're going to have an Appalachian movement.... So, at that point, I started actually doing some field work, because up until then I just worked whenever there were workshops....

Well, with the Appalachian program, they decided since I was Appalachian that I should be part of it. They wanted to put me on

full salary, paying all of us the same amount. It wasn't exactly much but it was equalized salary and all of that. So I started making trips to different places in the mountains ... I would go up in Kentucky, different parts of Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

Different people that were on the board at Highlander from different areas would know of a group that was at some holler or something. They'd let me know when they were meeting. I would go up and talk to them and meet with them, invite them to come down for workshops and things like that. Then, when we got enough people together, that was really interested in a workshop, we'd bring them to Highlander. And, I'd go back to doing the meals and things and the rest of the staff would take care of running the workshops.

Almetor King described how she finally worked in the workshops themselves.

Highlander staff had been working to build a multi-racial poor people's movement. To this end, they held a workshop with participants from the Black Panthers, the Chicano Movement, the American Indian Movement as well as poor whites who were working on various campaigns around the country. The staff was very small then and she was the only Black person on the staff. She relates how "it dawned on them, being the Appalachian staff, that the only Black person at Highlander was the cook." They decided that it was important for her to participate because she was a Black Appalachian and because they didn't want the other workshop participants to assume that she was being "mistreated or anything like that."

So, they "dragged her out of the kitchen" and into the workshop, but they didn't have anyone else who was really capable of cooking for large groups. Almetor King said that, while she was trying to participate in the workshop, the new cooks kept coming in and asking her how to finish the meal. From that time on, Almetor King balanced cooking and workshop responsibilities. She continued to go into the field to recruit

participants, to help run the workshop and cook for the workshop as well. She is one of many women who have cooked for Highlander workshops and Highlander staff. The meaning and influence of this role will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Role 2: Cultural Worker

Music and cultural work are key components of Highlander's educational methodology. Frequently, this is attributed to Myles Horton; however, throughout Highlander's history, much of the cultural work has fallen to women. Zilphia Johnson Horton first shaped Highlander's cultural work by incorporating music, drama and art into Highlander's educational methodology. In 1935, Zilphia Johnson came to Highlander to attend a six-week labor workshop. She had just completed a degree in music and drama at College of the Ozarks. According to Charis Horton, her daughter, Zilphia was a classically trained musician. In *The Long Haul*, Myles Horton (1990) discusses the importance of music and culture in the methodology for his new mountain school. However, he also attests to the fact that neither he nor his friends who had come from Union Theological Seminary, knew any other kind of education other than a classical education. In those first years, sometimes they gave lectures on Socrates to farmers. Because Zilphia Johnson Horton was a trained musician, she was able to incorporate music and drama into the educational methodology. She worked with labor leaders and union organizers to rewrite songs to teach about their situation. Departing from classical teaching, she used popular music, Broadway musicals, spirituals, and church music and helped labor leaders and workers to rewrite these. They sang these songs at Highlander workshops, at labor workshops off-site, and on picket lines. Donna

Davis (a pseudonym) offered her analysis of Zilphia Johnson Horton's contributions to Highlander.

She really shifted the way she thought about music and culture and realized that she needed to learn more about the people's music and expression and culture.... She started learning some of the repertoire and songs. She turned her piano playing to the accordion that she could take with her out into the field or to union meetings or whatever. She worked on music and culture and theater at Highlander for about 20 years before she died in 1957, much too early.... This cultural piece, I think she recognized that it was one of the power builders that make people feel more powerful if you can tap into it ... That's the work that others who have done cultural work here have built upon.

In fact, the song "We Shall Overcome" comes from Highlander. It was brought to Highlander by textile workers who shared it with Zilphia Johnson Horton and other workshop participants. Zilphia Johnson Horton helped them to rewrite it, and verses were added for the next twenty years.

Culture work is a unique and crucial component of Highlander's educational methodology. Jane Sapp, a cultural worker at Highlander's for much of the 1980s, discussed her understanding of culture work and its importance to education and organizing. She began by describing her understanding of the role of the artist:

Your role, as an artist, was to be a kind of catalyst through which other kinds of things could happen. It was like, there were certain people who were good song leaders ... when they would stood up, when they would sound the song, you'd sort of say, "Oh, it here comes now. Get back." We're getting ready to have something. We're getting ready to have an experience that's really going to put us together; that's really going to bind our spirits; that's really going to make us feel like one; that's really going to have everybody shouting and it's really, in a sense, going to cleanse your soul and just make you feel real good. (Sapp, 1986)

She then went onto discuss what is required of a cultural worker:

There were so many things that you had to understand. You had to understand the group, you had to understand the community, you had to understand the traditions, you had to know enough about the group dynamics to know what people needed at that point in order to push them forward, again, to another level of coming together and being together....

Developing the creative and social and political potential of communities is indeed a lot of what I'm about ... my work has primarily been in the Deep South area. All of it has been looking at how you use culture as a means of helping people to understand what their realities are. How do you handle those realities either in terms of changing them or adapting them, using them for your own social, cultural, economic and political development. (Sapp, 1986)

Although cultural work has been a part of Highlander's educational methodology since Zilphia Johnson Horton arrived at Highlander, different workshop directors have utilized cultural work in different ways. It was used for community building, entertainment, learning and analysis, and for tapping into cultural power. In a letter to Myles Horton, Zilphia Johnson Horton described teaching the "city boys" square dancing in order to orient them to Highlander and to the local community:

Last night, in spite of the heat, we tried to have a private dance just to show the "city" boys what a square dance really is. You know how our "private" dances usually turn out. The whole mountain was there, Big George, Paul Sanders, Ed Westerfield included.

We sweated and danced, and danced and sweated some more. There wasn't a dry thread on anyone. Big George was a sight to behold ... Tom Lou came down to fiddle for us and John Meeks brought the entire family down including the seven year old. (Horton, 1936)

In addition to orienting the "city boys" this excerpt reveals the ways in which cultural work tied Highlander to the local community which was critical to the establishing the school in those early years. Throughout Highlander's history, songs, skits, and occasionally artwork, were included in workshops for a variety of reasons. In another

letter to Myles Horton, Zilphia Johnson Horton asks for clarification of the purpose of music at an upcoming workshop:

Do you have the last week so crowded that you don't want music then? What forms do you want the music to take? Something like "community" sings at night after supper, learning all workers' songs available? Or had you thought of something during the day? If you have not already done so, we might get out a new song sheet while I'm there. I think it would be a grand idea for each student to take, not one, but song sheets when they leave school.... It has just occurred to me that a few might be interested in learning how to lead songs with simple beats – something to focus the attention of a crowd and to keep them together. (Horton, n.d.)

Song-leading and skits were used to entertain and to "break open" the workshop participants' experience. They were used to celebrate the culture of the participants as well as to teach. The participants took songs and skits home with them and used them at organizing meetings, on picket lines and in workshops which they conducted.

Throughout Highlander's history, or at least, from the arrival of Zilphia Johnson, cultural workers have assisted workshop participants to write music and plays which reveal their experience and provide an analysis of their particular problem. In the longer workshops similar to that discussed by Zilphia Johnson Horton above, writing labor plays and sharing songs were planned for the final Saturday. In other workshops and even on the picket line, music and plays were included throughout the day. In a 1936 letter to Myles Horton, Zilphia Johnson Horton describes one of these hectic days.

Up at 5:15 this morning and on the picket line – leading the group in singing for about thirty minutes – standing on my feet all morning talking to strikers until 12:30 – getting chilled from the sudden change in temperature, dashing downtown for something to eat and a change into warmer clothes – going back out for a meeting and leading songs for forty-five minutes until speakers arrived ... rather a strenuous day. (Horton, 1936)

Jane Sapp described how cultural work promotes Highlander's educational methodology:

I think the primary thrust of Highlander's philosophy, is that people themselves indeed can determine their own destiny. The reason why they can do that is because local people know what their problems are and know what the issues are that face them. I think those of us who work in the cultural program dovetail on that too in the sense that, if people can begin to understand what a very powerful resource culture is in their lives, they can know there's a powerful resource. It's a power element for social change. When people begin to understand that, then we can see something more than just a set of isolated cultural activities in communities. Then, we can see something that is indeed a kind of cultural movement. At least that's the way I feel and I think to a certain extent, the way Highlander feels about the cultural work that we're doing. (Sapp, 1986)

Since the arrival of Zilphia Johnson, women have been involved in the culture work of Highlander. In fact, after Zilphia's untimely death, Guy and Candie Carawan worked collaboratively to further develop what Zilphia had established and have continued to assist in Highlander's culture work in some capacity for nearly 50 years. All Highlander's cultural workers have labored to incorporate cultural work into Highlander's educational method in order to build community, to energize workshop or picket line participants, to celebrate culture and to assist participants to analyze their problems through song, drama or other artistic venues. These quotes from Highlander's cultural workers reveal how cultural work is an integral part of the educational methodology at Highlander. It is not seen as only entertainment but as a part of the process itself. For many of the cultural workers, the goal was not only to incorporate culture into the educational methodology but also to help people to understand how to use culture as a tool for analysis and movement organizing in their communities after leaving Highlander. The use of culture is one of the unique aspects of Highlander's educational methodology. Women have been and continue to be integral cultural workers at Highlander.

Role 3: Educator

The role of educator is probably the most important and influential role that women have played at Highlander. Throughout its history, many of Highlander's educators were women. Women educators began with Zilla Hawes in 1932 and continue today with Elandria Williams, the newest member of Highlander's education team. Probably the most important educational program which Highlander created was the Citizenship Schools. In 1956, Esau Jenkins from Saint John's Island in South Carolina came to workshop at Highlander. He talked to Myles Horton about starting citizenship schools so that Black people could pass the citizenship test and then vote in local elections in order to elect Black leaders. Highlander was fortunate to be able to hire Septima Clark to run the Citizenship Schools after she was fired because of her involvement in the NAACP. Highlander hired her as the Director of Education. At first, Horton thought that they could just go into a community and set up a school and then people would be able to vote, but Clark was familiar with Saint John's Island schools and with the problem of the citizenship tests. She insisted that they go to Saint John's Island, talk with local people, study about the local citizenship test, and find out what local people wanted to learn. She created a curriculum which addressed the needs of the local citizenship test as well as other desires of the people.

Bernice Robinson, a niece of Septima Clark, was hired as the teacher. Bernice Robinson was not trained as a teacher. She was a beautician. Clark hired her because she did not have formal training and education. The students at Saint John's Island had previously had such bad experiences with traditional education that Clark and other Highlander staff decided to go outside the educational system to hire a teacher. In

addition, as a beautician, Robinson's income was not dependent upon White money. The very first day of class, Robinson told the students that she was not a teacher and they would learn together. Thus, she set up an equal relationship, treating them as adults by respecting them and encouraging them to use their own specialized knowledge and the particular ways in which they learn. This first school was extremely successful. Many of the students did not know how to read before they started the school and not only learned to read but also were also able to pass their citizenship tests.

Word of the school's success quickly spread. Soon, Highlander began to train teachers to start citizenship schools in other counties throughout the south. Some people heard about the Citizenship Schools and simply started one in their own counties (Horton, 1990). In fact, Fannie Lou Hamer ran a citizenship school in Mississippi before she even came to Highlander. The Citizenship Schools ran throughout the south from 1956 to 1973. During that time, nearly one million Black people registered to vote. While not all of these people came through the Citizenship Schools, the success of schools and the ability of people to register to vote encouraged others to start their own schools, to challenge local systems, and to register to vote. As a result of these successful schools and of those who attended them, Martin Luther King referred to Septima Clark as the "Mother of the Movement (quoted in Jordan McFadden, 1990).

Even before Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson created the Citizenship Schools, many women served as educators at Highlander. Through her educational work with labor unions, Zilla Hawes recruited students for Highlanders' workshops as well as taught at the workshops and directed workshops for union locals. Mary Lawrence served Highlander in a similar manner as the Director of Extension Work from 1938 to 1949.

She also worked in the field with union organizers and union locals. This field work required her to work in many ways to build up communities to support community organizing and labor education. Mary Lawrence first started as a community worker tasked to build relationships with the community in Monteagle, Tennessee where Highlander was originally located. In a 1938 letter to former college friends, Mary Lawrence wrote about her new job.

I am classed as the community worker with the job of working out a community program which would tie up the philosophy of the School and their connection to the labor movement.... The thing that seemed to be need the most, and something that had already been talked about was the organizing of a Community Council, on which the various organizations in the community would be represented.

It was hoped that this group would not only take up any community problem that arose but that it would actually plan the community problem. It has been felt that the School should cooperate as much as possible but leave the initiative up to the community. Also we needed a program that would not fall apart as soon as the community leader left. It is now my pet child – we were lucky enough to get all the leaders on the council.... Right now they are trying to set up work-shops for the younger boys, and a cooperative buying club. To prepare themselves to do the latter, they are having a series of discussion on the Co-operative movement led by Jim (Dombrowski)....

The other organ which I work through is the Workers Alliance, organization of the unemployed, WPA, youth, etc. We are trying to set up a WPA sewing project for the women and an NYA project for the girls ... Besides this I am trying to do something educational with the Brotherhood, difficult as it is because they are just at the honky-tonk age and nothing else. I edit the community paper of which I am enclosing a copy, teach Sunday school, am secretary for our union members in the organization of the WPA, in charge of the educational programs for our local, besides doing a lot of work for Myles. (Lawrence, 1938)

This passage demonstrates the myriad of people and activities in which Mary Lawrence was involved to build community relations. Later, when she became the Director of Extension Work, she took this knowledge to other communities.

