

“BENCHMARKS OF AN APPRENTICESHIP”: REPRESENTATION AND DE CERTEAU’S
TACTICS IN FOLKTALES FROM THE APPALACHIAN REGION

by

STEPHANIE MARIA SHORT

(Under the Direction of Jennifer M. Graff)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores representations and tactics in 114 folktales, published between 2000-2018, emanating from four cultural communities – Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee – in the Appalachian Region. Using Michel de Certeau’s theory of tactics (1984), or subversive practices used by marginalized groups that offer them agency in spaces dominated by the powerful, this study examines the ability of folktales to be counternarratives and cultural storehouses for tactics. I also explore representations found in these folktales to discover how they work to reinforce and/or reinvent long-held stereotypes of Appalachians. The research questions for this study are: How do folktales hailing from the Appalachian Region (e.g., Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee) reinvent and/or reinforce representations of Appalachians? What prevailing tactics (de Certeau, 1984) do the authors and illustrators from the Appalachian Region include in their folktales, and how do these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute “Appalachia”?

Critical content analysis was used to analyze these stories. Representations from the folktales were grouped in the following nine themes: (1) Reinforced by Representation, Reinvented through Contextual and Dialectic Synergy; (2) Reinforced with Wisdom, Reinvented

by Wisdom; (3) Reinforced through Language, Reinvented through Language; (4) Reinforced with Self-trust; (5) Reinforced Sense of Place; (6) Reinforced by Human Characters; (7) Reinvented by Animal Tales and Tricksters; (8) Reinforced an Anglo-Saxon Appalachia, and; (9) Reinforced Gendered Representations. The tactics garnered from the folktales coalesced into three groupings: (1) Practicing Mētis; (2) Practicing Interdependence, and; (3) Practicing Stereotype-Fu.

Many of the folktales provided complex recurring protagonists that evaded description. When examined comprehensively and as part of a contextual nexus, many of the representations negated each other through a dialectic synergy both reinforcing and/or reinventing. However, if the same representations are examined one by one, outside of their contexts, it would seem that they reinforce the scope of generalizations that have historically plagued Appalachians. Additionally, it was found that these folktales are teeming with a variety of tactics that work alone or in sequence to disrupt stereotypical ideologies of what Appalachians are capable of being, doing, and accomplishing.

INDEX WORDS: Appalachian, Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee, Appalachian Region, folktales, folk tales, animal tales, Jack tales, tactics, de Certeau, representation, stereotypes, counternarratives

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my phenomenal husband, Tony Tichler,
and my beyond compare parents, Jack Suddath Short and Eleanor Silver Short

and in loving memory of my other mother,

Mary Alice McCannon.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Although many Appalachians hold education in high esteem, this deference is often unrequited, if not dismissed, by the very educational institutions we venerate. In my first year of graduate school, when my initial research revealed my Appalachian background and interest in Appalachian cultural literacy, not one, but two, instructors suggested that I might wish to explore being the first member of my family to go to college. Their advice would have been taken under consideration if I actually had been the first in my family to go to college, but my father has a Ph.D., my mother, a master's degree, and my four older siblings, my grandparents and, even, my great-grandmother attended college. Instead of chalking this up to an unwillingness of a few academics to view Appalachians as something other than the usual stereotypes – subordinate, backwoods, etc., I internalized these assumptions, and they discomfited the rest of my time in the program. I learned first-hand how easy it is to internalize stereotypes.

I have also observed, while working as a librarian in a rural Appalachian school, a public education system strictly adhering to national and state standards without any acknowledgement of a rural or Appalachian experience. Being a former Foxfire student who enjoyed the inspiration that came from a place-based education, I found it oppressive to work in a school in the westernmost mountainous region of North Carolina that had been wiped clean of any local experience to impose standards dictated by the easternmost urban regions of North Carolina or Washington D.C. It became apparent that without showing regard for Appalachian experience, educational institutions wished to change how Appalachians think, speak, write, and are, and

then, test to confirm that we adhere to a mainstream notion of aptness (Best, 1986; Woodrum, 2004). This attempt to tuck Appalachians into a national standard, however, makes too many students feel unvalued and unwelcomed (Bickel, Howley, & Maynard, 2003; Haddy, 2004; Winter, 2013). They begin to imagine their inabilities to succeed in a hegemonic system are their faults (Sohn, 2006), and too many eventually drop out of school, as the Appalachian Regional Commission's 2013 statistics state that Appalachia's dropout rates are over six percent above the national average (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2013). Many more students from the region never consider college a viable option (Sohn, 2006). This deficiency leads most to limited career choices and continuations of poverty (Pulcini, 2016).

Yet, study after study on multicultural education (Delpit, 1996; Heath, 1983; Nieto, 2010) asserts that cultural, sub-cultural, and racial groups, as well as mainstream society, are occasioned to learn in very different ways. Acknowledging and utilizing students' experiential and home learning, teachers can mirror cultural strengths in the curriculum to produce healthy educational self-concepts in students from a variety of cultural backgrounds (Howley, Howley, & Kuemmel, 2014). As Miller (1996) noted about education in Appalachia, for instance:

One of the best taught lessons in the schools of Appalachia is apt to be that Appalachians are imperfect versions of another kind of American; that to be different is to be diminished. So a greater emphasis on regional materials...can validate the Appalachian child's experience by linking it to other lives, past and present. And it is this felt linkage that constitutes true culture, rather than the artificially applied polish and finish. A child is not a piece of dull furniture. (p. 457)

Admittedly, good things can come from incorporating students' cultures and backgrounds in classrooms, including confidence, validation, and pride (Kannapel, Flory, Cramer, & Carr,

2015); my involvement with the Foxfire program in high school continues to be a prime example. However, to me, it does not go unnoticed that cultures are generally asked to validate from within. But, even then, how can librarians provide and, more formidably, continue providing, eye-catching quality books to Appalachian readers that do not contain stereotypical features or that authentically reflect Appalachian children's lives and values without the outcomes of AR tests?

Statement of the Problem

Appalachia has historically been laden with stereotypes, and although stereotypes have some bearing in reality, they often reduce the group they describe to a few easy-to-remember characteristics. They "exaggerate" and "simplify," and taken further, they essentialize, naturalize, and "fix" (Hall, 1997, p. 258). Stereotypes tend to hinder the progress of cultures and ethnicities, rendering them stagnant. They become limiting as they dictate persons' potentials and abilities and minimize their power (Jhally, 1997). Zanna and Olson (1994), for instance, cite numerous studies in which stigmatized populations accept stereotypical labels imposed on their groups, and Ballengee Morris (2000) discusses the "psychic damage" which occurs when a "stereotypic image and cultural identity collide" (p. 1). By accepting these negative portrayals, stigmatized populations are more apt to develop low self-esteem, destructive attitudes, and beliefs that negative outcomes are inevitable and justifiable (Zanna & Olson, 1994). Numerous other scholars have studied the harmful effects of these negative stereotypes on the Appalachian Region (i.e., Ballengee Morris, 2000; Billings, Norman, & Ledford, 1999; Brislin, 2017; Cooke-Jackson & Hansen, 2008; Harkins, 2008; Harkins & McCarroll, 2019; McNeil, 1995) as well, and though fewer Appalachian scholars have found the need to write as prolifically about the negative effects of positive stereotypes on Appalachians, it is still important to acknowledge that,

conversely, accepting positive stereotypes will not advance a full and complex understanding of the region either (Alexander, 1987; Satterwhite, 2013).

Just as stereotypes can become detrimental to the groups they are supposed to represent, they are also injurious to those made obscure in the crossfires. Stereotypes not only fabricate stagnancy, but they deny difference. The term Appalachian was once defined by *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* as "'white natives'" of the Appalachian Region, although Appalachia has been the home to Native Americans and an influx of immigrants and African Americans for several centuries (as cited in Biggers, 2006, xiii). These rich and valuable heritages, which have had immeasurable influence on Appalachia, are eclipsed and omitted by the homogenizing consequences of an Appalachian stereotype. Ideally, as a regional demonym, Appalachian should be a reference to any person in or from the Appalachian Mountain Region. However, because of the misappropriation of this term by mainstream sources to represent only Anglo Appalachians, Native Americans, African Americans, Melungeons, and the many other ethnicities that call or have called Appalachia home would not necessarily equate themselves with the term Appalachian.

So, the effects of these stereotypes, which now involve many of the cultural communities that make up Appalachia, have become inextricably linked as the imbalance of power and wealth along with these stereotypes continue to limit who or what Appalachians can be and do (Guilford, 2017). The Kentucky scholar and writer bell hooks (2008) noted, upon returning to live in the Appalachian Region, "I was surprised so many of the negative stereotypes about life in Kentucky are as fixed in our national geographic imagination as they were when I first left the state years ago" (p. 67). Commonly, access to information and literature would help provide a means of offsetting such inaccuracies, but Appalachians have never had equal access to these

resources, including academia, healthcare, technology, etc. (Clifford, 2007; Maciag, 2017). Thus, it becomes difficult to send an equivalent counternarrative or entrust mainstream sources to help (Ballengee Morris, 2000; Billings, Norman, & Ledford, 1999; Comer, 2006; Cooke-Jackson & Hansen, 2008; McNeil, 1995). This inability for Appalachians to engage, in most instances, serves to steer attention away from systemic issues and blames the Appalachians themselves, as a “culture in crisis” (Vance, 2018), “not a place but a problem” (Catte, 2018), and restrict the agency of the Appalachian people. Therefore, without an equal voice, easy access to education, technology, and other resources and without academic interest in Appalachian Studies outside of Appalachia, stereotypes of the region can become exemplar to ourselves and others.

Purpose for the Study

In order to thwart detriment from stereotypes, both positive and negative, it is imperative to expose and deconstruct these misrepresentations and replace them with what experience has shown time and again to be true of the Appalachian Region (Jhally, 1997). Educator Jim Wayne Miller (1996) contends,

This experience will be preferable, especially in the early years, to books that show students only a world that is often foreign to them and that, after years of exposure to it, leaves them feeling vague, ill-defined, marginal personalities who have been rather effectively cut off from much of their culture through a (however well-intentioned) melting pot theory of education. (p. 452)

Appalachian children need to find commonalities in their lived experiences and what they learn and read in school, to apply their foreknowledge to a curriculum that is not biased to someone else's, and generally a more urban, experience. It becomes imperative, then, for educators to search for sources that reinvent representations of Appalachians, to present Appalachians

authentically and wholly to children and young adults, especially Appalachian youth. In a powerful essay in *Voices from the Hills*, Appalachian educator Jim Wayne Miller (1996) asserts that educational systems in Appalachia should have “no better goal” than to help Appalachian children “define who they are” (p. 455). Another Appalachian educator Bill Best (1986) adds, “Only after we have found out who we are, both individually and collectively, can we make sound decisions about who we might wish to become” (p. 51). By offering Appalachian children a multifaceted perspective of Appalachia, we assist in broadening their perspectives of what it can mean to be Appalachian and opportunities for critical thinking about the/their Appalachian experience.

Oftentimes, multicultural children’s and young adult literature serves the important purpose of filling in gaps and representing groups left out of the national curriculum. Many children’s and young adult literature and literacy education scholars (e.g., Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Brodie, 2011; Harris, 1996, 2003; Jones, 2008; Nieto, 2010; Sims, 1982) speak to the importance of culturally relevant texts which mirror the lives of children from diverse backgrounds or provide windows through which they can view another’s experience. Through the introduction of authentic mirrors and windows, Appalachian children’s and young adult literature has the potential for generating “an ethos of reception” for Appalachia (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 36), both inside and outside the region. As an Appalachian librarian, I have observed and reveled in the feelings of validation and excitement which can be experienced when children connect and identify with the themes or characters in a text; therefore, it is my desire to seek out these “cultural access points” that create such meaningful exchanges for readers (Brooks & Browne, 2012, p. 83), particularly those living in Appalachia.

As Best says (1986), though, “It is not enough to have Dick and Jane passing through the mountains on their way to Florida from New England” (p. 56). After all, the brief and limited representations such fleeting encounters generate have relegated Appalachia to pejorative comparisons and stereotypes that have been difficult to amend (Brislin, 2017; Harkins & McCarroll, 2019). Also, since young adult and children’s literature has been propagated with mainstream European American middle- to upper-class protagonists, with many set in urban and suburban locations (Cooperative Children’s Book Center, 2017; Kelley & Darragh, 2011; Labadie, Pole, & Rogers, 2013), identification with these characters becomes difficult for children from culturally and socioeconomically diverse backgrounds and more rural locations. Therefore, children’s and young adult literature that reflects the complexities of the communities within Appalachia and is grounded in and authentic to the region’s cultural-historical knowledge can resonate with and validate the experiences of Appalachian children. Such literature, which in this study includes traditional folktales from Appalachia, can broaden perspectives of what it means to be Appalachian. And, the plurality of representations not only helps to disperse stereotypes (Bosma, 1992), but also offers children a complex array of experiences that they know to be true of the region (Jhally, 1997) and a variety of ways to experience and envision being Appalachian.

Description of the Study

Through their oral and written folktales, generations of Appalachians have represented themselves in more complex ways than what has historically been chosen for them. Without the influence and the ability to change national sentiment, their folktales store valued secrets, opportunities for agency that exhibit to readers how to advantage themselves within circumstances that have been dictated to them. This agency includes actions that Michel de

Certeau (1984), a French scholar and Jesuit priest, referred to in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life* as “tactics” (p. ix). Tactics are ways used by the powerless to subvert power and, as de Certeau asserts, “escape [this power] without ever leaving it” (p. xiii). Tactics are a recurring theme in folktales in which the protagonist, consciously or unconsciously, uses wit, logic, words, humor, and even avoidance to alter a situation in which he/she/it is not in a position of power to momentarily disrupt or upend the power apparent in the story. A familiar example is the Cherokee story about a tricky rabbit who is caught in sticky tar by animals who wish to do him harm for his transgressions. He implores his captors to do anything with him that they wish, but to never throw him into the briar patch, as that would be a punishment worse than death. The captors, thinking they would impose on the Rabbit the worst possible punishment, throw him into the briar patch only to learn that it is his home and he has tricked them again (Ross & Jacob, 2003).

Using critical content analysis, I examined folktales in conventional book format emanating from the Appalachian area (including Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, and Shawnee folktales) to explore the representations in folktales that serve to reinforce and/or reinvent perceptions of Appalachia and oppositional ideologies in the form of tactics (de Certeau, 1984), which work against the existing power structures described in the tales. The research questions that guided this study are listed below, with definitions of key terms included at the end of this chapter:

1. How do folktales hailing from the Appalachian Region (e.g., Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee) reinvent and/or reinforce representations of Appalachians?

2. What prevailing tactics (de Certeau, 1984) do the authors and illustrators from the Appalachian Region include in their folktales, and how do these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute “Appalachia”?

Most important to my study of Appalachian folktales is to note tactics apparent in these works that transform the Appalachians they represent into complex protagonists with skills, creativity and efficacy to decide their own ends. My intention in studying representations is not to offer a “purely celebratory stance” (Satterwhite, 2013, p. 5), as the outcomes of the representations, tactics and folktales, depending on the contexts and objectives and the various ways they could be viewed, could be negative, positive, or, more likely, concurrently negative and positive. What I, along with de Certeau (1984), am most interested in is the ingenuity of tactics, the agency to act in a situation in which one might be seen as powerless. I trace tactics in Appalachian folktales and the ability of this literature to be dynamic repositories of ways in which Appalachians can subvert societal structures and examine the possibility of these texts caching cultural reference points for encouraging limitless creativity and ways of being Appalachian (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). By experiencing these stories, children in Appalachia, who may feel left out of the loop due to mainstream representations of their culture or having little to no representations with which they can identify, may have the opportunity to imagine their ability to act and to affect social change through stories that truly represent an authentic multifaceted Appalachian experience.

Significance of this Study

When discussing the significance of any study on Appalachia, one must remember that Appalachian Studies (studies about the Appalachian Region) is a fairly new discipline, only really taking off in the latter to late half of the twentieth century, and a great deal of this time has been spent trying to generally right some of the wrongs mainstream representations have caused

(Biggers, 2006). However, Appalachian Studies is branching out from fending off stereotypes into many fields and beginning to offensively appreciate the region's complexity instead of defensively deflecting simplicities attributed to the region (Biggers, 2006). Therefore, many disciplines that would be considered frequently studied in terms of the mainstream as well as most multicultural samples are still finding footing in Appalachian Studies. Appalachian children's literature, as a genre within itself (i.e., not lumped into Americana), for instance, is one area in which the scholarship is still very new. There have been a few general works on Appalachian children's literature that have attempted to build frameworks for additional studies (Alexander, 1987; Harnish & Oliver, 1980; Herrin & Oliver, 2010; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b), but there are only a few studies on Appalachian children's literature that emphasize various themes within the literature (Alexander, 1987; Herrin, 1991, 1996; Roggenkamp, 2008; Smith, 2007). None, so far, specifically investigate Appalachian folktales linked to Appalachian children's literature and Appalachian cultural literacy.

In the same way, emphasis on Appalachia within many academic disciplines is still emerging and developing, and theories that have been utilized to bolster any number of mainstream and international and national studies are beginning to be used in studies on Appalachia. De Certeau's (1984) theory on tactics, which will be used in this dissertation, has been used in two other studies thus far in connection to Appalachia. Shope (2007) uses de Certeau's theory on tactics to show how workers at a glass factory in West Virginia use tactics to cope with their work environments. Stewart (1996) briefly discusses de Certeau and his theories of tactics and making do in her study about how Appalachians create personal spaces in the coal mining camps of West Virginia. Surprisingly, with all the attention de Certeau pays to folktales, I could only find one other scholarly study on folktales in which his theories were used (Varga-

Dobai, 2008); however, this study specifically uses de Certeau's theory on poaching as opposed to his theory on tactics. His theory on tactics has never been used, as far as I am aware, in a study on Appalachian children's literature or folktales. If the number of studies on Appalachia that refer to de Certeau's (1984) theories increase, supporting his applicability to the Appalachian Region and folktales, it can be said that de Certeau's tactics do have a formidable relevance to Appalachia. So, this study's significance lies in its ability to add to the fairly new discipline of Appalachian Studies, to move beyond foundational studies on Appalachian children's literature and Appalachian folktales by progressing into discussions on specific cultural markers at length that have not been studied previously, and to note de Certeau's applicability to Appalachian children's literature and folktales in which his theory has not ever been applied. In addition, this study will serve to reinvent Appalachian representations as presented in these folktales, identifying a myriad of possibilities between "pristine" and "pitiful" (Biggers, 2006, pp. xii-xiii). It is also my hope that educators reading this study, especially educators in Appalachia, begin to use culturally relevant folktales and Appalachian children's and young adult literature in classrooms to serve as mirrors and windows of Appalachian experiences while allowing their students ample opportunities to think critically and imagine their own potentials using tactics.

Why Folktales?

Folktales are stories that have been passed down orally and in written form through generations and migrations and incorporate the characteristics, norms, and folklore of the culture from which they originated. Because folktales materialize from culture and become familiarized through historic and cultural shifts, they can often and readily provide a sound and deep cultural understanding (Bruchac, 1996; Gates, 1988; Reese, 2007) while also addressing personal needs, including explanations for natural occurrences that lack explanation, entertainment, and the

abilities to create order from chaos, voice one's fears and fantasies, and pass on cultural values (Gates, 1989; Young, 2004). Additionally, folktales can present multifaceted representations of a culture, offering glimpses of vacillating perceptions and a vast complicated spectrum between dualisms. This compounding of understandings not only gives readers greater freedom in their interpretation, but it requires more from them when decoding texts (Nikolajeva, 2001). A complex view of Appalachians can offer readers from outside the culture a much broader perspective of the region, while confirming the experiences of a reader from within a culture. These markers may consist of compilations and normalization of representations, including traditional behaviors and standards and religious beliefs, and they could negate stereotypes of Appalachians, by demonstrating plurality and accuracy (Bosma, 1992; Brodie, 2011; Young, 2004).

Cultural markers in folktales can also signify an immediate necessity for disruptive actions or, at the very least, subversive “moves” that grate against normalization (de Certeau, 1984, p. 22), both restrictions that have been constructed for us and those we have constructed for ourselves. The Appalachian Studies scholar Loyal Jones noted in an interview, “If you're with a minority culture and deal with people who think they're better than you are, you have to find circular ways to deal with it” (Briscoe, Collins, Deal, Hancock, & McGraw, 2000, p. 397). These “moves” and/or “circular ways” offer Appalachian readers new perspectives on how to gain advantage in personally unfavorable conditions that can possibly be lost in the spiral of negative stereotypes (hooks, 2008). In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) contends that “moves” are central to folktales' cultural messages (p. 23), and he goes on to call these moves “tactics” (p. ix), sleights practiced by marginalized groups that offer them agency in spaces otherwise dictated by the powerful's directives. Folktales from the Appalachian Region

are chockful of tactics, imploring Appalachians to take every opportunity to thwart those that would endeavor to limit us and to upend power, when possible, to gain advantage. Therefore, it becomes imperative for educators to recognize and explore these tactics in Appalachian classrooms, to unpack these “circular ways” (Briscoe, Collins, Deal, Hancock, & McGraw, 2000, p. 397), in order to disrupt stereotypes that have, for too long, dictated what Appalachians are and what we can hope to be and to substantiate the complex experiences in the region for the people who live them.

Folktales as Counternarratives

De Certeau (1984), in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, notices the ability of folktales and legends to store, demonstrate and allow for exploration of additional subversive tactics, because folktales not only offer an inventory, “a memory of a culture” (p. 21), and combination of tactics, but they also provide a safe means for methodically observing them at work. De Certeau calls folktales “living museums of tactics,” active operative exhibitions of ways to subvert power, and “benchmarks of an apprenticeship,” exemplars and cultural reference points of wisdom from which to learn in preparation for successful implementation in the future (p. 23). So, although reading these tactics are as fleeting as the tactics themselves, it is the ability of these lively tales to collect, retain, represent, guide, replicate, inculcate and measure that make them extremely potent and ripe with possibilities.

Bolstering de Certeau’s view of folktales as repositories of tactics, Jack Zipes (2012) notes that folktales emanate out of power and class struggles as responses to the “oppressive interrogation of reality” (Tenèze as cited in Zipes, 2012, p. 5). Folktales, in addition to being entertainment, are viewed as coping mechanisms for cultures and castes that have endured or are enduring harsh circumstances and conditions that seem unchangeable. Folktales provide a culture

an outlet for visualizing affecting things in ways that might not be possible in real life (Zipes, 2012), and in regard to Appalachian folktales, de Certeau is correct in that these folktales are ripe with tactics. However, like the tactics they contain, a folktale can also be seen as a tactic, as it too is a momentary and opportune escape that never seemingly overturns the ultimate power structure. Just as soon as the tale is over, things go back to normal. Or, do they?

In Ross Chambers' (1991) *Room for Maneuver: Reading Oppositional Narrative*, he asserts that although oppositional practices, such as tactics, do not necessarily upend the powers present and may, in a sense, uphold the power structure in the end, oppositional narratives that contain tactics have as their "distinguishing feature the power of 'authority' to affect people, mentally and emotionally, and by that means to change states of affairs in general" (p. 12). Chambers (1991) and de Certeau's (1984) notions of active and transformative literacy bestow on oppositional narratives, such as folktales, the capacity to encourage readers to "poach" meaning and action from inside the text to practice externally (de Certeau, 1984, p. 165), going beyond momentary and idle meaning to having the authority to influence readers into effecting permanent change and creating "movements" (p. 81).

Folktales and Cultural Engagement

In addition to an oppositional element, folktales from the Appalachian Region, whether they reflect Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee, etc. culture and experiences, contain elements that underpin these respective cultural communities' mores. As described by Henry Lewis Gates (1989) in *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism*:

The stories that we tell ourselves and our children function to order our world, serving to create both a foundation upon which each of us constructs our sense of reality and a filter

through which we process each event that confronts us every day. The values that we cherish and wish to preserve, the behavior that we wish to censure, the fears and dread that we can barely confess in ordinary language, the aspirations and goals that we most dearly prize – all of these things are encoded in the stories that each culture invents and preserves for the next generation, stories that, in effect, we live by and *through*. (p. 17)

Although folktales seem to emanate from the core of a culture's being (Pavesic, 2005; Reese, 1995), folktales' ability to convey culture, while also being regenerated by the culture it is conveying, suggests that folktales evolve, just as culture is capable of doing (Röhrich, 1991). As a culture subsists through constant evolution, similarly, folktales are just as amenable, with the ability to create new tales, disremember tales that have become irrelevant, adopt or be influenced by tales from other cultures, and alter existing tales. The Jack tales, for instance, migrated from Europe to Appalachia along with the Scotch-Irish that populated the area in the eighteenth century and were modified through the softening of European contexts and incorporating more regional familiarities that make the tale relevant to the region (Pavesic, 2005). Additionally, as is shown in the corpus of texts for this study, the Affrilachian and Anglo Appalachian tales adopted several storylines from the Cherokee legends and tales (Ford, 2012) (See Appendices B1 & B2).

Since folktales tend to echo, as Gates (1989) says, what a culture lives “by and *through*” (p. 17), I also view these folktales as containing possible cultural indicators for an Appalachian apprenticeship, since they are attributed specifically to Affrilachians, Appalachians, Cherokee, and Shawnee by both emic and etic sources. Cultural literacy entails being acquainted with the knowledge of a culture's history, values, beliefs, practices, and perspectives, which makes it easy for one to navigate or participate as a member of the culture (Hirsch, 1988; Murray, 1992). Cultural literacy, in this study, will be explored in the form of representations and tactics. While

representation has been quite harsh on Appalachians in the past, we must bravely pry ourselves away from only imagining the detriment, because without some representation, we would risk invisibility. And, viewing these representations critically and extending them beyond specifics to amalgams and contexts creates a dimensional familiarity for readers with some surprising effects. Through the guile and resourcefulness of the marginalized protagonists in these tales, children and young adults from Appalachia can perceive connections and reflections that they might fail to encounter in many mainstream sources that depict Appalachia. By discovering ways in which these protagonists use tactics to subvert mainstream norms, readers will also envision the ability to go beyond, explore, be creative and innovative, think critically, and solve problems using their unique knowledge, talents and experiences, instead of being hemmed in to a national or state mold.

Definition of Terms

These definitions are included as a reference to the commonly used terms and concepts in this study and their application.

Appalachian Region

For the purposes of this dissertation, the Appalachian Region includes the area outlined by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2008) and, additionally, areas immediately outside of the region outlined by the ARC. The ARC's definition tends to be based on "socio-economic and political" lines (Weary, 2005, p. 93) instead of on physiographical, topographical or cultural features and characteristics.

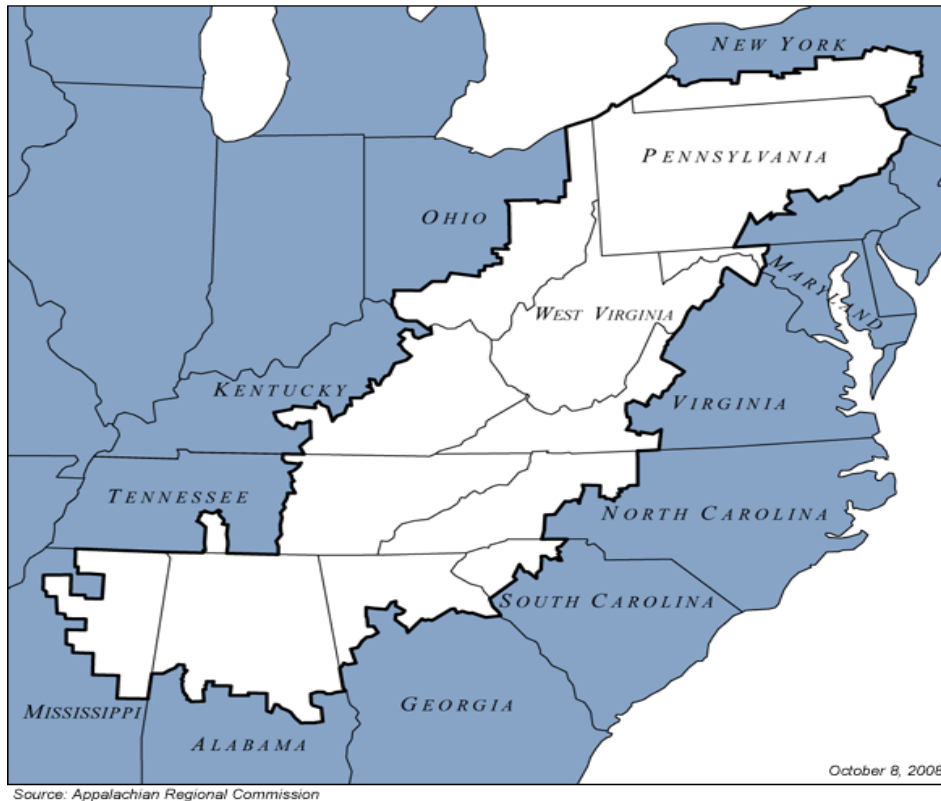


Figure 1.1. Map of the Appalachian Region as outlined by the Appalachian Regional Commission (Appalachian Regional Commission [cartographer]. (2008). The Appalachian Region [map]. https://www.arc.gov/appalachian_region/mapofappalachia.asp)

Appalachian

I use the demonym Appalachian in this dissertation in an inclusive way (Worthington, 2016). The term Appalachian(s), for the purposes of this dissertation, refers to all people of all races and cultural communities originating from or residing in the Appalachian Region, with the Appalachian Region referring to a much less retentive perimeter than what the ARC has defined (Appalachian Regional Commission, 2008). Appalachia is composed of many different cultural communities and should be recognized as such; however, most groups outside of some Anglo Appalachians might not consider themselves “Appalachian,” as they already have (Cherokee and Shawnee) or have had to construct (Afrilachian) other descriptors for their communities, as the term “Appalachian” has mostly been used to indicate White persons living in or originating from

the Appalachian Region (Biggers, 2006). Appalachian folktales will refer to collective tales that have emanated from the Appalachian Mountain Region and will be discussed collectively if similarities exist and representations are found in all of the cultural communities' folktales, but will sometimes also be considered more specifically as Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee folktales.

Tactics

Tactics are subversive actions that offer marginalized persons momentary opportunities for agency in places controlled by those in power. Tactics emphasize an ingenious time or opportunity over a normative space (de Certeau, 1984) and disrupt strategies, the next definition.