The end of World War II changed the style more than the content of the Highlander extension program ... Between August 1945 and July 1947, (Mary) Lawrence, Bill Elkuss, Catherine Winston, and their Highlander colleagues carried out extension programs for white, black, and Mexican-American members of textile, furniture, mine, agricultural, and rubber workers unions in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Texas, and the tri-state district of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kansas. (Glen, 1996, p. 101)

Mary Lawrence wrote frequently to Highlander to inform them of her activities, to seek assistance in developing materials for workshops and to assist them in workshop and materials development. She wrote extensively about what she was learning about teaching illiterate workers and how to encourage them to recognize their own experience-based knowledge and how to build upon it.

Throughout its history, the educators at Highlander based each workshop upon the participants' experience-based knowledge, facilitated discussions and offered "experts" as needed to facilitate their continued analysis of the community problems brought forth in the workshops. This required going "into the field" as did Zilla Hawes, and Mary Lawrence, Septima Clark and Almetor King. They described specific plans for workshops and classes, but by the 1960s, the emphasis was upon bringing together participants without preparing workshop plans with specific curriculum to be covered (Hawes, 1980; Clark 1990). This de-emphasis upon prepared curriculum and workshop plans continued until the late 1970s when Sharon Branscome, Linda Martin and Vickie Creed worked on the SALT (Southern Appalachian Leadership Training) Program.

Vickie Creed discussed the process of curriculum development for the workshops. She began by describing how SALT program coordinators worked with one other even though they came from six different Appalachian states.

Once a month, we'd get together for an overnight and we'd have a staff meeting. She'd (Sharon Branscombe) get us all together in the same room instead of trying to do everything on the phone. This was before email and all that jazz, right? So we'd actually get together. We'd go over what was happening in each of our states ... So we got ourselves together. We had good communication. We knew what was happening. We knew what our goals were.... It was a collaborative process, actually design what was happening. We had an agenda.

This challenged the then accepted process of bringing people together to, as Vickie Creed said, “spontaneously tell their stories about what happening in their communities” and then to respond to their learning needs. This was done by creating workshops with participants with similar experiences. Or, the Highlander staff found experts for workshops as the need for their expert knowledge surfaced. Myles Horton, in particular, challenged their process of working from an agenda, at first. Vickie Creed said that he thought agenda-driven workshops did not derive from or respond to the needs of the people. However, Vickie Creed and Linda Martin reported that he supported their process after attending their workshops. Vickie Creed explained how they developed their agendas.

What Sharon (Branscombe) was bringing to the picture and what I was comfortable with in terms of the form of education that I believe in, we would do a needs assessment ... it would be based on what we were learning from the people in the program at the time.... So they (the workshop participants) did in fact drive the curriculum but it was identified through the interview process first of all, their selection, and then the way that we would work with them in the first meeting.

We'd find out what's going on, what do you need, and then the curriculum would then get laid out. Now did it get changed? Yes. If something came up and it had to be changed, then it would get changed, but we actually developed materials. We developed materials that were excellent and that some of them later even got picked up by Kentuckians for Fair Taxation....

We used role play, we did popular education before anybody was talking about it here at this institution. We were doing it. It wasn't called popular education, it was just experiential education.

Today, women continue to develop a popular education methodology. Susan Williams, the current coordinator of education, recently completed a workshop on popular education. She has found that many people are confused about popular education and how to do popular education. She sees popular education as a process by which people come together to learn together and "figure out problems," go back home to implement their learning, and then return to Highlander to analyze what happened at home. The process requires repeated coming together to analyze and going home to enact their learning.

So, for me what I know about popular education comes from being an organizer in SOCM (Save our Cumberland Mountains) ... that experience for me was people coming together and trying to figure out what they wanted to do.... So, I think our job is to help people come together and figure out what they can do about something and then figure out how to do it.... (The workshops) should have both individual opportunities for increasing the participants' analytic analysis, their skills and their abilities of being with other people and as a group.

Monica Hernandez works on immigrant issues with communities across age, culture, ethnicity and race. She differentiated between using popular education tools and doing popular education. She suggested that currently, at Highlander, they "do both":

I think, to me, some of the key aspects that make something popular education, are:

1. It's not a series of techniques. And, so if you're doing a one-time workshop, you might be using some techniques that are popular education but it's not a popular education process.
2. It creates a space so that people can both share their experiences and kind of analyze them in a way that would be different if they were just reflecting on their own.
3. It is always connected to action.... It's not just knowledge for knowledge's sake. It is knowledge tapped. And that in the presence of acting that kind of feeds the next round of the process.

Monica Hernandez emphasized that the importance of popular education is the communal knowledge building which creates “an analysis that no single person could create by themselves. She also stressed that an on-going process of learning, action and analysis are required to even be considered popular education.

I think that's the hardest thing for people to grasp about popular education. I think people get attracted to some of the tools that are used and then it's easy to get confused and think, “Okay, I'm using this tool therefore I'm engaging in this popular education process” but the tools are just tools.

The role of educator has been a primary role for the women of Highlander. As discussed previously, most studies have attributed Highlander's educational method to Myles Horton. These findings demonstrate that the development of the educational method was on-going and collaborative and that women throughout Highlander's history were instrumental in this development. They have been responsible for recruiting participants, curriculum and workshop development, workshop facilitation, evaluation and coordination. Throughout Highlander's history, women have shaped Highlander's educational method and its educational structures of residential and field workshops. Even though there have been little previous analyses of the roles of cook, cultural worker

and educator, they are well known roles in Highlander's history. The next roles of caregiver, researcher, adviser and director, are not as well known and have not been analyzed previously in the Highlander literature.

Role 4: Caregiver

In addition to her music and cultural work, Zilphia Johnson Horton also exemplifies another women's role at Highlander. This role is that of caregiver. This role was first named and analyzed at the 1994 Women's Workshop. The women in 1994 focused upon the women who provided for the physical and emotional needs of Highlander staff and workshop participants such as those women who were cooks, like Zilphia Johnson Horton, and the other women who welcomed newcomers by creating a hospitable atmosphere. I also include support staff in the caregiver category because through my interviews and analysis of the correspondence I found that one of the formal caregiver roles at Highlander was filled by support staff.

I have already discussed at length the role of cook; however, the 1994 Women's Workshop placed the cooks in a new category. Prior to that workshop, the contribution of Highlander's cooks had not been analyzed. The Women's Workshop participants suggested that the cooks were the people who helped to lay the foundation of hospitality at Highlander. This was clearly illustrated by Dorothy (Nina) Reining's description of her responsibilities at Highlander.

We serve ordinary, home-cooked food. Make sure that there's plenty of it and treat people as you would treat your guests ... and we do a lot of things for you that's besides just feed you. I mean, if you need your pants sewed up, we'll lend you some thread, and that kind of thing.

Myles Horton (1991, 1996) frequently talked about how Black and White workshop participants came together at meals; they ate together, cooked together and cleaned together. Beginning in 1942, Highlander hosted workshops in which Black and White workers and labor leaders came together to learn, to eat, and to live together. For many, this was the first time that they had related with “the other”. This was a profound experience for most. In fact, Rosa Parks said, “It was the first time in my life I had lived in an atmosphere of complete equality with members of the other race” (quoted in Glen, 1996, p. 162). She said that it was this experience that helped her to believe change was possible. Throughout Highlander’s history, this work which laid the foundation for equality at Highlander was organized by women.

Those who had come to Highlander during the 1940s and 1950s said that Zilphia Johnson Horton was largely responsible for creating Highlander’s hospitable environment. Anne Romasco, who first came to Highlander as an Antioch College intern spoke fondly of Zilphia Johnson Horton, remembering how she had helped Anne and all the interns to feel welcome. The women who gathered at the 1994 Women’s Workshop also spoke of her hospitality and said how she helped them to feel comfortable in spite of being from many different backgrounds.

Charis Horton described her mother as creative and welcoming. She said that Zilphia Johnson Horton was the one who connected Highlander to the local community.

My mother always did a lot of work with the schools, with the local one-room school; so she'd put on these great big pageants and she made light things and did Christmas pageants; and so there was that sort of element which I was involved in.... she probably was the catalyst for a lot of the community connections just because of her personality and, you know, music stuff she was doing, and when she died there was nobody at Highlander that reached out to the community.

Since 1932, women have taken on the responsibility of creating a hospitable environment at Highlander. Susan Williams talked about how the women who helped her to feel comfortable at Highlander when she first went to workshop in 1977:

I think about Candy (Carawan) and Nina (Dorothy Reining). Candy because I always felt welcomed by Candy even though I did not know anybody. I had never been there before. I had no idea what I was doing. I always felt really welcomed by Candy. I have a strong memory of that and also because Candy was often the one who would encourage people to sing and be part of trying to pull people together. Nina, I remember because at that point, you washed dishes. The people in the workshop washed dishes so I washed dishes a lot because I had grown up washing dishes and it was something to do that was helpful that I could do. So I was in the kitchen all night.

These women's experiences illustrate the importance of hospitality and the ways in which women were the primary providers of hospitality at Highlander. Hospitality continues to be particularly important at Highlander because of the nature of workshops which require participants to share deeply from their personal experiences and they need to feel comfortable in order to do so. Susan Williams attests to the experience of coming in new without knowing anyone. Thus, hospitality facilitates the development of trust which provides the foundation of Highlander's educational process.

Women also worked as support staff at Highlander. They typed letters, tracked donors, organized the library along with a myriad of other duties which facilitated the efficient running of Highlander. Joyce Dukes was Myles Horton's secretary; she also became a workshop facilitator; working at Highlander for approximately 10 years in the late sixties and early seventies.

He (Myles Horton) asked me to come and work at his house to be his – well, I guess his assistant, in a lot of ways, I did a secretarial work when they entertained – got the food and did food

preparation and so forth. I drove him a lot of times when – he was not a good driver. And we went to a number of places together, and... I was Myles support person. Typing, filing, cataloguing, shopping, cooking, serving, and driving.

The work of the women who were support staff served a critical function at Highlander. Support staff are included in this category because, in addition to supporting the physical and financial structures of Highlander, their tasks also included providing emotional support. The task of maintaining Highlander's financial support base which included developing and maintaining relationships with donors, research foundations and former and current workshop participants is just one example of how support staff included emotional care work. From the beginning, Highlander staff kept in touch with people from around the country who were interested in supporting Highlander both educationally and financially. Part of the reason that Highlander still operates today is due to this extensive correspondence which has created a considerable donor base. For much of Highlander's history, this task has fallen almost solely to the director and his support staff. In the last 20 years, however, this task has been taken on by Highlander's development director who works closely with the executive director in order to insure that Highlander has the necessary funds each year. Thus far, the development directors have been women.

The experience of Zilphia Johnson Horton also points to another phenomenon that women experienced when they came to Highlander. Originally, Zilphia Johnson planned to stay at Highlander for six weeks for a workshop and then to return to Tennessee to work as a labor educator. Five weeks after her arrival, she married Myles Horton. Many women and men came to Highlander and found romance. April Allen (a pseudonym) joked that Highlander should have a fundraiser in which people pay for the number of

years that they were married to the person they met at Highlander. This points to several things. Many of the people who came to Highlander were in their twenties, at a time of life when, according to society, people are looking for a husband or wife. At Highlander, they found like-minded people: people who were labor leaders, labor educators and activists. However, many of the people I met were no longer with the people they had met at Highlander. These women accepted society's role of wife and perhaps mother, but, later in life, they challenged these roles and the ways that their husbands expected them to behave in them. For many, this led to divorce. Not all couples divorced, however. Many couples continued to work at Highlander after they were married as did Myles Horton and Zilphia Johnson Horton.

In addition to this, the woman also had and raised children while working as part of Highlander's staff. This began with Zilphia Johnson Horton and Myles Horton's children, Thorsten and Charis. It continued with the children of Frank and Margaret Adams, one the directors of Highlander in the 1970s, the children of Guy and Candie Carawan, cultural workers who came to Highlander in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the children of Nina Reining, among others. Some of these children participated in Highlander's youth programs and camps. Many of them grew up to work on Highlander's staff as well.

The role of caregiver was a role unique to women in the history of Highlander. While men served alongside women as cultural workers, educators, researchers, advisers and directors, until very recently, only women undertook the role of caregiver at Highlander. Women's contributions through the role of caregiver were critical to its ability to hold residential workshops bringing together diverse peoples from many

different settings and backgrounds as well as to its ability to continue to exist as an institution. Women as caregivers provided for the physical, emotional and financial needs of Highlander and Highlander's staff and workshop participants.

Role 5: Researcher

There has been almost no analysis of the women who have filled the role of researcher at Highlander. When people were asked about Highlander and research, they most often referred to the work of John Gaventa who served as the Director of Highlander from 1990 to 1993 and was awarded the MacArthur Genius Grant during his time at Highlander. While John Gaventa certainly was instrumental in developing participatory research practices at Highlander, he was not only one to do so. In fact, much of the work of workshop development required extensive research in the field. Much of this was conducted by women. However, some women also received grants to do research of various topics. June Rostan discussed funding she received in the 1970s to do a study of coal mining women's health:

Highlander contracted me to the Coal Employment Project and so I started working with them on a pregnancy research project that I was the principal investigator for and some other occupational safety and health things with women and women miners.

Research serves many purposes at Highlander. It is used to develop workshops which meet the needs of participants. It is developed along with participants who then use it to address community problems. Some of this research has been published by Highlander in a series of Working Papers so that the findings may be shared with other communities and community activists who come to Highlander. A number of women who worked at Highlander have also developed research projects as a result of their contacts at Highlander workshops and have written books which have been published by university

presses and are available to activists and scholars alike (see Carawan & Carawan, 1975/1996; Hinsdale, Lewis & Waller, 1995; Pharr, 1996; Smith, 1999). Aimee Isgrig Horton (1971/1989) wrote a (then) definitive history of Highlander providing a comprehensive review and analysis of its history and programs from 1932 to 1961.

One of the important activities which Highlander has added to its educational system is participatory research. Pat Beaver, the director of Appalachian Studies at Appalachian State University (ASU), got involved with a participatory research at Highlander at her very first meeting.