Strategies

Strategies are implicit or explicit rules, laws, and social norms that those in power deem politically, economically, and socially “proper” that dictate the conventions of a space (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix), such as being quiet in a library or tipping a server in a restaurant.

Subsequent Chapter Overviews

The chapters that follow will work to augment and answer the research questions raised in this study. Chapter 2 includes a literature review of the scholarship bolstering this study. Starting with an overview of the complexities involved in representing Appalachians, I then discuss studies on children's literature that provide a background in representing marginalized groups in general and Appalachians specifically. I conclude with scholarship in the fairly new field of Appalachian children's literature, and I discuss the history of folktales as oppositional literature. Chapter 3 includes discussion about the theoretical frameworks that guided this study, the procedures and methods I used to conduct this study, as well as information about the corpus of books I analyzed. In addition, Chapter 3 contains a discussion of my subjectivities as well as

the limitations of this study. Chapter 4 discusses nine representative themes found in the folktales that work to reinvent and reinforce Appalachian representations to answer the first research question. Chapter 5 is dedicated to a discussion of three prevailing tactical practices found in the folktales and how these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute Appalachia. Chapter 6 will include a summary of the major findings, as well as broach some other interesting and overarching topics found through this study and future research options.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

Some recurring metaphors in the study of children's and young adult literature reflect this literature as windows, mirrors and doors for readers (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Galda, 1998; Sims, 1982; Sims Bishop, 1990): windows from which readers look into lives and experiences that may be different from their own, mirrors to validate oneself through literature that reflects one's own life and experiences, and doors to open up new ways, whether imaginative or critical, of reading the world. Ideally, through these windows, we should be able to see a multiplicity of accurate representations of culture, ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, community, class, experience, background, language/dialect, time, and place. So, if we should never make it past our front porches, we are still able to gain genuine insights into diverse lives and experiences that may be different from our own, get a sense of what is important to the characters and communities depicted, engage with what may be similar to our experience and appreciate what may be different. In the same way, through these mirrors, readers should be able to feel validated by reading an abundance of literature accurately representative of who they are and the complexities, including personality, emotions, background, place, language, etc., that make up their unique experience. Through the door, the ability for critical thinking will confirm and open up dialogues that children's literature has not always been and sometimes still is not widely representative of all or necessarily accurate.

This dissertation mostly focuses on how these folktales could act as mirrors for the children in Appalachia, while eventually washing mainstream "windows" for all to get a clearer

view and opening a door to critical thinking to replace wholly negative or positive images with more dimensional representations of Appalachia. In this chapter, I will discuss historical definitions and representations of Appalachians that have caused Appalachians' reticence for a response. I will briefly review representation in children's literary traditions, including the construction, practice, and reproduction of power, that maintain dominant ideals, as well as the difficulties for marginalized groups, including Appalachians, to affect these ideals that are pejorative to Appalachians. I will then discuss definitions of Appalachian children's literature, review folktale scholarship, and consider the ability of Appalachian folktales to be cultural repositories for authenticating culture and experience and demonstrating agency. Finally, I will conclude with a synthesis of the scholarly literature and its implications for this study's progression.

Popular Culture and Literary Representations of Appalachia

Whether studies simply mention or have a singular purpose of commenting on representations of Appalachia, scholarly research about the Appalachian Region usually comments to some degree on the representations that have historically been ascribed to Appalachians – violent, lazy, clannish, vengeful, etc. – since these representations have been so numerous, broad, stereotypical, and damaging (Billings, Norman, & Ledford, 1999). The exact times and origins of these representations continue to be debated. Some researchers say that these stereotypes started with Thomas Jefferson and eighteenth-century writers who created an Agrarian Myth of a “new folk hero” living the egalitarian American dream (Dunaway, 1996, p. 2), whereas some assert that stereotypical representations of Appalachians originated after the Civil War as outsiders with predetermined ideas of the culture migrated to the area (Ballengee Morris, 1997, 2000). Other researchers, such as Drake (2001), claim the “initial source” to be the

local small town elite in Appalachia, who wished to distinguish themselves as sophisticated in relation to people living in the more rural areas. However, there is a consensus that, regardless of when or where these representations started, fiction writers, along with the proliferation of the media, have immortalized and inflated stereotypes with such literary and cartoon characters as uneducated Sut Lovingood (Harris, 1867), simpleminded *Li'l Abner* (Capp, 1934-1977) and shiftless *Snuffy Smith* (DeBeck, 1934-), as well as television and movie depictions, like *The Beverly Hillbillies* (Simon & Ransohoff, 1962-1971) and *Deliverance* (Boorman, Voight, Reynolds, Beatty, Cox, Dickey, & Warner Bros. Pictures, 1972), and, more recently, cartoons and reality shows, such as *Squidbillies* (Fortier & Willis, 2005-2017) and *Moonshiners* (Howard, 2011-). The persistent creation of characters connected to Appalachia could possibly be due to continued curiosity about, admiration for or distain toward the Appalachian people and culture, but the propagation of particular representations over the centuries have amassed commonalities in the stereotypes of Appalachians that have unfortunately endured.

In his book *The United States of Appalachia: How Southern Mountaineers Brought Independence, Culture, and Enlightenment to America*, Biggers (2006) sorts the common and lingering representations of Appalachians into four broad categories: “pristine Appalachia”; “backwater Appalachia”; “Anglo-Saxon Appalachia”; and “pitiful Appalachia” (pp. xii-xiii). These categories succinctly encompass historical perspectives about Appalachia and prove to be an excellent resource for measuring both the representations and tactics for this study. Looking closely at these four perspectives, discussed below in the order listed by Biggers (2006), offers context into how such representations initially came to be associated with Appalachia and became irreparably intertwined, distorted, inflated and propagated.

Pristine Appalachia

Historically, the first stereotype attributed to Appalachians was that of a true egalitarian existence, a romanticized American dream of adventure on “the first frontier” (Dunaway, 1996), where the noble, independent farmer works closely with nature to make an honest living and is proud of what he has accomplished through his sweat and self-sufficiency. Thomas Jefferson and other writers of the eighteenth century who started this Agrarian Myth venerated the yeoman farmer as the backbone of democracy. The yeoman farmer was described as non-opportunistic or not motivated by money but instead exhibited honesty, independence, and equality and was happy with what he gained through his own hard work (Hofstadter, 1956), creating the construct of an unspoiled existence in a pristine location.

However, as capitalism and industry took hold, the terms Agrarian and Agrarianism began to convey very different connotations (Govan, 1964). Agrarian became connected to “hostility to industry, commerce, and finance, and the persons to whom [Agrarian and Agrarianism] are applied are described, in most instances, as innocent victims of an unfair economic system, exploited by others, not dangerous radicals or revolutionaries” (Govan, 1964, p. 35). Additionally, instead of a romanticized unspoiled existence in a pristine location, the term Agrarian, in reference to Appalachians, implied turning one’s back on modernity and progress and, instead, being nostalgic for past times and a simpler way of life. Therefore, this separation and divergence from mainstream ideals made mountaineers seem all the more enigmatic, eventually clearing the way for less flattering stereotypes than pristine.

Appalachians have knowingly or unknowingly played a part in the continuation of this representation of a pristine Appalachia in depictions generated within the culture, such as the mostly wholesome characteristics, including neighborliness, patriotism, and humility, attributed

to Appalachians in Jones and Brunner's (1994) *Appalachian Values*, and the representations of reflective ingenuity in the *Foxfire Books* (Wigginton, 1972). These representations could be said to offer a one-sided romanticized version of the Appalachian culture as well as a nostalgia for a vanishing pristine culture (Perdue, 1979; Puckett, 1989). In addition, classic movies, like *Sergeant York* (Hawks, et al., 2006), and picturebooks, like "*A*" is for *Appalachia: The Alphabet Book of Appalachian Heritage* (Pack & Banks, 2003) and *Yonder Mountain* (Bushyhead, Bannon, & Rodanas, 2002) could also be viewed as perpetuating an image of a pristine Appalachian existence.

Although Appalachians' additions to this pristine mystic might be intended to counter negative stereotypes or provide emic pride in a marginalized culture, they tend to exaggerate stereotypes held of the region, such as self-sufficiency, humbleness, etc., giving both insiders and outsiders a false sense of the wholeness and complexity of the culture (Alexander, 1987; Satterwhite, 2013). Alexander (1987) found in her study on themes in Appalachian children's literature, for instance, that although the representations in her sample were mainly positive, the ways in which Appalachians were represented limited the ways Appalachians could be perceived, including wearing overalls, working hard for a modest income, and living in log houses. She found that these images reproduced in the sample she studied were just as likely to perpetuate stereotypes as negative images. More complex views of Appalachians are needed to offer a wider range of representations to complicate purely wholesome and pristine images of the region, as established in several studies on Appalachian children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b).

Backwater Appalachia

Viewed as lawless others living isolated in an untamed wilderness, Appalachians have become an enigma that has whetted America's fascination for over a century. To people from outside of the region, Appalachia is considered aberrant and dangerous, "a place whose people possessed only the mere rudiments of civilization" (Algeo, 2003, p. 28). For instance, no other book or film (Boorman et al., 1972) has had as lasting and detrimental an effect to the Appalachian Region as James Dickey's *Deliverance* (1970): "The film, in particular, stands as the most degrading depiction of southern mountaineers ever put on film and led to strong protests both by north Georgians and by Appalachian scholars" (Ruppersburg & Inscoe, 2011, p. 117). However, *Deliverance* is just the tip of a historic iceberg that has chipped away at any normalcy Appalachians have worked to maintain (Algeo, 2003).

Popular writers about the region, along with sociologists and missionaries visiting the region, perpetuated these stereotypes to bolster mainstream expectations (Billings, 1999, p. 6). Emic works by John Fox, Jr. (1908), *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, and etic writers, like Mary Noailles Murfree, *In the "Stranger People's" Country* (1891), and Will Wallace Harney's (1873) "A Strange Land and a Peculiar People," serialized in *Lippincott Magazine*, were supplying what the mainstream audience wanted – a symbolic value of their worth over others (Wilson, 1999; Murfree & Pryse, 2005). Ironically, at the time, Fox envisioned himself providing an Appalachian voice to the masses, because as Darlene Wilson (1999) noted, Fox considered "mountain folk ... so bereft of hope and bewildered by modernity that they were virtually mute. Not only did mountain people seem incapable of self-agency, even had they recognized the concept they were sure to screw up the pronunciation" (p. 109). These exaggerated or

fictionalized tales along with reiterated representations, like the Hatfields and McCoys, have had a lasting effect on the hillbilly myth that includes violence and revenge.

This idea of backwater Appalachia has mostly been advanced by mainstream sources or privileged people who infrequently pass through (Algeo, 2003) and take advantage of Appalachians for notoriety and capital gains or, in the case of James Dickey, “shock value” (Thesing, 2009, p. 69). Although Appalachians attempt to refute these stereotypes, without ever having equal access to popular information sources (Clifford, 2007), the fantastical stories continue to proliferate through a current fascination with the Appalachian mystic through television shows such as *Moonshiners* (Howard, 2011-). These stereotypes do not just affect etic perspectives of Appalachians, but they also have a marked effect on the ability of Appalachians to relish their own culture (Towers, 2005). Although stereotypes often burgeon out of a fragment of truth, latching on to a backwater metaphor for describing Appalachia keeps one from truly seeking knowledge about and an appreciation of Appalachia, which is imperative for encouraging a complex understanding to combat such stereotypes. This backwater stereotype has, in particular, been very difficult to diminish.

Anglo-Saxon Appalachia

Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary once defined Appalachians as “white natives” living in the Appalachian Region (Biggers, 2006, pp. xii-xiii). Although Whites made up approximately 84% of the population in 2010 (Pollard, Jacobsen, Appalachian Regional Commission, & Population Reference Bureau, 2017), Scotch-Irish settlers only began to move into the region in the mid-1700s after the discovery of an easy access through Cumberland Gap (Smith, 2007). Prior to these Scotch-Irish settlers, Appalachia was inhabited by Native Americans as well as “a small population of hunters, trappers, freed or escaped slaves, and others

who found their way to the mountains" (Smith, 2007, p. 31). As such, Appalachia was "a crossroads of indigenous cultures and vast immigrant and African American migrations for centuries" (Biggers, 2006, p. xiii). However, representations of Appalachia that promote homogenization deny and obscure difference. So, as persistent stereotypes not only produce an unfair assessment of the White population they attempt to represent, they also lead to the neglect of the significant cultural communities in the region and show disregard to groups that inhabited Appalachia long before Anglo-Saxons came to populate the region.

For instance, although over nine percent of the Appalachian population is African American (Pollard, et al., 2017), compilations and studies have failed to explore Afrilachian (African American Appalachian) historical narratives as separate from Southern slave narratives (Biggers, 2006). Afrilachians have attempted acknowledgement for years. As White Appalachian authors have been published, republished, and anthologized, literature by Afrilachians in the region has not been given comparable billing. Therefore, literature, as the historically dominant "agent for understanding the history and culture of any region or locale, has failed adequately to explore" Afrilachian experiences (Cabbell, 1995, p. 241). The lack of literature and scholarship has unfortunately led to lost experiences, lost history, and lost culture that Engelhardt (2013) refers to as "scholarly solipsism" brought about by the stereotype of Appalachia's whiteness (p. 37), rendering African Americans from the Appalachian Region hidden or invisible (Turner, 2008).

In 1991, African American poets instigated a new cultural classification in order to disengage from the stereotypes that had previously obscured them. Frank X. Walker (2000), a poet from Kentucky, who embraced his experience being an African American writer from Appalachia, became frustrated with the mainstream's inability to comfortably meld these two

discourses, and he was equally frustrated with the Appalachians' entrenched Scott-Irish identity. In an effort to emphasize his experience, Walker "forged a space for himself" and many others by coining the phrase "Affrilachian" (Burriss, 2005, p. 315). He noted that the term Affrilachian "does such a good job describing who we are, our space inside the space, and it does it in a dignified way. We don't give up our African heritage and we don't give up Kentucky" (Walker, 1996). Place is regularly a theme in Appalachian literature as well as children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Jones & Brunner, 1994; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b), and this connection to place is just as apparent in Affrilachian literature (Burriss, 2005; Ford, 2012).

Thus, although representing Appalachia demographically as a majority White is accurate, Appalachian ethnic and cultural communities outside of this majority (Affrilachian, Native American, Multiethnic, etc.) are silenced if they, too, are not represented both regularly and accurately in Appalachian literature and in print. It is imperative, therefore, to show the multiculturalism of Appalachia to encourage the dissipation of this stereotype to allow for more inclusive representations and the diverse voices of anyone who wishes to claim Appalachia the place as pivotal to his or her experience.

Pitiful Appalachia

Appalachia has often been portrayed as pitiful through constant equations to poverty (Adams, 1998; Alexander, 1987), being uneducated (Ballengee Morris, 2000) and an inability for agency (Caudill, 1964; ABC News Productions, Films for the Humanities & Sciences, & Films Media Group, 2009). This, however, supposes the socioeconomic homogeneity of the region, the lack of education or poor educational systems and that Appalachians do not take advantage of opportunities for exerting their agency or advocating for themselves. It is true that a greater proportion of the population of Appalachia live in poverty (16.7%) as compared to the national

average (15.1%), which should not be minimized (Federation of Appalachian Housing Enterprises, 2019), but this stereotype often does not allow for alternate portrayals, including that living in a rural area (36% of the population) should not assume poverty, and that well over half of the people living in Appalachia reside in metro areas in the region and have typical middle-class lifestyles (Carrier et al., 2010).

Additionally, one's perspective on his or her socioeconomic situation can be subjective, individualized to a person's judgment, a situation and the context in which it is being used (Kingdon & Knight, 2006). Without ignoring the disproportionate number of Appalachians currently living in poverty that need assistance, there are also people in Appalachia, who irrespective of their income levels, regard their situations as "awful good" (French, 2008, p. 181), whether they have suffered through worse or measure their situation in comparison with someone else. Although the conventional way to measure poverty in the United States is by income level, international research had found that poverty should equally be defined by an individual's perceived well-being; "Any attempt to define poverty involves a value judgment as to what constitutes a good quality of life or a bad one" (Kingdon & Knight, 2006, p. 1199). This new area for research problematizes the term poverty (Kingdon & Knight, 2006), because relegating people to a measurement built on objective mainstream economic standards might be totally contradictory to how they view their individual situations.

The Appalachian culture has also been likened to a "culture of poverty," which assumes self-perpetuated and reproductive practices of poverty that can work their way into defeatist or indifferent mentalities (Lewis, 1966), seeming to squelch Appalachians' agency for helping or educating themselves. Relegating a culture to a culture of economic poverty tends to blame the victims and is deterministic and damaging to one's cultural identity, shutting down any

possibility of financial, educational and social advancement. The Appalachian culture should not be seen as deficient; as Billings asserts, if deficiencies exist, the region's social history was more at fault than the culture (Billings, 1974).

Again, popular culture (Adams, 1998; Ballengee Morris, 2000; DeKeseredy, Muzzatti, & Donnermeyer, 2014) and literature (Caudill, 1964; Fox, 1995) seem to reproduce and advance these myths of a pitiful Appalachia. Ironically, Appalachians are sometimes represented and have represented themselves as being independent, self-reliant and proud, as people with agency and know-how to care for themselves, even if socioeconomically poor (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Jones & Brunner, 1994; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008b), illustrating both that poverty can breed strength and strong people can be poor. However, this myth may also be perpetuated by Appalachian literature, as the usual storylines of poverty or hard times, which reflects some truths, add to this stereotype. Socioeconomic hardship in Appalachian literature, though, usually provides an identifiable conflict for the protagonist to struggle through or transcend (Mills, 1991, 2015; White, 1992). Therefore, within Appalachian literature, poverty is not necessarily equated to pity; in some cases, hardship actually establishes authenticity and coming through hardship means independence, self-reliance, and perseverance, something of which to be proud (Cleaver & Cleaver, 1970; Crum, 2003; Green, 1990, 1992; Mills, 1991). Books, such as Dykeman's *The Tall Woman* (1962) and Smith's *Fair and Tender Ladies* (1988), address strong women's struggles to ensure the economic well-being of themselves and their families. These women's resilience and ability for agency becomes a source of inspiration instead of pity.

Overview

Biggers' (2006) categories are expansive, and together, with the exception of Anglo-Saxon Appalachia, they could seemingly reinvent each other or possibly serve to cancel each

other out in equal measure (e.g., backwater and pitiful counters pristine). The most arresting literature and media that depict Appalachia, however, such as James Dickey's (1970) *Deliverance*, usually does not weigh pitiful or backwater with pristine outside of scenery (i.e., not in reference to the Appalachian people). Looking closely at these four perspectives, though, offers context into how such representations initially came to be associated with Appalachia and how the ability to represent ourselves authentically became impossibly distorted, inflated, and propagated.

However, these four perspectives that Biggers (2006) identifies – pristine Appalachia; backwater Appalachia; Anglo-Saxon Appalachia; and pitiful Appalachia – whether positive or negative, deny Appalachians the ability to individually and collectively represent themselves as urban, suburban and rural and wonderfully diverse in race, ethnicity, culture, sexual orientation, gender, language, class, abilities, concerns and experience. They deny the ability to be complicated – sometimes contradictory, sometimes indifferent, and sometimes stereotypical. Berger and Luckmann (1966) warn that myths, such as these, “are potent enough to survive evidence; they are not disarmed by understanding. Once myths gain currency ... they become real and function as self-fulfilling prophecies” (p. 322). Therefore, selecting complex representations that offer comprehensive perspectives of the region and open up critical discussions about stereotypical representations is imperative for keeping these myths just that – myths.

Appalachian Scholars' Perspectives on Appalachia

A mirror for Appalachia is needed, which will help Appalachians to become 'aware of who we are and why, and be at ease with this knowledge.' The record of the past suggests

that Appalachians cannot expect others to provide the mirror. It must be a mirror of our own making. (Miller, 1996, p. 448)

To represent something is to define it, and ironically, representation is just as necessary for understanding as it is for marginalizing (Hall, 1997). Appalachians have most often been represented, therefore defined, through mainstream sources. These oversimplifications were not meant for fully understanding the Appalachians they define. However, considering the ease in locating stereotypes offered by mainstream sources, it becomes logical why one would be hard-pressed to find a definition as assuredly offered up by Appalachian Studies scholars.

There certainly is no easy way to define the Appalachian culture; “there is no one way to define a culture of twenty million people living in 406 counties in thirteen states spanning two hundred thousand square miles” (Valentine, 2008a, p. 54). Because stereotypes of Appalachia, both positive and negative, are etched so deeply in societies’ structures, Appalachian scholars have learned better than to broach definitions lightly. In the introduction to *Appalachian Values* by Jones and Brunner (1994), John B. Stephenson (1994), the former president of Berea College writes,

“Who really knows Appalachia? ... Many have approached this question, and have backed away in confusion. Some have answered it in bold confidence but with eyes only half-open. Collectors have captured small parts of it and put them on display like pinned butterflies. The press reports mostly the mud and the blood; darkness and night often seem the preferred metaphors, and one wonders whether the sun ever shines in the pines, in the pines.” (pp. 9-10)

While mainstream sources, such as the media, popular culture and literature, readily offer up a plethora of physical, mental and cultural definitions for Appalachians in words, images, cartoons,

television shows, and film, as discussed earlier, most Appalachian Studies scholars are extremely reticent to define themselves beyond and independent of place.

Staying clear from any abbreviated or simple cultural or physical representations, most Appalachian researchers propose what they assume to be a diplomatic definition of Appalachians from political or socioeconomic boundaries defined by the ARC (Weary, 2005). Appalachians certainly define themselves by place, but lines on a map have not been known to bind culture, as scholars of displaced Appalachians will confirm (see Philliber & McCoy, 1981; deMarrais, 1998). Other scholars (Shapiro, 1978; Straw, 2004) liken Appalachia to an idea instead of a geographic location, since place has been so difficult to pinpoint. Taking this abstract concept of Appalachia a step further, in the introduction to Allen Batteau's (1990) study *The Invention of Appalachia*, he writes:

As an alternative to such a history of the *idea* of Appalachia, I present an account of the invention of Appalachia, recognizing that Appalachia – read-about Appalachia, personally experienced Appalachia, laughed-at Appalachia, inspired-by Appalachia – is just as much a social construction as is the Cowboy or, for that matter, the Indian. This invention was accomplished not in a professor's study but in the hurly-burly of politics and commerce and industry. And further, it was pursued with some very specific political ends in view. (p. 16)

Although Batteau's work shares an interesting perspective, calling Appalachia an 'invention' based solely on mainstream sources, instead of recognizing what Appalachians might have also invented for themselves, has the ability to immobilize discourses and dismiss one's ability for agency. "Writing about the contemporary construction or 'invention' of culture undercuts the cultural authority of indigenous peoples by calling into question their authenticity" (Linnekin,

1991, p. 446). Calling Appalachia an invention of mainstream sources would essentially mean shutting down any possibility of there being anything additional to an Appalachian experience as created and recognized by Appalachians, as well. This would steal the voices of the people in the region to come by and create their own identity and deny that any Appalachian culture and experience exists outside of what the mainstream has afforded. Batteau's (1990) scholarship provides an innovative contemplation of Appalachia's historical marginalization; however, people living in Appalachia should be able to claim the authenticity in their own experience and invent themselves within the place of Appalachia.

In addition to this contemporary context, there are additional reasons why it becomes difficult to envision a unique Appalachian mirror. For instance, a reason noted by Batteau (1990), Inscoe (1989), and other scholars (Griffin & Thompson, 2002; Obermiller, 2010) is that characteristics often attributed to Appalachians are similar and sometimes interchangeable with Southerners, including some of the negative stereotypes attributed to both regions (redneck, slow, etc.). In Griffin and Thompson's (2002) study, the authors note parallels in both Southern and Appalachian Studies, particularly in the ways the current scholarship in both fields are going in similar poststructural directions and have similar trajectories. These scholars have also come across a few distinctions stemming from historical racial and socioeconomic perspectives that have become affixed to Southern culture and Appalachian culture. For instance, whereas Southern Studies often evokes historical racial injustice and discord, Appalachian Studies is somewhat distanced from the racist history of the South, which could be due to possibly inflated perceptions of Appalachia's abolitionism and patriotism. Appalachian Studies is also distinguished from Southern Studies in socioeconomic terms with Appalachian being a "symbol of poverty" (Griffin & Thompson, 2002, p. 313) and "pitiful" (Biggers, 2006, p. xiii). By

distinguishing itself from Southern Studies in these two ways, whether accurate or not, Appalachian Studies has had the ability to initiate activism that does not evoke racism (Griffin & Thompson, 2002). This differentiation in Appalachians' ability for agency stemming from historical perspectives will assist in furthering the topic of tactics in folktales as well as assist in situating these tales in Appalachian Studies.

And, yet, another main impasse in Appalachians' ability to represent ourselves is the inability for much resonating input or equal billing from Appalachian sources (Clifford, 2007). In the past, when provided opportunities, Appalachian scholars tended to focus on deflecting and refuting stereotypes (Biggers, 2006), seemingly trying to replace the negative with positive or, at the very least, complexity. But, to balance out bad representations with good representations, or vice versa, in the hopes of affecting needed social change tends to place one into what Hall (1997) refers to as the "stereotypical 'other,'" relegated to the other stereotypical extreme (p. 272). It is tottering on this binary between too noble, "pristine" (Biggers, 2006, p. xii), and too depraved, "backwater" (Biggers, 2006, p. xii), that Appalachians still find themselves today in mainstream sources.

Because of these paradoxical stereotypes projected on Appalachians, Appalachian Studies researchers have spent over a century limiting their effort and opportunities to refute stereotypes instead of being able to extol Appalachia's contributions to the world (Biggers, 2006). But, as the decades have worn on with "yet another cycle" (Billings, 1999, p. 3) of marginalization, many scholars of the region have left behind the need to negate mainstream assumptions and have begun to focus introspectively and progressively on the complexity of Appalachia, championing Bill Best's (1986) call to:

...see ourselves reflected back by a looking glass that we have constructed ourselves.

For too long we have seen ourselves pictured like reflections in a funny house at a carnival. Our weaknesses are shown in the form of grotesque bulges while our strengths have appeared as tiny dimples. (p. 58)

Dispensing of the need to refute a stereotype, however, should not indicate Appalachian Studies scholars' resignation to the status quo; instead, it is actually a step towards liberation and has freed up the possibility to complexify "the region's historical past by particularizing its various components" (Inscoc, 2001, p. 10), which has led to a growth in scholarship in various disciplines, including Appalachian children's literature. In addition, attempts are being made to deconstruct Appalachia by refuting its exceptionalism and asserting that patterns are not "necessarily unique to the southern highlands or general to the whole mountain region" (Billings, Pudup, & Waller, 1995, p. 3), which might make an opportunity to reseed with multifaceted perspectives. Although these developments seem to be wholly adopted inside the field of Appalachian Studies, they have yet to be as championed by the mainstream, and even though a great deal of this scholarship is meant to respond to dominant perspectives, much of it is only admired from inside the culture. As Clifford (2007) says, "persistent misconceptions of Appalachian culture affect the reception of all things Appalachian, particularly literature, in the popular realm as well as the academic" (p. 8). So, seemingly, Appalachian Studies researchers are mostly left to preach to themselves.

Debates over Appalachian Representation

As was said earlier in this chapter, representation is just as necessary for understanding as it is for marginalizing, which creates a perplexity in this study's aims that could be said to be opposed to the current trends in Appalachian Studies. An impassioned debate has been taken up

within the Appalachian Studies community with scholars taking different sides regarding the need for a collective identity as opposed to not (Smith, Fisher, Obermiller, Whisnant, Satterwhite & Cunningham, 2010). All of these scholars have good and valid points, keeping one especially mindful of why reluctance should always exist. And, as Phillip Obermiller (2010) asserts:

We cannot agree on a definition of Appalachia, nor can we definitively say who is Appalachian. Yet we can agree that Appalachia is an important concept because it often makes a difference in people's lives, either personally or as a group. This is a key distinction—to say that something is important is not to say that it is determinative, much less to reify it. (p. 63)

Appalachians have been put in a unique position. Because regional identity in many national arenas does not amount to a legitimate ethnicity, there is some confusion as to whether Appalachians can legitimately be considered an ethnic group in the United States (Obermiller, 1981). Although some assert that a persuasive claim to an Appalachian ethnicity is the acknowledgement that a distinct culture exists, Appalachians do not really have the power to make prevailing decisions about how mainstream society should view them (Obermiller, 1981).

Therefore, without trying to determine or reify the whole essence of what it means to be Appalachian and while attempting to benefit this dissertation study that seeks to find validation for Appalachian children's experiences in folktales, which is often absent from mainstream curriculum and literature, I tend to adopt Stephen Fisher's (2010) thoughtful views:

As we theorize about the intersection of class, race, gender, and regional identity and remain aware of purely individual dynamics, we come back to the realization that each of these factors constantly has an impact upon the other, and that it is often hard to attribute individual actions exclusively to class, gender, region, or individual personality.

Personally, knowing this makes me aware of the pain of fragmentation in my life and wary of making generalizations about what it means to be an Appalachian. But it also reinforces my belief that only the willingness to share private experiences, to tell our stories, will enable us to create a collective description of the region that is truly ours. (pp. 181-182)

Even as we attempt to reinvent generalizations, we should not be reluctant to find commonalities, as well.

So, ironically, as Appalachian scholars work to move away from generalized representations, to deconstruct Appalachian discourse and seek to dissipate what has historically provided fodder for exceptionalism, stereotypes, and marginalization, literacy theorists (Alvermann & Hinchman, 2012; Galda & Beach, 2001; Lewis, Enciso, & Moje, 2007), children's literature scholars (Brooks & Browne, 2012; Jones, 2008; Sims Bishop, 1990), and Appalachian educators (Best, 1986; Miller, 1996) assert that representation is just as vital for providing cultural markers (Brooks & Browne, 2012), definitions (Best, 1986; Miller, 1996), and mirrors (Best, 1986; Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Galda, 1998; Miller, 1996) for children to see their experiences in texts and to provide self-reflective mirrors for confirming that all children are valued and relevant. Therefore, without venturing to do the impossible and create definitive criteria for judging the cultural authenticity in the literature of a culture that has become reticent to name anything as culturally authentic, I, as an Appalachian and an emerging scholar of children's literature, explored cultural markers with which Appalachian readers might engage. In the next section, I discuss general and historical factors that influence cultural representation in children's literature, voice the necessity for authentic and accurate representations in children's

literature, and discuss current studies in Appalachian children's literature and scholarship on folktales, including Appalachian folktales.