I was at ASU.... I had been named the acting director of the new center for Appalachian studies. It was probably somewhere in that period that I went to Highlander the first time and then volunteered to manage the Appalachian Land Ownership Study.

This was a six-state study in which local people from each state went into their court houses to find who owned the land in Appalachia. Susan Williams, now the coordinator of education, participated in the Land Ownership Study in the late 1970s at Highlander. This study was the first time she learned to do research, by going into county court houses to get public information to community activists like herself and SOCM, the community organization in which she was involved at that time. She particularly appreciated the way in which Juliette Merrifield taught her and other workshop participants how to do research when she attended a Synthetic Fuels Workshop at Highlander in the early eighties.

That Synthetic Fuels Workshop she (Juliette Merrifield) did was very good. I think the work she did around helping people understand more technical stuff was all really good... I interviewed John (Gaventa) and Juliette and they were sort of saying, we just try to see what would be helpful. Juliette's writing says that she was trained as a traditional researcher and then they realized what was more helpful was to help people. It is helpful to

get information for people but also helpful for people to learn the skills. I think partly it was her manner. She was a very unintimidating person but really smart and so my memory is—that Synthetic Fuels Workshop was just really smart. She found really good people to help us understand.

Susan Williams discussed how Juliette Merrifield, during the Synthetic Fuels Workshop, balanced the methodology of Highlander popular education in which the workshop participants developed their knowledge and understanding with the urgent need for immediate information to combat the federal funding of synthetic fuels development. They feared that the process to develop synthetic fuels would devastate their region's ecology.

People say we never had experts but that is not true. Juliette was good at having the experts seem like they were part of the thing and not just an expert ... especially if you needed it fast. You would have figured it out but I guess it would have taken too much time. So, I think she had a good sensibility about both the ways that people are getting and doing research themselves was helpful, but also having good strategic ideas.... I worked with her later on when I went to work with TIRN (Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network).

Susan Williams also discussed Juliette Merrifield's skill in developing research projects and research questions which aided local researchers to analyze their particular problems.

She worked at the literacy center and she helped do this project with Levi's workers. They did a survey of Levi's workers. The plants were closing, and nobody was paying attention to what happened to them. So they got a crew of Levi's workers to go out and survey people. It was really amazing because nobody was paying attention to what happened to people. And, so they had to work and figure out the questions.... She was really smart and good at working with lots of different kinds of people.

John Gaventa is frequently mentioned as an exceptional director who brought many research grants utilizing participatory research to Highlander. While he certainly was

instrumental in developing Highlander's research process, it is clear from my interviews and the archival data that Juliette Merrifield and other women were also instrumental in facilitating the research process with local people from across the South.

According to April Allen (a pseudonym), there were many women who conducted oral history interviews for various projects beginning in the 1960s. As Highlander returned to a focus upon poverty in Appalachia, women gathered oral history interviews to record the culture, to examine community problems and to record the history of Highlander and the region. In addition, Highlander provides extensive archives for community activists as well as academic researchers. Women have served as Highlander's archivists to organize Highlander's library and archives as well as to work with the Wisconsin State Historical Society which holds the Highlander papers. Thus, research has been and continues to be an important part of Highlander, and women have been involved in research projects since Highlander's inception. Not only has their research functioned to develop Highlander's educational programs, it has also aided local communities to understand their own histories and to analyze community problems.

Role 6: Adviser

Women have served as advisers throughout Highlander's history. One common characteristic of advisers is involvement in Highlander over decades of time. Lilian Johnson was the first woman to serve in this capacity. In fact, her advisory capacity was a stipulation to the Highlander Folk School receiving her land. In 1932, after meeting Myles Horton and Don West, Lilian Johnson agreed that they could use her property in Monteagle, Tennessee to begin their school. She did not deed the property to them right away, however. In Highlander's archives, there are letters between Lilian Johnson and

the Highlander staff which span two decades. It is clear from these letters that Lilian served as an adviser and advocate for Highlander. In 1932, the letters begin formally and are directed to “Dr. Lilian Johnson,” and then gradually become less formal and are addressed to “Aunt Lilian” (Johnson, 1932). Until the property was deeded to Highlander in 1935, “Dr. Johnson’s” letters were supportive but very directive. In one letter, Lilian Johnson explained why she was still reluctant to deed her property to Highlander.

Now, frankly, it has hurt me that I could not help you more, but you just have not been able to make the grade. That is why I skolded you so sharply, but someday you will thank me, I hope.

I am tremendously interested in what you are doing at Allardt and wish you would tell me more about it. I sent you a card saying that I was willing to act as trustee.... I do hope you can carry out your idea of the cooperative store. But do start it right, so many have failed because they have not followed the Rochdale principles. You will find a lot of literature about that in what I have left you. Don’t make the mistake of selling under the market price, keep the market price, open your store to anyone, but the profits to the shareholders who buy.... You will never know how keenly I wish you to succeed, and how much I want you to have that Summerfield property, but you have got to earn it, however, I feel quite confident that you will.

The letter is signed, “Your friend, Lilian W. Johnson.” Even after 1935, Lilian Johnson’s correspondence with Highlander staff continued. Not only did she offer her land and her counsel, she also offered her service to Zilphia Johnson Horton to assist in childcare after Thorston Horton was born. Her letters demonstrate a strong affection for Myles Horton and Zilphia Johnson Horton as well as for other staff. However, they also still demonstrate the strongly directive and advisory nature seen above. Lilian Johnson had invested in Monteagle to bring about change to the community and , through her involvement with Highlander staff, she firmly believed in Highlander’s potential. She

served Highlander not only as an adviser but also as a strong advocate of Highlander to the local community as well as to prominent businessmen and politicians.

This long-term advisory relationship was replicated by many women throughout Highlander's history. May Justus, whom Lilian Johnson had brought to Monteagle to teach, served on Highlander's board for many years. She played a critical role during one of the local trials attempting to shut down Highlander. During the trial, she was particularly challenged about the "loose morals" of the workshop participants. She was shown a picture of a Black man and a White woman dancing and asked what she saw. She replied that they were square dancing just like everyone else in the picture. She came to testify on Highlander's behalf which served Highlander well because she was well known and respected in the community as a teacher (Glen 1996).

The women who served as advisers spoke with authority about their perception of the mission. Sometimes this was in the form of a correction as in this case of an invitation to collaborate on a workshop with a local union in Cleveland which Zilla Hawes thought the staff had severely mishandled. Highlander had been invited to work with a union local in Cleveland. This would have given Highlander more access to direct service in unions. The staff did not respond quickly enough and so lost the opportunity. Zilla Hawes was in the field running workshops and networking on Highlander's behalf. The following excerpt demonstrates her role as an adviser with a clear sense of the mission and work of Highlander:

I am sorry the staff has not been able to get together on an answer to my letter, but I still look for the letter. However, on the basis of the facts, especially that in the incident I dwelt with, the staff failed to show decisive and concerted action, I am afraid that my confidence in Highlander as a responsible labor school is seriously impaired. Perhaps the whole affair will make it possible to clarify

our divergent belief about what a labor school is, although that cannot repair the damage done. A labor school, to my mind, should be able to respond to emergency calls from those unions whom it expects to win over to workers education ... our purpose is to serve the movement, and then fail to do it, it a serious indictment of Highlander's clarity of purpose, sincerity, and unity of action. (Hawes, 1937)

Not all women spoke so forcefully, however. Mary Lawrence's (1940) advisory role is demonstrated in a less directive way than Zilla Hawes' advisory letter in this 1940s letter to Myles Horton:

Dear Myles:

I want to talk to you a little more about this fellow Tom Ludwig who I wanted you get to talk to during the RE-union, but which you were too busy to do. He is the best material I have seen on the horizon for some time. So much so that I am trying to get him to come to meet some of the key people in the South to see if we can't get him a job so he can stay here, as he wants to do, after he gets out in January or February. I am even recommending him for my job....

The more I think of him and his wife Betty, the more I think Highlander is missing one of the best bets it has had in a long time. I think we could persuade them to come to Highlander if we really wanted to....

Tom's interests are definitely along educational and research lines, tho' he has had quite a lot of organizing experience ... I think we could sell them on coming to Highlander – they see the possibilities of the School and they think cooperative living is fine – I know we could use them both.

And Tom is one guy who we wouldn't have to work much on before sending out in the field.... I think they are just the kind of couple we want to settle at Highlander.

See you soon – I guess.

Love, Lawrie

Mary Lawrence is one of the many women advisers to make recommendations for hiring. Much of Zilla Hawes' correspondence demonstrates not merely a recommending role. Her correspondence reveals an equal role in hiring decisions. In fact, at various time in Highlander's history, the role of advisers has been to assist in hiring through their board responsibilities or relationship to Highlander's directors.

Sometimes women were brought in as advisers because they had knowledge or experiences which could expand Highlander's mission. Suzanne Pharr is an example of this. She described how she became a board member due to her experience with a statewide, community-based women's project in Arkansas.

We worked to eliminate racism and sexism and did that through focusing on violence and economics and worked always across issues and across identities. And so we were kind of a model project for the country on how you would be on women's project and work on race and gender and class. How you could work with women as well as men and children. How are you taking on the far right, and then the bureaucratic right, those kinds of things. How we would have the leadership of majority women be equal.

My name had been submitted (for board membership) and it was when they were trying to become a little more focused on women and there were people fighting from within to try to bring in just a little bit of feminism on to the organization. I think she (Sue Thrasher) sponsored me to come in. I had done a little work with Highlander on those particular issues because there were great tensions within regarding women. And, the way in which women work - their roles on staff and the relationships between men and women, the power of relationships.

Suzanne Pharr said that she was brought onto the board because of "my overall politics, my gender and queer politics, and my racial politics." This epitomizes the ways in which a woman's experience and knowledge may lead to her becoming a Highlander adviser. In some ways this was similar to the reason for May Justus' involvement with Highlander too. She was already a respected teacher in Monteagle when Highlander was established.

She used this influence to advocate for Highlander during its early years and especially during the times when Highlander was under fire and on trial. In the case of May Justus, Suzanne Pharr and other women advisers, their community standing and recognition was the reason they were invited to become part of Highlander's advisory board.

Ann Romasco and Bernice Johnson Reagon exemplify the commitment of advisers. Both of these women came to Highlander workshops during the Civil Rights Movement and both are still active at Highlander today. They have served on the board over the years and are still called upon to assist the board or serve on particular committees. There are two important things about how they enact this role. One is their influence. They were advisers to Myles Horton and other directors as well as to staff. Today, they both still advise Highlander staff through committee and board work. Of second importance is their longevity as advisers. Like many of the women advisers who came to Highlander as interns or workshop participants, their influence and status evolved over their lifetime by serving as staff and/or on the board.

Role 7: Director

Not many women have filled the role of director at Highlander. Only three women have been directors of Highlander. Many women undertook the six previous roles of cook, cultural worker, education, caregiver, research and adviser. Their work spans nearly 80 years which provided a rich source of data for analysis as well as for the inclusion of many of their narratives to describe their experiences. Conversely, the women directors have only undertaken this role for a total of 10 years altogether. In addition, the files from Suzanne Pharr and Pam McMichael, Highlander's Directors from 2000 to the present, are not yet available for analysis since their work is so recent. Much

of their correspondence in still confidential. All of this make analysis of this category difficult and causes the narrative to be “thinner” than that of the previous roles.

Helen Lewis was named acting director in 1980 when Mike Clark was on sabbatical for his honeymoon. As director, she responded to situations and adapted some of the Highlander’s policies.

I tried to sort of straighten out the office, you know... We got lists from everywhere that I could find lists and made ourselves a mailing list for raising money, you know, because we were going to start this endowment.

Another thing that I did was bring beer back into the thing. We were never allowed to have any beer or wine or anything because that was how we got closed down. The police would be rushing right in behind us if we opened a can of beer.... This was the year I also took this bunch of Welsh miners on this grand tour of the coal fields.... We came back to Highlander and by then they’re feeling pretty good about the whole trip and they really saw a lot of stuff.

So we’re back and we’ve invited people from all the places where they’ve been and we’re talking about both places and after supper they’re singing around the piano. The method at that time was that everybody would keep their beer in the car and go out in the parking lot and drink off the tailgate, so people kept going out, coming back, and going out and coming back and I knew what was happening. And here these miners who were used to being in a pub, drinking beer, and there was nothing there for them to drink. They didn’t know what was going on with everybody going back and forth.

Well, other people were wanting them to sing and talk to them because there was stuff going on there. So I went out to the parking lot, and I said, “Okay boys, bring it in. We’re not going to do this anymore. The parking lot is closed. Pack up your beer, bring it in, and serve the guests.” Well, when Mike (Clark) got back he stopped them temporarily.

This illustrates again how women viewed hospitality as critical. This story demonstrates how she changed the rules, at least for a time, to provide better hospitality.

Suzanne Pharr was the first woman named executive director (not acting director) of Highlander. She brought her experience from a community-based woman's project in Arkansas. She had two particular experiences which greatly assisted with her work as Director of Highlander. These were her work with poor people across race, class, gender and sexual orientation and her organizational work establishing democratic organizational structures.

Pam McMichael, the current director, has emphasized working with groups who are coalition-building across borders. In this section, it is helpful to contrast leadership and organizational styles. At the beginning of Highlander's history, it appears that people worked fairly and collaboratively with women and men contributing and being heard. By the 1970s, however, Myles Horton was the expert. This was certainly due to his vision as well as to his longevity. He was the only Highlander worker from 1932 to remain involved throughout his life. For many, Highlander had become synonymous with Horton.

When Myles Horton stepped down as director in the late 1960s, the new directors, especially those who worked at Highlander in the late sixties and seventies, experienced difficulty in asserting their authority. In fact, I found differing understandings of just who was the director reported by the staff at that time. According to Glen (1996), Conrad Brown, the founder of Koineneia Farms was the first director after Myles Horton retired. However, some of the staff who worked at Highlander shortly after Conrad Brown resigned didn't know he was director. Almetor King thought Bernice Robinson was director because "she ran the whole show." Others thought Myles Horton was the director years past his retirement. This was due to his continued presence at Highlander. He lived

on the property until his death in 1990 and all of the staff talked about how he often walked down the hill from the house and gave the secretaries work. He also maintained close friendships with board members. In order to assert their authority, the men operated as they had seen Myles Horton operate - in what had become a very hierarchical manner. The staff had changed dramatically from meetings of “the soviet” in which equality was the expectation to meetings in which not all staff were present and decisions were made by the director outside of staff meetings. The women directors changed Highlander’s organizational structure to reflect more equitable processes. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Discussion of Findings Related to Questions 1 & 2

The findings of this study regarding women’s roles and their influence at Highlander not only expand our understanding of Highlander’s history and educational methodology, they also contribute to the social movement literature. These findings of the contribution of the women at Highlander take the notion of bridge leader (Robnett1997) beyond its original construction from a study of the women of the Civil Rights Movement. The women of Highlander attest to the ways that women took on previously unanalyzed roles at Highlander and provided leadership at Highlander. Robnett (1997) emphasizes the ways in which bridge leaders connect the national (male) leaders of the Civil Rights Movement with local (usually female) leaders. In this study, the women’s role in education suggests that the role of educators in social movements should be analyzed as well. Septima Clark was recognized in Robnett’s study but she was recognized for her leadership of the Citizenship Schools and in the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference. Her role as an educator and other women's roles as educators were not included in Robnett's analysis.

The ways in which the women of Highlander both challenged and accepted gendered role assignment also extend the work of Roth (2004). Roth analyzes how women in various social movement organizations negotiate conflicting oppressions and determine how to address these oppressions within their particular organization and movement. The study also provides another social justice arena in which women address these conflicting realities. In addition, this study offers an analysis which explores the experience of women working at Highlander in eight different decades. This provides another example in which women were organizing and working for change throughout the 20th century. Like Roth's (2004) study, these findings contribute to the field of women studies by challenging the common periodization of the women's movement by demonstrating how poor women as well as women of color worked for equality outside of the accepted first and second categorization of the women's movement.

In this study the roles undertaken by women fell into two categories. These are "official" roles and "unofficial" or "uncovered" roles. The "official" roles were already a part of the narrative at Highlander and were well known before this study. These are cook, cultural worker and educator. Not all aspects of these roles had been previously analyzed, however. As stated previously, much of the Highlander's self narrative and the Highlander literature from adult education (see Thayer-Bacon, 2002 & 2004) focuses upon Myles Horton's educational methodology and equates this with Highlander's methodology. In my analysis of the role of educator, I found that many women shaped this methodology. The contributions of Highlanders' cooks were also not previously

analyzed in the literature of Highlander. The analysis of the contribution of Highlander's cooks led me to categorize these roles and led to my exploration of the second category for women's roles at Highlander. These "unofficial" or "uncovered" roles are the roles which were previously unrecognized and unanalyzed. These roles are caregiver, adviser, researcher and director. The work of the cook also places that role within the category of caregiver, an essential role at Highlander.

The caregivers created the hospitable atmosphere at Highlander that facilitated interactions across race, gender, class, sexual orientation, nationality and religion. Hospitality created the possibility of encountering the "other." This affirms the theories of Hayes (2000) and Hansman (2001) that emphasize the importance of the context of learning. The caregivers work helped to create a social context at Highlander. The caregivers were uniquely responsible for helping to create a communal environment at Highlander. This gives credence to hooks' (2003) assertions that a community is required not just for a radical learning environment but also in order to create a community of diverse educators who support radical education. These findings also support the portrait of the "connected teacher" (Belenky et al., 1997). The caregivers laid the foundation of community and connection in their work at Highlander.

Much of the work of caregivers is emotional labor. This finding confirms another of Robnett's (1997) propositions that "bridge leaders provide much of emotional work... (which) provide the basis for the emotional intimacy so necessary for persuading the masses to take risks" (p. 193). These findings show that the caregivers are also responsible for creating the hospitable environment at Highlander. The women I interviewed attested to the ways in which this hospitality helped them to first experience

and then to establish this “emotional intimacy” so that workshop participants would risk learning, living, and organizing with “the other.” Thus, the findings also confirm Morris’s (2000) contention that emotional work is critically important to social movements.

The significance of this role expands our understanding of bridge leader and may contribute to our understanding of social movements and social movement processes such as cognitive liberation and frame theories found in the work of McAdam (1982), Snow et al. (1996) and Benford and Snow (2000). The findings in this study related to popular education provide some insight into Benford and Snow’s (2000)’s processes of frame articulation and frame amplification which they noted has been under-researched and underdeveloped.

Popular education is an iterative of knowledge construction and action. This process can be divided into 3 separate actions:

1. Coming together to create knowledge and develop community action plans through the sharing of individual and community experience and issues. This knowledge-making is a communal process.
2. Going back to various communities to implement the plans.
3. Returning to Highlander to analyze these plans, create new understandings and construct more action plans for community action.

Thus, the popular education process illustrates frame articulation wherein social action experiences provide “a new angle of vision and/or interpretation” (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 623). This analysis of popular education, cultural work and caregiving also extends McAdam’s (1992) concept of cognitive liberation. McAdam (1992) proposes

that cognitive liberation was the impetus for action in the Civil Rights Movement. But he does not adequately develop the concept of cognitive liberation. The popular education process practiced at Highlander during the Civil Rights Movement in the Citizenship Schools probably served as the medium by which cognitive liberation was achieved. However, these findings also challenge McAdam (1992). The emotional work of caregiving and the artistic work of cultural work go beyond cognition. This study of the women of Highlander suggests that a community's movement toward liberation is rooted in cognition, emotion and culture.

Likewise, the importance of women who took on the role of cultural workers may further our understandings of the role of culture in social movements as well and provide an extension of the work of Jasper (1997). This study provides an analysis of how the cultural work at Highlander is an essential part of Highlander's methodology and provides an insight into how it is taken back and used by workshop participants in their organizing.

This analysis of women's roles at Highlander also contributes to our understanding of feminist pedagogy and how to facilitate women's learning. The women's descriptions of popular education illustrated how Highlander created a process by which workshop participants experienced the constructed knowledge first posited by Belenky, et al. (1997). The Women's Workshop participants' stressed the importance of creating a hospitable learning environment which confirms hooks' (2003) assertion that a safe, "participatory space" is crucial to emancipatory education. Highlander's emphasis on field work supports Hayes (2000) and Hansman's (2001) assertions that an understanding of social context is critical to support learning in their discussion of

situated cognition. The discussion of the development of the Citizenship Schools and the SALT programs in particular demonstrate Highlander's practice of "going into the field" to develop an understanding of the participants' social context. Septima Clark (1990) and Vickie Creed discussed the fieldwork process they developed to create programs which addressed their students' identified needs and countered cultural or societal structures which mitigated their students learning. In this way, the curriculum and agenda of the workshop along with the hospitable environment of Highlander combined to create a new social context for the workshop participants.

Reflections on Roles

The women who worked at Highlander have contributed significantly to its longevity and success. In this chapter, I have discussed the roles that women have undertaken at Highlander throughout its history. The roles of cook, teacher, and cultural worker have been mentioned in previous histories of Highlander although there has been little analysis of the ways in which these women's roles have influenced Highlander. The roles of caregiver, researcher, adviser and director have neither been recognized nor analyzed in previous literature. In this chapter, I have demonstrated the ways in which women undertook these vital roles and the ways in which they then shaped Highlander's structure, educational methodology and curriculum.

The latter roles have only begun to be named at Highlander. The role of caregiver has been particularly difficult to name and to claim. The contributions of caregivers are beginning to be recognized both by the individuals themselves as well as by Highlander as a community. Dorothy (Nina) Reining related how she used to adapt her philosophy with each new director, but as she stayed at Highlander and gained experience, she began

to recognize her own knowledge and expertise. Susan Williams named both Nina (Dorothy Reining) and Candie (Carawan) as exemplars of this role. In my experience on the history project, I found that Candie and Nina were the ones to whom I was most frequently referred to for clarification and for their expert vision and understanding of the history of Highlander. Both women combined caregiving, educating, and cultural work in their life's work at Highlander and exemplify the ways in which the women of Highlander have assumed many roles in response to the needs of the times. Their recognition today marks a shift. According to Almetor King, she and Joyce Dukes did not experience this kind of recognition of their experience and expertise in the 1970s. These tensions will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

In my analysis of the interviews and the archives, I was struck by the ways in which these women were innovators and visionaries regardless of the role they had undertaken. The primary educational philosophy of Highlander is the belief that the poor people who come to Highlander's workshops have the experiential knowledge and capability to learn to analyze and address the issues and concerns of their community and industry. From the beginning of Highlander's history, women have adapted their skills and talents to meet the needs of their clients. They have done this from the kitchen, the classroom, the union local and the picket line. They have done this while in the field or at Highlander. They have worked as cooks, cultural workers, teachers, caregivers, researchers, advisers and directors to bring the vision of Highlander to fruition.

Through these roles women shaped Highlander, impacting its educational methodology and institutional processes. The three roles which had the most impact upon Highlander were educator, cultural worker, and caregiver. Highlander is an

educational institution. Prior to this study, the dominant narrative of Highlander and majority of scholarship about Highlander attributed Highlander's educational methodology to Myles Horton. In this dominant narrative, the educational methodology is conceived of by one person; it is static having been put into place in the 1930s and remaining constant throughout Highlander's history. The inclusion of women in the narrative and analysis of Highlander radically changes this understanding of the development of Highlander's educational methodology. Rather than being set in place by one man, women worked collectively throughout Highlander's history to shape Highlander's educational methodology adapting their practices to meet the needs of activists to address their communities' needs and concerns. The women educators of Highlander demonstrate the significance of the work of women of Highlander and how their influence shaped Highlander at its core.

Cultural work is another key component of Highlander's educational methodology. Women were critical to the development of this as well. From Highlander's inception, Highlander staff said they wanted to include culture in their workshops and other educational interactions, but they didn't have the skills to accomplish this (Horton, 1990). Zilphia Johnson Horton changed this. She was a skilled musician and was able to adapt her classical training as a musician to address the needs of workshop participants. This led to Highlander being known as "the Singing Labor College" during the 1930s and 1940s. After Zilphia Johnson Horton's death, women and men continued this work. Thus, throughout Highlander's history, women have assisted community activists and organizers to develop cultural tools to sustain and support their work as organizers. Cultural work is a unique aspect of Highlander's educational

methodology and women as cultural workers created and shaped this work. Without the cultural work of these women, Highlander would be a different institution.

Until very recently, women assumed the major responsibility for caregiving at Highlander. Caregivers provide emotional, physical and financial support to Highlander's workshop participants and to Highlander's staff. Throughout Highlander's history women have taken care of the physical needs of workshop participants and have undertaken tasks to ensure Highlander's financial future. Even though the physical and financial needs are certainly important, women's emotional labor was key to Highlander's success. As workshop participants came together across race, nation, and gender, women worked as caregivers to create a safe space for the participants to meet "the other." For many, this was their first encounter with "the other." The workshop participants attest to the significance of this and the ways in which they were able to live, learn and work in community. Clearly, the women caregivers laid the foundation for these community experiences at Highlander.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

CONFLICTED RELATIONSHIPS

In this chapter, I discuss how the women of Highlander name, analyze and manage conflicted relationships and situations. Although Highlander from outside looks like an ideal environment, it was not without its internal conflict which is always the case whenever people are trying to do complex and difficult work. When this study began there were only two questions tied to roles. As I got deeper into the data, I recognized another theme that seemed to be coming up over and over again which represents a very important part of struggling for equity. Many of the women I interviewed identified situations and relationships in which conflict frequently arose at Highlander. These conflicted relationships and situations occurred in the context of establishing, building and maintaining Highlander as an adult education institution which educated community activists in order to support their work for change. Consequently, I crafted a third research question for this study that would capture this. This research question is: How did the women of Highlander negotiate conflicted relationships? In this chapter, I present the findings related to this question.

First, I present the methodology used for this section. Second, I present Maher and Tetreault's (2001) conceptual framework which I used in the analysis. Third, I discuss the findings in relationship to the models' concepts of mastery, authority, voice and positionality. Fourth, I discuss Suzanne Pharr's organizational restructuring of Highlander and the ways that it addressed these conflicted situations. Finally, I conclude

with a discussion of the findings and a reflection of how women negotiated conflicted relationships at Highlander.

Methodology

In one of my first interviews, April Allen (a pseudonym), identified conflict that existed around gender and analysis of gender discrimination at Highlander in the 1970s.

She experienced this particularly around the issue of child care:

At that time, childcare was a controversial issue. We brought it up a lot at staff meetings. We were having staff meetings at that time where we felt that we talked about everything and made collective decisions. And, we were pushing on women's issues and Myles in particular was very resistant. I think he had a good reason for being resistant. He felt like if children were at Highlander, it would distract people and interrupt what he considered to be the analytical process. So, I think it was a lack of understanding for sure and a lack of appreciation for the bind in which the women found themselves.

Nearly all the women I interviewed mentioned experiencing conflicted situations similar to this one in which the needs of a particular group were not heard or addressed. After a systematic analysis of the interviews with the 30 women and an examination of the correspondence of other women who worked at Highlander in the 1930s and 1940s, I found that conflict emerged as a central theme in this study and needed further analysis. Therefore, as previously discussed, I added the third research question to this study. I then reviewed the interview transcripts and correspondence to code and analyze this category.