The Selective Tradition and the Bottom Line: Mainstream Barriers to Representation

Almost 55 years ago, Nancy Larrick (1965) first brought attention to the underrepresentation of African Americans in children's literature in her article "The All-White World of Children's Books" in which she examined children's books published from 1962 to 1964 to determine the number of African American characters included in these books. She found that only a small percentage of the books (6.4%) included African American characters. Larrick's landmark study garnered attention not only for bringing to light the underrepresentation of African Americans in books, but also her examination of the authenticity of the characters in the books, prompting further inquiries by children's literature scholars into various groups' representation and the authenticity of these representations in children's books. Scholars in the areas of education, literacy, children's literature and librarianship began critically examining the authenticity of the representations of race and ethnicity (Brooks, 2006; Naidoo, 2008; Reese, 2007; Roggenkamp, 2008; Sims, 1982; Sims Bishop, 2007), class (Chafel, Fitzgibbons, Cutter, & Burke-Weiner, 1997; Fitzgibbons & Tilley, 1999; Jones, 2008; Kelley & Darragh, 2011; Kelley, Rosenberger, & Botelho, 2005), gender (Anderson, Broaddus, Hamilton & Young, 2006; Clark, Guilmain, Saucier, & Tavaréz, 2003; Clark, Lennon, & Morris, 1993; Crisp & Hiller, 2011; Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, & Young, 2006; McCabe, Fairchild, Grauerholz, Pescosolido, & Tope, 2011; Segel, 1982, 1986; Tsao, 2008; Zipes, 1987), sexual orientation (Esposito, 2009; Hermann-Wilmarth, 2007; Jenkins, 1998) and physical and mental disabilities (Matthew & Clow, 2007; Leininger, Dyches, Prater, & Heath, 2010). And, although many studies now exist that discuss the representation of minoritized groups in children's literature,

this specialized scholarship is still deficient in the field of Appalachian children's literature. To date, no critical studies inclusive of children's literature representing the various cultural communities in Appalachia have been conducted. Considering the historic marginalization of Appalachians due to stereotypes, this gap in the literature merits attention, too.

Pertinent to any discussion on representation, especially representations of the marginalized cultural communities in Appalachia, is the need to recognize historical, political and social contexts that have played and continue to play a role in hindering, diverting, and impeding comprehensive and accurate representations in children's and young adult literature. Therefore, the notion of a "selective tradition" provides an awareness of predispositions and biases in representation and publishing. Deliberating Gramsci's (2000, p. 422) idea of "hegemony," Raymond Williams, a literary critic and cultural theorist, recognized how popular culture mostly advanced the practices, values, etc. of a hegemonic ideology and through the reinforcement and reproduction of these practices, values, etc., the dominant are able to maintain control tacitly through ideology. This "selective tradition," as Williams (1977) asserts, is:

an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification. ... From a whole possible area of past and present, in a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected or excluded. Yet, within a particular hegemony, and as one of its decisive processes, this selection is presented and usually successfully passed off as 'the tradition,' 'the significant past.' (p. 115)

Apple defined selective tradition as "the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another's" (Apple, 1992, p. 182). The reproduction of one cultural capital

(Bourdieu, 1986) makes it quite difficult to advance other ideologies to refute this selective tradition and, therefore, to advance plentiful and accurate representations of marginalized groups.

As part of this selective tradition, young adult and children's literature has mostly been propagated with White American middle-to-upper-class protagonists represented in traditional gender roles to appease this dominant ideal, regardless of the diversity that exists in this country in terms of race, ethnicity, language, socioeconomic status, sex and gender, religion, etc. Identifying with these characters and their experiences becomes difficult for children from culturally diverse backgrounds, and

giving young people an incomplete picture of reality results in some of them believing they are superior because their people have been the major movers and shakers, while others believe themselves inferior because they have learned that their people have done nothing of significance. (Nieto, 2010, p. 31)

Because of this uneven representation, instead of offering children from diverse backgrounds opportunities to glimpse through a window at a different experience, these already marginalized children are essentially being asked to imagine themselves time and again through the same privileged reflections, while recognizing their experiences are excluded from books and external to the school curriculum and societal models (Jones, 2008).

Children's literature scholars, educators and librarians, such as myself, will continue voicing the necessity for authentic and accurate representations of underrepresented groups in children's and young adult literature in an effort to validate minoritized groups' experiences in print. This is not only important for the children from these groups but also serves as exemplars for children outside of the group to learn more about their friends and neighbors' diverse and common experiences in a global society. However, at present, the bigger publishing companies'

primary interests have turned to the commodification of children's and young adult literature, which dictates to a large extent what is being published (Napoli, 2012; Pattee, 2006), which may in turn hinder the publication of culturally relevant literature (Harris, 2003). "Children's literature is not so much what children read as what producers hope children will read" (Nodelman, 2008, p. 4). Therefore, series of books with predictable endings that continue to proliferate White protagonists and may or may not offer quality representations at all are squeezing out the publication of culturally authentic books that offer new, different, authentic and creative perspectives (Grimes, 2010; Hade, 2002; Pearson, 2013; Quart, 2003).

As studies by numerous scholars of children's literature (e.g., Brooks, 2006; Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Zygmunt, Clark, Tancock, Mucherah, & Clausen, 2015) speak to the importance of culturally accurate and authentic literature that represents a multitude of children's experiences, independent and university presses have helped add to the quality of culturally authentic titles currently available. Kristopher Clifford (2007), in his thesis *Appalachian Literature and the "Red-Headed Stepchild of Publishing:" The Writings of Victor Depta and the Cultural Work of Independent Presses*, discusses formidable barriers affecting Appalachians' abilities to be widely represented in print, including the bigger publishing companies' "bottom line" and corporate ownership of publishing firms. This has caused Appalachian writers that have not already achieved mass appeal, such as Barbara Kingsolver, Robert Morgan, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., etc., to turn to independent publishers to represent the Appalachian voice. As Clifford (2007) notes,

the idea of authentic representation in regional literature (which can really only be authentic so far as it is exhaustive), and the inherent exclusivity of publishing contradict each other, so while the material being published today is arguably much more

“authentic” than what has preceded it, it can still only be considered a partial and limited representation of Appalachian culture and its writing. (p. 1)

As approximately three-fourths of the 41 books in this study’s corpus were printed by independent and university presses, Clifford’s research definitely reflects this sample. And, even today, with technological innovations, internet and the trend of niche publishing (Abate, 2016), rural Appalachia, like the area in which I live, still lacks an infrastructure to take full advantage of many of the new online publishing and technological abilities (Maciag, 2017). This is supported by the ARC just publishing a report in 2016 entitled “Broadband Planning Primer and Toolkit” (Patterson, Watts, Rathbone, & Edwards, 2016). And, even with the capability, many students in Appalachia are limited to Internet usage at school, because of the availability and cost. Therefore, with all of these barriers, it is difficult to represent the fullness of Appalachia and Appalachians, especially in children’s literature. Presenting a variety of perspectives, complexities, values, diversity, etc. as those mirrors and windows would require opportunities that bigger publishing companies have to promote and disseminate their products with the added incentives of capitalistic commodities and Accelerated Reader tests, not normally afforded Appalachian writers (Clifford, 2007). Also, with the lack of a technological infrastructure, it is difficult to participate in online communities, as well. Representation, then, balloons into a problematized venture.

Appalachian Children’s Literature

Although the study of Appalachian children’s literature is currently still in its foundational stage, Herrin and Oliver’s (2010) bibliography of Appalachian children’s literature and Brodie’s (2011) chapter in *Multicultural Literature and Response: Affirming Diverse Voices* have offered broad overviews with compilations of book titles that have allowed scholars in this

field to gain traction. It has only been recently that Appalachian children's literature has been identified as multicultural children's literature (Brodie, 2011). There have also been three dissertations (Alexander, 1987; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008b), which have worked to define Appalachian children's literature, as well as determine prevalent themes. Some have used Jones and Brunner's (1994) *Appalachian Values* to authenticate themes in Appalachian children's literature, which include religion; independence, self-reliance, and pride; neighborliness and hospitality; familism; personalism; humility or modesty; love of place; patriotism; sense of beauty; and sense of humor. Additionally, a few shorter studies have been conducted (Harnish & Oliver, 1980; Herrin, 1996; Martin, 1982; Owens, 2001, 2002), as well as research on certain Appalachian children's authors, like Gloria Houston and Cynthia Rylant (Herrin, 1996; Roggenkamp, 2008) and more specific themes, like language (Herrin, 1991) and music (Smith, 2007). As is the case with exciting new endeavors in research, these scholars have created a foundation for further studies to follow, but an immense amount of scholarship is needed to bring studies on Appalachian children's literature to the level of research that has been accomplished for other subjects and topics in children's and young adult literature.

Lynn Alexander's dissertation (1987), *Appalachian Characteristics Portrayed in Children's Literature Set in Appalachia*, is one of the first large scale studies on children's literature set in Appalachia. She uses content analysis to determine the presence or absence of stereotypes and authentic depictions in 16 children's books set in Appalachia. Using Katz and Braly's (1933) list of stereotypes that includes a scope of approximately 80 descriptors, such as intelligent, naïve, sophisticated, suspicious, etc., and Ergood's (Ergood & Kuhre, 1978) descriptions of Appalachians in *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present*, which consist of descriptors such as "independence," "life in harmony with nature," "suspicion of government,"

“individualism,” “fatalism” etc. (p. 31-41), she read through the books several times, marking the stereotypes and representations in each that coincided with the lists provided by Katz and Braly (1933) and Ergood (Ergood & Kuhre, 1978). Alexander (1987) concluded that the books in her sample were stereotypical and presented a limited representation of a positive Appalachia. Some consistent characterizations included industriousness, living on a farm, living in a log house, wearing overalls and having few material possessions.

Carolyn Brodie’s (2011) chapter on Appalachian children’s and young adult literature in *Multicultural Literature and Response: Affirming Diverse Voices* is devoted to an overview of Appalachian children’s literature, one of the first to appear in a volume on multicultural children’s literature. The chapter includes general selection criteria for choosing authentic books, including “recognizable cultural identity,” “connection to a sense of place,” “authentic visual details in the illustrations” and “avoidance of stereotyping” (p. 236). Brodie also discusses genres, including poetry and folktales, and offers a bibliography of representative children’s and young adult books. For themes in the literature, she discusses the studies by Valentine (2008a, 2008b) and Jones and Brunner’s (1994) *Appalachian Values*. Both in Valentine’s article (2008a) and dissertation study (2008b), *An investigation of authenticity and accuracy in children's realistic fiction picture books set in Appalachia*, she and two reviewers engaged in a content analysis of 51 realistic fiction picturebooks set in Appalachia. Using Jones and Brunner’s (1994) ten values – 1) religion; 2) independence, self-reliance and pride; 3) neighborliness; 4) familism; 5) personalism; 6) humility and modesty; 7) love of place; 8) patriotism; 9) sense of beauty; and 10) sense of humor – they analyzed both the text and illustrations for positive, authentic representations and determined independence to be the most prevalent theme.

Jennifer Smith (2002) interviewed the Appalachian author George Ella Lyon and Appalachian author/illustrator Paul Brett Johnson and surveyed scholars of Appalachian children's literature to gather consensus about prevalent themes, including education, family, independence, etc., to create a definition of Appalachian Children's Literature. Based on her findings, Smith (2002) defines Appalachian children's literature as:

literature for children that must capture the essence of both a region and a culture. It is a literature produced in an array of genres, by numerous authors and illustrators, and throughout several decades. Appalachian children's literature consists of stories bound by setting and place and threaded with recurring elements reflective of the culture and the region. (p. 90)

As a result of this broad definition, it is inclusive of all of the cultural communities that make up Appalachia.

Smith's definition shows a solid consensus with the definitions broached by several other scholars. In the preface to their bibliography, Roberta Herrin and Sheila Oliver (2010) write:

Establishing the selection criteria for this bibliography was no easy task because delimitations are mostly arbitrary. For example, this is not a bibliography of books by Appalachian children's writers, though such a bibliography would be desirable and useful. Rather, it features books written about or set in the region, including books about individuals born in the region. (p. 5)

Most of the current scholars in Appalachian children's literature have not been concerned about the insider/outsider debate in terms of authentic representation (Herrin & Oliver, 2010; Smith, 2002), as they have been inclusive of writers from inside and outside the region. Speaking on this topic, the Appalachian writer George Ella Lyon's "sense is that an Appalachian writer is

someone whose work is rooted in the mountains. They don't have to come from there, if their work is rooted there. If a person comes and feels that kind of connection then I think their work becomes part of Appalachian literature. I think they have to live into it" (Smith, 2002, pp. 188-189). In addition, the Appalachian author/illustrator, Paul Brett Johnson, stated, "If someone takes the time to do their homework and do it right, they can produce a work that truly reflects what they're writing about. They might not be part of the culture, but they have experienced it, and that should serve as the basis of something" (Smith, 2002, p. 202). To these Appalachian authors, Appalachian children's literature is less about the status of the author as an insider or outsider of the culture, but it hinges on authentic connections or experiences with Appalachia and its people.

In Jim Wayne Miller's (1996) essay in *Voices of the Hills*, though, he contends that the mirror of Appalachia must be of "our own making" (p. 448), since the record of the past suggests that Appalachians cannot expect others to provide an accurate mirror for us. He further explains:

Education in Appalachia could set itself no better goal than helping Appalachian children define who they are. Appalachian children especially need to see their lives and experiences mirrored in art, verified, corroborated, legitimized. They don't need what they so often get: subtle indications that their lives and experiences, their thoughts and feelings are different and don't really count for anything. (p. 455)

I believe Miller is right in a sense. Appalachians should certainly and proliferatively represent themselves wherever their talents lie and, again, forming, as Fisher (2010, p. 59) said, a "collective description of the region that is truly ours." However, with this, I would be negligent not to add that there have been some wonderful Appalachian children's literature written about the region in which the authors, who may have been familiar with but not from the region, have

definitely “lived into it” (Smith, 2002, p. 189) or have had enough experience with the Appalachian people to portray them authentically and accurately. A favorite that immediately comes to mind is Vera and Bill Cleaver’s *Where the Lilies Bloom* (1970), set in the mountains of North Carolina, where the strong capable, but fallible, protagonist, Mary Call Luther, shows the complexity of what it means to be Appalachian, to be independent and vulnerable, to be educated, proud, and resourceful but poor. And, the African American author Jacqueline Woodson, who wrote in the poignant essay “Who Can Tell My Story” (1998) that non-African American writers need to have, at least, “sat down at the table with us and dipped the bread of their own experiences into our stew” (p. 38), sensitively relayed the story of a White Appalachian girl making her way back to Kentucky from Ohio in the award-winning books *I Hadn’t Meant to Tell You This* (1995) and *Lena* (1999). So, although Appalachians definitely need to have a much stronger (and equal) voice in terms of their representation in literature, scholarship, the media, etc., it is also good to remind ourselves of the omnipresent complexity to any insider/outsider debates; “The distasteful truth is that like it or not, all writers are ‘cultural impersonators’” (Gates, 2003, p. 141). If writers of certain races, cultures, genders, sexual orientations, etc. are only allowed to write stories about their own race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, etc., this would inhibit the “creative democracy” currently awarded literariness and art (Dewey, Hickman & Alexander, 1998, p. 340) and would essentially promote another version of separatism. So, although there is a definite need for all races, cultures, genders, and sexual orientations to be represented through equal access to publishing resources and audiences, it is problematic to assume that only people of a certain group can write authentically and well about that group. To reiterate Clifford (2007), we can only be authentic “so far as it is exhaustive” (p.

1). And, even what is deemed “authentic” can never really be wholly representative of any group.

Folktales in Children’s Literature Scholarship

“Stories are equipment for living”

– *Kenneth Burke, literary theorist (Burke as cited in McKee, 2007, p. 11).*

Folktales are exactly what the name implies, folks’ stories. Although these stories often include animals as protagonists or incorporate exaggeration or a little magic, they offer instructions on life, commentaries on social practices, and insight about history; these stories have the “magical ability to hold past, present and future in the Word” (Yolen, 1986, p. 2), but central to these tales are “human truth” (Yolen, 1986, p. 3). A product of popular culture, folktales and their various renditions make their way across generations and continents, changing with each telling and perpetually adopting contemporary familiarities to engage the audience and make these tales more immediate, relevant and familiar (Pavesic, 2005; Reese, 1995).

Folktales originated from an oral tradition. In times and places where print sources were not readily available and literacy was limited, oral transmission of these tales offered accessibility to, circulation of and diffusion of these tales. Zipes (2012) and other scholars (e.g., Dégh, 1969; Perrie, 1989) assert that peasants were the “prime carriers” of folktales historically, particularly in Europe, and these tales became far more than just an innocent pastime. They were “symbolic acts in which [peasants] enunciated their aspirations and projected the magic possibility in an assortment of imaginative ways so that anyone could become a knight in shining armor or a lovely princess” (Zipes, 2012, p. 8). The ability to tell tales offered storytellers momentary command over spaces, which was probably an incredible sensation for those who were powerless in most settings of their times. However, as this oral tradition began to be

collected and usurped for a more written one in European society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the bourgeoisie amended grittier folktales into moderated fairy tales by toning down the features that were more reminiscent of harsher social realities and by poaching these tales for the intent of civilizing children and adults to contemporary social codes (Voitkovska, Stewart, McCannon, Jordan, & Manz, 2007; Zipes, 2012). Thus, the folktale genre often coincides with or includes fairy tales (Thompson, 1977), an “adaptation of folk material, an act of symbolic appropriation, was a recodification of the materials to make it suitable for the discursive requirements of French court society and bourgeois salons” (Zipes, 2012, p. 9), myths, “sacred narrative[s] explaining how the world and man came to be in their present form” (Dundes, 1984, p. 1), and legends, a fictional story, “esp. one handed down by tradition from early times” that is popularly regarded as factual (Simpson & Weiner, 1989, p. 806). In my readings, the degree of distinction between these categories has been wholly dependent on each scholar’s discretion. For this dissertation, however, I accepted Thompson’s umbrella definition of folktales as “all forms of prose narrative, written or oral, which have come to be handed down through the years” (Thompson, 1977, p. 4) and contain social mores that are transmittable, since many of the tales covered in this dissertation could easily traverse boundaries.

Numerous empirical studies extol the popularity of folktales among children (e.g., Jirata, 2011; Norton, 1999; Smith & Wiese, 2006) and tell of their many educational values, including the ability to peer into the lives and cultures of people that are different from our own (Dennis, MarcoPolo Education Foundation, National Council of Teachers of English, & International Reading Association, 2003; Smith & Wiese, 2006), hopefully in authentic ways, to understand their histories, values, and hopes (Dennis et al., 2003; Reese, 1995; Santino, 1991) and to promote empathy for others (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001; Fuhler, Farris & Hatch, 1998). “In a

tale we meet new places, new people, new ideas. And they become our places, our people, our ideas” (Yolen, 1986, p. 8). Many studies from the United States focus on reading multicultural folktales outside of one’s culture (e.g., Livermore, 1997; Smith & Wiese, 2006; Zabel, 1991) and the opportunities this offers children to learn about different cultures. Very few studies focus on reading folktales from one’s own culture. However, two studies (Jirata, 2011, 2018) found that through telling their own folktales, children of the Guji-Oromo villages in Ethiopia became actors, empowered to confidently express themselves. Jirata (2011, 2018) witnessed in the children’s relaying of, acting out, listening to and discussing folktales, that folktales have the ability to teach children critical thinking and problem-solving skills. And, folktales that reflect children’s own cultures allow children to not only “reflect on the norms and values of former generations, but also...react to and critique aspects of their immediate social environments” (Jirata, 2011, p. 207). So, these tales truly are “equipment for living” (Burke as cited in McKee, 2007, p. 11). They illustrate the moxie of perseverance and survival (Korten, 1971; Ragan, 1998, 2006) and the importance and necessity of reverting to one’s intuition and instincts (Duryea & Potts, 1993) at moments that truly count. For instance, addressing Jack tales from the Appalachian Region, Reese (1995) says, “To a child, the tale suggests that a person can beat even devils if he keeps his courage and uses his wit” (p. 497). These protagonists, who need to employ their wits in creative ways to get the job done, can make children in Appalachia feel confident in their abilities to also rely on their common sense and cultural literacies (Reese, 1995) while contemplating the intricacies of their social environments.

Additionally, folktales often show the political perspectives of the underdog protagonist (Yolen, 1986). Jack Zipes (2009), known for his research in which he ferrets out politics in fairy tales, wrote:

Needless to say, understanding the politics is not the only approach one can take to folk and fairy tales. Yet, such a perspective is vital because of its double function: it allows us to gain greater insight into the historical forces which influenced the formation of these genres, and it provides us with a basis to review theories of the folk and fairy tale which have not considered their own premises in terms of politics. (p. 24)

I believe the latter function to be particularly true in the case of folktales from the Appalachian Region. It was noticeable through my searches of multimodal resources on WorldCat that there are many more, and more recent, primary sources – folktales – than secondary sources – reference materials on folktales – from the region. Of course, this presents immense potential for those of us who have noticed the politics rampant in these folktales and wish to explore them further. However, the dawn of studies into the specificities of Appalachia could not have been possible without abandoning the need to continuously refute stereotypes, becoming more introspective, and branching out from within. It is through this liberation that we are able to look at the political premises in Appalachian folktales to understand our “past, present and future in the Word” (Yolen, 1986, p. 2).

Considerations about Representation in Folktales

When analyzing folktales, one would think many of the previously mentioned debates centering around representation in children’s literature would be abated or eliminated, but this is hardly true. Folktales come with their own set of complexities. First of all, folktales originate from an oral tradition, so it is impossible to be certain of their exact origin and the original author (Brunvand, 1996; Zipes, 2012), whereas some theorists on cultural authenticity in children’s literature consider the origin and author to be important in determining cultural authenticity (Cai & Sims Bishop, 1994). In addition, these tales are “living” (de Certeau, 1984); they are able to

migrate and adapt to suit a new place and new societal conditions. Many of the Appalachian Jack Tales were carried across the Atlantic with European immigrants to this region (Chase, Halpert, Williams, & Ward, 2003), and over the generations, these tales have changed to incorporate characteristics of the region and reflect the culture that creates them (Pavesic, 2005). So, folktales are appropriated (Zipes, 2012) or poached (de Certeau, 1984; Varga-Dobai, 2008) to fit the place, values, situations (Reese, 1995; Pavesic, 2005) and, ultimately, the tellers. “Each folktale has an author, since active tellers reframe stories from their own experiences” (Brunvand, 1996, p. 295). As Propp (1968) said in *Morphology of the Folktale*, “uncorrupted tale construction is peculiar only to the peasantry—to a peasantry, moreover, little touched by civilization. All kinds of foreign influences alter and sometimes even corrupt a tale. Complications begin as soon as we leave the boundary of the absolutely authentic tale” (p. 100). Almost all folktales in the U.S. are corrupted, coming from other places, merging with local definitions, dialects and values, and actually merging with folktales from other cultural groups (Ford, 2012). In addition, each tale, told orally, is practically never told the same way twice. To add to this complication is a listener’s response, which cycles the tale around in the listener’s experiences, contexts, etc., what Bayard (2007) calls a person’s “inner library” (p. 45), to come out on the other side as “indices of common poetics” and the dominating experience of the listener (de Certeau, 1984, p. 172).

Another discombobulation one must broach when talking about folktales is the quagmire between oral and literary traditions, which is precisely why one should not lump the two together lightly without explanation, especially when talking about issues of power. The oral traditions of folktales are seen as “‘people + orality = authenticity and originality’” (Apo, 2007, p. 22). There is a certain agency, democracy, uniqueness, and creativity to the orality of tales that becomes

tainted when put in written form, as published works of folktales are seen to be “the role of the writing elite” (Apo, 2007, p. 21). Empirical studies by anthropologists and folklorists (Finnegan, 1988; Goody, 1987) have attempted to bring the oral and literary traditions together by tracing the continual connection and dialogue between the two over many centuries (Apo, 2007). However, as has been mentioned earlier, the literary tradition in the United States has been teeming with inequity in terms of representation that still has a long way to go, especially for minoritized groups.

Moving the discussion to the literary and print tradition, representation can be even more contentious when it comes to folktales, because usually, folktales in print are associated directly with a place or culture, and this place or culture is often identified front and center in the title: for instance, *First Fire: A Cherokee Folktale* (Allen & Rogers, 2014); *The Adventures of Spider: West African Folktales* (Arkhurst & Pinkney, 1964); *The Jack Tales: Folk Tales From the Southern Appalachians* (Chase et al., 2003); *The People Could Fly: American Black Folktales* (Hamilton, Dillon, & Dillon, 1985), *The Green Frogs: A Korean Folktale* (Heo, 1996); *Cuckoo: A Mexican Folktale* (Ehlert & Andújar, 1997), etc. Therefore, there should be added pressure on the authors and illustrators to represent these cultures and regions authentically, respectfully, and accurately (Kurtz, 1996; Mo & Shen, 2003; Smith & Wiese, 2006; Yokota, 1993). Folktales have the ability to not only provide windows for breaking down stereotypes and encouraging appreciation and understanding of diverse cultures (Noll, 2003; Santino, 1991), but they can also “help children understand the world and identify with universal human struggles” (Smith & Wiese, 2006, p. 70). As was stated earlier, representing a culture respectfully and authentically is imperative not only for understanding different cultures and ethnicities, but for children to feel validated and have their cultural experiences confirmed as represented in texts.

Another complexity to representation in folktales' texts is the generalizations made by singling out a group, which can be problematic. The scope of the text can be so narrow that it does not represent the entire group it claims to represent, or the scope can be so broad that it does not represent the intricacies of culture. As Curt Dudley-Marling (2003) states:

Using literature to *represent* students' cultural and religious heritages assumed an essential homogeneity in people's cultural heritage that clearly doesn't exist. People's cultural and religious identities are complicated by factors, like race, class, language, socioeconomic status, gender, and so on. (p. 311)

Folktales claiming to be representative of a certain culture should always be scrutinized (Smith & Wiese, 2006). In addition, one cannot assume that something deemed culturally authentic is ever one-size-fits-all (Brooks, 2006; Dudley-Marling, 2003).

Agency in Folktales

Although folktales were created with various intentions, including didacticism, creationism and explanation, many folktales were born out of power struggles (de Certeau, 1984; Zipes, 2009, 2012). In the European tradition, for instance, folktales were a subversive commentary on feudal society circulated by the peasantry and centered around class struggles. "The magic and miraculous serve to rupture the feudal confines and represent metaphorically the conscious and unconscious desires of the lower classes to seize power" (Zipes, 2012, p. 8). These early European folktales, although most had happy endings, did not sugar coat the brutality of life, and unlike the prevailing socialization of children in the current U.S. society, children were not excluded from hearing these stories (Hanlon, 2013).

As some of these tales made their way across the Atlantic along with European settlers, the storylines were revised in a region already rich with Native American folktales and Melungeon and Affrilachian folktales, as well. Lyn Ford (2012) says,

The stories gave me roots that I could research in my adult years. I would eventually discover for myself that these stories were carried orally from my ancestors in Africa, were blended with elements of Native American heritage and European American family folktales in Appalachia. (Preface para. 9)

The oral transmission of these tales, as noted before, offered a much greater opportunity for “the creative work of the folk in a democratic spirit” (Apo, 2007, p. 21). So, in addition to theoreticians having difficulty isolating and nailing down the cultural authenticity of a folktale, this ability to merge, appropriate (Zipes, 2012), poach (de Certeau, 1984; Varga-Dobai, 2008) and change the tale with each telling gives the teller incredible agency to adapt the story in any way that he or she wants, which is a very powerful prospect. As these tales were transferred into writing, some of the power for the storyteller to change the text had waned. But, reader response theorists note readers’ abilities to change the text and make it their own (Bakhtin, 1981; Bayard, 2007; Rosenblatt, 1938). De Certeau (1984) also asserts that readers have the power to be authors, poaching and transforming texts through their own experiences and contexts. So, both oral tellings and written versions are pretty powerful in this sense.

Many of the subversive folktales from the Appalachian Region, including Cherokee, Affrilachian, and Anglo Appalachian folktales, all contain tricksters. Trickster characters are born out of subversion to upend power structures and are a “compensatory fantasy of revenge” against those in power (Lindahl, 2001, p. 163). Although each trickster’s motif and context are different, especially in different cultural communities and according to different cultures’

socio-historic antagonists, the trickster is usually a paradox, a “wise fool,” in a world where dichotomies are entangled (Hyde, 2010, p. 7). Tricksters are generally creative in their ways of dealing with power structures. They can be cultural heroes (Hyde, 2010), or they can be ethically ambiguous (Pavesic, 2005) or “amoral” (Hyde, 2010, p. 10). Mostly, to the issue of power and what I continue to discuss throughout this dissertation, the trickster has agency to avert, circumvent and subvert power in order to come out on top or unscathed. Trickster tales provide lessons in efficacy and a hint at Appalachian enculturation. Appalachian home learning values ingenuity (Owen, 2001) and common sense over intelligence in an academic sense (Dees, 2006), so these tales hit home with a lot of children in the region and transmit their life experiences into the classroom. In the “Preface” to her *Affrilachian Tales: Folktales from the African-American Appalachian Tradition*, Lyn Ford (2012) writes,

Learning these handed-down stories gave me a sense of independence, knowing that size, strength, appearance, and the opinions of others need not deter me from making the choices that made or changed my life. The stories gave me wisdom, dressed up as fables and dressed down as proverb tales. Either way, I came to understand that the stories I heard from old folks were bejeweled with the wisdom of generations. I also came to understand that their ageless values were still potent in the 21st century. (Preface, para. 9)

To ignite such efficacy and validation would allow “the school of life” to replace “lifeless schooling” (Horton, Kohl, & Kohl, 1998, p. 51) to children who rarely see their experience in print.

It is my belief that folktales from the Appalachian Region still have a lot to offer the children in our region who constantly see their cultures denigrated in popular culture and the media or hidden behind enduring negative and positive stereotypes. Stereotypes can generate

defeatist mentalities that we internalize (Zanna & Olson, 1994), which I have had the opportunity to experience myself, give one a false sense of the complexities of reality, or hinder one from looking beyond homogeny to see differences. As I will eventually take this research back into Appalachian classrooms, I wished to familiarize myself with these tales and examine the tactical strategies that subvert power structures as a means of challenging and undermining ideology that works to marginalize cultures in Appalachia. These tales are opportunities for a counter-pedagogy to the homogeneity of the standards driven curriculum and capture cultural markers (Brooks & Browne, 2012) from which children can view their experiences in literature and envision their own creative possibilities around the political obstacles that life indubitably sets out for them.