The conceptual framework which guided analysis of conflicted relationships was drawn from Maher and Tetreault's (2001) *The Feminist Classroom*. While the women of Highlander do not self-identify as feminist teachers, Highlander's workshops share many common characteristics with those discussed by Maher and Tetreault (2001). In their

study of 16 feminist classrooms, Maher and Tetreault developed four conceptual themes to analyze power and resistance in these classrooms. Like women educators in *The Feminist Classroom*, the women of Highlander also identified the ways in which power and resistance operated in Highlander's workshops and in Highlander's institutional processes.

Maher and Tetreault's Four Principles

Social change always occurs within the context of existing power structures. For the purposes of this study of the women educators of Highlander, gendered power structures were investigated. In order to be effective, education designed to foster social change and develop activists must confront existing power structures; consequently, the conceptual framework used for the analyses in this chapter is guided by notions of gendered power structures and resistance as discussed by Maher and Tetreault (2001). In *The Feminist Classroom*, Maher and Tetreault (2001) present their study of seventeen feminist teachers at six different institutions of higher education. They identified four themes common to the feminist pedagogy and learning in feminist classrooms: mastery, authority, voice, and positionality. These concepts are defined in Table 6 (see next page) and are discussed in detail below.

Findings Related to Research Question 3

Mastery: Experiential Knowledge is Privileged.

Maher and Tetreault (2001) found that feminist teachers redefined the concept of mastery.

No longer limited to the acquisition of knowledge on the terms of the experts, the notion that mastery has been expanded by our informants to mean interpretation of knowledge from the perspective of students, women and other marginalized groups

whose lives represent “the bywaters and tributaries” to mainstream academic culture. (p. 57)

Table 6: Definitions of Mastery, Authority, Voice and Positionality (from Maher & Tetreault [2001])

	Definition
Mastery	“The interpretation of knowledge from the new perspectives of students, women, and other marginalized groups whose lives represent “the byways and tributaries” to mainstream culture” (p.57).
Authority	Concerns “the enactment of the teacher’s authority... how she transformed her courses and opened them up to her students... (and how) each teacher’s authority was constructed by herself, her students, and the university community. (p. 20)
Voice	“The awakening of the students’ own responses, their ability to speak for themselves, to bring their own questions and perspectives to the materials (pp. 18-19).
Positionality	“A person’s specific position in any context, a position always defined by gender, race, class and other socially significant dimensions” (p.22)

Collaboration and community are stressed in this process. They discovered tension between the valuing of “women’s” knowledge and interpreting such a variety of “women’s” knowledge. In diverse classrooms, students moved beyond dichotomies and located their learning and experiences at the intersections of race, class and gender power and oppression. In analyzing the concept of mastery, Maher and Tetreault (2001) also challenged the dichotomy of male separate knowing and female connected knowing. They attributed separate knowing which was enacted in the classrooms by both men and women who allied traditional educational practices with dominant structures.

Highlander’s methodologies include popular education which is defined as:

a participatory process that combines people’s experiences, to develop collective analysis and strategies for action for positive change. In this process everyone is a teacher, everyone a learner

and everyone contains within them the seed to make change.
(Methodologies Handout, Spring 2007)

This definition demonstrates how Highlander's methodologies resist traditional models of knowledge construction which privilege expert knowledge. The goal of Highlander's popular education is to connect the workshop participants to others with similar problems and to facilitate the discussion and analysis of these problems by the participants. Their popular education process stresses developing knowledge within the community for community action. It is a collaborative process of knowledge creation and rests on indigenous knowledge. Marie Cirillo testified to this experience saying she left her first Highlander workshop, "confident in what I know."

Likewise, the women who have worked at Highlander have felt affirmed in their knowledge. From the beginning, women were teachers and coordinators of education or directors of field work at Highlander. As discussed in Chapter 3, many women took on roles of teacher, adviser, and researcher which demonstrates a trust in their mastery of the educational and research processes necessary for working with Highlander workshop participants.

Zilla Hawes described a kind of mastery when she discussed what she missed after leaving organizing, "I'll tell you quite honestly what I did miss. The power that one had in making a speech. I'd become, a fairly good speaker" (Hawes, 1981). Dorothy (Nina) Reining also described her experience of coming into her own sense of mastery.

When I first came I had a lot of respect for the people here, which was Mike Clark and John Gaventa and Sue Thrasher and Helen Lewis and if I didn't quite think like they did, I would read and I would think, "This must be the way that I should look at this", but as directors came and went, I formed the opinion that I had my own views and unless I had some good reason, I wasn't changing my views every time a director came. Which was not a big

difference, I was still within Highlander's mission statement, but there were a lot differences in what had a priority and the way you did work.

This quote reveals the way in which the women staff grew in their own sense of mastery.

At first, Dorothy (Nina) Reining exhibited a more traditional model of knowledge construction when she privileged those people on staff whom she saw as expert. Then, after she had been at Highlander and involved in various projects and workshops, she grew to trust her own expertise and knowledge.

Dorothy Kincaid, who came to Highlander as a SALT fellow and then became a member of the staff, described her experience of knowledge construction in Highlander's workshops process.

We shared our problems. It gave us that oomph to go back to our communities and go back to work. Highlander provided us with stipends in order to do special work within our community. Which it did. It helped us organize. We organized and had fundraising events. I learned how to do that at Highlander.

This story demonstrates how Highlander expands the sense of mastery beyond the classroom. As previously discussed, popular education requires an iterative process of learning in community and practicing that learning in the community. Dorothy Kincaid's experience illustrates how she achieved a sense of mastery through Highlander's popular education process.

Authority: The Power of the Myth

Authority is another key issue in the feminist classroom. Within the traditional model of education, authority is constructed hierarchically. In the classroom, it is held by the "expert" professor who is responsible for "handing down" this "expert" knowledge and evaluating the students. Maher and Tetreault (2001) analyzed the ways in which

feminist teachers challenged this definition of authority in their practices and used various strategies to demonstrate this.

Many of them shared a sense of their authority as grounded in their own experience, in their own intellectual encounters with feminist theory or other topics that personally engaged them, rather than exclusively in their representation of scholarly expertise. (p. 21)

In the feminist classroom, the concept of authority is extended to the students as they collaborate with other students and professors in the knowledge construction process (mastery) so too they share in the authority of education. Authority is a particularly conflicted category for feminist teachers. Due to their position as professor/teacher, they hold institutional authority which does not disappear if the feminist teacher chooses to enact a more egalitarian structure in which she functions as one of many learners. Ultimately, the university system of grading, forces all feminist professors to retain some authority. Conversely, this research finds that patriarchal authority may strip professors of their personal authority. “Male norms are taken for granted ... many students perceive female professors as less competent than male professors, even when they present the same material” (p. 139). In the second edition, Maher and Tetreault (2001) acknowledge that authority is even more highly contested than they stated in the first edition. In the first edition, they did not discuss the ways in which the intersection of gender, race and class may also alter students’ perception of a woman professor’s authority. They concluded that professors “signified their authority through a complex balance of scholarly expertise and the circumstances of their personal lives” (p. 150).

The women who attended Highlander workshops and later became staff or board members discussed how Highlander helped them to learn to speak with authority. They learned they had a right to information about their communities – about who owns the

land, about pollutants and their health effects, about tax laws and how to change them. However, in the analysis of the data, I found that the notion of legacy and the power of myth emerged strongly as another common theme underlying conflicting relationships. The women of Highlander discussed how the power of the myth both empowered and restricted them in many ways. Some found the mythology around Highlander's success limiting because people both inside and outside the institution assume that Highlander operates equitably at all times and creates programs which are efficient and well-crafted from their inception.

The myth of Highlander's success was experienced by women staff as a finished product. They said they felt as though they were expected to be experts as soon as they were affiliated with Highlander. This means they had to be expert workshop presenters and facilitators and so they had to demonstrate expert skill in running workshops and to demonstrate expert knowledge about any topic that might arise in any workshop.

We know what we're doing, where we're going. We got the race thing down. We know how to do good workshops, no need for evaluation and training... you can't admit what you don't know, it would be an embarrassment to the organization. (Women's Workshop, 1994)

Another area of conflict within this category relates to locating learning at the intersection of race, class and gender power and oppression. Since its inception, Highlander has privileged a race and class analysis. Gender-based oppression was a concern early in Highlander's history, but there was no systematic analysis of gender-based oppression until the 1970s.

Thus, the myth of Highlander served as an authority figure not only to strengthen activists' efforts but also to restrict questioning and limit the exploration of new

categories of analysis such as gender oppression. “Because we’re working on the ‘important’ stuff of economic and social justice, it would be divisive to work on women’s or other ‘subgroups’ issues” (Women’s Workshop). Women’s issues, both individual and regional, were framed as personal issues while the men in leadership defined the “big issues” of economics and social justice that would be addressed in Highlander workshops. Additionally, influential members of the staff blocked the analysis of sexism because “women had not suffered.” Oppressions were categorized in order to prioritize topics to be included in their mission. Racism and classism were privileged. In this prioritization process, women’s issues were the least important and therefore were not addressed.

The myth of Highlander also gave Highlander staff certain authority and responsibility regardless of their individual experiences. Susan Williams laughed when she talked about going to meetings before and after joining the Highlander staff. She said that suddenly people listened to her when before they had not. The legacy of Highlander with its successful work in various social movements transfers authority to Highlander staff. This is a double-edged sword, however. Some Highlander staff said they didn’t feel they could ask for help because that would mean admitting they didn’t know something. This may seem contradictory to Highlander’s approach to education in which the workshop participants experiential knowledge is privileged. The women educators at Highlander felt an obligation to be “expert” in Highlander’s educational methodology and as it relates to their ability to analyze injustice. They did not see themselves as knowledge experts which would directly contradict Highlander’s popular

education methodology, but they did describe their need to expertly facilitate Highlander's educational process.

Elandria Williams raised another issue regarding the legacy's impact on her experience as an educator at Highlander. She talked about the incredible responsibility of the Highlander legacy which seems to be increased because she is an African American Appalachian with ties to the Deep South.

What we do has a huge level of community accountability... Around, how do you think about the people who you work for being the center of everything that you do. What is your accountability to them, right? So, I'm from Knoxville and what is my accountability to my local area. I'm from east Tennessee, I was born here and I have friends and family and connection, I had a moment at the 75th anniversary where there were all these people there that I've known for my entire life, who I had no idea were connected to Highlander. Every time I come up here and there are people from Knoxville, people I've known since I was 3....

That's a whole different level of accountability. You aren't just the brand new person who walked in and met them at 28, so that's different and that's real.... I think about that both of my parents who were out here in the Civil Rights Movement. What is my accountability to that? What are all those things that you have to be accountable for, the legacies, the stuff that you know and don't know?

In describing how decisions were made and who represented Highlander to the "outside" world, the women educators of Highlander noted that these functions were gendered. They discussed the predominance of the "myth of Highlander" in which one man, Myles Horton, represents Highlander and, indeed, did influence its growth and vision for nearly 60 years. They appreciated being part of Highlander and its participatory education and research process; yet they felt a dissonance that they did not understand as workers at Highlander. They experienced Highlander as a place shaped by communities of workers and yet the narrative of Highlander credits Myles Horton with

the success of Highlander. Susan Williams recalled, “When Myles died, people actually asked me if Highlander would continue.... There is more here than one man could have accomplished.” In fact, women did much of the work of building Highlander. They suggest that there were many “experts” who constructed Highlander.

The women educators recognized that Highlander was created as a patriarchal institution with primarily male leaders and hierarchical leadership practices in which “women usually did the work and men got or took the credit and had the say” (Women’s Workshop participant, 1994). They described how the men represented Highlander at community meetings and at conferences and the women stayed at Highlander and took care of facility and worked at the residential workshops. Several of the women educators asserted that leadership should be a function and not a person. Donna Davis (a pseudonym), who had been working with Highlander for years, said she did not realize the extent to which women were marginalized until Myles Horton told another staff member that now that she had a child, she would have only limited work at Highlander. At that time, there were several women with children on the staff and attending workshops. She said, “It was then I realized what had been going on.” She attested to the dissonance of the power of working for social change but being “limited” within the institutional structure.

This was not always the case at Highlander, however. Mary Lawrence was surprised to hear how powerful Myles Horton had become. She said that in the early days they were more equal and that they were all learning and developing Highlander together (Lawrence, 1976). During nearly the same time period, though, Zilla Hawes named inequality in decision-making among the staff. In her letter regarding the

“Cleveland Incident” in which Highlander staff had not responded to the request from a union local, Zilla Hawes questioned why people were so passive waiting for the unnamed facilitator to bring up the topic. In a later letter, another staff member says that they surely would have gone to Cleveland if Zilla Hawes had been there to present the case. Zilla Hawes is also not happy with this reply and again promoted the idea of equality of speech and decision-making. In this case, she is not describing a gendered inequality, but it is not clear if there could be other markers such as class or degree of formal education which disempowered the silent staff members.

The women working at Highlander today attest to a different experience and a different structure. The women educators of Highlander are reclaiming the history of Highlander in order to incorporate women’s work and women’s voices. Some of this work was done by women researchers studying women in the Civil Rights Movement (Crawford, Rouse & Woods, 1990; Smith, 1999). Among Highlander’s staff, this process of reclaiming women’s history at Highlander began at the 1994 Women’s Workshop and continued as women worked to create more equitable organizational processes. There have been two women directors of Highlander since the 1994 workshop. Issues of gender, homophobia, ability and race are analyzed both internally in the organization and externally in the region. This change in Highlander’s organizational system will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter.

Voice: Naming the Silence and Reclaiming the Experience

Like Belenchy et al. (1997), Hayes and Flannery (2000) and Maher and Tetreault (2001) identify voice as a critical component of feminist pedagogy. Their discussion of “giving voice to ‘muted’ groups within a dominant culture” (p. 104) was similar to these

other works; however, they offer a theoretical extension of the concept of voice. Initially, they conceived of this as the students' capability to speak for themselves in order to connect their education to their experience. But through repeated classroom observations, they realized that classrooms were used as "arenas in which teachers and students fashion their voices rather than 'find' them." (Maher & Tetreault, 2001, p. 19). Community is also an important part of this process of "fashioning" or shaping voice, but, they noted that students had difficulties using these newly fashioned voices outside the supportive community of the classroom. They noted that students struggled to "come to voice" in the midst of tensions among race and gender and male and female. One of the students discussed the "false unity ... of sisterhood" (Maher & Tetreault, 2001, p. 114) in which differences were not acknowledged and disagreements were not articulated. The feminist teachers struggled to encourage the inclusion of multiple voices in their classrooms.

At Highlander's workshops, participants share their stories in a circle of rocking chairs. Pat Beaver, who attended her first workshop in 1977, remembered her plan to just observe; however, she found this to be impossible because "you couldn't come and just observe." As the workshop unfolded, she was invited to share from her expertise which she originally thought wouldn't be relevant to the topic. She came to Highlander and experienced a different way to teach and to learn. She said it changed her life. The other women who came to the staff via workshops share similar experiences of "coming to voice" through analysis, cultural work, participatory research and support of their work when they return back home to their communities.

But many women on the staff felt silenced. They came to the 1994 Women's Workshop to "find voice and be heard." In the workshop, one participant learned "the extent to which we've had to deny our inner voices, lives and nurturing spirits to work in social change organizations" (Women's Workshop, 1994). Others discussed the many times that women's issues were dismissed since they did not address the primary social justice agenda of Highlander. The Women's Workshop provided the women educators the opportunity to name their silence and complicity with the patriarchal structure of Highlander. They articulated this as an opportunity to break down the myth; thus, they began the workshop by naming deceased women educators who had shaped Highlander's educational philosophy and community. Next, they discussed their experiences of working at Highlander. Then they presented their understanding of women's issues in their work in Appalachia and the Deep South and the ways in which Highlander's work might be expanded to incorporate these needs.

Not all women on staff had this experience, however. They had different experiences of Highlander, Myles Horton and the other directors. Dorothy (Nina) Reining described her perception of women's power at Highlander. She does acknowledge, however, that, like her, some women had to develop trust in their own knowledge and their ability to voice that knowledge.

Well, you probably know some of the people that have been here - Helen Lewis and Sue Thrasher and Juliet Merrifield. There's not been no weak women here, not even in support positions. Some people comes on especially in the support positions, or whatever term you want to use for it, And, they've been a little reluctant to speak up. Which has always been encouraged, but it usually takes them a while to be comfortable with that. That it is safe, that you can speak up. If I hear that (they are fearful about speaking up), I always certainly discourage it. I always speak up and I've been here 29 years. There's no reason not to speak up if somebody asks

you for your opinion. I give them my opinion, if they don't want it, they shouldn't ask.

In the early years of Highlander, women spoke up. While roles were gendered, women served on advisory boards, as teachers and workshop facilitators, as cultural workers and as representatives of Highlander to community groups and union locals. During the 1970s, as Myles Horton stepped down from active leadership at Highlander, the men who followed him struggled with their voice and their authority. Some of the women I interviewed thought that in order to strengthen their authority, these men adopted mountain man persona. This is what both Helen Lewis and April Allen (a pseudonym) referred to as the “blue jean mafia.” While many women on staff said they were able to speak up, many women said they felt silenced. In particular, they pointed to the fact that only men represented Highlander to outside communities and unions at that time. This is similar to Robnett’s (1997) findings of the role of women in the Civil Rights Movement in which men held the formal leadership roles.

Positionality: Analyzing the “isms”

Maher and Tetreault (2001) labeled their fourth category for analysis positionality. Their study found that the institutional context affected positionality as well as voice. They defined positionality as “a person’s specific position in any context, a position always defined by gender, race, class and other socially significant dimensions” (Maher and Tetreault 2001 p.22). They discussed the communal nature of knowing in their presentation of “positionalities.” They posited that positionality has the greatest effect upon knowledge construction. They analyzed the classroom discourse from the viewpoint of positionalities which rely on assisting students to identify and analyze the communities and community relations which form them as students. Some of these

formational communities were broad-based and some were specific. The “individual’s positionality is relational and evolving and as such is subject to critique ... as long as their own locations (and relations) within these networks are explored.” (Maher and Tetreault, 2001, p.160).

The experience of the staff as raced, classed or gendered was not acknowledged or identified and yet the experience of being raced, classed, gendered was a critical element in the experience of the staff of Highlander. According to the women I interviewed and to the women who participated in the Women’s workshop, their positionalities affected their position in the organization.

I am a Southern farm girl with a shitty education and was scarred by class-scars that I carry to this day (Women’s Workshop, 1994).

When they were in the circle of learners in Highlander’s workshops, the women said that they were able to speak from the knowledge and experience gained through their particular positionalities, but, as staff members, these same positionalities limited their role in the institution of Highlander. When asked about the role of women in the early 1970s, Brenda Bell responded sarcastically, “Were there women involved then? Only men went out from Highlander (to promote Highlander’s programs or to fundraise).”

Donna Davis (a pseudonym) stated, “We took care of the property, they (men) went out.” This reveals the ways in which the roles of Highlander were gendered when Donna Davis worked at Highlander in the 1970s. During the Women’s Workshop, the women named the ways in which class and race also affected role assignment. They noted how, at many times in Highlander’s history, those with formal education held more power in the institution. They discussed how, after the Civil Rights Movement, there were fewer African Americans or other people of color on the staff of Highlander. They

were concerned that few of these women attended the Women's Workshop. The attendees speculated that these women of color had experienced racism at Highlander but that they had not discussed their experience previously because the myth of Highlander with its success in the Civil Rights Movement precluded any analysis of racist behavior internal to the institution.

Dorothea Kincaid described how hard it was to discuss racism at Highlander because of its legacy of working for civil rights during the Civil Rights Movement. She said a racism workshop was held for the staff of Highlander and the man leading the workshop said it was the hardest group he had ever worked with. The staff members could not admit to the possibility of racism because that might damage the legacy.

Addressing sexism at Highlander was just as problematic but for very different reasons.

We (Suzanne Pharr and Myles Horton) had a knockdown drag out fight about feminism - about whether the women's issues are supposed to have any validity. And his argument was that it was basically almost a distraction and that what was important was economics and class. And that the women you know had not suffered in a way and the movement had not suffered in a way poor people had. Which was I think a thing that he kind of carried with him is inability to see who were the people who was poor in this country and who are the people who are still poor in this country.

Helen Lewis, a life-long friend of Myles Horton, says that Horton did finally understand the need to include sexism as a category of analysis. His reluctance seemed to come from a common perception which many Appalachian women as well as poor women from outside Appalachia had of the women's movement. Donna Davis (a pseudonym) discussed this common perception (particularly in the 1970s) which was that the women's movement was a movement of urban, white, middle class and wealthy women. Both Helen Lewis and Suzanne Pharr, who worked with poor Southern women, strived to

change Horton's understanding and to incorporate these understandings in Highlander's work.

For some women, their lack of formal education and working class positionality, provided them with a unique perspective about "the" women's issue during their tenure at Highlander in the 1970s. The issue, which surfaced over and over again, was related to childcare. When asked about women's issues at Highlander, many of the women mentioned the struggle to bring childcare to Highlander. They reported significant conflict between men and women on the staff around this issue. Many of the women staff said they were concerned that Highlander was not providing for the needs of the women coming to workshops at Highlander. However, June Rostan had a different analysis of this debate. She particularly identified this different perspective as rooted in class differences at Highlander.

So I think it was in like autumn of 80 or 81. There was a lot of the debate around child care. And part of it has to do with class, I think. Because I didn't encounter much resistance to doing work with women workers. And, in fact, I did not necessarily come down on this side saying that there should be on-site childcare. Because the woman that I was working with who were women workers were glad to - what we did was we gave them a small stipend to cover child care at home which had been a practice at Highlander for some workshops if a person really needed it....

And they were quite happy to do that because they were happy to get a weekend away from their kids, alright where they could really focus on what they were interested in.

June Rostan thought that childcare was more of an issue for the middle class women on staff than for the women attending Highlander's workshops. She said that she had a similar experience to that of the women who were coming to her workshops at Highlander. Like them, she had a working class background. Her mother had always left

home to work. She said that the women coming to her workshop also had this experience of leaving their children at home while going to work and so they did not have an expectation of on-site daycare at Highlander.

June Rostan also questioned the role that class and formal education plays in the selection of the Director. There have been no working class women or men who also had no formal education, who have served as Highlander's directors.

Elandria Williams discussed many of the "isms" which sometimes impact discussions and relationships among the staff. Like June Rostan she mentioned class and formal education. As discussed previously, she also carries the weight of being an Appalachian with connections to the Deep South. Both Elandria Williams and Monica Hernandez discussed occasions when these divisions arose during workshops and required the workshop to be reworked in order to address the differing experiences and knowledge of the participants. In workshops recently, they have dealt with issues around race, immigration, age, sexuality, gender, culture and religion.

The current Highlander staff is more diverse than the staff of the thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties. Role assignments do not appear to be overrepresented by any one gender, race or class. Women from a variety of races and classes hold a variety of positions. According to the staff, the decision-making processes are more transparent than in the past. They conduct regular staff meetings in which organizational processes are analyzed as well as "big picture" issues. While staff conflicts still occur, there is now space for their articulation and analysis. This was not an easy transition and required much work. Suzanne Pharr, the first woman named

permanent director of Highlander, facilitated this change during her recent tenure (2000 – 2005).

A New Organizational Process

Suzanne Pharr described the process of changing organizational processes in order to establish more democratic processes and transparency within Highlander staff and board. She began by trying to get the staff to work together and to build a more democratic organization.

I felt like my job was to get the staff working together who were not working together. The staff was distrustful, disjointed, had talent but not cohesion and needed that working cohesion to get them to the place that they could work together; so, we could turn our eyes and our focus on making Highlander a democratic place. To be one of the finest political organizations in the south and not to practice our politics to me was untenable.

Suzanne Pharr came with the experience of building a women's center in Arkansas which utilized democratic processes even in its internal procedures. Even though Highlander had been established with the idea of creating an equitable internal structure, it had developed as a hierarchical and male model over the years. According to Susan Williams, the staff had been working toward establishing more equitable internal practices before Suzanne Pharr became the director. Suzanne Pharr brought with her the skills and determination to help the staff to create and implement a more democratic and transparent organizational structure at Highlander. The desire to work to establish this type of structure was rooted in her belief that Highlander must practice internally what it worked for externally. She was very critical about the disjunction between Highlander's social justice and democratic mission and its inequitable and hierarchical internal structure and processes.

I think the way you practice your politics is from within not in speeches, not in going to meetings and talking big or not in little acts of political activity but in work creating a place that we create, that is not imposed upon us, but is ours and is reflective of what we believe. And so that is what I spent much of my five years there doing - that is working to create a process of workplace equality and transparency.

The staff worked together towards very tangible goals. The process was slow and systematic to establish concrete, measurable practices and processes which reflected the mission of the institution.

We worked on systems of transparency so that everybody knew what each other made. We created a payment system with goals in it to bring the lowest salary close to the highest salary so that there would never be more than \$15,000.00 difference between the bottom and the top....

There was a history there of people being hired and having their salaries negotiated privately. And people being hired in who have less experience or whatever. Different gender and getting more salary and less hours. And we just could not do that, I said, I do not want to work for an organization where everybody does not know the salary of everybody else. That is not good labor practice and so that is one of the first things I wanted to change.

There was a time when staff salaries were equalized in the 1960s and 1970s but, by 2000, salaries were no longer equal. According to Suzanne Pharr, there was a perception that some people's salaries were higher while their hours were fewer.

Suzanne Pharr worked with all of the staff to become engaged with the board. In the past, only some staff had attended board meetings and those who did not attend, did not understand the rationale for some of the decisions of the board. All of the staff were encouraged to become involved in committee work related to the work they did. Suzanne Pharr also worked with the board to help its members form relationships with those staff members who had not previously attended board meetings.

(We) Set up a system of ways in which people can make decisions that was participatory and democratic with as much direct democracy as possible. And it was a lot of work. It is an old and kind of unwieldy organization. We set up systems where the staff was engaged with the Board and that the staff attended every board meeting.

Suzanne Pharr explained that the process to establish more equitable and transparent organizational practices was a long and difficult one. However, by requiring every staff member to be engaged in every organizational planning decision, the staff became more trusting and less conflicted about differences in pay, roles and responsibilities.

It really helped to stop all of the discontent and the talking and back biting around and whistling about treatment and who got this and that. Structure can help a lot to open up democracy. Democracy is not just over here. You set up a principle of transparency. And, set up a principle of equality and a principle of how we communicate, Then, validly put on paper the ways in which we are going to do it, but also help people develop the tools to do it.

Suzanne Pharr not only talked about mistrust due to inequitable salaries and reason, she also named some of the divisions among the staff.

When I got there, people were divided against one another and people talked in very, very harmful ways. There were many sources of tension. There was a racial tension. There was a tension between people from the area and people from outside. Tension between people who did administrative and non-administrative work and those who travel out to the field or did workshops and work on weekends. There was a tension about who made what and there was class tension. There was a little bit of tension around gender that I think they had moved around that before I came there. There was a tension between those who had some informal education and people who had a tremendous and formal education, people who travel more out of the region and around the country and those who stayed home. And most of that ran on a non-confrontational gossips and it was tough.

Susan Williams also talked about how many staff members simply did not want to confront these tensions. Suzanne Pharr was able to assist people to name these tensions and work through them.

In the first staff retreat, we had people who sat around the table, leaning back with their arms folded. That is how tough it was. Many would not talk. And there was this whole thing around fear if you did confrontation. Part of that was culture. So there were different cultures between people who are growing up that where it is okay to be direct and then (one with) people that can never challenge authority.