Conclusion

In a special edition of the *Appalachian Journal* which focused on Appalachian identity, Phillip Obermiller (2010) wrote, “I leave the determination of ontological Appalachianness to others. I am more concerned with the agency of identity, that is, how it can be used to create a better life by people *in* the place, or *from* the place, we call Appalachia” (p. 63). It is this same agency of identity that I am interested in pursuing in this dissertation study, as a person responsible for locating “cultural access points” (Brooks & Browne, 2012, p. 83) to validate children in a culture that has somewhat espoused smoothing them over. Not an easy task, I know, but well worth the effort. The practice theorist de Certeau (1984) tells the powerless and those outside of the mainstream stronghold to look to folktales as “living museums” of tactics and “benchmarks of an apprenticeship” (p. 23) of opportunities to assert their agency; “And whereas historiography recounts in the past tense the strategies of instituted powers, these ‘fabulous’ stories offer their audience a repertory of tactics for future use” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23).

Looking at folktales as “wisdom of generations...still potent in the 21st century,” children in Appalachia will begin to recognize these folktales not as something to be dusted off every so often as bygone entertainment, but as current mirrors for agency in a world that has not been as mindful or respectful with the brief glances they have taken through our windows (Ford, 2012, Preface para. 9).

For this dissertation study, I read a variety of folktales from the Appalachian Region which I anticipated would contain tactics that serve to reverse, even if only momentarily, the power structures apparent in the narratives, making those who seem powerless able to affect these structures to their advantage (de Certeau, 1984). I focused on the community of tactics that traverse these cultural texts to gain an understanding of how they might offer representations of agency and social justice as well as accurate and authentic counternarratives showing Appalachians as multifaceted and different from how mainstream popular culture and societal ideologies have represented them in the past. My findings not only identify possible meanings intended for readers from Appalachian backgrounds, but also possible interpretations students from other backgrounds might have of these texts, in anticipation of these texts serving as mirrors, windows, and doors for many more generations to come.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss reading as a sociocultural art and the main poststructural theory that will guide this study of Appalachian folktales, the practice theory of “tactics” (de Certeau, 1984). Additionally, I will discuss my research methods, including the selection of the corpus of folktales for this study. The critical content analysis approach will be introduced along with detailed steps of my analysis. To conclude this chapter, I will share the limitations of this study.

The Sociocultural Act of Reading

Important to any study on children’s literature, particularly culturally relevant literature, such as folktales, is a theoretical understanding of reading as a dynamic interchange that takes place between readers and texts. In 1934, Louise Rosenblatt introduced a transactional theory of reading, or reader response theory, which considers readers’ individual engagements with texts, including the understanding that a reader’s transactional dialogues with texts are critical to their interpretations of these texts. Instead of assuming that all readers interpret the same text similarly, reader response theorists (e.g., Fish, 1967; Holland, 1968; Iser, 1978) contend that people’s experiences are interjected into and comingle with what they read. So, every person’s response to a text can vary, shaped by their familiarities and subjectivities.

Reader response theory reflects how language and literacy are sociocultural constructs (Vygotsky, 1978). Although language is considered a social construction meant to unite meaning for communicating effectively, our diverse sociocultural experiences invoke additional meaning surrounding words that interact with and nuance the words that we read. Text on a page, the

construction of an author, is fed through and redefined through an individual reader's "sense of a word" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 146), making reading a complex dynamic between readers, the readers' social contexts, and texts (Galda & Beach, 2001). Meaning is complicated by or coalesces around experience, which is fundamental for explaining how an Appalachian, for instance, might assign meanings to Appalachian folktales through the filter of shared Appalachian sociocultural experiences, how another individual from Appalachia may just as easily not connect with the folktales due to different cultural experiences or how a non-Appalachian might view the same texts in a totally different way. Therefore, the sociocultural context engaged when reading a text, explained by these theories of literacy, are foundational to this study that contemplates sociocultural responses and identifies sociocultural cues from the readings.

Poststructuralism and de Certeau's Tactics

The complex co-construction of meaning that theories on sociocultural literacy explore, then, offers the plurality common to poststructural thought, which is the theoretical framework for my dissertation. Poststructuralism, a movement prompted by the writings of Derrida in the 1960s and unfolding in the latter part of the 20th century with French philosophers Foucault, Lyotard, and Baudrillard, encouraged skepticism and destabilization of previously held ideologies and philosophies. Poststructural thought deconstructs assumptions in an attempt to disrupt societal structures, expose their arbitrariness and denote ideologies that might be at their roots. Although academics give the poststructural movement a timeline and ascribe it to scholars, folktales have always employed elements of poststructural thought, as folktales have played a historic role in calling out and railing against societal structures. For example, tricksters, prominent in tales from the Appalachian Region, epitomize poststructuralism for their efforts to

overturn structure (Kremer, 2012; Vizenor, 1991), and the trickster's nonconformity often exposes a dynamic and flexible world (Hyde, 2010) previously concealed by normalization. Therefore, theories that embrace poststructural thought are good fits for this study of folktales from the Appalachian Region as folktales tend to embrace many of the tenets of poststructuralism.

This dissertation will draw on the practice theory "tactics" by de Certeau (1984) as a theory of resistance (Tobin, 2005). De Certeau's scholarship incorporates social sciences, history, and philosophy, and in his most famous work, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Michel de Certeau explains how people employ everyday practices and customize them to generate their own advantage or to resist norms dictated by hegemony. De Certeau follows these practices into the recesses of lives (reading, walking, talking, cooking, etc.) to illustrate how we manage to creatively maneuver in spaces by thwarting *strategies*, a key concept, with *tactics*, another key concept, through ingenuity (1984). To de Certeau, strategies are practices dictated by power structures that befit what has been deemed proper in a specific setting. Therefore, strategies are more reliant on space over time. An example might be the usual practices of whispering or being quiet in a library. Tactics, on the other hand, are brief personal coups of time in which power structures are subverted to allow for agency in spaces that normally adhere to strategies. De Certeau offers the example of "la perruque," which translates into "the wig" (p. 24). In "la perruque," workers on the job covertly seize bits of time to attend to personally beneficial practices (e.g., planning a family vacation during work time, sneaking off to smoke while not on break, etc.).

By providing tactics to respond to deterministic theories on power (Bourdieu, 1977; Foucault, 1977), de Certeau (1984) defines tactics as "an art of the weak," meaning creative

everyday practices used by people and groups not privileged in a hegemonic society (p. 37).

These tactics are normally not major gestures that seek out too much notice or that are done to overturn societal structures, but they are slight acts of cunning that have worked their way into practices and respond to the persistence of strategies with opportune moments of agency.

Therefore, these tactical moments problematize structure and the reproduction of it; they offer discursive time to a seemingly nondiscursive space.

Of particular interest to this study is de Certeau's (1984) fusion of the notions of reader response, sociocultural literacy, and tactical resistance by introducing reading as an "'art' which is anything but passive" (p. xxii). De Certeau designates reading as a type of tactic, "in which the weak make use of the strong" to create an outcome wholly unique to "the experiences of the literate reader" (p. xvii). To de Certeau, in order to gain autonomy and agency in their reading practices, readers must resist reproduction by recognizing the rules and structures that generate binary ways of thinking and, instead, transform. Thus, de Certeau (1984) asserts that this transformation, akin to Rosenblatt's (1938) reader response theory makes the reader into the agent and writer, as the reader reappropriates or, as de Certeau contends, "poaches" this space for his or her own means and ends (p. 165).

In his discussion of tactical practices, de Certeau (1984) also extols the ability of tales and legends to store, demonstrate and allow for exploration of these tactics. He likens folktales to "living museums" teeming with tactics, suggesting that folktales are an operative exhibition of ways to subvert power (p. 23). He continues that folktales are "benchmarks of an apprenticeship," or exemplars and reference points of wisdom from which to learn in preparation of successfully practicing them in the future. It is the ability of these "living" tales to collect, retain, represent, guide, inculcate and measure that make them extremely potent and ripe with

possibilities (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). De Certeau's theory provides both an accurate framework as well as precise vocabulary for examining what tactics folktales from the Appalachian Region might hold and historic acumen for bolstering tactical apprenticeships.

As the resistance practice of tactics is a response to being on the lesser end of an unbalanced power situation, it is of primary importance to envision the power dynamics in the tales to which tactics are the reactions. Additionally, folktales passed down through generations make it imperative to investigate what constructed these power dynamics historically, politically, economically, and culturally from a variety of perspectives and to examine, in a critical way, how these perspectives might be reinforced, reinvented or negated by the folktales and to what ends. Critical content analysis, a method envisioned by children's literature scholars (Bradford, 2009, 2016; Short, 2016) that identifies patterns and themes in children's literature from close critical readings of texts, will help me analyze the power dynamics in the narratives to which the de Certeau's (1984) theory provides resistant counternarratives.

In this study, I engaged in a critical content analysis (Bradford, 2009, 2016; Short, 2016) to study folktales emanating from the Appalachian area, intended for children and young adults (K-12), to explore representations and subversive practices in the form of "tactics" (de Certeau, 1984) working against the existing power structures described in the tales. The following research questions guided my study:

1. How do folktales hailing from the Appalachian Region (e.g., Anglo Appalachian, Affrilachian, Cherokee, and Shawnee folktales) reinvent and/or reinforce representations of Appalachians?

2. What prevailing tactics (de Certeau, 1984) do the authors and illustrators from the Appalachian Region include in their folktales, and how do these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute “Appalachia”?

I will be discussing just the prevailing tactics found in this study, because the tactics were so prolific that it would not fit into a dissertation study. The following sections provide detailed information about my selection process and the resulting corpus of folktales I analyzed, a general overview of critical content analysis, and my analytic process.

Selecting the Corpus of Folktales

Remaining conscientious of my situation as a teacher/media specialist in Appalachia, I chose to analyze folktales in a traditional book format, published between the years of 2000 to 2018 and marketed for a juvenile audience. Although keeping to a traditional book format seems to limit the plethora of reading format possibilities available today, physical books from a school media center or public library still tend to be the most accessible and most consistently available resources to students in the rural areas of Appalachia. Educators cannot depend on students having access to e-book readers, e-books, computer resources or smart phones in or out of school. Additionally, internet and cellular availability is still not assured in students' homes, whether from the lack of service, as technological services are still lacking, expensive or nonexistent in many parts of the Appalachian Region (Patterson, Watts, Rathbone, & Edwards, 2016; Maciag, 2017), or the lack of financial resources to afford monthly internet and cellular services and e-books. Students' ability to use internet and smart phones is also limited in schools. However, students do have virtually unfettered access to traditionally published books from school and public libraries.

To keep the sample attainable, manageable and representative, I decided to focus on fairly recent publications (2000-2018) that could possibly help with the availability of the resources. The longer range of time, too, might allow for a variety of storylines, authors, and illustrators. I utilized OCLC's WorldCat (available at www.worldcat.org) (OCLC, 1971-) to locate a purposeful corpus of folktales in traditional book format that represents the various cultural communities and ethnicities of Appalachia. WorldCat (OCLC, 1971-) is a cataloging database, which is used by a worldwide consortium of libraries (public, private, academic, media centers, museums, etc.) for cataloging purposes. WorldCat offers the most comprehensive bibliography of resources nationally and internationally and more search combinations and fields than specialized databases like the Children's Literature Comprehensive Database (CLCD Company, 1999-).

Although the WorldCat database (OCLC, 1971-) is very easy to utilize, the cataloging of the items along with the researcher's persistence in broadening, extending, and expounding on keywords, can make all the difference in locating resources, because the cataloging process can often be inconsistent. For instance, in my searches, there was a distinction in the number of books between a search containing the conjoined word folktale/folktales and the separated words folk tale/folk tales. Expectedly, I got an even bigger number when generally searching for tale/tales, although many entries did not fit my criteria for folktales.

Because folktales are also cataloged as fiction and non-fiction, I was not able to use such fields to limit my WorldCat searches. Therefore, I used truncation and wildcard searches when possible; for instance, the keyword search for folktale* locates resources for folktale and folktales, folk tale* (folk tale and folk tales), tale* (tale and tales), Appalachia* (Appalachia, Appalachian, and Appalachians), etc. I limited these searches to include traditional print books

written in English. Doing the same search without the English limiter included two additional books written in Spanish and French, but did not include any additional folktales cataloged as written solely in Cherokee or Shawnee or bilingual books in English-Cherokee/Cherokee-English or English-Shawnee/Shawnee-English. Since I am not fluent in Spanish and French, I opted to exclude those two books from my corpus.

Although I chose more recent publications for availability, this is not always guaranteed. Books published by smaller publishers and university presses might not have the circulation, the physical appeal, or the marketing resources of larger publishers, and small publishers or university presses might limit the number of printings or rereleases/reprints, making them more difficult to locate. Some of the books in the initial list were no longer in print and were not accessible via vendors, electronically, or through interlibrary loan. Some of the books, for example, were published by international publishers or only had a few holdings available through international libraries or special collections, and I was not able to access, borrow or buy those texts. In addition, some of these titles were found upon reception to be recently penned tales that had not been passed down generationally through a cultural tradition. In other words, although the label tales or folktales was included in the books' titles, or put into the subject headings by catalogers, upon further inspection, it became apparent that the stories in the books were the author's original writing and did not adhere to the definition of a folktale I established earlier in Chapter 1 as being passed down through generations. Therefore, I was not able to locate or use all of the resources on the initial list.

Focusing on the Appalachian Region

This study specifically focuses on cultural communities and ethnicities in Appalachia, thus I wanted to keep strictly to stories identified as being from groups currently of or formerly

of this region. Although Appalachian Jack tales and Native American tales are published in anthologies of American folktales, these books also include folktales from a variety of groups not affiliated with Appalachia, and I decided to exclude these general books from the study to keep the focus on the Appalachian Region. These anthologies can advertently or inadvertently lump cultures into a national consciousness or a national homogeny (Korte, Schneider, & Lethbridge, 2000) or lead to comparisons, which might be counterproductive to the study of Appalachia as a region, since Appalachians have not fared well in national representations and can be obscured by national cultural identities, and this can also lead to othering in comparisons.

Although I searched the general terms Native American(s), Indians of North America, First Nation, and Indigenous to determine the best method for locating Cherokee, Shawnee, etc. tales for this study, I was more interested in specific resources known to have come from the region. Additionally, all of the titles that I found with these searches duplicated titles found in more specific searches. Even looking for the specific tribes, Cherokee/Tsalagi, Shawnee, and Mingo, I had to divvy out the books about these tribes that indicated or did not indicate regional affiliations. For instance, I would include all Cherokee tales that were not perceptibly attributed solely to the Western Band of Cherokees or that did not denote state or regional references outside of the Appalachia (e.g., Oklahoma, etc.). Although the Eastern and Western bands of Cherokee originated historically from the Appalachian Region, if the title or subject headings indicated the author's inclination to name the Western tribe or Oklahoma and distinguish it from the Eastern Band of Cherokees, I did not wish to disregard this deliberate distinction. So, admittedly, there were limitations to being able to look up Native American folktales by region, because historically Native Americans' were forced from their original homelands to Oklahoma, and since the tales were mostly shared orally at that time, their folktales went to Oklahoma as

well. And, in many instances, these folktales were eventually lumped together under the generalized term Native Americans. Therefore, I was not able to locate any singular Mingo tales under my criteria. I was able to locate a number of Cherokee folktales and one Shawnee folktale. In addition to some Native American tribes, there are a plethora of other ethnic and cultural communities in the Appalachian Region that do not have any publications aligning them with Appalachia; instead, folktales from many other cultures, such as Korean, Latino, etc., tend to be based on ethnicity over regionalism. Luckily, one book solely focused on African-American Appalachian/Affrilachian folktales has been published (Ford, 2012).

The Corpus of Texts

Based on the search process listed above, I identified 56 eligible books for this study. However, 15 books were either unavailable or unsuitable due to a misidentification of the books as folktales, thus reducing my corpus to 41 books (See Appendix A for a full citation list in alphabetical order by author and Appendix D for a list of the tales by cultural community). The 41 books (See Table 1) included a total of 114 tales. The tales by Appalachian cultural community included one Affrilachian book (a story collection with 18 tales), 17 Anglo Appalachian books (four collections of stories with 47 tales and 13 books with one tale each), 22 Cherokee books (one collection with 15 tales and 21 books with one tale each), and one Shawnee book (one tale). The corpus for this study included multiple titles or stories by the same authors and illustrators as well as many variations of the same tale (See Appendices B1 and B2). Seven books were reprinted versions originally published prior to 2000 and seemed to be exact reprints of earlier versions as opposed to new editions.

Table 3.1. The Final Corpus of Books Sorted by Year Published

Authors, Illustrators, or Compilers	Year	Title	# of Tales	Type*
Hicks, Salsi, & Smith	2000	<i>The Jack Tales</i>	3	PB
Johnson	2000	<i>Bearhide and Crow</i>	1	PB
Moore & Miyake	2000	<i>The Ice Man: A Traditional Native American Tale</i>	1	PB
Davis & Harvill	[1995] 2001 Reprint	<i>Jack and the Animals: an Appalachian Folktale</i>	1	PB
Hurst & Sharp	2001	<i>The Story of the First Flute: Based on an Ancient Cherokee Legend</i>	1	PB
Johnson	2001	<i>Fearless Jack</i>	1	PB
Johnson	[1999] 2001 Reprint	<i>Old Dry Frye: A Deliciously Funny Tall Tale</i>	1	PB
Bushyhead, Bannon, & Rodanas	2002	<i>Yonder Mountain: a Cherokee Legend</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2002	<i>The Great Ball Game of the Birds and Animals</i>	1	PB
Johnson	2002	<i>Jack Outwits the Giants</i>	1	PB
Chase, Halpert, Williams, & Ward	[1943] 2003 Reprint	<i>The Jack Tales</i>	18	YA
Dominic & Reasoner	[1996] 2003 Reprint	<i>Red Hawk and the Sky Sisters: a Shawnee Legend</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2003	<i>How Rabbit Lost His Tail: A Traditional Cherokee Legend</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2003	<i>How Medicine Came to the People: A Tale of the Ancient Cherokees</i>	1	PB
Ross & Jacob	[1994] 2003 Reprint	<i>How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories</i>	15	YA
Davis & Mazzucco	2004	<i>The Pig Who Went Home on Sunday: an Appalachian Folktale</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2004	<i>Rabbit and the Bears</i>	1	PB

Duvall & Jacob	2004	<i>Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting: A Traditional Cherokee Legend</i>	1	PB
Bruchac, Ross, & Stroud	[1995] 2005 Reprint	<i>The Story of the Milky Way: A Cherokee Tale</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2005	<i>Rabbit and the Wolves</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2005	<i>The Opossum's Tale</i>	1	PB
Duvall & Jacob	2006	<i>Rabbit Plants the Forest</i>	1	PB
MacDonald & Kanzler	2007	<i>The Old Woman and Her Pig: an Appalachian Folktale</i>	1	PB
Shelby & McArdle	2007	<i>The Adventures of Molly Whuppie and Other Appalachian Folktales</i>	14	YA
Duvall & Jacob	2008	<i>Rabbit and the Well</i>	1	PB
Salsi & Young	2008	<i>Appalachian Jack Tales: Told by Hicks, Ward & Harmon Families</i>	12	YA
Duvall & Jacob	2009	<i>Rabbit and the Fingerbone Necklace</i>	1	PB
Salsi & Young	2009	<i>Jack and the Dragon</i>	1	PB
Dulemba	2010	<i>Soap, Soap, Soap</i>	1	PB
Kirby	2010	<i>The Big Toe: An Appalachian Ghost Story</i>	1	PB
De Las Casas & Gentry	2012	<i>Beware, Beware of the Big Bad Bear!</i>	1	PB
Ford	2012	<i>Affrilachian Tales: Folktales from the African-American Appalachian Tradition</i>	18	YA
Hayes & Dawson	2012	<i>Light Comes to the Mountains: A Tennessee Cherokee Folktale</i>	1	PB
O'Sullivan & Crosby	2013	<i>How the Milky Way Began: Based on a Native American Folktale</i>	1	PB
Salsi & Young	2013	<i>Jack and the Giants</i>	1	PB
Yasuda & Pennington	2013	<i>How the World Was Made: a Cherokee Creation Myth</i>	1	PB
Allen & Rogers	2014	<i>First Fire: a Cherokee Folktale</i>	1	PB

Keams & Bernardin	[1995] 2014 Reprint	<i>Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun: a Cherokee Story</i>	1	PB
MacDonald, Whitman, Whitman, & Harvill	2017	<i>The Wishing Foxes</i>	1	PB
Wagnon & Stephenson	2018	<i>How the World Was Made: A Cherokee Story</i>	1	PB
Wagnon & Stephenson	2018	<i>The Land of the Great Turtles</i>	1	PB

*PB: Picturebook –picturebooks in this study are broadly defined as a format of book that communicates content to young readers through an interdependence of both words and pictures (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006); *YA: Young Adult – for purposes of this study, young adult books are broadly defined as books that are usually a moderate length, contain few to no pictures, are typically read by adolescents, and usually contain young adult characters. Reprint beside the date denotes that the book is a reprint from an earlier date. A full bibliography is available in Appendix A.

Table 3.2. Overview of the Authors, Illustrators, and Book Formats of the Corpus

Total Number – Titles	Total Number – Authors	Total Number – Illustrators	Book Format		Story Format		Reprints
			PB	YA	Single Tale	Collection	
41	24	25	36	5	35	6	7

Critical Content Analysis

I relied on Bradford (2009, 2016) and Short's (2016) approaches to critical content analysis for analyzing the folktales in this study. Bradford's approach to the critical content analysis of children's literature mimics a critical reading of texts in which a reader is engaged in several processes simultaneously (Bradford, 2009, 2016). A reader engages with texts in a variety of ways, adopting different viewpoints and emphases, which Bradford refers to as "top-down" and "bottom-up" analytic approaches. In the "top-down" analysis, the reader steps back from a text to situate it in larger historical, cultural and theoretical perspectives, and in the "bottom-up" approach, the reader closely examines the narrative and linguistic features of the text (Bradford, 2009, 2016). Bradford's method goes beyond themes and segmentations to consider the "how" of texts

(Bradford, 2009). For instance, in the case of folktales from the Appalachian Region, I considered how Appalachia has been represented in the past and how this has affected how Appalachians view themselves and how people from outside of the region view Appalachians.

This study's research questions (*How do folktales hailing from the Appalachian Region – e.g., Anglo Appalachian, Affrilachian, Cherokee, and Shawnee folktales – reinvent and/or reinforce representations of Appalachians? What prevailing tactics do the authors and illustrators from the Appalachian Region include in their folktales, and how do these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute "Appalachia"?*) create the necessity for researching historical, cultural and theoretical perspectives as well as closely readings the text through a critical lens, so Bradford's (2009, 2016) methods for critical content analysis complement the study's aims.

My Positionality

It is important in critical content analysis for the reader to examine his or her positionality initially as an insider and/or an outsider to the literature being read and analyzed. To do justice to the analysis of cultural writings to which one recognizes their position as largely an outsider, Bradford (2016) suggests that a reader/researcher should first attempt to familiarize herself with perspectives and beliefs she might encounter in the literature that might be lacking or not mirror her own. Reading cultural, historical and geographic studies and accounts about a culture before reviewing the literature can assist a reader in being more conscientious about positionality as an outsider to the culture one is studying, thereby alerting the reader not to identify too closely with the protagonist and lose overall objectivity or read a work from outside of one's culture the same way and with the same subjectivities that one would a work from inside an individual's own

culture and to show sensitivity and deference to cultural boundaries that people from outside of a culture should not broach (Bradford, 2016).

I identify myself as Appalachian, which as Fisher says, carries a measure of “resistance” with it (Smith, Fisher, Obermiller, Whisnant, Satterwhite, & Cunningham, 2010, p. 56). To me, reading Appalachian literature coming from inside the culture, then, requires much of the same as reading as an outsider of a culture and, again, a constant dialogue and contestation critiquing myself for anything that felt natural and normalized. As I took in all of these viewpoints about Appalachia from emic and etic perspectives, I begin to understand that what I have constructed as my version of “Appalachian” might be quite different from the next Appalachian’s, and the strongest commonality above all else is a shared sense of belonging to a place. Noting all of the diversity and individuality within this collective of Appalachia, assured me that even within the same strong network of belonging, each person’s reading of a text will vary.

I am also a member of the Anglo Appalachian or Scotch-Irish community and would be considered a nonmember of the additional cultural communities that make up Appalachia and are often lost behind the representations of Anglo Appalachians or Scotch-Irish. Therefore, from Bradford’s top-down view (2016), it became incumbent on me to examine how Appalachians have been represented historically and how Appalachians represent themselves, while keeping in mind the generalized truths behind stereotypes, the juxtaposition of stereotypes attributed to Appalachians, the embeddedness, internalization or the embracing of stereotypes within a culture, the power in the creation and maintenance as well as the claiming or refuting of stereotypes, the stagnancy of stereotypes, silenced populations hidden behind prevailing stereotypes, etc.

I also recognize how these readings are my individual critical readings, complete with all of my unique layers of experience – Anglo Appalachian, librarian/media specialist, graduate student, etc. – so Appalachians within the communities discussed in this dissertation and those outside of these communities may see things in different ways than what I put forth in my study of these folktales, despite our cultural connection as Appalachians. I would never assert that my reading of these folktales is absolute or totally objective. I feel confident, though, with the myriad of overlapping experiences and unifying language, reiterative readings and comparisons and the affirmation of scholarship inside and outside of Appalachian Studies, that my reading of these folktales is reasonable and will be reaffirmed by other scholarship when at all possible.

My Process

In addition to a reiterative concentration on Bradford's positionality (2009, 2016), I also followed Short's (2016) more defined methods for conducting critical content analysis. These two views on critical content analysis have different emphases that complemented each other in this study, so while reiterative working towards completing Short's technique, Bradford's positionality was interwoven throughout. Short's technique not only offers flexibility in theoretical approaches and the texts studied, but it also allows for an adjustable sequence of steps, which includes reiterative readings of the texts from a variety of perspectives (including aesthetic, critical, and deep theoretical readings), reviewing other studies that model critical content analysis, and revisiting the theory that guides the analysis of the study, while memoing throughout the process. However, just as Short's technique offers flexibility, there are principles one must adhere to for conducting critical content analysis. The researcher must maintain a critical stance while analyzing texts. In other words, the researcher's goal is to identify through analysis power relationships and to constantly seek information that would work towards this

end. In addition, one must recursively reflect on and reveal one's positionality that might serve to influence the study and insure the transparency of the research. How these techniques were fulfilled in this study will be outlined in detail in the next section. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, my analysis process involved five distinct steps: (1) immersion; (2) reader positionality and familiarization; (3) plugging in; (4) identifying themes, and; (5) consolidating and revisiting.

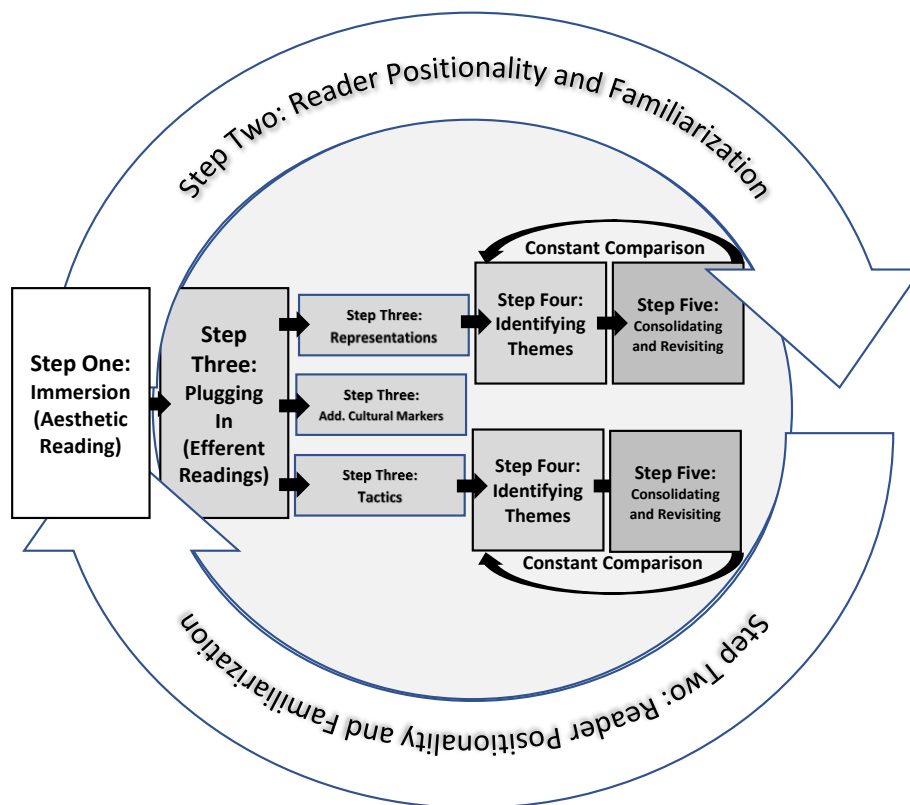


Figure 3.1. Steps Taken for Critical Content Analysis

Sources: Step One (Rosenblatt, 1938; Short, 2016); Step Two (Bradford, 2016); Step Three (Short, 2016); Step Four (Short, 2016); Step Five (Short, 2016); Constant Comparison (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

Step one: Immersion. As per Rosenblatt (1938) and Short's (2016, p. 8)

recommendations, my first reading of the texts was an aesthetic reading to engage fully with the texts without an emphasis on analysis. My reading of the texts followed no particular pattern, except the order in which I received the books in the mail. I did not adhere to an author or a chronological sequence of the books by series. Although I found that I was familiar with a few of the more popular titles by mainstream publishers, such as Johnson's (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) and Chase et al.'s (2003) books, and knew the plots of some of the tales from other versions of the story and oral tellings, such as "How the Opossum Lost His Tail" (Duvall & Jacob, 2005; Ross & Jacob, 2003), *The Pig Who Went Home on Sunday* (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004) and "Jack and the Bean Tree" (Chase et al., 2003), I was not familiar with most of the titles in this sample.

As I recognized that no reading can be free from one's experiences and contexts and cannot be wholly for aesthetic purposes, the efferent tinges that surfaced in the random reading of the texts proved to be valuable. They gave me an indication of the parallel storylines and prompted a subsequent need, due to discrepancies in the characters' rapports, to reread the sequence of book publications chronologically in the case of book series. I also noticed that although dialectic representations of the protagonists and their conduct were present, they seemed to be interwoven and complicate each other. And, since reading for aesthetic purposes should not always assume that what is read is pleasing to the reader, I came across aspects in the written texts and several highly stereotypical illustrations which, as Stephens (1992) says, caused me to "be 'estranged' from the possibility of simple identification, and so prevented from adopting a single subject position" (p. 70). These extra observations and periods of estrangement offered additional analyses of the data, which I discuss in Chapters Four and Six.

Step two: Reading positionality and familiarization. Preparing to conduct a critical content analysis on both my own culture as well as the Cherokee, Affrilachian, and Shawnee cultural communities, of which I am not a full member, was quite a feat that admittedly took continuous self-assessment and reflection on my positionality as a reader and researcher. I wanted to remain aware of the distinctiveness between the various communities and to remind myself of the scholarship on the various cultural communities' representations in children's literature, and I wished to be as receptive and deference as possible to all of the cultural communities that I was studying. Meanwhile, my familiarity with the Anglo Appalachian culture presented a need for persistent self-assessment as to what I might be overlooking due to my context or what might be too close to the surface that I might be emphasizing too much. For example, one thing in particular that kept me reflexive when it came to representation and, in particular, the harm that stereotypes have caused Appalachians, was pulling myself away from considering reinforced representations as always harmful. Research has found time and again that authentic reinforced representations also help readers validate their experiences in print and interest them in reading. When I noticed such disconnects or deficiencies in my understandings, I would write memos, and sometimes include shorter versions of the recapped thoughts from these memos on a "sticky notes" application on my computer's home screen that would keep the thoughts front and center. These would include correctives to myself that I could revisit upon looking at my computer screen, such as "reinforced representations aren't always harmful." I would also continuously research areas where I felt I needed additional understanding, especially when coming across questions concerning the cultural communities that make up Appalachia of which I am not a member.

It was also important to reflect on and memo about the role folktales play in culture and history, while also considering how the present sociopolitical context in which these folktales are published might affect their reading. Generally, folktales play a role in unifying the cultures they represent while transmitting and insuring the reproduction of the groups' many ideologies, practices, and tastes (Zipes, 1986). Reading folktales is essentially diving headfirst into the deep history and rich traditions of the culture behind the tales. However, cultures are living and changing as is the present sociopolitical context in which these tales are still being published and circulated. Additionally, these tales are published for a younger audience who might only initially have a presentist viewpoint to lend to the reading of these tales. Therefore, it was important to revisit these folktales from many critical perspectives – respecting each cultural community as unique unto itself and as an essential part of Appalachia and being persistently mindful of unique cultural and historic perspectives through research (Bradford, 2009, 2016). Additionally, this included viewing these tales for present consumption (de Certeau, 1984) and considering how they all unite in this region of Appalachia. I would also run thoughts and ambiguities I encountered by persons, mostly teachers and former teachers, an Appalachian Studies and Cherokee history professor, and colleagues that identify as Appalachian or not, to get their opinions without initially sharing mine in an effort to get authentic and personal answers.

Some other measures that I took were to step away from the genre of folktales to minimize canonical assumptions and embrace the idea these folktales are artful Appalachian children's literature that serve as counternarratives that empower the communities they represent, in particular by the acknowledgement of their counternarratives in an inscribed form. In subsequent readings of these folktales, I also tried not to be steered by expectations of folktales in general, such as letting my subjectivities immediately acquiesce to good and evil. Although

genres can come in quite handy when browsing books in a bookstore or limiting the scope of a college course, a genre can also restrict a reader's perceptions of what it should and can entail (Stephens & McCallum, 1998), and if one is expecting some normativity that is not there or comes across something that is not conventional in a genre, this can be off-putting and cause the book or tale to possibly not receive equal consideration. In addition, the cultural communities in Appalachia are very diverse, so to lump them together would reproduce the suppression of diversity and uphold the stereotype of an "Anglo-Saxon Appalachia" (Biggers, 2006, p. xii). Since, in this dissertation, I am advocating a multiethnic view of Appalachia, it was important to move away from the constructs mainstream genres might dictate and canonize, such as hegemonic subjugation, and attempt to view Appalachian folktales in a less funneled and mainstream way.

Sixty-eight of the 114 folktales (almost 60 percent) in this sample were either different versions of the same story or contained similar elements in their narratives (See Appendices B1 and B2). These were mostly duplicated in the same cultural communities, but sometimes, traversed communities. This caused a great deal of intertextual comparisons, due to publishers' propensity to publish competing versions of a story over the 19-year span of the sample. This also produced duplication in the representations and tactics that were recorded, as well. This phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Peritextual features. After randomly receiving the books through the mail, I took in their peritextual features to see what emotions they might elicit. Peritextual information about a book has always interested me as a librarian and cataloger. Although peritextual information is not normally considered part of the "text" of a tale, the peritextual information, in the form of the book's cover, title, author, illustrator, compiler, publisher, forewords, prologues, notes and,

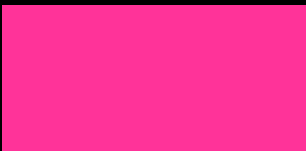


possibly, even the binding (which may indicate less mainstream appeal), can add to the association of these books and tales with certain cultural communities in the Appalachian Region. These features are oftentimes the enticement for reading a particular book. Upon receiving the books, I noted the titles and sub-titles that directly self-categorized the books as Affrilachian, Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee, the cover illustrations that might include cultural markers, known authors and illustrators, etc. I was able to acclimate more to the possible representations that might be prevalent and important to note when reading and coding the various cultural communities' texts later. Above all, it was imperative for me to remain reflexive when reading the different communities' tales.

Step three: Plugging in (Coding). My first efferent reading of the texts and illustrations could be described as an “assemblage” of theory and data or “plugging in” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 1; Short, 2016) in which broad themes (Bothelo & Rudman, 2009; Johnson, Mathis, & Short, 2016) were marked in the books using color book tabs to signify passages and illustrations in the texts that fit into one of three general units – representations, tactics, and Appalachian cultural markers – forming a loose means of answering or bolstering my research questions. By using this rudimentary coding system at the commencement of my “bottom-up” (Bradford, 2007, 2009, 2016) approach, I considered that I would be able to locate these same areas easily for continuously revisiting and comparing my various readings and codes during subsequent readings, as well. This ability to assess my previous readings and coding promoted reiterative reflections and constant comparisons of the data while maintaining a coding consistency to which I could easily add or subtract.

So, with pink adhesive book tabs, I noted places in the texts and illustrations that contained possible representations generally attributed to Appalachia and the cultural

communities of Appalachia as well as new considerations that might coalesce when consolidating the data. I did not make any distinctions between insider and outsider perspectives or, initially, the tale's or book's propensity to stereotype when marking these representations, due to the enigma and dynamics of stereotypes. Additionally, I used yellow tabs to mark tactics that emanated from various tacticians throughout the text, and green tabs were used to mark places in the written text and illustrations that might specifically denote further Appalachian cultural markers (including place names, sayings, familiarities, etc.) that, although not included as a representation or tactic, still served to reflect Appalachia in the literature.

Table 3.3. Color Book Tabs Used for General Coding

Color of Book Tab		Code
Pink		Representations of Cultural Communities in the Appalachian Region
Yellow		Tactics in the Tales
Green		Perceptible Cultural and Geographic Markers (Not Included in Representations or Tactics)

My coding processes throughout inevitably included deductive as well as inductive reasoning. As a person who identifies as Appalachian and is informed by my experience with the culture, I anticipated that there would be a priori themes. However, as a children's literature scholar, with over twenty years of experience as a librarian, and through my reading of innumerable empirical studies grounded in theory, I have learned to contemplate multiple representations outside of my initial assumptions and interpretations. I anticipated these texts, which for the purposes of this study includes the written text and the illustrations, revealing additional dimensions/facets after reading them in a much more close and efferent way (Rosenblatt, 1938).

I felt as if it would eventually be vital for this study's reliability to continuously provide ample substantiation from sources inside and outside the cultural communities of Appalachia to bolster my coding on all levels. This was slightly different from Bradford's (2009, 2016) critical content analysis steps for a cultural outsider reading the culture's literature, but it actually brought about the same need for seeking out comprehensive perspectives for the validity of the study. However, I also recognized the value in reading the folktales aesthetically initially to encourage the ability to consider these stories from different perspectives, since studies on Appalachian folktales have not included a multicultural Appalachian perspective.

To balance these two needs I re-read the folktales with the intention of coding the representations as informed by my first reading. Then, for the third reading and the continuance of coding, I referenced Biggers' (2006, pp. xii-xiii) four categories – "pitiful," "backwater," "pristine," and "Anglo-Saxon" – as a guide for identifying some common representations of Anglo Appalachians. I also used the characteristics of Appalachians identified by Alexander (1987) and Smith (2002) in their dissertations on children's literature set in Appalachia as well as

Jones and Brunner's (1994) *Appalachian Values*, also identified in Brodie (2011) and Valentine's (2008a, 2008b) studies on Appalachian children's literature as guides. To carefully research areas to which I was an outsider (Bradford, 2009, 2016), I utilized a variety of dissertations, books, chapters, and articles written by some insiders and children's literature scholars, including Thomas (2001), Slapin and Seale (1998), Sabis-Burns (2011), and Reese (2007), to ascertain some common representations of Cherokee and Native Americans¹ in children's literature. These representations ranged from perceptions of Native Americans as homogenous (Slapin & Seale, 1998) to "vanquished people of the past" (Reese, 2007, p. 247) to "uncivilized" (Sabis-Burns, 2011, p. 135). Since Affrilachian scholarship is relatively new, I utilized Theresa Burriss' chapter (2005) "Claiming a Literary Space: The Affrilachian Poets" to identify some commonalities of Affrilachian literature, which included:

A focus on ancestors, common people, and their role in shaping identity pervades their writing. Members express deep ties to the land based on the certainty of their heritage. They substantiate their identity and subjectivity through the land on which they live. And lastly, their writing is infused with the postcolonial notion of cultural hybridity, where two, and often more, cultures merge within one individual. Each of these characteristics can be traced to long-standing Appalachian cultural traditions and sociological characteristics. (p. 316)

Seeking and finding corroboration for most of my codes from scholarship on the various cultural communities that make up Appalachia provided me with a firm foundation from which to move on to consolidating the codes into themes and eventually made me feel confident and competent

¹ All of the studies, except Thomas' dissertation on Cherokee representation (2001), were consolidated into the larger category of "Native Americans." Both Slapin and Seale (1998) and Sabis-Burns' (2011) books indexed Cherokee/Tsalagi and Shawnee for easy access, and Reese's (2007) article was specifically on Native American folktales.

in my ability to code contemplatively while also supplying me several coding themes that I ended up using throughout this study. Although the studies that focused on Appalachian children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b) and Appalachian values (Jones & Brunner, 1994) corroborated many of the representations that conjure more positive (neighborliness, humor, etc.) or innocuous (sense of place, language, etc.) representations, I noticed none of the other studies identified nor contested most of the less favorable representations that I found besides poor. Therefore, I was often relegated to sources discussing Appalachian stereotypes (Biggers, 2006; Billings, Norman, & Ledford, 1999) to corroborate harsher representations, such as violent and fearful. I found it interesting that in order to present a complex representation that included realistic portrayals of Appalachians within a range of characteristics, the more negative images were only considered in the literature on stereotypes. As Alexander (1987) found in her study on Appalachian's children's literature, too many positive descriptors can be just as stereotypical. I considered how difficult it would be to separate just the right amount of realism from encompassing stereotypes, but that complex authentic representations of Appalachians need to be presented.

Coding the representations and tactics in the illustrations, I considered several aspects important to the reading of the images. These included the (1) positioning of objects and people in the image, including orientation, directionality, and the reader's positioning by the artist; (2) the size and relationship of and between the objects and people in the image, including the focal point and secondary aspects; (3) the type of medium utilized, including possible meanings; (4) the colors used, including possible meanings; (5) framing of the illustrations and the possible representation of framing to the readers; (6) plausible authentic or stereotypical depictions; (7) possible intentions of the illustrator, including the illustrator as tactician; (8) possible inside or

outside perspective of the artists; and (9) how power is depicted through the illustrations (Albers, 2008; Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006). Illustrations are just as important as the text in picturebooks for building the cultural awareness of children and constructing assumptions about the culture they represent. For instance, many of Duvall and Jacob's (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b) books included black and white negative woodblock illustrations, sometimes with ornate borders. Although attractive and intricate, these illustrations could be construed as being somewhat effortful in order to make out all that might be happening in a picture, yet static, too, because of the heavy black and white depictions set apart by their ornate framing.

Keeping in mind the gamut of reinforced representations, from pristine to pitiful (Biggers, 2006, p. xii-xiii), became a true test of my critical reading ability, because of the contradictory, yet possibly interrelated, representations that have come to define Appalachia. For instance, incidences of violence could be seen as a stereotypical "backwater" representation, but could also negate the "pitiful" representation (Biggers, 2006, p. xii). So, instead of replacing one representation with another or one truth for another, I wished for these ambiguities to propose and allow for multiple interpretations of the same phenomena, so I eventually considered them vacillating between reinforced and reinvented representations (See Chapter 4). Because of the gamut of stereotypes from "pristine" to "pitiful," (Biggers, 2006, p. xii-xiii), a lot of the complexity of the representations of the cultural communities of Appalachia in these folktales is tied in with the tactics and the equivocality of representations in general, which would continue to be the case throughout the tales.

As I began generally coding tactics (using yellow book tabs) that I found in the folktales, whether in one text or traversing texts in the case of episodic details and recurring characters, these tactics emanated from a plethora of possible tacticians on all levels – the protagonist, other

characters in the text, the author/compiler/editor, other peritextual features and contributors (the covers of the books, the end pages, the writers of the forewords and epilogues, the publisher, etc.), the illustrator, the reader, and the historic culture represented in the tale. Several tactics and possible tacticians were, therefore, noted per book/tale with many possible tacticians on many levels. But, due to the unknown variables as to the experience, compilations, publication, etc. behind a book, it is probably impossible to do a completely thorough job of noting all of the tacticians and what tactics might be credited to which. As was similarly discerned by Szumsky (1999), “the impulse for the collecting and printing of such original orally transmitted stories becomes intimately connected with the creators/collectors/translators: their lives, their hopes, their world views, individual who are fashioning and indeed are being fashioned by their respective cultural vantage points—their epistemes” (p. 12). So, although acknowledging all of the tacticians is impossible, I will discuss some of the tacticians, including those listed above.

Step four: Identifying themes. Through the fourth reading of the tales, I went back to revisit and transfer the passages of text and preliminary codes for the passages illustrating both representations and tactics onto an Excel spreadsheet per each folktale title or book to initiate the consolidation of codes into themes (See Appendix C). This worksheet included columns for identifying the tactics in the folktale, the page numbers of the tactics, passages from the tales or descriptions of the tactics, if they were in the illustrations or implicit, the tacticians, etc. The worksheet also included columns for recording representations along with the page numbers for these representations and descriptions or passages from the tales. There were places for recording other observations, such as use of place names, in a separate column. I began to assign descriptive words and phrases to the tactics (lying, playing it safe, etc.) and representations. While filling out forms for all of the tales and through a constant comparative analysis of these

codes, I begin using common codes, some of which I begin corroborating through my review of the literature, such as self-reliant and humorous, and I would revisit these codes again and again, if I noticed similar representations or tactics that fit into more generalized or more specific patterns.

Due to the volume of cultural markers and tactics within the anthologies of multiple tales, I opted to code the book rather than the tale in some cases. For instance, in the case of dialect or language used in the books, two of the collections (Chase et al., 2003; Salsi & Young, 2008) were written totally in the Appalachian dialect, and counting every incident, word, and expression would be excessive. In addition, it became excessive to count all of the various place markers in the books, which might include, text and illustrations that represent various references to mountains (mountains, ridges, hollers, valleys, etc.), flora, fauna, foods, and dialects, language, and expressions and any combinations of scenery, clothes, behaviors, etc. that might be remotely indicative of Appalachia. As place markers are often included in all of the illustrations, this would mean counting most all of the illustrations for each book several times. Therefore, these things were coded and recorded on a book level.

Step five: Consolidating and revisiting. After transferring all of the codes onto Excel spreadsheets, one spreadsheet per tale, and revisiting those codes, I then consolidated the data into two master Excel spreadsheets, one containing representations and one containing tactics. A column was added to each of these two Excel worksheets to denote the cultural community from which the data was elicited to better ensure I recognized and acknowledged any similarities and distinctions between the cultural communities within and across representations and tactics. This way, I was also able to sort the data by cultural communities. With all of the data in one file, it was much easier to consider all of the codes simultaneously and further consolidate some of the

codes into themes and sub-themes. Also, by amalgamating this information, I was able to manipulate these themes, books, and tales in a variety of ways in the Excel software that allowed me to continuously change the ways that I looked at the data. Through constant rereading and revisiting the data, I would reconsider these codes and themes. When a new code would become evident in my rereading, I would reread and reinvestigate the other tales again to reaffirm if this code was something that I potentially overlooked in other tales and books.

Other sources of data. I recorded any thoughts that came to me as I read the individual tales (such as the traversing themes), and I converted this information to the Excel spreadsheets and Word documents and kept a notebook of these spreadsheets and documents organized initially by the books' titles and secondly by their orders in the books for collections. I transferred any overall impressions, traversing themes, things to keep in mind, etc. about the folktales onto sticky notes and attached them to white pieces of chart paper for easier manipulation and, eventually, added them to my computer notes, as well. Some of these notes added to discussions about representations, such as the author recognizing the foreknowledge of the reader under the theme Wise, and some of the larger transtextual observations, such as the language and gendered representations.

Coalescing of themes. The codes and eventual themes coalesced in a variety of ways. Inevitably, I read different versions of the same story (See Appendices B1 and B2) as well as episodic literature, which afforded me the opportunity to trace intertextual representations and tactics throughout the tales. A review of the literature backed up most of the representations and tactics that were located in the tales and even offered up appropriate names for the cluster of tactics that had been iterated in the tales. Interestingly, all of the identified themes of tactics seemed to be universal across all of the cultural communities that make up Appalachia, although

some were more prevalent in one community than the others. For instance, the representation of self-reliant seemed to be a more prevalent theme in the Anglo Appalachian tales than the Affrilachian or Cherokee tales, as the Affrilachian and Cherokee tales included more collectivistic themes and the Anglo Appalachian characters often seemed more isolated.

Limitations to the Analysis

In addition to the limitations shared thus far in this chapter, there were other limitations to my analysis of folktales from the Appalachian Region. Only one book of Affrilachian tales dedicated to folktales and a single Shawnee picturebook were available for the time span chosen for this research. A majority of the tales were Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee. So, I would not attempt to pass off the representations and tactics found in this one collection of Affrilachian tales and one folktale from the Shawnees as generalizable to the whole Affrilachian or Shawnee communities or their folktales or wish to lump the Affrilachian and Shawnee communities with the other overly represented cultural communities and their tales in this study – Cherokee and Anglo American. Also, the Affrilachian collection of tales is a young adult book that does not include any illustrations, when all of the rest of the books in the sample did contain some type of illustrations. Illustrations offered a perceptible way of garnering additional representations for this study. Since this book did not have illustrations to corroborate, add to, or defy the written text or possibly even provide disconnects, again, the analysis of this collection of Affrilachian tales was somewhat limited and should not be generalized. It was important, however, to include these titles in the corpus, because it is imperative to note the plethora of cultural communities that make up Appalachia that have been hidden behind Anglo Appalachian stereotypes as well as draw attention to the multiculturalism of Appalachia to dispel the “Anglo-Saxon” stereotype (Biggers, 2006, p. xii).

The lack of definitions and representations offered by Appalachian Studies scholars to denote certain characteristics of Appalachians, possibly due to historic stereotypes, was also somewhat challenging. As I understood these scholars' reticence to offer representations because of past damage when representations were offered, it was still my intention as a literacy educator and librarian to locate "cultural access points," which Brooks and Browne (2012, p. 83) discussed, to corroborate experience, promote literacy, and encourage understanding. To accomplish this in the most objective way possible, I let the tales determine many of these representations and "cultural access points" (Brooks & Browne, 2012, p. 83) and grounded them afterwards in previous scholarship.

CHAPTER 4

Representations in Folktales from the Appalachian Region

The review of the literature in Chapter Two revealed that representation is problematic for Appalachians, not just for what stereotypes have restricted about Appalachian identification, but for the regional ethnicities also obscured by these stereotypes. Therefore, previous scholarship from the Appalachian Region has consequently been weighty on discounting and deconstructing Appalachian stereotypes (Batteau, 1990; Ferrence, 2012). Contemporary scholars of Appalachian Studies, however, have noticed the benefits of moving away from scholarship that rehashes good and bad stereotypes to study Appalachia in complex ways. This shift has definitely been positive, as scholars have moved on to concentrated areas of studies, including Appalachian children's literature. So, I would never wish to disregard this progress.

In the field of literacy, though, it has been determined that representations, particularly reinforced representations, are not always bad and can actually be positive in terms of promoting reading, cultural connections, and positive self-identity, and this is even true for the cultural communities that make up Appalachia. Literature authentically and accurately reflective of Appalachia incorporates cultural themes that provide aesthetic and engrossing experiences for children and young adults to validate their experiences and interest them in and keep them reading (Brooks & Browne, 2012; Botelho & Rudman, 2009). Without such representation, it could render cultures invisible in an ever-growing variety of mediums – journals, magazines, print books, ebooks, online, etc. And, since a culture's folktales contain foundations of the culture's values, beliefs and behaviors (Haase, 2008; Kim, Song, Lee, & Bach, 2018;

Leimgruber, 2010), they often analyze the complexities and parameters of the culture they represent (Goldberg, 1986), offering up a gamut of representations.

Chapter Four will answer my first research question – How do folktales hailing from the Appalachian Region (e.g., Anglo Appalachian, Affrilachian, Cherokee, and Shawnee folktales) reinvent and/or reinforce representations of Appalachians? – by identifying nine themes that coalesced from the spectrum of representations in these folktales. In this chapter, I will discuss how these themes reinforce and/or reinvent representations of the cultural communities in Appalachia considering past emic and etic perspectives discussed in Chapter 2 (Alexander, 1987; Biggers, 2006; Brodie, 2011; Ergood & Kuhre, 1978; Jones & Brunner, 1994; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b). Examining these themes supported by scholarship on Appalachian representation becomes important for demonstrating how representations work to reinforce and/or reinvent Appalachia. The themes include principal notions from the vast amount of data collected from these folktales and cannot include each exception. Therefore, some eventualities that do not fit within these themes will not be discussed in this chapter because of time and space constraints.

As mentioned previously, the ideal to representing a culture is for the representations to be accurate, authentic and complex. However, stereotypical ideology in folktales from the Appalachian Region, even in the folktales by Appalachian authors and illustrators, exists, and it is important to identify this ideology and discuss it critically (Reese, 2007). But, limiting this dissertation to another discussion on stereotypical representations restricts one to either/or deductions in which cultural markers could possibly be shelved as stereotypes and any engagement to imagine new possibilities will be abandoned. In his article “You Are and You Ain’t: Story and Literature as Redneck Resistance,” Ferrence (2012) reminds scholars that the

Appalachian identity is individually complex, not an either/or proposition, and Appalachians do not always act in opposition to stereotypes. By making such presumptions, Appalachians are denied their agency and voice to identify themselves how they wish. So, while working to confirm and question ideologies, it is imperative that we contemplate new complex potentials, as well (Nodelman, 1992).

Representative Themes in the Folktales from Appalachia

Prominent representations in the 114 tales were consolidated into 9 broader themes through the synthesis of 36 codes that were revealed while analyzing these folktales (for a complete list of the codes see Appendix E). The themes are listed as cohesively as possible in a progressive manner to unpack each while presenting a comprehensive relationship between them, as well, with the first theme offering an overview of the representations found in the folktales, the next four themes discussing code-related representations, and the last four themes centering around character dynamics that influenced the ability to represent. The themes that I will discuss are listed below:

Reinforced by Representation, Reinvented through Contextual and Dialectic Synergy

Reinforced with Wisdom, Reinvented by Wisdom

Reinforced through Language, Reinvented through Language

Reinforced with Self-trust

Reinforced Sense of Place

Reinforced by Human Characters

Reinvented by Animal Tales and Tricksters

Reinforced an Anglo-Saxon Appalachia

Reinforced Gendered Representations.

Reinforced by Representation, Reinvented through Contextual and Dialectic Synergy

The theme Reinforced by Representation, Reinvented through Contextual and Dialectic Synergy is comprised of all 36 codes and 3,100 incidences. Similar to Biggers' (2006) categories discussed in Chapter 2 – “pristine,” “backwater,” “Anglo-Saxon,” and “pitiful” (pp. xii-xiii) – readers of these folktales can regulate their focus on one particular representation, a mixture of representations, or all of the representations together, which can influence perspectives when it comes to determining if representations reinforce or reinvent notions of Appalachian. Detailing how these folktales use representation to both reinforce and reinvent Appalachia is not as simple as divvying up the themes between those that reinforce and those that reinvent. In actuality, the representations synthesized from these texts could all be considered reinforced representations, since each of them could be considered a perspective that, at one time or another, was held of Appalachians or a perspective that we held of ourselves and could fit handily into a mesh of emic and etic representations (Alexander, 1987; Biggers, 2006; Brodie, 2011; Ergood & Kuhre, 1978; Jones & Brunner, 1994; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b). Moreover, by seeking out and extricating representations on a case by case basis and taking every representation outside of its context, which might include the development of the representation, its eventual inversion or nullification, the representation's possible function to the action, and contradictory representations, the coding and listing of the individual representations found in these stories present a very restrictive view that folktales from the Appalachian Region mostly reinforce many representations and stereotypes.

Table 4.1. Representations that Reinforce Biggers' (2006) Four Categories of Stereotypes

Anglo-Saxon	Backwater	Pitiful	Pristine
White	Violent	Unwise	Independent/Self-Reliant/Proud
Gendered	Antiquated	Poor	Topophilic
	Disobedient	Linguistically Distinct	Humorous
	Conceited/Boastful	Fearful	Collectivistic
	Rebellious	Passive/Powerless	Individualistic
	Angry	Lazy	Benevolent
	Isolated	Antiquated	Brave
	Greedy		Multiethnic/Multiracial
	Selfish		Industrious
	Vengeful		Determined
	Superstitious		Religious
			Content
			Wise
			Religious/Spiritual
			Humble
			Peaceful

It is evident from an analysis of the data that such simplistic coding cannot accurately illustrate the contextual dynamics of these representations as well as a full complex picture these representations sewn seamlessly together or overlapping present. The folklorist Allan Dundes (1980) made the adept assertion that context cannot always be inferred through bits of text, which is true of this study. Representations detached from the fullness of their context, “wiped clean of history,” forbid a complex understanding of Appalachians (de Certeau, 1984, p. 150) and could serve to essentialize representations outside of the wholeness of the findings. These representations taken one by one can only go so far in representing Appalachians, as they are fragmented and misleading of the dimensional and symbiotic data found in this study.

It is only when these representations are viewed panoptically, complete within their contexts, from different perspectives and ripe with degrees and contradictions, that the representations becomes complex and can invoke a range of intended meaning. For example,

representations of settling, passive, content, and peaceful in the books were sometimes coded alongside each other for the same incident. What might seem like the protagonist's passiveness, powerlessness or resignation could also be viewed as peace and contentment depending on perspective. The Affrilachian stories include a nonviolent message to use one's head instead of one's fists, which could represent both passivity as well as peacefulness both separately or simultaneously. When Molly Whuppie and her family are taken in by a Queen and given all they could want or need, they still opt to move back to their home in Hoot Owl Holler, which they left, because they were poor and had little opportunity there. To some readers, this could seem as if they are settling or if they are unwise; other readers might claim it is contentment and have a topophilic understanding of why the Whuppies moved back to Hoot Owl Holler, and some might view it as both. The representations coded are critically interdependent and present more accurate "windows, mirrors, and sliding glass doors" (Sims Bishop, 1990, p. ix) of the Appalachian cultural communities as a sum complete in their context as opposed to singling out sole representations as indicative of Appalachia.

Additionally, the constant layering of contrary representations forms interesting and complex counterbalances, a model for facilitating dialectical thinking (Hegel, 2015) and all of the nuances in between. In *Appalachia Inside Out*, James Robert Reese (1995) describes folktales as

tales that reflect the values and modes of behavior the culture wishes its children to learn. They are, in a sense, an indirect method of teaching children how to behave in certain situations; how to know what is right or wrong, what is valuable and worthless, and whom to trust. (p. 496)

Reese's quote illustrates the dialectical thinking these folktales encourage. Folktales can manifest through the interplay of dualisms – “right or wrong,” “valuable and worthless,” etc. Therefore, it would serve to reason that one coded representation could be paired with its opposite or invoke the opposite, since opposites are interdependent. For example, wise, the most coded representation in the corpus of texts, was followed up by the representation of unwise. In dialectical thinking, a representation of wise is partially defined based on what one constitutes being unwise. When reading these tales, the reader is responsible for sucking the ideological marrow out of the folktales and ascertaining centripetal messages, albeit individually inspired, which, in dialectical thinking, includes a complex amalgam of interdependent and unified understandings than a single code, in this case an adjective, could adequately represent (Hegel, 2015).