So we broke up into little groups. And we talked about hard things until we unfroze. Then, we were able to talk more about them and kept just pounding home that this is yours – that you are in charge of this place. This is ours. We figured this out. We are going to write it down, and then we are going to live by it.

Suzanne Pharr worked with the staff to construct policies which they all agreed to follow. They created forms and agreements regarding salaries, hiring, office hours, as well as lunch breaks. She felt it was important that they work together so that they could all be responsible for and accountable to one another.

(She told them), we are going to come up with a form for everybody to account for her and his time including the Director, including the grounds personnel, including the people who work part time in the kitchen, everything. But it is going to be a group effort. And once this is down ... it is done unless we all find something so wrong with it that we have to change it. But we are going to own it. It is going to be ours. That nobody in here will ever be able to say this was imposed upon you, they made me do this. And so we gradually worked our way through it and it took a long time.

In addition to assisting the Highlander staff to develop more democratic and transparent processes, Suzanne Pharr also helped them to continue to develop programs across age, gender, sexuality, immigrant status, race, ethnicity and religious boundaries. Pam McMichael, the current director of Highlander, has continued these programs and

expanded them to incorporate multi-issue, multi-group mobilizing. While it is clear that staff and workshop participants will still bring their particular knowledge and ignorance shaped by their particular positionalities, now Highlander has an established a practice of transparency and democracy. The staff has named the “isms” and work to acknowledge the areas in which there is continued need for growth.

Discussion of Findings Related to Question 3

The findings of the study related to conflicted relationships extend Maher and Tetreault’s (2001) study of feminist teachers beyond the formal classroom setting in a college or university to a different type of educational setting. This study of the women of Highlander demonstrates how Maher and Tetreault’s (2001) four categories of analysis may be utilized to analyze radical educational practices. The analysis of the conflicted relationships of the women of Highlander suggests that the concepts of mastery, authority and voice are helpful tools for analyzing conflict in many settings. The analysis identified ways that the women negotiated conflicting oppressions at Highlander. They struggled to assert their mastery and authority in order to create a more just organizational structure and supported one another to come to voice so that personal experiences of oppression could be named, acknowledged and rectified. The conflicted relationships at Highlander demonstrate the ways in which Highlander’s pedagogy needed to become more feminist and emphasizes the importance of foregrounding positionality and the connections between individual and social structures in feminist pedagogy (Maher and Tetreault, 2001; Tisdell, 1998).

Likewise, the findings of this study extend the work of Roth (2004). The ways in which women negotiated conflict at Highlander demonstrates the ways in which the

women at Highlander also “moved within nested boxes of constraint” (Roth, p. 216) just as women of color did in Roth’s study. Like the women in Roth’s study who were involved in fighting for racism, women at Highlander were fighting sexism as well as racism and classism. The findings of this study confirm those of Roth’s study in which women incorporated an analysis of sexism within their race and class struggles.

Reflections on Negotiations of Conflict

The women who worked at Highlander experienced conflict throughout Highlander’s history starting from its very beginnings in 1932. In this chapter, I discussed the ways in which women negotiated for equality when in conflicted relationships and situations. I found that Maher and Tetreault’s (2001) conceptual framework of mastery, authority, voice and positionality were useful in my analysis of the women’s experience. The least problematic concept experienced by the women was that of mastery. Highlander is founded upon the principle of indigenous knowledge. The women reported feeling affirmed by Highlander’s popular education methodology which affirmed the personal knowledge and skill they brought to Highlander’s workshops and situations.

In my discussion of the concept of authority, I focused upon the power of the myth and the strength of the legacy of Highlander. The women’s experience of authority at Highlander was complex. They testified to the ways in which it empowered them while at the same time limiting them. They reported that the myth of Highlander with its success in working for justice and equality gave them immediate “expert” status at regional and national gatherings. However, this emphasis on the power (and perhaps the perfection) of the “expert” also precluded the women from asking for help and admitting

ignorance of particular topics. Likewise, the notion of legacy seemed to overwhelm some of the women.

So, when women were traveling outside of Highlander to meetings and conferences they reported being affirmed in their authority simply for being on Highlander's staff. This affirmation (described by some almost as adulation) was only problematic when it restricted their ability to seek help and a need for more learning. The women experienced the internal organizational processes at Highlander quite differently however. They reported that their categories of analysis were limited by Highlander's legacy of working against classism and racism. This legacy was used to keep Highlander focused upon race and class and to exclude other categories of analysis such as gender or sexual orientation. Many of the women discussed the ways in which Highlander was hierarchical and patriarchal. There were times in Highlander's history when only men went out to represent Highlander. This was not how Highlander was founded however and is not the case today; so, for the majority of Highlander's nearly eight decades, women as well as men represented Highlander to perspective workshop participants, supporters and funders. But even when women represented Highlander, women throughout Highlander's history negotiated conflict around authority. Sometimes the conflict was around representing Highlander and sometimes it was about decision-making, but conflict around authority was ubiquitous at Highlander. Thus, Highlander reflects the social boundaries of its particular time and place. Even though the founders of Highlander had the ideal of equality as their foundation, they were still formed by their particular time and place. Likewise, women from the 1930s to the 1990s brought with

them the skills they had learned in other setting to confront, placate or manipulate in order to assert their authority.

In my discussion of voice, I emphasized the ways in which the women of Highlander felt silenced as well as supported in finding their voice. For many of the women, the silencing was particularly difficult because they had also “bought into” the “myth of Highlander.” Like those at the regional and national workshops, they expected that Highlander would be perfectly just in all its interactions. This made their experience of unjust internal practices much more difficult to name and painful to address. For some, this was experienced as a self-silencing, as in the case of feeling they could not admit ignorance or prejudice. For others, this was experienced as silencing by more powerful staff or board members who would not allow them to add new categories for analysis or who they felt did not listen to their concerns or ideas. The 1994 Women’s Workshop provided an arena for the women who felt silenced. For the first time, they were able to talk about the pain of their silencing. In addition, they discussed the power of sexism at Highlander and named the ways in which it had not only silenced them but how it had also limited their understanding of the history of Highlander as well. In that workshop, they began to name some of the women who were critical to Highlander’s development. They began to recover the history of the women of Highlander.

For many women though, Highlander helped them to find or to “fashion” their voice. Some discussed how empowered they were by the popular education methodology of Highlander and they ways that this helped them to speak up both at Highlander and in local communities. Others reported how they were encouraged to participate in staff meetings and in workshops. These women refuted the idea of

silencing and encouraged other women on staff to speak up as well. These were some of the women who chose not to participate in the 1978 or the 1994 Women's Workshop. They thought the workshops were divisive and not needed.

Maher and Tetreault's (2001) concept of positionality was most helpful in analyzing conflict at Highlander. After several interviews, I realized that the women's positionalities affected not only their role and influence at Highlander but also their perspectives as well. There was a sense in which I heard some women talk of women in an essentialist way at Highlander in which "all women" needed day care, "all women" were silenced, "all women" were disempowered. At first, when I asked about women's issues at Highlander, I was pointed to the struggle for day care in the 1970s. After more careful probing however I discovered the various ways in which Highlander had worked with women leaders in unions and in their local communities. In discussing their work with women in workshops, the conversation changed. The women talked about feeling empowered and supported in spreading this empowerment to the women with whom they worked. At the same time, they also reflected on the ways in which their positionalities restricted their power. Their questioning of the concept of the oppression of "all women" led them to reflect upon the ways in which some positions at Highlander were raced, classed and education-based as well as gendered.

It was clear that Suzanne Pharr's work with the staff to democratize Highlander's organization process addressed much of the source of conflict experienced by women at Highlander over the years. While there is still may be times of conflict at Highlander, the staff now have an established practice and structure for naming and addressing the conflict. They still may struggle with the "myth of Highlander" but there is an effort to

support the new staffs' learning and to name the ways in which Highlander's workshop participants as well as its staff may reflect prejudices in society. Those staff members hired within the last 10 years, spoke of naming these experienced and developing strategies to deal with them. There will always be conflict and conflicted relationships as long as there is inequity in the society and culture in which Highlander resides. Now, however, they have created a capacity for recognizing and dealing with unequal and unjust relationships and situations.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the major findings, conclusions and implications of this study of the women of Highlander.

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of the women of Highlander and how these women influenced not only the curriculum but also the institutional structure of Highlander. The theoretical framework guiding this study was from Robnett (1997) who, after analyzing women's roles in the Civil Rights Movement, developed the concept of bridge leader in order to explain the critical role of women in the Civil Rights Movement which she suggests significantly contributed to the movement's success. Like women in the Civil Rights Movement, women's roles at Highlander are largely unknown and under analyzed.

Research Questions 1 & 2: Women's Roles and Influence

The first research question sought to determine the roles undertaken by women at Highlander and the ways in which these roles were gendered. The second research question sought to determine how women influenced the curriculum and institutional structure at Highlander. In order to examine and understand these roles and their influence, I undertook a qualitative study of the women of Highlander. Through the analysis of in-depth interviews with 30 women who worked at Highlander in the decades from the 1940s to today, the correspondence of women who worked at Highlander in the

1930s and 1940s, and the analysis of the 1994 women's workshop, I found seven roles undertaken by the women staff at Highlander and how they influenced the curriculum and structure at Highlander through these roles. The roles were:

1. Cook: Many women were hired as cook or included cook among their myriad responsibilities. All women who were hired as cooks eventually also had other job responsibilities including workshop responsibilities.
2. Cultural Worker: Beginning with Zilphia Johnson Horton, Highlander's first cultural worker, cultural work became a unique and crucial element of Highlander's educational practice.
3. Educator: This is the most common "official" role undertaken by the women of Highlander, who worked with the other educators of their time to create and develop workshops using popular education techniques and practices.
4. Caregiver: This is the most common "unofficial" or unknown role undertaken by the women of Highlander. The tasks of caregivers are varied but include managing and responding to the physical, financial and emotional of Highlander staff and workshop participants. Many workshop participants point to the role of caregiver as a primary contributor to Highlander's success over the years.
5. Adviser: From the beginning, women served as advisers on the board and to the Director of Highlander and to the staff. Advisers served to shape the mission and structure of Highlander.

6. Researcher: Women researchers gathered data to shape workshops to meet the needs of participants as well as assisting them to develop participatory research projects in order to meet community needs and address community problems.
7. Director: There have only been 3 women directors of Highlander. Each director interpreted Highlander's mission and philosophy to create programs and structures which addressed the particular needs of society of their time period.

Research Question 3: Negotiating Conflict

In addition to these roles, interviews with the women of Highlander revealed another emerging theme related to conflicted relationships which required further analysis. Therefore, the third research question sought to determine how women negotiated conflicted relationships. The conceptual framework developed by Maher and Tetreault's (2001) study of feminist classrooms informed the analysis of Highlander's conflicted relationships. Even though the women of Highlander did not self-define as feminist educators, their educational methodology closely aligned with feminist pedagogical practices and the difficulties resulting from attempting to implement these practices. Therefore Maher and Tetreault's (2001) categories of mastery, authority, voice and positionality were used to analyze the conflicted relationships described by the women of Highlander. The following list summarizes the findings related to conflicted relationships:

1. Mastery: Experiential knowledge is privileged at Highlander.
2. Authority: The “myth” of Highlander both empowered and limited the women in all positions at Highlander.
3. Voice: While women workshop participants felt empowered and “found their voice” at Highlander workshops, many of the women staff said they felt silenced by the patriarchal structure which developed at Highlander over the decades.
4. Positionality: The experience of being raced, classed, or gendered was a critical element in the undertaking of roles and responsibilities to the women of Highlander.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, women shaped Highlander, both in its institutional structures and in its educational methodology. This study began with a statement of what it was not. It was not a study of the “great man,” Myles Horton. It was also not a study of one great woman. This study focused upon many of the women who worked at Highlander since 1932. They worked as a part of a team with women and men to create and develop Highlander’s educational program and methodology. Working collaboratively with other staff, the women of Highlander were instrumental in creating Highlander’s organizational structure and in shaping its mission over the years.

Second, women both accepted and challenged traditional gender roles while at Highlander. They contributed to Highlander while in both traditional and non-traditional roles. While some women clearly stepped outside traditional gender roles as advisers, directors, or researchers, other women “played” the roles in order to assert their influence

and enact their vision of Highlander. Still other women accepted traditional gender roles and contributed in that manner to Highlander's development, longevity and success.

Third, women confronted inequity at Highlander from its very beginning. Even though Highlander's official analysis only included race and class oppression, women named other categories of oppression such as gender and education-based oppression early in its history. The struggle to include gender oppression as a category reached its apex in the 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s as women sought to change Highlander's educational analysis as well as its internal patriarchal structures. The women and the men on staff continue to confront any inequities that may arise but, today, they have arrived at a communally created structure which embodies the democracy which Highlander's mission has always promoted.

Implications of the Findings

This study of the women of Highlander changes our understanding of Highlander's history. Examining the women of Highlander significantly alters Highlander's narrative. It reshapes it from a singular emphasis on one man, Myles Horton and recontextualizes it to a story of women working collaboratively over time to shape Highlander and Highlander's educational methodology. Women were instrumental in building Highlander's legacy and yet are not part of its myth. Throughout Highlander's history, women struggled with gendered roles at Highlander. They did not allow the restrictions of these roles to limit their influence at Highlander however. They struggled to address these restrictions and created more equitable processes and structures.

This study reframes the "great man" narrative of Highlander and centers it upon the women of Highlander and their impact upon Highlander's educational methodology

as well as its organizational structure and institutional practices. One of the strengths of this study is it combines qualitative methods with historical analysis of archival data to construct a new narrative of Highlander. Glen's (1996) historical study provided the first extensive study of Highlander. However, it offers little analysis after the Appalachian period of the 1960s and early 1970s. Likewise, because Glen (1996) relied solely on historical archives, the work is missing the voice of those who worked at Highlander during the Labor Movement Period (1930s and 1940s), Civil Rights Movement Period (1950s and 1960s) and Appalachian period (1960s and 1970s).