Table 4.2. Reinventing Representations through the Dialectic Synergy between Codes

Representations	Possible Complications to Representations
Angry	Peaceful, Benevolent
Antiquated	Wise, Poor, Content
Benevolent	Selfish, Greedy, Violent, Rebellious, Angry, Poor
Brave	Fearful
Collectivistic	Individualistic, Greedy, Selfish, Independent
Conceited/Boastful/Proud	Humble, Poor
Disobedient	Religious, Fearful
Fearful	Brave
Greedy	Benevolent, Collectivistic, Poor
Humorous	Angry, Fearful
Individualistic	Collectivistic, Benevolent
Industrious	Lazy
Isolated	Collectivistic
Rebellious	Religious, Collectivistic
Lazy	Industrious
Linguistically Distinct	Wise, Unwise
Multiethnic/Multiracial	White

Passive	Angry, Conceited/Boastful/Proud, Rebellious, Stubborn/Persistent, Industrious, Vengeful, Violent, Content
Poor	Content, Collectivistic
Religious	Vengeful, Disobedient, Violent
Selfish	Benevolent, Collectivistic
Self-sufficient/Independent/Self-Reliant/Proud	Poor, Collectivistic
Settling	Poor, Content
Stubborn/Persistent	Lazy, Settling
Topophilic	Settling
Unwise	Wise
Vengeful	Benevolent, Passive
Violent	Benevolent
White	Multiethnic/Multiracial
Wise	Unwise

Certainly, one cannot predict whether a reader's perception of a message will lean more towards one representation or its opposite, but because they are both represented in the dialectical nature of these folktales, it could be misleading to start with a singular representation of a character – wise – and, then, soon after, cancel it out with its opposite when referring to the same character – unwise. Because of the notable dialectical pairings of almost all of the representations, too much emphasis on a single representation would misrepresent the totality of what is actually represented (Hegel, 2015) and do a disservice to the Appalachian cultural communities it purports to represent. Also, discussing one representation and then soon after canceling it out with a discussion of its opposite is ineffectual in truly representing anything, unless reverse psychology is the objective. The repetition of this vacillation that transverses the cultural communities, though, exhibits the complexity of Appalachia and how Appalachians might wish to present themselves. By understanding the totality of these representations as depicting everything between either and or, we begin to see how Appalachians represent

themselves to readers as extremely complex and dynamic according to and across contexts. These stories tell of complex natures that do not favor one static representation over another, since they often amplify and, just as easily, contradict each other and truly serve to make Appalachians unexceptional unpredictable human beings.

Reinforced with Wisdom, Reinvented by Wisdom

Scholars of folklore, Appalachian studies, children's literature, etc. have noted that folktales are chockful of cultural wisdom (de Certeau, 1984; Ford, 2012; Reese, 1995; Zipes, 2012); "The folk tale...is the first tutor of children because it was once the first tutor of mankind" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 102). So, it is not necessarily surprising that wisdom in a variety of forms was the most coded representation in the tales with 750 incidents coded in the tales traversing the four cultural communities – Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee and Shawnee. What is completely surprising, though, is the overwhelming prevalence of this representation in its various forms. As Smith (2002) recognized education as a recurrent theme in the Appalachian young adult and children's literature, the prevalence and repetition of clever characters and cultural wisdom bolsters the educational significant of these folktales (p. 170). Depending on readers' perspectives, wisdom can be viewed as a reinforcement of cultural wisdom of the cultural communities that make up Appalachia or as a reinvention of erroneous stereotypes of Appalachians as unintelligent and illiterate.

After consolidating the codes, representations of wise were combined into two bigger codes – clever and didactic. So, in addition to the representations of clever characters thinking outside the box to manipulate situations to their advantage, there are also instructive representations in the form of morals, folk wisdom interwoven throughout the texts that lends an educational impetus to the folktales, and literary techniques that acknowledge and further the

readers' wisdom. Although this code overwhelmingly traversed the folktales from Appalachia, some communities' stories utilized more of one representation and less of another.

Clever

Cleverness, prolifically coded in the trickster tales, was represented by characters' wiliness and wit to manipulate a situation to their advantage in unexpected and ingenious ways. The ability to successfully navigate situations in which a character is frequently seen as holding less or no power is a trait that traverses the folktales. The cleverness shown in these tales indicates the unique skills and knowledge and, in particular, marginalized groups' abilities to quickly read and negotiate a situation to upend the apparent power structure in the tale. Reminiscent of a quote by the Greek philosopher Theognis (as cited in Hyde, 2010, p. 54), "Cleverness is more valuable than inflexibility," characters' mental flexibility to quickly assess any number of situations in which they find themselves to come up with clever responses is clearly represented.

Seventy-nine of the 114 tales are trickster tales or include trickster like incidences and represent all four of the cultural communities. The trickster rabbit in the Cherokee tales constantly rebels against social norms to ascertain where conventional boundaries lie and what the outcome will be to push these limits using ingenious means (Duvall & Jacob, 2003b, 2008; Ross & Jacob, 2003). In the Affrilachian tale "Possum and Snake"² (Ford, 2012), when Snake convinces Rabbit's friend, naïve Possum, to forgo his parents' warning to help Snake out from under a rock, Possum finds himself in danger and seeks out Rabbit for help. Due to Rabbit's keen understanding of the snake's certainty of his dominance, Rabbit tricks Snake, who ends up trapped under the rock where he began. Similarly, in three Anglo Appalachian tales, "The

² Titles of stories in a collection are denoted in quotation marks; titles of books are italicized.

Heifer's Hide" (Chase et al., 2003), "Jack and the Heifer's Hide" (Salsi & Young, 2008), and *Bearhide and Crow* (Johnson, 2000), the trickster human protagonists humorously use animal hides to turn a financial profit by convincing the greedy and gullible antagonists in the story of the hides' magical abilities to tell them beneficial secrets. The protagonists in these Appalachian tales utilize knowledge about their surroundings, intuition about others, a quick wit, information they have overheard, magic, acting, lying, etc. to advantage themselves.

Didactic

Whereas only a few of the Anglo Appalachian tales in the sample could be described as morally didactic, the Cherokee and Affrilachian tales, as well as the Shawnee tale (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003), *Red Hawk and the Sky Sister*, contain social dilemmas, which in most instances, determine choosing between one's own selfishness or consideration of others. A majority of the Appalachian stories include morals about how to treat and get along with others, what should be viewed as truly important, and resisting ignorance, gullibility, and surrender. In addition, to accentuate these values, the lessons are taught using a variety of literary techniques. For example, 16 stories use "reverse psychology" (Ford, 2012, p. 159) – in other words, giving the character a personality trait (e.g., narcissism, laziness, hard-headedness, gullibility, etc.) that results in an undesirable outcome for that character; the reader understands the unconstructive outcomes of exhibiting such traits and, through reversing the message, chooses not to adopt the same traits. This requires an acknowledgement on the part of the author, of course, that the reader has the foreknowledge, the ability and the aim to invert the message and meaning.

The didactic tales, or "teaching tales" as Ford calls them (2012, p. 159), oftentimes use repetition to hammer messages home. Seven of the Affrilachian tales employ a memorable line or phrase that is reiterated throughout the story; for example, in the aforementioned "Possum and

the Snake,” the repetitive phrase is ““If you see trouble, and you know it’s trouble, just leave trouble alone”” (Ford, 2012, p. 37). Repetition is used in the Cherokee tales, too, but as a traversing theme that is connected with the main protagonist’s, the trickster Rabbit’s, personality flaws, such as boastfulness, jealousy, and selfishness, to show the repercussions of acting in antisocial ways.

Other literary techniques also transport the wisdom and relevance of the Appalachian tales into the present or acknowledge and make use of readers’ prior knowledge to further the message of the tale. Most of the tales are written in past tense. However, when the author wants to make a certain cultural value or the wisdom contained in the entire story applicable to the present, a present tense sentence or section will seamlessly slide into the story as a way of exhibiting the current relevance and applicability of the idea. In Duvall and Jacob’s *How Medicine Came to the People* (2003a), the past tense turns to present when Duvall wants to share the cultural value “Good hunters know that they must say a prayer every time they shoot a deer” (para. 14). These shifts from past to present usually occur at the end of the stories. The Shawnee tale, for instance, ends “And to this day, that is where you will find Red Hawk – reunited at last with his beloved wife and child” (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003, p. 30). The Anglo Appalachian authors make the wisdom in their tales applicable to the present by acknowledging the protagonist as a close acquaintance and having firsthand knowledge of the protagonists’ current situation; “And he and his mother were both doin’ pretty well, last time I saw ‘em” (Chase et al., 2003, p. 57). This becomes an understanding, especially reiterated through collections like Chase et al.’s (2003) *Jack Tales*. No matter how antiquated the tale may seem in its content and illustrations, the knowledge held within the tales is still relevant and tangible, and Jack is still around playing tricks.

Reader's foreknowledge. Acknowledgements in the texts and illustrations of the reader's foreknowledge or wisdom is another literary device that would probably remain obscure without its constant replication. The readers are presumed, through the authors' acknowledgement, to come into these stories with certain experiences, contexts, and wisdom or to build knowledge across readings of the collections or series. The Cherokee, Affrilachian and Shawnee folktales all contain *pourquoi* and creation tales, explaining why a supposed natural occurrence is the way that it is or how it got to be this way from a previous condition. For example, the Cherokee, Affrilachian, and Shawnee tales have stories about why the opossum's tale is bare, why rabbit's tale is short and bushy, how the constellations and Milky Way came to be, why frogs croak greedy, etc. In the Cherokee and Affrilachian tales about the opossum's tail, the reader likely comes to these stories with the foreknowledge that the opossum has a rat-like tail. These stories, however, revert to a mythical time when the opossum had a long fluffy tail; "He had a long tail covered with a fine tangle of stringy hairs in those days" (Ford, 2012, p. 44). When the opossum boasts just a little too much about his beautiful tail for the rabbit's liking in the Cherokee tale or becomes too lazy to pull his weight in the Affrilachian version, the opossum gets irreparably harmed, and "Possum's grandchildren all have red, skinny, hairless tales to this very day" (Ross & Jacob, 2003, p. 22). These stories depend on one's familiarity and knowledge of an opossum's anatomy, especially when illustrations are not available, to understand the full gravity of what can happen when one is too conceited, boastful or lazy. In addition, readers come to the Cherokee tales knowing that animals and people cannot fully communicate with each other. So, Ross and Jacob (2003) include a cultural belief that will negate the readers' foreknowledge so the tale can proceed: "This is what the old people told me when I was a child, about the days when the people and the animals still spoke the same language" (p. 6). By

offering this initial understanding, the reader's disbelief is suspended to receive the intended message.

Additionally, in Chase et al.'s collection of *Jack Tales* (2003), before reading stories in which Jack is said to have married a variety of women, the storyteller or author acknowledges this inconsistency and feels the obligation to tell the experienced reader: "'Course Jack didn't marry all them girls at once. Hit might 'a been one way and hit might 'a been another'" (Chase et al., 2003, p. 89). To pacify readers' skepticism so that they can go on hearing or reading the remainder of the tales without becoming too disconnected from past or future inconsistencies about Jack being married to multiple women simultaneously, especially when the storyteller claims repeatedly to know Jack personally, the storyteller acknowledges the wisdom readers have gained over the course of previous stories and the need to reassure the reader, so the stories can continue unabated.

Nonfiction designations. Folktales are frequently cataloged as nonfiction books in library collections and usually come with educational features that are not indicative of fictional titles in young adult and children's literature. These books of folktales, representing some of Appalachia's cultural communities, in turn, include additional notes, prefaces, introductions, prologues, glossaries, and indices that offer additional insight into the tale and the cultures. This also lends to the instructive context of the books. The Shawnee tale, for example, includes a brief historical overview of the Shawnee culture after the text of the tale, including a glossary of Shawnee words (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003). Davis' books include prologues that tell about the evolution of "The Three Little Pigs" story (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004) and the oral Appalachian storytelling tradition (Davis & Harvill, 2001). *Beware, Beware of the Big Bad Bear!* ends with a recipe for biscuits (De Las Casas & Gentry, 2012), and *The Old Woman and Her Pig*

(MacDonald & Kanzler, 2007) includes lyrics and music for the songs the Old Woman sang in the story. Several of Duvall and Jacob's books (2003a, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008, 2009) include artist's notes by the illustrator as well as illustrations that identify the various leaves of trees found in Appalachia and plants and their uses in Cherokee medicinal wildcrafting.

These folktales demonstrate that wisdom is extremely important as well as prevalent and powerful to these cultural communities. It also represents Appalachian wisdom as entailing special talents needed by marginalized cultures to operate successfully in unequal contexts. But, no matter how prevailing this representation was, Appalachian authors still recognize the propensity at times for being Unwise, which served to complicate the representations of Wise.

Reinforced through Language, Reinvented through Language

Appalachia's linguistic distinctions are apparent in these texts and traverse the cultural communities that make up the corpus of this study. The tales include varying degrees of dialect in the Anglo Appalachian and Affrilachian tales as well as the inclusion of the Cherokee and Shawnee languages. Ninety-two incidents were coded across the four cultural communities. Previous scholars of Appalachian children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Smith, 2002) and Affrilachian scholars (Burriss, 2005) have distinguished the use of Appalachian dialect and idioms as an authenticating feature in Appalachian literature. And, in their criteria for choosing accurate and authentic Native American children's literature, Slapin and Seale (1998) and Sabis-Burns (2011) specify that the use of various Native American societies' languages in the literature can present the uniqueness not only of the Native Americans themselves but between the Native American societies, as well. These folktales incorporate the various languages and dialects of the Appalachian Region to varying degrees and to different effect, mostly judged

according to the degree these language and dialects are included and possible interruptions to a reader's flow and comprehension.

The scope of language and dialect usage in the Anglo Appalachian books adds layers of dimension to the representation of Appalachians. For instance, the Chase et al. (2003) and Salsi and Young's (2008) collections of Jack tales, Johnson's books (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002), and some of Shelby and McArdle's (2007) and Ford's stories (2012) are written in "speakerly text," a rhetorical strategy that includes the "phonetic, grammatical, and lexical structures of actual speech, an emulation designed to produce the illusion of oral narration" (Gates, 1988, p. 211). The narrative forms use by Chase et al. (2003) and Salsi and Young (2008) are seemingly transcriptions of the storytellers' exact idioms and pronunciations. Reading these stories written in speakerly text with Appalachian idioms can be difficult for persons who are not used to reading texts that are not in standard English or that might not understand the idioms used. The lack of standard English along with the use of phrasing that is contrary to standardized English, including subject verb disagreement, can seem to reinforce the stereotype of an uncouth and uneducated, or "pitiful" and "backwoods" (Biggers, 2006, pp. xii), Appalachian. Conversely, though, as Clark (2013) asserted in the "Preface" to *Talking Appalachian*,

I realized that my entire life had been an education in Appalachian studies, that there were people who wanted to read about the kinds of stories I had listened to over and over again, and that my vernacular dialect— my home voice— would be invited into that discussion. It was a watershed moment in owning my identity as an Appalachian. (p. viii)

Therefore, the use of speakerly text might be a powerful inclusive representation in print, a validation for Appalachian readers who are familiar with the speech patterns and idioms but normally do not see them in print. The use of dialect and language in the folktales also attempts

to capture the storytelling along with the story and maintain some connection of the oral tradition, albeit in print form.

Additionally, though, a few of the Anglo Appalachian books strictly use standard English, while others include standard English along with colloquial dialect. Although the books using both can also be said to validate the Appalachian dialect in print, the juxtaposition of standard English with Appalachian idioms can be problematic, as these idioms can stand out and isolate these words against the standard English surrounding them and make their use seem othered and uncomfortable, even for Appalachians to read (Herrin, 1991). For instance, in Salsi and Young's (2009) *Jack and the Dragon*, the word "tater" is used repeatedly in the middle of standard English. By slipping in this sole word spelled as "eye dialect" (Ellis, 2013, p. 165) several times, it emphasizes a difference and othering surrounded by standard English. The use of dialect in this single instance throughout the book makes the usage of this one word seem unnatural, exaggerated, and set apart from the rest of the language and can accentuate what one should deem as "Appalachian." It was apparent, while reading the various manners in which and the degrees to which the authors use Appalachian language and dialect in the tales, that the quantity of language used affects the way a reader, in particular, an Appalachian reader, independently senses the author's familiarity with the dialect, whether known to be an insider or outsider to the culture, as well as the author's affinity and respect towards Appalachians and their language, whether the author, editor, or publisher is particularly aware of this nuance. So, the use of the Appalachian dialect is a chancy proposition, as it could sometimes appease an Appalachian reader and reinvent how a narrative can be presented and received, and sometimes, it can become a discourteous irritant (Herrin, 1991). In addition, texts written fully in dialect could, in some instances, be more acceptable, congruent and courteous to an Appalachian reader

than texts that might just overemphasize the pronunciation of a few words in a stream of standard English.

Cherokee names and words, too, are scattered intermittently throughout the Cherokee texts (Allen & Rogers, 2014; Bruchac, Ross & Stroud, 2005; Duvall & Jacob, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Hayes & Dawson, 2012) that are largely written in standard English. The inclusion of these Cherokee words is generally easily decipherable within the context of the tale or could include a definition or a possible pronunciation. The Shawnee tale (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003) includes a glossary of terms in the informational epilogue of the book, as does Hayes and Dawson's (2012) *Light Comes to the Mountains*. The inclusion of Cherokee and Shawnee vocabulary can probably offer distinctions between the Cherokee and Shawnee languages and cultures, which is recognized as being important in children's literature to show the differences between the various groups and tribes (Slapin & Seale, 1998) too often lumped under the umbrella of "Native American." In actuality, this would only be possible if one has plenty of examples of Cherokee or Shawnee children's literature available that contains distinct language and vocabulary from these tribes, not possible for this sample, or if one is already familiar with the differences in the language. The inclusion of Cherokee and Shawnee vocabulary is powerful, though, as it teaches non-Native American readers words they would not have otherwise known from languages they probably would not have experienced without reading these books and validates readers of the cultures from which the words emanate.

The representations of these distinct languages and dialects can both reinforce and reinvent one's view of Appalachia. It can show the multiethnicity of Appalachia, made up of different cultural communities, languages and ways of speaking, and it can also other Appalachia's dialect and languages as different from the mainstream. It can reinforce in both positive ways, soothing

readers familiar with or interested in the distinct use of dialect and vocabulary, and in negative ways, considering anything outside the use of standard English uncouth, uneducated, and indecipherable. The aesthetics of dialect and language to a text is totally dependent on individuals' preferences to and, possibly, their association with the dialect and language in the text. Dialect and vocabulary that could validate one reader or be aesthetically pleasing might be intrusive or complicate the comprehension to another. In addition, degrees of dialect and vocabulary can generate assonant (Dutton, 2011) or dissonant (Herrin, 1991) to readers inside or outside the culture, particularly when one's reading fluency and the continuance of the story becomes discontinuous due to the intrusiveness of these features.

Reinforced with Self-trust

While examining my positionality to ascertain new ways of perceiving reinforced representations, it was apparent that the protagonists in many of these tales exhibit an impressive locus of control and moments of self-efficacy, believing themselves to be up to every quest and capable of any task, particularly at the onset of a story. This included leaving home in search of adventure, believing that a little luck or one's perseverance, wisdom and cunning is bound to help the protagonist succeed in whatever is to come, and deeming that the outcome is destined to be favorable. Five codes, such as Independent, Self-Efficacious, Disobedient, Rebellious, and Determined, that included 330 incidents overlapped to create a theme consolidated into "Self-trust" (Emerson, 2017, p. 24), adopted from Ralph Waldo Emerson's (2017) transcendental essay "Self-Reliance" because of its relevant applicability to these synergistic representations in the folktales. Describing Self-trust, Emerson (2017) explains that it is:

...the moment [man] acts from himself, tossing the laws, the books, idolatries, and customs out of the window, we pity him no more, but thank and revere him.... (p. 32)

Self-trust includes the self-efficacy to make up one's own mind decisively, independently and confidently that is an antecedent to "new powers" (Emerson, 2017, p. 32) and creative outcomes. Self-trust is not necessarily prompted by occasion and exterior factors, but is conjured by the self and is seemingly advanced by one's advantageous prior experiences. The codes consolidated under self-trust become subconscious to these protagonists, encouraging a "starting point for an intellectual creativity as persistent as it is subtle, tireless, ready for every opportunity, scattered over the terrain of the dominant order and foreign to the rules laid down and imposed by a rationality founded on established rights and properties" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 38). It becomes apparent in the folktales that these inner traits are indispensable springboards and facilitators for the progression of the story and the implementation of the tactics that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Independent

The Appalachian folktales provide us with cultural heroes and heroines that follow their own direction and course. In other words, instead of his or her thoughts and actions being influenced by societal expectations, "clapped into jail by his consciousness" (Emerson, 2017, p. 21), they are unencumbered by such and, instead, are propelled by their own intuitions, voices, and motivations. The heroes and heroines in the trickster tales, in particular, exhibit much more autonomy over their ability to come and go as they please. Rabbit often finds it is much more appealing to set off on an adventure or be lazy when there is work to be done (Duvall & Jacob, 2004a, 2008; Ross & Jacob, 2003), and Jack and Molly (Shelby & McArdle, 2007), no matter how young they may appear to be in the text or in the illustrations, initiate adult-sized adventures.

The tales largely commence with a journey motif that eventually initiates the adventures in the story. In most instances, the protagonist takes out on his or her own freely with or without a clear motivation, meandering solely with adventure in mind. In Chase et al.'s (2003) "Jack in the Giants' Newground," which is the first story in the collection, Jack has no other motive but to "try his luck in some other section of the country" (p. 1). So, at the start, Jack is represented as a wholly independent and individualistic soul (Lindahl, 2001), seeking adventure of any variety, which follows him throughout the books and stories, even if a motive for his departure is eventually offered. Johnson's (2002) illustrations in *Jack Outwits the Giants* show a young Jack, a child, wondering about the countryside, "off on a journey" (para. 1), when a violent rainstorm makes him seek overnight shelter in a giant's house. Jack's individualistic adventurous streak (McCarthy, 2008) offers him a mythical locus of control wondering through giant-, witch-, and beast-infested lands, even as a child, and initiates the escapades in which he is eventually rewarded.

At the beginning of Shelby and McArdle's (2007) "Molly Fiddler," the story begins with Molly deciding that, since nothing is going on at home, she will seek a job. She comes up to one house that has a help wanted sign out front, and she knocks on the door.

So Molly Whuppie, being herself and nobody else, marched right up to the door of the house, bold as day, and knocked loud enough to raise the dead. (p. 25)

The addition of this aside, "being herself and nobody else," establishes Molly as being her own unique and authentic self, doing what comes natural to her even within a space that she does not dictate. And, since these trickster tales are written cyclically, where new chances evolve around a constant character in each story, Rabbit, Jack, and Molly are seen as the creators and common

threads in their marvelous adventures or the initiator of stories, creating opportunities to become autonomous agents.

Trickster

Trickster characters are often unencumbered and undisturbed in their actions by societal mores. As Frankel (2016) says:

The trickster represents the lighter qualities of the shadow, subverting rules and ignoring authority. She glides effortlessly through society's conventions as if they don't exist. ...

Trickster is a creature of impulse, outside morality, outside convention. Deceit is practiced, not as falsehood, but to assure a sense of personal difference and independence from society. (p. 299)

When Rabbit and Jack decide they do not want to work, they might be temporarily ostracized from society (Duvall & Jacob, 2008; Ross & Jacob, 2003; Chase et al., 2003). These tricksters make do (de Certeau, 1984) on their own, though, as Rabbit steals water from the community well that he refuses to help dig and Jack wears a dried cowhide when he outgrows his clothes. Although their rebelliousness and disobedience lands them momentarily in many precarious situations, they pull off last minute heroics that prevent them from learning any life-altering lessons. But, they are eventually allowed back into the good graces of the community and evidently more so when these tales are read as a cycle. So, depending on perspective, the lessons from these tales, such as the ability to make up and live by one's own rules, do not lead to permanent ostracism, or to do as one pleases is acceptable if an individual can get away with it.

With tricksters constantly breaking rules and shattering norms, readers perceive the contrived boundaries of rules and norms more visibly, but most importantly, they recognize the vastness of circumstances that fall outside of these boundaries and envision the variety of

contexts that cannot be judged equitably by logic (Hyde, 2010). For instance, the different citizen tricksters that happen into the preacher corpse in Johnson's tale (2001b) *Old Dry Frye* are put into coincidences that could make them look guilty for his death. With the repetitive refrain "EVERYBODY KNOWS OLD DRY FRYE!" (2001b, para. 5) reverberating throughout the book, a guilty verdict would seem inevitable for the citizens if caught. The reader envisions the characters' dilemma and inability to just report Old Dry Frye's death and their continuous need to "get shed" of the preacher's corpse (Johnson, 2001b, para. 8), deliberating that situations cannot always be handled by usual means, not only due to the vastness of contexts, but also because the laws or rules normally do not have marginalized characters' best interests in mind.

So, although morals are included in these tales to articulate ideal behavior, they can often be paired with the trickster's ultimate need for self-preservation, which drives the story and seems much more urgent. As Hyde (2010) says, "The rules the trickster breaks articulate the ideal world, but from trickster's vantage point, if we think the ideal is the real we are seriously mistaken and won't see half of what is right in front of us." (p. 295). Sometimes, the protagonist's disregard of rules or values leads to the character being placed in a survival situation that ultimately should lead to a moral. However, morals in the Appalachian tales are often undermined, since the characters get away practically unscathed, not having learned a lesson as per the tricksters starting out the next tale in the cycle with the same confidence in doing what advances their motives instead of what society dictates.

Self-Reliant/Proud

In Jones and Brunner's (1994) often-quoted *Appalachian Values*, they list "Independence, Self-reliance, and Pride" as one of the ten categories of values to which Appalachians' adhere, calling this category the "most obvious characteristics of mountain

people” (Jones & Brunner, 1994, p. 52). Likewise, studies on Appalachian children’s literature found self-reliance and pride to be common themes (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b). These folktales are no exception. Self-Reliance and Pride, as defined by Jones and Brunner (1994), are:

not wanting to be beholding to other people. We [Appalachians] are inclined to try to do things for ourselves, find our way without asking directions when we are lost on the road, or suffer through when we are in need. We don't like to ask others for help. The value of our independence and self-reliance, and our pride, is often stronger than desire or need.

(p. 68)

The characters in these tales, both human and animal, are mostly shown as self-reliant, willing and able to provide for themselves and their needs, as well as pitch in for the needs of their communities.

Red Hawk in the Shawnee tale, *Red Hawk and the Sky Sisters* (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003), often goes out deep into the forest, where no one else dares to go, to hunt food for himself and his village. Jack mostly ventures out in the Jack tales to find work to provide for himself and/or his mother, or he and his brothers go out on their own, in several Anglo Appalachian stories, to clear and work their father’s land. While there, the stories tell about them building a cabin (Chase et al., 2003; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000; Salsi & Young, 2008) and having plenty, and a variety, to eat (Chase et al., 2003; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000; Salsi & Young, 2008). In the same way, the frog and rabbit in the Affrilachian tale “Frog and Rabbit” (Ford, 2012) work together in their garden, providing adeptly for themselves. Even the old woman protagonist in Kirby’s (2010) *The Big Toe* “kept her fire good and warm,” “grew a big garden and canned a lot of food so she wouldn’t go hungry in the wintertime” (para. 2). And, the animal community is

able to subsist deep in the forests of Appalachia in the Cherokee tales because of their knowledge of the Appalachian Region and its resources. By being self-reliant, the characters exhibit pride in providing for themselves, their families and communities without seeking assistance.

Self-Efficacious

In “Self-Reliance,” Emerson (2017) implores readers to “Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string” (p. 20). Self-efficacy springs out of Self-trust, such as trust in one’s ability to act effectively and affect a favorable outcome (Bandura, 1982). The protagonists in the Appalachian folktales often exhibit a belief in their abilities to succeed. Even if the characters are not completely successful by the end of the story, they start the story confident in their abilities and knowledge to go into or affect new situations to their advantage.

When two little creatures, “no bigger than mice,” (para. 4) want to play in *The Great Ball Game of the Birds and Animals* (Duvall & Jacob, 2002), they go to Eagle, the leader of the birds and implore him for a place on their team; ““Oh mighty Eagle,’ they called to the powerful bird. ‘We wish to join you in the game against the Animals. We are small, but we are quick and brave. We will help you to defeat them’” (Duvall & Jacob, 2002, para. 21). Several Cherokee and Anglo Appalachian characters, like the aforementioned tale, illustrate the confidence and bravery shown by the smallest of animals and their beliefs in their abilities to affect change, including the elderly spider in *Light Comes to the Mountain* (Hayes & Dawson, 2012), *First Fire* (Allen & Rogers, 2014) and *Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun* (Keams & Bernardin, 2014), who helps her people by bringing fire and the sun back to their land after the bigger animals were not able. Additionally, in several Jack tales, Jack and/or his brothers voluntarily put themselves in situations in which they could be killed or maimed in order to marry or free various female

characters (Chase et al., 2003; Salsi & Young, 2008, 2009). Chase et al.'s (2003) version of "Fill, Bowl! Fill" begins:

There was a farmer lived 'way back in the mountain had two awful pretty girls, and the boys were all crazy about 'em. This farmer, though, he was wealthy, and he didn't want the boys comin' around there, so he fixed up a way to get shet of 'em. He put out a adver-tize-ment that any boy who wanted one of his girls would have to ketch 'em a wild rabbit and put it in a ring and make it stay there thirty minutes. That was his proposition: ... if it stayed thirty minutes, they could have one of the girls. But if the rabbit failed to stay that long, he'd kill the boy that had brought the rabbit.

Well, not many went to try, but some did, and the old man cut their heads off. Directly it got so the boys mostly quit goin' down here. That suited the old man fine. But then some boy would get so struck on one of the girls, he'd venture, and get his head cut off. Fin'ly it got so nobody'd go.

Well, Jack he got to studyin' about how he might get one of them girls. His mother told him he better not do that, but Jack said he'd just have to try. So he caught him a rabbit, and put him a little snack of dinner in a poke, and then he got fixed up and started out. (p. 90)

Jack often acts nonchalant about the danger involved in these situations, which either shows extraordinary self-efficacy or pure fatalism (Ergood & Kuhre, 1978), depending on perspective.

Efficacy is also reinforced over the Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee story cycles in which the reader witnesses the trickster, Jack, Molly, or Rabbit, constantly building on his or her successes and experiences. Regardless of how one story ends, the character returns, for the next adventure and, in the case of the Rabbit, almost impervious to previous failures. For example,

even when Rabbit is thrown out of the animal community and nearly killed for his deeds in Ross and Jacob's (2003) "Rabbit and the Tar Wolf," in the next story, "Rabbit Races with Turtle," Rabbit is back "to brag and exaggerate about all the things he could do" (p. 54). So, confidence in the protagonists' abilities and a belief in these characters' recovery and persistence can spill over to the reader when these tales are read in succession. Being familiar with the characters and following them through several adventures, in turn, actually builds readers' efficacy that everything will work out for these Appalachian protagonists that consistently reappear back on their able feet, as confident as ever.

Determined

Determination in these tales is represented by the protagonists' certainty in their ultimate success, if one keeps persistent in pursuing aims and objectives even in difficult situations and under limitations. The slave tale, "Look Every Which-A-Way" (Ford, 2012), for example, exhibits the need for tenacity in the face of adversity when Rabbit accidentally gets caught inside Wolf's house with no apparent way out. Although religious intervention is also promoted in the tale, as Rabbit prays for a way out of the Wolf's house, Rabbit continues to scramble around the enclosed area, looking desperately for a way out. Eventually, when Wolf opens the door, Rabbit is gone, finding his way out of the house through a hole chewed in the floor by a rat. The dual moral in the tale, in addition to religious intervention, is to show tenacity in determining one's way out of a dilemma. Not to give up when the odds seem impossible.

In Bushyhead, Bannon, and Rodanas' (2002) story *Yonder Mountain*, three young men are asked by the village chief to climb to the top of a mountain to bring back something that would be helpful for their village. Without climbing to the top of the mountain, two of the men bring home some beautiful stones and herbs to enhance or help their village, but the third man

climbs, as requested, to the very top of the mountain and, from that vantage point, views smoke signals from another village in despair. His persistence to climb to the very top of the steep mountain in order to come to the aid of others convinces the chief that this man has the determination to be the next chief.

This determination is certainly amplified through the cycle tales of the Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee stories in which the familiar characters, including Rabbit, Jack, and Molly, persist in one story after another, creating a string of contexts in which these characters endure and thrive through many adventures and close calls. This is especially apparent in the case of the trickster rabbit who often ends the tale in some precarious situation that his persistent might have generated for him. Yet, he appears in the next story just as zealous and determined to tackle the next adventure.

Emerson (2017) description of an individual exhibiting self-trust is very reminiscent of the Appalachian cultural hero or heroine in these folktales:

A sturdy lad..., who in turn tries all the professions, who *teams it, farms it, peddles*, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always, like a cat, falls on his feet, is worth a hundred of these city dolls. He walks abreast with his days, and feels no shame in not 'studying a profession,' for he does not postpone his life, but lives already. He has not one chance, but a hundred chances. (p. 32)

The construction of self-trust through the reinforcement of the representations in this case serves as cultural approbation to Appalachian readers. It also gives marginalized readers' experience, motivation, inspiration and impetus to trust in their ability and cultural knowledge, not to give up, to take their own paths, and always experiment with societal boundaries.

Reinforced Sense of Place

Place frequently has a bearing on the setting, characters, and storylines of these folktales, with 95 incidents coded in all four of the cultural communities' tales. The ever-present mountains decorate the backgrounds of most illustrations in the same way they frame Appalachians' lives and experiences (Miller, Hatfield, & Norman, 2005). Occasionally, they even play a significant role in the texts. Local animal protagonists and their familiar innate behaviors and physical characteristics work into *pourquoi* tales, moral lessons and cautionary tales, and the use of the local flora becomes a recognizable place marker, as well. The ingenuous ways that commonplace environmental features come into play in these tales define the interdependent between Appalachians and the place in which they live (Miller, Hatfield, & Norman, 2005).

Mountains

Just as mountains provide a backdrop to many Appalachians' lives, the mountains in these tales can sometimes take a secondary role in the story. Most of the Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee books are set in the mountains as depicted in both the illustrations and the text. Seventeen of the 22 Cherokee books and 14 of the 17 Anglo Appalachian books represented the setting of the tales as the mountains. Overwhelmingly, the Anglo Appalachian tales included depictions of a mountain setting (78%), including 27 tales with mountains in their illustrations and 19 of the tales identifying mountain or mountains in their text. Four Cherokee folktales – Duvall and Jacob's (2004a, 2004b) *Rabbit and the Bears* and *Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting*, Moore and Miyake's (2000) *The Ice Man*, and Hayes and Dawson's (2012) *Light Comes to the Mountains* – name the Smoky Mountains specifically. In addition, other stories offer place names, whether that is actual names of areas in Appalachia, like Troublesome Creek and

Monkey's Eyebrow, Kentucky in Johnson's *Old Dry Frye* (2001b), states in Appalachia, such as Tennessee and Virginia, in Chase et al.'s *Jack Tales* (2003) or names of local lakes, Lake Atah-gahi, in Duvall and Jacob's *Rabbit and the Bears* (2004a).

The inclusion of the mountains in the Cherokee and Anglo Appalachian tales offer a complex perspective of the mountains as part of the Appalachians' world. In *The Adventures of Molly Whuppie and Other Appalachian Folktales* (Shelby & McArdle, 2007), the mountains block the powerful giant's access and ability to do harm to Molly Whuppie and her sisters, protecting them from danger. In *Yonder Mountain* by Bushyhead et al. (2002), the mountain becomes a trial for overcoming and proving one's persistence and worth. It also gives the protagonist, Soaring Eagle, a perspective of villages beyond his own and offers a means of interacting with and helping others. The visualizations of the roar of a lion jarring the mountain ("Jack and the Varmints") and the giant "about thirty foot high comin' a-stompin' up the mountain, steppin' right over the laurel bushes and rock cliffs" ("Jack and the Giant's Newground") in Chase et al.'s *Jack Tales* (2003, p. 5) is also aided by the inclusion of mountains and relevant features. In these stories, the mountains make themselves relevant, as a help along the way, something to test one's perseverance and mold one into the person one becomes, and a familiarity by which to measure the uncertain.

Fauna

Another possible link to place is the use of native animals as protagonists and characters. The animals in the tales are familiar and local to the Appalachian area (except the hyena in the Affrilachian tale "Hyena and the Big Cheese" (Ford, 2012)), which could help localize the tale as Appalachian readers' are familiar with these animals and their characteristics. Most of the animals have traits that match their innate characteristics, as well: turtles are slower than some of

the other animals, squirrels are gatherers and gardeners, and rabbits are fast and slippery. And, these animals in most of the Cherokee folktales (17 of the 22 books, 31 of the 36 tales), in over half of the Affrilachian folktales (10 of the 18 tales in the collection), and in a few of the Anglo Appalachian folktales (7 of the 14 books, 8 of the 59 tales) are given anthropomorphic roles as characters and protagonists. The use of personified local animals as characters offers a guarded connection to the region, as animals are not restricted by the human milieu that can usurp representations and the intended message (Clayton, 2008).

Flora

Indigenous plants also play a background role in the folktales, in particular in the Cherokee and Anglo Appalachian traditions, which could also confirm an Appalachian setting. *How Medicine Came to the People* (Duvall & Jacob, 2003a), in which the plants become personified with the animals, and *Rabbit Plants the Forest* by Duvall and Jacob (2006) are two Cherokee tales that not only teach about the healing agencies of plants, but the plants illustrated are specific representations of plants and trees from the region with additional direction and information about the plants and trees in the books' prologues. Local flora is also used in the Anglo Appalachian tales, and infrequently in the Cherokee tales, too, as props for playing tricks or advantaging the tricksters. For example, in *Jack Outwits the Giant* (Johnson, 2002), Jack uses a milkweed pod to pretend to squeeze milk out of a stone. This trick is done with affect to impress the giants with his strength and magical abilities to make Jack seemingly powerful when he is actually in a dangerous situation, pitted against the giants' strength and stature. Additionally, flora is used as a prop in "Rabbit and the Tar Wolf" (Ross & Jacob, 2003) and *Rabbit and the Well* (Duvall & Jacob, 2008) when the Rabbit, to get away from danger, begs not to be thrown into a briar patch. A reader's thought, upon initially hearing this story, is that the

Rabbit has a sincere hatred of the briar patch and would suffer just about any faith then to be thrown into the briar patch. However, as the Rabbit is thrown deep into the briar patch, the final punch line to these trickster tales is that the Rabbit was actually raised or lives in the briar patch. The protagonists' quick-thinking and knowledge and use of the flora in their environments to astound or escape will continue to be part of the discussion in Chapter Five.

Appalachians' "sense of place" (Smith, 2002, p. 170) is commonly recognized as an Appalachian theme and has been coded as "ties to nature" (Alexander, 1987, p. 101), "love of place" (Jones & Brunner, 1994; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b) and "sense of place" (Smith, 2002, p. 170) in other works and studies on Appalachia and Appalachian children's literature. These folktales promote a profound sense of the Appalachian Region in the texts and illustrations. However, sense of place, along with other themes, such as isolated, can work in tandem to promote stereotypes of an agrarian lifestyle (Dunaway, 1996) and "backwoods Appalachia" (Biggers, 2006, p. xii). Also, the stories mostly project pastoral settings in their texts and illustrations, so these folktales leave readers with the reinforcement of Appalachia as predominantly rural.

Reinforced by Human Characters

The characters in the tales, whether human or animal, can affect the degree to which representations are reinforced or reinvented. Fifty-five out of 56 Anglo Appalachian tales have human characters, and all of the tales have illustrations, which makes descriptors more apparent and supported. However, the Cherokee (30 of 36) and Affrilachian folktales (10 of 18) use more animal characters than human characters with some having less or no illustrations, which can make representation less burdened with human descriptors and associations. For instance, more generalizations can be made about a barefoot human than a barefoot rabbit. Therefore, folktales

with human protagonists and characters and illustrations generate more familiarities and associations, thus include more chances for reinforcing representations, than folktales using anthropomorphism. Representations coded as poor and isolated, which included 175 incidents, were especially impactful in terms of reinforcing representations like a “pitiful” and “backwater” Appalachia (Biggers, 2006, p. xii-xiii), which are stereotypes already associated with Anglo Appalachians, although some representations were coded in all four cultural communities. Such representations found in these folktales seemed to compound these stereotypes.

Poor

Representations under the code poor, which include economical and material disparity, pitiful physical appearance, and unsafe and unhygienic living conditions, were commonly coded in the Anglo Appalachian tales and, therefore, were much more representative of Anglo Appalachians in this corpus. For instance, Chase et al. (2003) begin their 18-tale collection with the description: “One time away back years ago there was a boy named Jack. He and his folks lived off in the mountains somewhere and they were awful poor, just didn’t have a thing.” (p. 1). This becomes a permanent description of Jack not only in this collection, but as part of the reader’s experience that can extend well beyond this book and follow Jack through the other versions of the Jack tales, as well.

Adding to this representation, approximately half of the Anglo Appalachian folktales’ illustrations and texts show or describe male and female characters in tattered, insufficient, oversized, old-fashioned and/or soiled clothing. Additionally, male characters are illustrated or described as barefoot in one-third of the tales. Several of the tales have characters, both male and female, with oversized, seemingly ill-fitting boots with or without shoe strings, some with distinguishable holes in the bottoms (Johnson, 2002). The most obvious, and possibly the most

stereotypical, representations of pitiful in the Appalachian tales is in *The Jack Tales* collection by Hicks, Salsi, and Smith (2000). Although these illustrations are detailed and skillfully drawn, they could also be considered stereotypical, and the illustrations include almost all of the themes coded under representations of poor – tattered and insufficient clothing, economic and material disparity, and unsafe or unhygienic living conditions. For instance, in the first illustration in the first story of the collection, “Jack and The North-West Wind,” Jack is shown in overalls without a shirt with one gallus unhooked, waving behind him in the wind; his tattered hat is being swept up off his head by the wind. Although his feet are not shown in this particular picture, in the rest of the pictures, he is barefoot. His arms are thrown around his body for warmth as he wanders away on a dirt path from a small log cabin with a dilapidated wood shingle roof, the only place that could seemingly provide warmth and shelter from the ominous gray sky over the surrounding mountains. A bowed tree in the illustration looks as if it is certain to blow over onto the cabin through the force of the wind. Just this one picture could invoke a plethora of possible combinations of economic disparities. Throughout this book, too, the illustrations show people with distended features, who are almost always barefoot, and some of the characters have missing teeth. As described by Peters (2000) for *Booklist*, the book illustrations feature “big, rumpled-looking figures with comically exaggerated expressions and dressed in well-worn clothing” (p. 638). To an Appalachian reader, like me, these illustrations, although artistic and detailed, reflect stereotypical images of Anglo Appalachians and can detract from any consideration of Jack as an able and wily cultural hero as he is represented in so many of the other books and collections.

Just as with the physical appearance of the characters, the Appalachian homes described or illustrated in the text could be scrutinized more readily when it comes to tales having human

characters. As both illustrated or described in the Anglo Appalachian tales, homes in Appalachia are typically smaller log cabins, which was also noted by Alexander (1987) in her study on Appalachian children's literature. The houses described or illustrated in the texts include log cabins, and from the illustrations, many are lopsided, makeshift or in need of repair. The tale "Jack and the North West Wind" (Chase et al., 2003) begins:

One time Jack and his folks lived in an old rickety house on top of a hill.... Well, winter came and directly the weather got awful bad. It turned off real cold and set in to snowin' and then the North West Wind commenced to blow, and one day hit got to whistlin' in through the cracks of that old house, and Jack and his mother nearly froze. (p. 46)

Compounding descriptions like this, the cartoon-like log houses in the illustrations in Johnson's (2001a, 2001b, 2002) and Salsi and Young's (2009) books are misshapen and sagging. In addition, in four of the tales (Chase et al., 2003; Davis & Harvill, 2001; De Las Casas & Gentry, 2012; Hicks, et al., 2000; Johnson, 2000), animals that would not normally live or be in a house are shown or described in the houses, including a goat, squirrel, horse, rooster, and cow, which, although adding to the humor, can indicate aberrance and uncleanness. Eight of the 17 Anglo Appalachian books included housing besides smaller log cabins in their illustrations, and ironically, one of these stories, *The Pig Who Went Home on Sunday* (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004), included a pig living in a safe comfortable brick home. Although there are a few juxtapositions to rickety log cabins, these passing descriptions seem insignificant to the illustrations that overwhelmingly reinforce the stereotype of Appalachians living in small dilapidated log cabins that do not appear to be safe nor warm.

Isolated

Just as fairy tales start with the familiar words “Once upon a time,” many Anglo Appalachian tales start with the description that the protagonists and their families “lived off” (Chase et al., 2003, p. 1) or “way back” (Shelby & McArdle, 2007, p. 2) in the mountains somewhere. The tale “The Adventures of Molly Whuppie” starts off, “Molly Whuppie lived way back. Way back in time. Way back in the mountains, too. W-a-a-a-a-a-a-y back” (Shelby & McArdle, 2007 p. 2). Both these illustrations and words conjure up isolated situations, where the protagonists are only apt to see their families and live insular lives. In most cases, the protagonists seem to only interact with people outside of their families when they travel distances away from home. As the Affrilachian, Cherokee and Shawnee folktales present constant interactions with individuals and animals living within communities, even with the animals seemingly living out in the forests of Appalachia, isolation seems to affix itself to human characters through descriptions and, particularly, illustrations.

The illustrations, particularly in the Anglo Appalachian books, present rural and isolated depictions of the protagonists’ surroundings with little sign of other dwellings or people in the vicinity. In 33 of the 59 Anglo Appalachian tales, isolation is recognized through either the illustrations or the text. In the illustrations, the protagonist’s house is typically shown at a distance, the only house in the frame with hills, pastures, and mountains spreading out around the house in all directions. These same illustrations only show unpaved roads leading up to the houses, also. Added to this, these human characters typically remain in or return to isolation by the end of the story, which would assume that Appalachians live and wish to live a remote existence away from others, which can in turn assume self-perpetuated isolation and antisocial behaviors.

The representations in folktales containing human characters and illustrations, which mostly include the Anglo Appalachian tales, begin to compile and construct a cultural profile of Anglo Appalachians that is much like the stereotypes that have come to define Appalachia as a whole. Since only three of the 17 Anglo Appalachian books show a scene with towns or more than one house in a picture, these tales do not adequately represent the half of the Appalachian population that live in urban and suburban settings. The animal tales, which make up a majority of the Affrilachian and Cherokee stories, cannot fully assist in reinventing these representations of humans in the region, since the manner in which humans represent themselves is not as applicable to the animals and does not essentialize their existence. The few Affrilachian, Cherokee and Shawnee tales that depict human characters, too, can seem rural, and none of these books depict other possibilities for living in Appalachia.

Reinvented by Animal and Trickster Tales

Representations in these tales can be reinvented through the use of animal characters that can assume human behavior and encourage identification without diminishing the message through preoccupations with appearances or other materials that situate humans. This theme encompasses all 36 codes and 3,100 incidences traversing all four of the cultural communities. Additionally, the prominence of trickster characters, who revel in “unceasing sets of counterpoised sectors” and exist just beyond the ability to categorize (Hynes & Doty, 1993, p. 34), indicate that representation should not to be straightforward or unproblematic. The sheer frequency of these characters either disentangle us from fixations on human milieu or render representation feigned and transitory might convey to readers that impetuously focusing on representations should not be the ultimate goal when reading these folktales.

Animals

In his book *Thinking Animals: Animals and the Development of Human Intelligence*, Paul Shepard (1978) contends that animals serve as “cultural blanks for making types” (p. 175). Additionally, Burke and Copenhaver (2004) add that animals serve as “a buffered engagement with a message of cultural significance” (p. 210). Therefore, it stands to reason that folktales with human protagonists do not offer the same blank and buffered way of engaging with representations. Folktales with human protagonists complete with illustrations elicit more detailed, whether accurate or inaccurate, cultural representations of human characters, thus providing more customary representations than tales with animal protagonists.

The use of anthropomorphism can serve a variety of purposes. It could assist in lessening the tone of didactic tales or temper abilities to address controversial or contentious topics (Burke & Copenhaver, 2004). The use of animals as protagonists could create guarded representations, as well, since animals can distance humans, cultures, races, and ethnicities from being too closely associated with possible stereotypical representations (Tyler, 2007). Conversely, though, these characters could also be said to stereotype humans through metonymy and easily recognizable representations of human life (Tyler, 2007), because many of these stories are episodic and are associated with a particular culture.

Several Cherokee animal tales that reinvent representations include Allen and Rogers’ (2014) *First Fire*, Hayes and Dawson’s (2012) *Light Comes to the Mountains* and Keams and Bernardin’s (2014) *Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun*. When bigger animals, including a beaver and vulture, are unable to bring fire or light back to their respective animal communities, an older grandmother spider willingly and successfully braves the Sun Guards or Keepers of the Light and an arduous journey to bring back fire and light to her community. Several other tales

reiterate this point that stereotypes, including the perceptions that are constructed through representations, like poor, gendered, young, old, small, are not always determinant of how much one can accomplish. In the two versions of the Cherokee tale *How the World Was Made* (Wagnon & Stephenson, 2018a; Yasuda & Pennington, 2013), a young beetle is the only animal able to swim to the bottom of the ocean to retrieve land on which all of the animals are able to live comfortably. This message is also reiterated in the Cherokee story *The Great Ball Game of the Birds and the Animals* (Duvall & Jacob, 2002) as well as the Anglo Appalachian tale *Beware, Beware of the Big Bad Bear!* (de las Casas & Gentry, 2012), where smaller animals defeat larger enemies.

Even though these animals are able to elicit moral equivalence that are meaningful to humans and that sometimes belie their physical attributes and natures, they resist being hemmed into representations (Tyler, 2007). They maintain their unpredictability, unruliness and obscurity as animals while representing human behavior and are not often relegated to codes and stereotypes (Tyler, 2007). The anthropomorphism allows more of the focus to remain on the morals of the stories as opposed to making superficial observations on human milieu.

Tricksters

The tricksters, which are found in approximately 70% of these folktales, entertain themselves and often confound the reader by evading description. They are often introduced to a story as vulnerable and unassuming, but necessity soon reveals experienced, wily, and creative heroes that use societal constructions as their muse. Joseph Campbell described the trickster as representing “all those possibilities of life that your mind hasn’t decided it wants to deal with. The mind structures a lifestyle, and the ... trickster represents another whole range of

possibilities” (Campbell, Toms, Maher, & Briggs, 1990, p. 39). The trickster uses the gaps created by conventions and flexibility denied by representations to guarantee his advantage.

In some of the tales, for instance, the antagonists, as well as the readers, are so deterred by logical or ethical assumptions with which we construct our reality that we are stymied from envisioning how these assumptions leave us vulnerable to tricksters. Lock (2002) says, “The true trickster’s trickery calls into question fundamental assumptions about the way the world is organized, and reveals the possibility of transforming them (even if often for ignoble ends)” (para. 12). Such assumptions are used repeatedly for humorous effect in Chase et al.’s (2003) “Big Jack, Little Jack.” Little Jack’s friend Big Jack is punished for losing a bet with the king³. The bet was that between Big Jack and the king, the first to admit anger would get to take three stripes of skin out of the other’s back. Since Big Jack is working for the king, this uneven power relationship would assume a one-sided bet, and of course, Big Jack eventually loses the bet. Knowing about the ill treatment that Big Jack had endured at the hands of the king, Little Jack takes up the king’s bet, seeking revenge for his friend. When the king does not feed Little Jack while he is shepherding the king’s sheep, just as the king had done to Big Jack, Little Jack kills the biggest sheep and eats heartily. When Little Jack is sent to plow a field with the king’s finest team of horses, Little Jack trades one of the horses for a passerby’s mule. When the king asks Little Jack to pick apples, he cuts down the king’s apple trees to pick the apples off the ground. Of course, the king assumes that Little Jack will take care of the sheep without eating them, use the fine horses for plowing the fields quickly instead of trading one for a mule, and not cut down his apple trees in order to pick the apples off of them. However, Little Jack uses the king’s own

³ The use of a king or a queen as characters in several of the Jack (Chase et al., 2003; Salsi & Young, 2008) and Molly Whuppie (Shelby & McArdle, 2007) tales is possibly a part of the plot held over from the Jack tales’ European origins that helps to establish a universal power relationship in some instances.

shortsightedness to eventually make the king angry. Therefore, the king loses the bet and pays with three stripes of his own flesh. The descriptor “little” in “Little Jack,” adds to the trickster’s enigma, directing readers toward a shared representation of what little should imply – small and slight in stature or young and inexperienced. But, then, as Little Jack manages to do something that Big Jack is unable to do, our understanding of what “little” means is nullified. Thus, trickster characters scoff at definitions and conventions.

The illustrations of these trickster characters attempt to situate readers in conventional understandings, as well. Visualizing a small defenseless rabbit surrounded by wolves (Duvall & Jacob, 2005b; Ross & Jacob, 2003) or cowering behind a tree to escape from the enormous wampus cat extended across an illustrated double-page spread (Duvall & Jacob, 2006) not only reinforces, but intensifies the direness of the rabbit’s situation. And, envisioning the enormous giants, dragons, and beasts looming over diminutive illustrations of young and vulnerable Jack and Molly (Shelby & McArdle, 2007) makes readers more aware of the reduced odds of them escaping such situations. Of course, these illustrations attempt to dupe readers by nourishing their logic for the moment to make the usurping of power that is to come much more miraculous and inspirational to those living under cultural hegemonies that may appear just as insurmountable.

Even as the human characters with their milieu and personalities are usually much more susceptible to the assignment of representation, as was previously noted, tricksters make any representation tenuous. However, tricksters welcome such attempts to define them, because it offers a guise they promptly and unapologetically utilize against the source. Since definitions are not created by tricksters, nor are they benefited by them, tricksters see more advantage in letting those that deem themselves benefited become mired in the comfort and confidence

generalizations provide, disregarding the occasions such gaps in understanding offer an astute trickster to advantage themselves.

Forty-three of the 114 tales (38%) in the corpus are animal tales, and 79 of the 114 tales (69%) include tricksters. With so many stories dedicated to the obscuring of representations with animals' tales and the negation of representation through the fickle trickster, these tales might imply that readers should not be preoccupied with representations, since they might be quickly repudiated, as the stories offer other emphases that are much more applicable. In one animal or Jack tale, Rabbit and Jack might be industrious, and in the very next tale, they are redefined as lazy. So, which is it? As this vacillation continues, it becomes obvious that it can be both and with equal frequency, often making the only lasting takeaway the agency to be spontaneous.

Reinforced an Anglo-Saxon Appalachia

Because stereotypes of Appalachians have focused historically on “Anglo-Saxon” (Biggers, 2006, p. xii) and Scotch-Irish Appalachians, as was discussed in Chapter Two, the cultural communities, races, and ethnicities that make up Appalachia are eclipsed by these stereotypes. By including folktales of the cultural communities that make up Appalachia in my study, it was my wish to show Appalachia as composed of unique and vibrant communities, races and ethnicities, but the ethnic and racial variety in the folktales did not fully dispel an Anglo-Saxon Appalachia, with 55 incidents coded in the Anglo Appalachian stories. Although a story is accredited to an underrepresented racial, ethnic and/or linguistic group in the region, this does not mean that the story necessarily advances a multiethnic/multiracial representation of the region. The Cherokee and Affrilachian tales mostly use indigenous animals as characters and do not have as many representations of human characters in their illustrations or texts. It was found that multiethnic and multiracial representations in these tales are discernable or can be culturally

evocative when three criteria are met in whole or in part: (1) the characters in the story are or include humans; (2) illustrations or textual descriptions of the characters are incorporated; and (3) a dialect, language or unique linguistic markers are included.

Thirty out of the 36 Cherokee folktales (83%) are animal stories, and in these stories, Cherokee cultural practices are attributed to anthropomorphic animals instead of humans, such as participating in various spiritual and social dances, voting and working in a collectivistic society, playing stickball, etc. The combination of these things, as well as the Cherokee words used in the text, provide indicators of a multiethnic society, but there could also be possible disconnects from an etic, and possibly an emic, perspective when it comes to linking these animals to Cherokee representation specifically. And, although these animals are seen to live in a collective multispecies society, it is doubtful this translates to a multiethnic/multiracial perspective of Appalachia, as animals are not normally viewed as having a race, ethnicity, etc. Additionally, the Cherokee language included in the animals' tales is minimal and largely unobtrusive amongst the standard English, as some of the characters are given what might seem to the reader to be proper Cherokee names, such as Ji-Stu, Yona, and Si-qua, which are not fully established as the Cherokee words for rabbit, bear, and opossum.

Only six picturebooks in the Cherokee stories have human protagonists, although secondary human characters are included in fourteen of the books. Twelve of these 14 tales include illustrations of human characters, and four of the 12 titles in which humans are visualized include black and white woodblock (Duvall & Jacob, 2003a, 2004a, 2004b) or minimalist (Hurst & Sharp, 2001) illustrations. These pictures depict the Cherokee characters in traditional dress and appearance. In eight of the 14 Cherokee tales and the Shawnee story that include color illustrations of humans, the characters are generally pictured in what seems to be traditional

Native American clothing and appear to have brown or tan skin. The Shawnee tale includes Native Americans with brown skin in traditional clothing throughout. The only Native Americans not pictured in traditional clothing in the whole sample are a transitional contemporary picture at the end of Allen and Rogers' (2014) *First Fire* that shows the storyteller of the tale and his audience transitioning to the present and the beginning and ending illustrations showing a contemporary scene of children listening to an elder person tell a story in Bruchac, Ross and Stroud's (2005) *The Story of the Milky Way*. So, Native Americans in the books with color illustrations are represented as having brown or tan skin, wearing traditional Native American clothing, and living and subsisting in somewhat archaic ways, which although representing a multiracial Appalachia, is limiting as to how Cherokee and Shawnee Native Americans are represented and can also present them as quite staid and possibly could support the "'vanished Indian' myth" (Slapin & Seale, 1998, p. 192). Also, since many of the Cherokee illustrations are in black and white or are primitive drawings and woodblock type prints and are sometimes cordoned off in decorative frames, which can cause a detachment between the reader and the illustration (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006), there is a limitation to these illustrations depicting a vibrant and existing culture.

Only one reference to race is included in Ford's (2012) *Affrilachian Tales* in the final story, "A Bedtime Story": "Your Uncle Joseph said the mermaid was beautiful, black skin shining as that sun went down, black hair like a bolt of silk spread out on the water, black scales like sparkling mica stone all along her fish's tail" (p. 147), and Ford's (2012) book does not include illustrations. Ford (2012) includes markers in her stories that possibly refer to an African, African American, and Affrilachian heritage, such as the Swahili name Zuri in the tale "Zuri Killed Me," a tale that includes hyenas and elephants as protagonists, and dialect, such as the

word “Sistah” (p. 119), which might suggest an Affrilachian pronunciation. As a lot of the stories’ texts are not directly racially, ethnically, linguistically or, even, regionally connected, the lack of illustrations or textual descriptions, as well as infrequent cultural and linguistic markers in the tales that might help evoke an Affrilachian, African American, or African heritage and add to the idea of a multiethnic/multiracial Appalachia are not as prevalent.

However, since an overwhelming majority of the Anglo Appalachian stories included human characters (58 of the 59 tales) and all of the books include illustrations, it would seem that almost all of the characters in 15 of the 17 Anglo Appalachian books (or 56 of the 59 tales), including the four young adult collections, appear to be White men and women in appearance. Some exceptions in the Anglo Appalachian tales are Johnson’s (2000) *Bearhide and Crow* that includes a stereotypical depiction of a “gypsy woman,” a mysterious background character wearing a shawl over her head, two Jack tales by Johnson (2001a, 2002) that picture Jack as a boy with brown skin, curly black hair, and brown eyes, Dulemba’s (2010) *Soap Soap Soap* in which the protagonist has brown skin and dark hair and eyes, appears to be Hispanic and lives in a multicultural neighborhood, and the blacksmith in Salsi and Young’s (2013) *Jack and the Giants* who appears to have brown skin compared to the protagonist, Jack. But, since the Anglo Appalachian stories include more illustrated representations of humans from Appalachia, it would still appear that the corpus reinforces an “Anglo-Saxon Appalachia” (Biggers, 2006, p. xii).

As representations of a multicultural Appalachia are definitely presented in the sample, which helps start to soften the stereotype of a wholly “Anglo-Saxon Appalachia” (Biggers, 2006, p. xii), the lack of human protagonists, the lack of direct references, the use of mostly standard English, and the lack of detailed illustrations make it difficult to fully absorb the breadth of a

multiracial multiethnic Appalachia. And, since an overwhelming number of the stories with human characters in them either have illustrations in which most of the characters are assumed to be White or do not include illustrations, this would reinforce the representation that the Appalachian area is White, as the animals included as characters in a majority of the Cherokee and Affrilachian stories do not offer a sense of racial or ethnic identity. In order to view Appalachia as a multiracial and multiethnic area, a multitude of studies about the area that present an inclusive multicultural reality as well as more multiethnic multiracial representations in Appalachian children's literature could add to the understanding of Appalachia as a diverse region.

Reinforced Gendered Representations

As it is imperative for all children to be able to locate their individual experiences in literature, literature must provide multifaceted characters and represent a plethora of gender roles in order to do this adequately. However, generally, the representations of gender and sexuality in these folktales are traditional and stereotypical (Ragan, 2009; Zipes, 1987) with 132 incidents of gendered representations traversing the four cultural communities. Although this could be indicative of folktales regenerated from a patriarchal, traditional past, the scarcity of and representations of genders outside of a heterosexual masculine identity does not allow for the type of representation needed to insure an inclusive mirror of Appalachia. The vast majority of the protagonists and characters in these tales are identified as male either through the pronouns used or their appearances in illustrations. This would assume that male characters can initiate adventures that lead to fabled status worth retelling, and women cannot. In addition, because there were fewer stories that included strong, dimensional female and LGBTQ+ protagonists or

characters in this corpus of folktales, the representations and tactics that were coded could seem more indicative of heterosexual males in general.