Much of the narrative of Highlander told by Highlander staff as well as by adult education researchers centers around Myles Horton. The findings of this study of the women of Highlander reveal how this great man narrative distorts the true nature of Highlander's foundation and development. As stated in chapter four, the focus on Myles Horton led some to believe that, when he died, Highlander would also die.

For many Highlander is synonymous with Myles Horton. This "great man" narrative, found in the studies of Berson (1994), Bledsoe (1998), Horton (1990), Kohl (1991), Phenix (1991) and Thayer-Bacon (2002, 2004), focuses upon the sole contributions of Myles Horton. These studies ignore contributions of women working as part of the Highlander staff to create its educational methodology and organizational structure. The work of women of Highlander challenges these former studies. Highlander was created and continues to be developed as a group effort, not by an individual acting alone. It is women and men working together, working with communities and community activists to create programs which support the learning and development of community activists and their organizations. Much of the adult

education research of Highlander focuses upon Myles Horton and how he developed Highlander's educational methodology (see Thayer-Bacon, 2002 & 2004). This study reports the development of Highlander's methodology as gradually constructed over decades and by many women working as part of the education team at Highlander. This study contributes to our understanding of Highlander by analyzing women who worked at Highlander from 1932 to the present. Not only does this study reframe the history, it also expands the history of Highlander itself. Thus, it extends the historical work of Adams (1975), Bledsoe (1969), Horton ([1971] 1989) and Glen (1996) whose studies focus mainly on the eras of the Labor Movement of the thirties and forties and the Civil Rights Movement of the fifties and sixties.

Much of the findings counter "the great man" myth of Highlander. Likewise, the staff at Highlander had to counter "the great man" myth as well. While many appreciated the commitment of Myles Horton and benefited from his mentoring, they also discussed their difficulties in working in his shadow. Even the male directors at Highlander struggled with this and so constructed "mountain men" personas in order to assert their authority so that they could present themselves as mountain men like Myles Horton.

The findings of this study indicate that Myles Horton himself did not always have this kind of authority. Highlander's staff meetings in the 1930s were titled "notes from the Soviet." The staff discussed equality and even named the ways in which they had to work out that equality. However, by the time of the 1970s women's movement, Myles Horton had been at Highlander about 40 years; therefore, he was seen as "the expert." Highlander had evolved as a more hierarchical institution than originally conceived by its

founders, and Myles Horton had a great deal of power due to his tremendous experience and lengthy commitment to Highlander.

In addition to struggling with the myth and power of Myles Horton, the staff also struggled with patriarchy both in Highlander's structure and in staff interactions. While the organization may not have been conceived of as hierarchical and patriarchal, women who were a part of Highlander staff named the ways in which their roles and interactions were gendered even from the beginning of Highlander. As staff members left who had this expectation of equitable responsibilities and relationships, these hierarchical relationships became a part of the structure and tradition of Highlander. So, the myth of Myles Horton restricted the staff's perception of Highlander's history, and the legacy of Highlander limited the staff's ability to address many of these issues.

The legacy of Highlander is rooted in its success, particularly in working with leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. This legacy is a source of power both for Highlander as an institution and for its staff. Not only is Highlander known as a premier adult education institution by adult education researchers, it is also known and respected by many activists around the world. In fact, many of the women talked about how some organizations come to Highlander to meet in order to be connected to Highlander's legacy of success. Highlander is included in tours of the South sponsored by community organizations and colleges such as Berea College which brings its new faculty and staff to Highlander as part of its orientation. Individuals also come to visit Highlander almost as a "pilgrimage" to a "sacred space."

Highlander's legacy of success was particularly apparent at its 75th anniversary, Labor Day Weekend of 2007, when people shared stories from across the decades with

those who had come to Highlander from around the world simply to celebrate Highlander's legacy and continued work. Many of these interactions with Highlander are based in a community organization's need or an individual's desire to connect with Highlander's legacy. These needs are rooted in emotional desires to be connected to something larger than one person or one community. This is one of the reasons that Highlander continues to hold residential workshops at Highlander. The workshops' value is not only that of learning and living together, it is also the value of bringing people to the "sacred space" of Highlander.

Today, the staff of Highlander also experiences the power of the legacy of Highlander. They say that at times their ideas or contributions are given more credence than those of other participants at regional meetings or other gatherings. While many of Highlander's staff certainly possess a depth of knowledge and experience, one woman noted that this happened immediately after she had been hired by Highlander. One week she went to a meeting and was a part of the crowd and the next, she was seen by the same crowd as an expert because of her new status as a Highlander educator. Likewise, some of the staff discussed their sense of responsibility to the legacy and to Highlander's various constituencies. This was an overwhelming experience for new staff members to appreciate. It gave an added weight to decisions and to their sense of how they must immediately succeed in providing workshops and working with community organizations in order to continue and to protect the legacy.

There is a strategic use of Highlander by some community organizations. They choose to meet at Highlander or work with Highlander on projects in order to experience and receive some of the power associated with Highlander's legacy. Their affiliation

with Highlander could impact their profile in the community or affect their financial status. Their affiliation could also result in grants or in an increased donor base. Or it could simply mean that their organization is more readily accepted and established as “expert” due to its connection to Highlander as “the expert” social justice institution.

So, both for strategic as well as emotional reasons, one outcome of the legacy of Highlander is the tendency to present Highlander as a perfect social justice organization. Externally, there is a fear that if troubles are addressed or struggles are named, the legacy of Highlander will be undermined, and the power of Highlander as strategic part of an organization’s support will be diminished. Internally, the experience of Highlander staff has been that the legacy limits the naming and discussion of inequality in the organization. Some of the women of Highlander felt silenced by this legacy with its perception of perfection. If Highlander is the perfect social justice institution, than the staff could never name the oppression they experienced or include other oppressive categories of analysis such as sexism.

Like the women in the movement work described by Roth (2004), the women at Highlander were asked to categorize oppressions and give priority to race and class oppression as the only categories for analysis. In addition, because Highlander was known for its civil rights work, the women said they could not acknowledge any racism among the staff or in the institution. This was also the case as it relates to possible class conflict among the staff. Therefore, issues of race, class or gender were not named and were not dealt with for much of the history of Highlander. The boundaries of Highlander’s legacy did not allow the staff to recognize the ways in which they replicated societal norms including gendered, raced or classed practices which assigned roles based

upon staff members' particular positionalities. So, the staff's own prejudices could not be named and neither could their experiences of prejudice for much of Highlander's history.

The implications of this study are both practical and scholarly. Practically, organizations dedicated to social change can learn from this research. This study demonstrates how organizations can change. Suzanne Pharr's process reveals how social change organizations which work for justice in society can also deal with equity within the organization. Highlander eventually addressed its internal processes and created more just and transparent structures to support their work for equality internally as well as externally. Other social justice organizations can learn from this. They too can realize how, at those times when they are trying to solve one problem, they may be perpetuating another. Frequently, those involved in community organizations and social movements only tell the story of successful campaigns and fruitful relationships. The story of struggling with power dynamics is not often told or addressed in social change organizations. Organizations can learn three things from these findings of Highlander's conflicted relationships. First, conflicted relationships existed at Highlander in spite of its legacy of success in social movement work. Second, the process by which Highlander adopted more internally just organizational practices can be replicated by other social change organizations. Third, progress on gender issues or other issues of inequality cannot be attained even in the best organizations without intentional and direct plans for change.

These findings could lead community organizations to question their practices and procedures. Community organizers could use these findings to question the ways in

which they reconstruct oppressions learned from childhood and acted out in personal interactions. Likewise, community organizations could review their organizational practices to determine if there are patterns of role assignments and rewards or compensation which reflect societal constructs of privilege rather than the social justice goals of the organization.

The findings also reveal previously unknown roles which supported Highlander's continued success and growth. While many social change organizations include teachers, advisers, directors and researchers in their structures, not many may understand the support that cultural workers and caregivers could provide. Much of the previous research of social movements has emphasized rationality and the role of the official (usually male) leader; however, this study demonstrates the ways in which organizations could benefit from the planned inclusion of positions which include caregiving and cultural work, thus supporting the building of community and support of community-based organizations. These findings could help social change organizations to identify who may already be supporting cultural work and providing caregiving in the organization. They could incorporate these functions and roles more formally into their organization structure and plan for their expansion to better meet the needs of their organization and its constituencies.

From an academic standpoint, this study contributes to our understanding of the history of Highlander by reframing the telling of the history from the "great man" story of Highlander to one which focuses upon the communities of women who shaped it as an institution and created its unique educational methodology. For adult education researchers, this means that we could benefit from further research of the influence of

cultural work upon Highlander and within other adult education settings. It also suggests that further study is needed of Highlander's educational methodology which is not so focused upon the work and philosophy of Myles Horton. Likewise, a study of Highlander which focuses solely upon the communal development of its unique educational methodology could also reshape our understanding of adult education in the United States, since much of the Highlander's educational processes used philosophies and methods in the 1930s to the 1950s similar to those developed later in Freire's popular education method and in Mezirow's transformational education.

More research is needed of key women in Highlander's history who made significant contributions to Highlander. There could be a study of Zilphia Johnson Horton and Jane Sapp who shaped Highlander's cultural work in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and 1980s. There could be a study of Mary Lawrence and Sharon Branscombe who developed the field education component of Highlander in the 1940s and 1970s and 1980s. There could be a study of Juliette Merrifield and Helen Lewis who made significant contributions to the development of Highlander's participatory research practices in the 1970s and 1980s.

This study also suggests further research areas for the field of social movements. Until recently, much of social movement literature analyzed formal leadership roles which were mostly filled by men. Robnett's (1997) study of the role of women in the Civil Rights Movement developed social movement theory by adding the new concept of "bridge leaders" which were mainly filled by women. The analysis of the roles played by the women of Highlander contributes to our understanding of the function of bridge leaders in other social movements and social movement organizations, but it also

suggests that relying on an analysis of leaders alone limits our understanding. The role of educator and caregiver are still largely unexplored in social movement research. More study and analyses of these roles could further the concepts of Snow et al.'s (1986) framing processes, McAdam's (1992) concept of cognitive liberation and Jasper's (1990) conception of culture's role in social movements.

In addition, this research contributes to the field of Women's Studies. This study provides further documentation of women's work for justice throughout the 21st century. This research, along with other studies like Roth's (2004), challenges the official narrative of the Women's Movement which privileges the activism of white, middle class women. The finding from this study suggest that social movement scholars need to recast the narrative of the women's movement to reflect the reality of women with varying positionalities who were active in other social movements.

Finally, the study contributes to the field of adult education by adding to our understanding of Highlander itself. Adult educators take pride in being a part of field which supports social justice. Highlander is one of a few social justice-focused institutions of adult education which we study as adult educators and offer as an example of adult education as social action. It is a unique adult education institution which has educated activists for over seventy-five years. It is critical that we, as adult educators, continue to document and analyze this institution in order to further our understandings of the connections between education, community organizing and social movements.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interviews

	When Interviewed	When Worked at Highlander	Role/Position
Aisha Brown	October 23, 2008	1980s, 1990s	Educator/Cultural Worker
Almetor King	June 18, 2007	1960s, 1970s	Cook/Educator/Support Staff
Ann Romasco	September 2, 2007	1950s to Present	Intern/Advisor/Board Member
April Allen	May 23, 2007	1970s to Present	Educator/Caregiver
Beth Bingman	October 21, 2008	1970s – 1980s	Educator
Brenda Bell	March 29, 2007	1970s to Present	Educator/Researcher
Charis Horton	September 3, 2007	1940s, 1950s	Daughter of Zilphia & Myles Horton
Deborah Barndt & Valerie Miller *	October 31, 2004	1978 to 1997	Educators/Researchers
Dorothy (Nina) Reining	June 21, 2008	1977 to Present	Cook/Caregiver/Cultural Worker
Dorothy Kincaid	October 23, 2008	1980s	SALT Fellow/Educator
Donna Davis	March 7, 2007	1960s to Present	Educator/Cultural Worker/Caregiver/Support Staff
Elandria Williams	June 18, 2008	2007 to Present	Educator
Estelle Thompson Margolis	August 11, 2007	1947	Educator
Helen Lewis	March 14, 2008	1970s to Present	Educator/Director/Advisor
Jane Sapp*	1986	1980s	Cultural Worker
Joyce Dukes	June 17, 2008	1960s, 1970s	Support Staff/ Cook/Educator
Juliette Merrifield*	August 7, 2005	1970s, 1980s	Educator/Researcher
June Rostan	June 1, 2007	1970s	Educator/Researcher
Maxine Waller*	March, 2007	1980s	SALT Fellow
Marie Cirilio	March 25, 2007	Late 1960s	Workshop Participant
Mary Lawrence*	October 21, 1976	1940s	Educator/ Extension Coordinator
Molly Lynn Watt	September 1, 2007	1963	Educator/ Camp Director

Monica Hernandez	October 21, 2008	2000 to Present	Educator
Pam McMichael	April 13, 2007	2004 to Present	Director
Pat Beaver	March 23, 2007	1970s	Researcher
Susan Williams	October 22, 2008	1970s to Present	Educator/Researcher/ Archivist/Education Coordinator
Suzanne Pharr	October 21, 2008	2000 to 2004	Board Member/ Director
Vickie Creed & Linda Martin	September 2, 2007	1980s	Educators

* These interviews are from Highlander's Archives at the Highlander Center in Tennessee.
 Deborah Barndt & Valerie Miller were interviewed by Susan Williams.
 There is no indication of who interviewed Jane Sapp.
 Juliette Merrifield was interviewed by Susan Williams.
 The interviewer of Mary Lawrence is also not indicated.
 Maxine Waller was interviewed by Margaret Bonham.