The male protagonists in these folktales have developed personalities, although possibly due to the cycle stories that have recurring male protagonists. These male characters are commonly tricksters, and they exhibit complex ethical makeups (Hyde, 2010; Pavesic, 2005). The Cherokee trickster tales are meant to teach ethics, but the story typically ends with the trickster Rabbit getting away with the trouble he has caused, mostly unscathed and as mischievous as ever. In the Anglo Appalachian tales, Jack escapes unharmed and, ethically, at least, none the wiser, making the take-away the tactics he uses to advantage himself (de Certeau, 1984). The Affrilachian stories are really the only stories in which the male characters generally learn the moral that is intended. The cyclic stories from both the Cherokee and Anglo Appalachian folktales reiterate to readers that these predominantly male protagonists are able to get away with trickery, stealing, laziness, foolishness, violence, selfishness, etc. and have the abilities to assimilate right back into their respective communities without consequence.

Although 62 of the 114 (54%) tales include female characters, female characters are completely absent from 52 (46%) of the tales. In the tales in which females are included, they are usually secondary characters, and particularly in the Anglo Appalachian Jack tales and Affrilachian tales, these women are not offered designations outside of their relationships to males in the story, including “The King’s Girl” (Chase et al., 2003, p. 83), “The Doctor’s Girl” (Chase et al., 2003, p. 114; Salsi & Young, 2008, p. 119), “Mrs. Noah” (Ford, 2012, p. 44), etc. Additionally, in the stories that include female characters, the female characters are typically represented in one of the following seven conditions:

- (1) they are in need of rescue or help (i.e., Chase et al., 2003; Ford, 2012; MacDonald & Kanzler, 2007; Salsi & Young, 2008, 2009; Shelby & McArdle, 2007);
- (2) their deeds, words or instructions are not respected or heeded (Chase et al., 2003; Duvall & Jacob, 2009; Ford, 2012; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000; Shelby & McArdle, 2007);
- (3) they are represented in a negative light as witches, secretive, an adulteress or murderers (Chase et al., 2003; Dominic & Reasoner, 2003; Ford, 2012; Salsi & Young, 2008);
- (4) they are not able to make their own choices, and males determine these women's futures (Chase et al., 2003; Ford, 2012; Salsi & Young, 2008);
- (5) they are naïve (Chase et al., 2003; De Las Casas & Gentry, 2012; Ford, 2012; Shelby & McArdle, 2007);
- (6) they are placed into traditional roles (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004; Ford, 2012; Johnson, 2000; Shelby & McArdle, 2007), or;
- (7) they are absent altogether.

In three Cherokee tales that have female protagonists, these characters do not appear until the middle or end of the tale (Allen & Rogers, 2014; Duvall & Jacob, 2002; Hayes & Dawson, 2012; Keams & Bernardin, 2014), although they eventually assume the most important role in an advantageous outcome for all. In *The Adventures of Molly Whuppie and Other Appalachian Folktales* (Shelby & McArdle, 2007), where Molly is put into the protagonist role, some stories still show the female protagonist in gendered roles and jobs, such as cleaning up for an Ogre, working as a secretary, etc. Two of the four Affrilachian tales (Ford, 2012) that have women protagonists include women who need men to be providers. Therefore, only a small percentage

of the tales contain women protagonists (approximately 21%), and even when there are women protagonists, they are sometimes introduced later in the tale or have gendered roles (Zipes, 1987). Therefore, representations of strong self-reliant women are minimal in these Appalachian folktales, and the representations of women who have a measure of independence are depicted in traditional roles.

The illustrations presented in these Appalachian stories are also gendered. In the tales that contain pictures or drawings that depict human females, almost all of the females are wearing dresses, and in 65% of the Anglo Appalachian books that contain women characters, the women are pictured wearing aprons. Although these illustrations show women in gendered roles – cooking (De Las Casas & Gentry, 2012; Johnson, 2001b; Shelby & McArdle, 2007), churning butter (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004), hanging out laundry (Johnson, 2001a), etc. – the addition of an apron even without a traditionally feminine action depicted invokes gendered household roles. In contrast, in 71% of the Anglo Appalachian books, the male characters are pictured wearing overalls. In Chase et al.'s *Jack Tales* (2003), a majority of the distinguishable black and white drawings in the book show Jack with overalls, and overalls are mentioned 12 times in 8 tales. The propensity towards showing Appalachian characters in overalls is also noted in Alexander's (1987) study on Appalachian children's literature. This representation would undoubtedly reinforce a gendered stereotype that Anglo Appalachian women wear dresses and aprons, and men wear overalls and are barefoot.

Only a fifth of the stories in the sample include women characters that occasionally show strength, intelligence, and cunning. Prominent examples of strong women characters include the story "Three Suitors" (Ford, 2012) in which a woman does not choose any of the male suitors, does not choose to marry and lives happily ever after, "Molly and the Unwanted Boyfriends"

(Shelby & McArdle, 2007), where Molly uses magic to rid herself of persistent boys who wish to marry her, *Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun* (Keams & Bernardin, 2014), *Light Comes to the Mountains* (Hayes & Dawson, 2012) and *First Fire* (Allen & Rogers, 2014) in which an older female spider helps her people by making the long dangerous journey to bring back the sun and fire to her people, and the Shawnee Tale *Red Hawk and the Sky Sisters* (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003) in which the Morning Star leaves and takes her son with her to go back to her father without telling her husband. Although a few stories help reinvent gendered representations in Appalachia, there are not nearly enough to complicate the bulk of the stories that depict traditional gender roles.

Additionally, the tales only include romantic pairings between a male and female, so these tales represent Appalachians as solely heterosexual. Again, this could stem from the regeneration of folktales originating in a traditional past, but as a majority of the protagonists in these folktales are heterosexual males, this could construct a stereotype that might deny any other possibilities for gender and sexuality in Appalachia. This could also repudiate that female or LGBTQ+ characters can be inserted into independent lead roles, trickster roles, upend power structures and have adventures (Zipes, 1987). Because of the absence of women and LGBTQ+ persons in a majority of these tales, women in a variety of contexts and women and men in same sex relationships, the representations and tactics that are discussed in these folktales could be said to represent heterosexual men much more so than women or persons identifying as LGBTQ+.

Conclusion

In answering this question, one could say that these authors and illustrators present Appalachians as a complex cacophony of reinforced representations. Viewed separately and void

of context, the codes extracted from these folktales predominantly reinforce representations, but viewed inclusively or contextually, could most likely reinvent representations. Each of these representations can have intersecting and contradictory layers of meaning according to its context in a story or reader's perspective or be fleeting when offered negations. So, although I offer an answer to this question by singling out representations in the sample, synthesizing them into themes and discussing possible reinforcements or reinventions, it was apparent, as noted previously, that inflexible and contradictory representations plucked one by one out of a contextual smorgasbord can only go so far in representing anyone in a truly accurate and authentic way (Cai, 1998). Additionally, the method for describing a range of representations, especially the use of contradictory words as descriptive codes for a gamut of representations – peaceful/violent, etc., felt limiting, inflexible and monologicistic. In other words, the limitations in the codes used to describe the representations make it difficult to reflect the actual heteroglossic context of these tales to offer a dynamic understanding.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, the framework for this study, de Certeau (1984) addresses this same dilemma regarding the need for identity and representation in texts, but the innumerable limitations that come with being represented by the “limpidness of a *word*” (p. 149). De Certeau, like Appalachian scholars (Billings, 1999; Billings, Pudup, & Waller, 1995; Ferrence, 2012; Harkins, 2008; Shapiro, 1978), perceive representation as problematic, describing it as a mechanism of a strategy (beliefs, laws, and representations enacted by those holding social, economic, or political power). Through subtraction and addition, de Certeau (1984) noted that a representation is imposed and enacted on our bodies to restrain and codify by those elite who produce the language (p. xiii), eventually “*making the body tell the code*” (p. 148, emphasis in the original). This, then, establishes credence for the representation and normalizes it, which is

very much the way representations, thus stereotypes, historically came to plague the Appalachian Region and possibly why Appalachians have just as adamantly resisted the “limpidness of a word” (De Certeau, 1984, p. 149, emphasis in original) by foregoing definitions.

Earlier in this chapter, I quoted the Greek philosopher Theognis, “Cleverness is more valuable than inflexibility” (as cited in Hyde, 2010, p. 54). In Chapter 4, one can envision how representations pulled indiscriminately out of their interconnected contextual nesting and linked to a strategy – “pristine,” “backwater,” “Anglo-Saxon,” and “pitiful” (Biggers, 2006, pp. xii-xiii) – can become inflexible and reinforce representation through essentializing and rendering descriptions static. However, reinventions of Appalachian representations in these folktales are mostly contingent on two ambiguous and oscillating gauges: 1) the collective heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) of these representations, constantly interrupting, contradicting, melding, reinventing, and oscillating between terms (de Certeau, 1984, p. 119) and 2) the dialogic clash when readers’ unique experiences travel across the texts, illustrations, dialect, and language, mingling, mining and poaching what they will to create “an indefinite plurality of meaning” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 169). In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) describes readers with the same unpredictability often assigned to tricksters (Hyde, 2010; Lock, 2002), “not here or there, one or the other, but neither the one nor the other, simultaneously inside and outside, dissolving both by mixing them together” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 174). Destabilizing variables, such as these, rationalize the ongoing debate about the amount of “truth” that can actually be assessed from representation (Bradford, 2007; Said, 1978). Thus, de Certeau (1984) emphasizes the need to move beyond studies on representation to look at practices:

Many ... works have sought to study the representations of a society, on the one hand, and its modes of behavior, on the other. Building on our knowledge of these social

phenomena, it seems both possible and necessary to determine the *use* to which they are put by groups and individuals. (p. xii – emphasis by author)

De Certeau goes on to name these uses tactics, agential practices in which the less powerful evade structures of power. Just as representations can become more staid descriptors, tactics offer animated representations in the form of dynamic practices that can reflect, refute, ignore or use representations specifically for gaining agency and advantage in a situation. Without the tactics as a synergistic operative to representations, most representations in Appalachian folktales could deceptively be assumed to only reinforce representations and stereotypes then when looking critically at a more comprehensive picture.

CHAPTER 5

Tactical Resistance in Folktales from the Appalachian Region

“He has not one chance, but a hundred chances” (Emerson, 2017, p. 32).

Looking comprehensively at the representations in these folktales reaffirms the inclination for Appalachian protagonists to elude description, to fluctuate, not remaining any more of one thing than another, and always intent on disrupting generalizations. However, this should not be surprising when analyzing such stories ripe with the trickster discourse. With tricksters teeming through these folktales, their intention is to deconstruct “even narrative wisps in the elements of culture” (Vizenor, 1989, p. 277). Finding themselves always in a vast array of constraining social frameworks without the immediate ability to escape, these Appalachian tricksters and characters attempt to unburden themselves of norms and laws that dictate their behaviors, to “outwit them, to pull tricks on them, to rediscover...the ‘art’ of the hunters” (de Certeau, 1984, p. xxiv). De Certeau (1984) refers to these “tricks” in *The Practice of Everyday Life* as “tactics” (p. xxiii). Tactics are recurring practices in the folktales of the Appalachian Region, using wit, logic, action, words, relationships, humor, etc., to alter a situation where the protagonist, not in a position of power, both uses and disrupts social frameworks, or “strategies,” dictated by the powerful to advantage him or herself (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). These practices, formerly disguised in stories for entertainment and, nowadays, camouflaged as folktales, compile a historic guidebook of subversive tricks (de Certeau, 1984; Zipes, 2012) for navigating restrictive hegemonic strategies.

Before synthesizing the tactics into their various themes and analyzing their ability to disrupt ideologies about Appalachia and Appalachians, it is important from a top-down analysis (Bradford, 2007, 2009) approach to remember that folktales in and of themselves are unabashed tactics. Folktales, according to Zipes, “harbor and cultivate the germs of subversion and offer people hope in their resistance to all forms of oppression” (2009, p. 21), and de Certeau likens telling folk stories to “telling ‘coups’” (1984, p. 80). These tales become medians for change as they act to induce alterations in their audiences, readers, and tellers’ experiences for many different purposes, including entertaining, moralizing, envisioning possibilities and potentials, explaining the existence and order of things, instilling cultural, social, and religious values, etc. And, they are not limited to merely describing a movement, but as de Certeau emphasizes, they instead instigate a movement (de Certeau, 1984).

Folktales can exhibit how tactics can be pulled off successfully, cautioning which tactics might not work in certain situations, or by tactically presenting meanings that are contrary to, but end up emphasizing, the intended message, such as in the folktales employing reverse psychology. Many of the Native American tales and some of the Affrilachian tales are *pourquoi* and creation or origin stories. As mentioned in Chapter 4, they tell of how rabbits came to have short fluffy tails (“How Rabbit Tricked Otter” in Ross and Jacob’s (2003) *How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories*; Duvall and Jacob’s (2003b) *How Rabbit Lost His Tail*), how possums came to have long rat-like tails (“Why Possum’s Tail Is Bare” in Ross and Jacob’s (2003) *How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories*; Duvall and Jacob’s (2005) *The Opossum’s Tale*). They also explain how the world was created (Yasuda and Pennington’s (2013) and Wagnon and Stephenson’s (2018a) *How the World Was Made*) and how fire or the sun was brought to the earth (Hayes and Dawson’s (2012) *Light Comes to the*

Mountains, Keams and Bernardin's (2014) *Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun*; Allen and Rogers' (2014) *First Fire: A Cherokee Folktale*). To explain the origin and why of things, reflecting one's own cultural and spiritual beliefs, is very empowering, making one feel a part of, integrated with, and responsible for the universe. They also reflect the power one holds in the world, even as part of a marginalized population, to make lasting change, to instigate, revolt and evolve. Folktales, like Allen and Rogers' *First Fire* (2014), Keams and Bernardin's *Grandma Spider Brings the Sun* (2014), Hayes and Dawson's (2012) *Light Comes to the Mountains*, Wagnon and Stephenson's (2018a) and Yasuda and Pennington's (2013) *How the World Was Made* and Duvall and Jacob's (2002, 2006) *The Great Ball Game of the Birds and Animals* and *Rabbit Plants the Forest*, for instance, show how a character or characters, thought to be the smallest, oldest or meekest and incapable of changing the current state of existence, accomplishes what no one else is able to do. In other words, these tales inspire movements (de Certeau, 1984).

And, if folktales are tactics, then the generations of Affrilachians, Anglo Appalachians, Cherokee and Shawnee who have transported and transmitted them through time and space through oral story-telling, authorship, illustrations, publications, readings, etc. continue to be tacticians. The bequest of these tacticians, whether in full or in part, is memorialized in a certain time and space, which, in the case of this study, is in book form. Some of these tacticians influence their audience and their audiences' experiences from that point forward, altering their desires and views (Chambers, 1991) and planting notions of subversive practices that could indeed launch counter-hegemony and spark movements (de Certeau, 1984; Freire, 2000; Zipes, 2012). The most unpredictable of these tacticians, though, is the reader, who interjects "his or her broad spectrum of archetypes, stereotypes, analogies, and associations—all of what is related to

his or her cultural identity, socioeconomic position, and for sure, correlated to his or her own and personal life” (Riascos, 2007, p. 258) into a text. Future readers of these stories have yet to poach through these tales along with their already complex experiences and contexts, so the outcome is wholly unknown (de Certeau, 1984).

Folktales from the Appalachian Region were transported over time and space along with their tellers (from Africa to Appalachia, from Europe to Appalachia, and from Appalachia to Oklahoma, and beyond), constantly amended by experience and reflecting new contexts and pertinence, eventually reaching the experiences and imaginations of these authors, illustrators, compilers, editors, publishers and readers, some from Appalachia and some not. Thus, it is important to view each folktale in this study as a tactic embedded within generations of tactics from generations of past and future tacticians with persistently differing contexts and intents, each having a part in creating and recreating this one space and time that can be carried forward in the form of experience and will eventually play out in new tactics and new spaces and times. Looking at folktales in this way, therefore, makes them an extremely complex and daunting subject to unpack.

Tactics in the Appalachian Folktales

This chapter is dedicated to answering the second research question – What prevailing tactics (de Certeau, 1984) do the authors and illustrators from the Appalachian Region include in their folktales, and how do these tactics serve as ideological disruptions of who and what constitute “Appalachia”? After multiple readings of the folktales and the recursive coding of tactics within and across texts, I determined that there are three definite tactical themes that traversed the four cultural communities’ folktales: 1) Practicing “Mētis” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 81), 2) Practicing Interdependence, and 3) Practicing “Stereotype-fu” (Savage, 2011, p. 225).

To determine descriptors that could encompass all that was included in these broad themes and explain the various tactical dynamics that exist and subsist in the folktales, I used the themes “Practicing ‘Mētis’” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 81), which, in the end, incorporated the most codes for tactics located in Appalachian folktales. The second most abundant type of tactic was “Practicing Interdependence,” collaborating with peers to insure advantage, and the third, “Practicing ‘Stereotype-fu’” (Savage, 2011, p. 225) describes the phenomena of using stereotypes creatively to one’s advantage. The following sections will include definitions of these terms, more information about what these themes entail, and clear examples from the folktales.

Although separated into themes that describe an aggregate tactical behavior composed of various codes, and codes, that describe an individual tactical action within that theme, these tactics themes or codes, like the representations in Chapter 4, should be considered as symbiotic. For instance, if a protagonist was offered information by another character (under the theme Practicing Interdependence and the code Utilizing Information Shared by Others) that prompted an action (under the theme Practicing Mētis and the code Acting Deceptively) to take place, then the tactic was counted in both of these themes. Therefore, the action of garnering information from another character was counted as one tactical code under Practicing Interdependence, and the action taken in light of this information was counted as a separate tactical code under Practicing Mētis. Therefore, just as with the representations, these tactics are intricately synergetic and congruent.

Also, while studying the representations along with the tactics, I felt it was important to distinguish between the states of mind that these tactics *may* conjure for readers, in particular Appalachian readers, while coding them as opposed to the coding of the representations. As

Lindahl (2001) wrote, "...one of the great failures of American folklore scholarship is to mistake the skeleton of justice for the real thing by ignoring the intensely local and personal ethos that these tales convey for their native speakers" (p. 81). Therefore, it was important for me to express this ethos in a distinguishable way. Whereas the codes for the representations were better emoted as adjectives, (e.g., independent, rebellious, etc.), which could ostensibly be firm and fixed when separated from their context, these themes and the codes under the themes, on the other hand, were expressed in gerunds, as is used in process coding (Charmaz, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to denote action in the data and, in this case, to also emote motion, progression, and infinite possibilities for outcomes.

Practicing Mētis

In the chapter "Storytime" in de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Things* (1984), he discusses the power of stories to transmit mētis, a word that he defines as meaning everything "from know-how to trickery" (p. 81). The name and eventual term mētis originates from Greece mythology, the Goddess of Wisdom and Counsel, and is usually used to mean cunning wisdom, what de Certeau (1984) identifies as the "ultimate weapon" (p. 82). According to de Certeau, one's mētis is tacit knowledge that comes out of inventoried experience to, when unconsciously summoned, help one navigate hostile environments. In other words, the use of mētis is opportunistic. However, mētis is not wisdom one is particularly conscious of accumulating, but remains repositied right up until the precise juncture of space and time when it is needed.

Mētis incorporated the most tactical codes – eight – found in the folktales from the Appalachian Region, due to its scope. Many of the folktales from the four cultural communities contain trickster characters that are constantly scheming, talking their ways in and out of things, acting, bluffing, using their acute intuition about people to deceive and manipulate them, etc.

Therefore, the codes under this theme certainly accumulated. However, to study these tactical practices on a foundational “everyday” level, as I assume de Certeau (1984) intended, it became important to separate the individual tactics from the trickster. In other words, as many tricksters usually act deceptively and lie, these two tactics might be assumed and overlooked if one studies the tales based on the trickster discourse as opposed to individual tactical actions within a tale. To get the full effect of the tactical actions in these folktales, I studied the tactics on an action by action basis without making generalizations about the trickster discourse.

Although I had read my theorist de Certeau (1984) prior to coding the folktales and certainly must have read over the word *mētis*, the use of this word only came about after coding the tactics, while recursively revisiting de Certeau to analyze the data as part of critical content analysis. For me, *mētis* formed a scope that incorporated all eight tactical actions that I had previously coded that helped consolidate these codes under one theme that had previously been eight. The codes that eventually formed the theme Practicing *Mētis* and the codes’ definitions are included in Table 5.1. Table 5.2 shows the codes with their incidents per tale and per book along with the cultural communities’ folktales presenting the art for practicing *mētis*. Each tactic will be discussed within the overall theme, Practicing *Mētis*.

Table 5.1. Definitions for the Eight Tactical Codes under Practicing *Mētis* in Alphabetical Order

Practicing <i>Mētis</i>	
Tactical Code	Definition
Acting Deceptively	Acting in a secretive manner or keeping a secret
Applying Know-how	Foreknowledge and experience utilizing material resources for ingenuously and quickly making do in space and time to advantage oneself
Enacting Revenge	Conceiving of and enacting a plan to get retribution
Exercising Physicality	Using physical practices and dexterity to advantage oneself

Foiling Another's Plans	Preventing another's plan from being carried out
Playing It Safe	Taking a moment to plan or making a plan, not taking any action, knowing when to remove oneself from a situation, or removing oneself from a situation altogether
Reading Persons, Personifications, or Context	Recognizing other actants' intentions and motivations in a context to anticipate and possibly counter or thwart their actions
Winning with Words	Using words, or the lack of, to advantage oneself

Table 5.2. Total Number of Coding Incidents Per Tale/Per Book and the Cultural Communities Represented for Practicing Mētis in Order by Frequency

Practicing Mētis				
Tactical Code	Total # of Incidents	Total # of Tales	Total # of Books	Cultural Communities Represented
Winning with Words	321	82	27	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Reading Persons, Personifications, or Context	131	63	23	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Acting Deceptively	112	74	25	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Enacting Revenge	68	68	26	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee
Foiling Another's Plans	62	60	21	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee
Playing It Safe	52	38	23	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Applying Know-how	38	38	17	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Exercising Physicality	36	36	19	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee

Winning with Words

The most prolific tactic under the theme Practicing Mētis, Winning with Words, was also noted by Lindahl (2001) in *Perspectives on the Jack Tales and Other North American Märchen*: “...Jack is elevated by his power to rename a situation, winning with words what he cannot capture any other way” (p. 78). Not only was the ability to win using words apparent in the Jack tales, but it was applicable to most all of the Appalachian tales. As Smith (1997) contends in the book *Writing Trickster*, “The trickster’s medium is words. A parodist, joker, liar, con-artist, and storyteller, the trickster fabricates believable illusions with words—and thus becomes author and embodiment of a fluid, flexible, and politically radical narrative form” (p. 11). Winning with Words was initially coded as several specific subgroups of verbal tactics. However, these codes were prevalent unto themselves, including verbal skills such as bluffing, exaggerating, lying, minimizing, placating or stalling, rationalizing, making excuses, questioning, taunting, and tattling. Finding this quote in Lindahl (2001), though, was like identifying the theme Mētis when revisiting my data through close readings of de Certeau (1984). Winning with Words offered the scope that I needed to amalgamate these various phenomena into a code that could accurately represent what these tacticians were able to pull off with words, or the lack thereof, in these folktales. The characters used their verbal agency to navigate, manipulate, or “rename the situation in which they find themselves” (Lindahl, 2001, p. 77). In these folktales, the tacticians chose words for maximum advantage in a situation and to manipulate the situation towards a desired outcome.

For example, exaggeration in these folktales is the “norm rather than the exception” (Morgan, 2013, p. 134), and it is frequently used as a way for the protagonists to advance themselves in other characters’ perspectives, especially when the protagonists’ physical statures

or positions do not necessarily bolster what they allege. However, exaggeration, especially as a form of boastfulness, can also get the characters into dangerous situations that they do not foresee, although they frequently deliver on these exaggerations, even if perilously. This makes the fulfilment of what initially seems to be pure exaggeration attainable and mythical, because the reader is privy to the initial farce. Exaggeration in Appalachian folktales seems to serve two purposes: (1) to make characters appear initially more capable than they are and (2) to prompt action, and maybe even success, that might initially seem impossible. The power behind these hyperboles is that the reader, knowing the full fallacy behind the exaggeration, still witnesses the ability and wit of the character to accomplish feats thought unachievable against powerful foes.

The trickster rabbit in the Cherokee tales, for instance, often uses exaggeration to bolster his position among the animals. Of course, Rabbit's exaggerations are less effective, since he boasts and exaggerates most of the time, but Rabbit finds that exaggerating his abilities often gets him into dangerous situations. However, like Jack in the Anglo Appalachian tales, Rabbit ends up delivering on his exaggerations in legendary ways. In the two versions of "Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting," Rabbit wants to impress Otter (Duvall & Jacob, 2004b) and the other animals (Ross & Jacob, 2003) with his duck-hunting abilities, although he has never attempted, and has no reason, to catch a duck. After Otter catches a small duck, Rabbit attempts to outdo him by catching the largest duck. After Rabbit gets ahold of the largest duck's foot, the duck takes off from the water dragging Rabbit with him. Seeing that the duck does not plan on landing, Rabbit lets go and falls down into a hollow log, where he then has to escape from hunters. Although Rabbit's exaggerations get him into trouble, his quick wit gets him out, again turning an exaggeration into an extraordinary feat.

The tricksters' words become extremely powerful and effective weapons of resistance, deception, and self-preservation and are much too complex to be interpreted literally (Hill, 2009; Vizenor, 1989). For example, situations that especially show the adeptness of these tacticians to orchestrate a favorable outcome using words include a complicated correlation between exaggerating and minimizing, two verbal behaviors that would seem to be contrary. Such pairings require the tacticians to have an expansive understanding of human nature, as the protagonists use words to seemingly minimize their abilities, actions, or accomplishments in exaggerated ways, ironically, to appear, on their end, (1) either humble and meek or (2) implicitly in complete control of a situation in order to usurp the power dynamic and, depending on the desired result, elicit another character's praise, awe, sympathy, fear, or admiration.

In most instances, the characters, usually tricksters, find themselves in unintended hazardous situations, and they manage to get out of these situations virtually unscathed, by pure luck, only to downplay the danger as nothing he or she could not handle or had not handled before. Or, even when these situations are utterly unintentional, if the outcomes are positive, the protagonists speak as if their actions are intentional, to show his or her control over a situation or outcome. Although the protagonist and the reader are privy to the reality of the situation, the antagonist is limited to the appearance offered by the "humble" protagonist, seemingly in total control of the situation, and the humble words of the protagonist lead the antagonist to, instead, view the protagonist as extraordinarily brave, magical, mighty, or credible.

In three versions of one Jack tale, *Fearless Jack* (Johnson, 2001a), "Jack and the Varmints" (Chase et al., 2003) and "Big Man Jack" (Salsi & Young, 2008), when the king (Chase et al., 2003) or sheriff (Johnson, 2001a) tries to recruit Jack to take care of some scary beasts that have been terrorizing the countryside/town, Jack, as well as the reader through the

words and illustrations, knows that he is apprehensive and that he has absolutely no intention of putting himself in such dangerous situations. However, he unintentionally stumbles into these beasts on his way out of town. The illustrations in both Johnson (2001a) and Salsi and Young's (2008) versions of the story show a petrified Jack running away from these beasts with wide scared eyes. Through pure luck, Jack manages to either corral or hinder the beast while essentially trying to save himself. After each situation, though, Jack minimizes his part in wrangling the beast to make himself appear to be extraordinarily brave and adept.

Jack went on his way. He decided varmint hunting was a might too risky. Figured he would just slip on over to the next town and try to stir up a regular job of work there. It might not pay as good, but it was sure to be a sight healthier.

Well, no sooner had Jack got out of town than he heard a frightful snorting and snarfing. Looked around and here come the biggest, most fee-rocious wild boar he had ever seen.

"OOOOeeeeeee!" Jack flew whippety-split down the holler with that monster hog slicing at the seat of his britches.

Jack was in luck. He spied an empty corncrib and he headed straight for it. He ran inside and climbed up to the top. That old boar was right behind him, but it couldn't climb. So it just rared up and started gnashing and slashing, trying to get at Jack.

Jack slipped on over the top and down the outside of the corncrib. He ran back around to the door, slammed it shut, and wedged it tight. When the old boar figured out what had happened, it took a conniption fit. It charged the door, but the door held.

Jack went back to town, strutting and whistling.

"Did you see any of them varmints?" asked the sheriff.

“Well, I don’t know if it counts, but I did come across a little pig shoat,” said Jack. “Right cute little rooter, but it got to pestering me. So I grabbed ahold of its tail and slung it in a corner. You might ought to take a look, just to make sure it ain’t one of them varmints.”

When he saw that boar all penned up, the sheriff’s eyes got big as dinner plates.

“Well, Fearless Jack, I misjudged you. Didn’t really take you for such a mighty hunter, scrap of a lad like you.” (Johnson, 2002, para. 29-37)

Incidents of minimization for effect disrupt reinforced representations of “modest” Appalachians (Jones & Brunner, 1994) in these stories. Although it can seem as if the characters are trying to diminish their abilities and feats, through an advanced knowledge of complex human nature, minimization is used to make these abilities and feats seem even more exaggerated, incredible and impossible, conjuring the opposite emotion. It is not meant to lessen one’s amazement, but to heighten it instead.

The protagonists also win with words by placating other characters and stalling as a means of momentarily satisfying another character’s motivations or stopping the trajectory of the action in order for the protagonists to pursue their own best interests or change the outcome. As a result, placating acts as either a buffer to anything that might hinder protagonists from their pursuits or as a facade from behind which the protagonists engage in other tactics to advantage themselves, while stalling provides a stopgap in the current action giving the protagonists just enough time to put together a scheme to usurp power. Rabbit in the Cherokee tales uses his abilities to placate and stall as a way of stopping the present action, usually involving his survival, in order to escape. In the two versions of the same tale, *Rabbit and the Wolves* (Duvall & Jacob, 2005b) and “Rabbit Escapes from the Wolves” (Ross & Jacob, 2003), Rabbit stops the

wolves momentarily from devouring him by placating their love for dancing and singing. Rabbit tells the wolves, who have surrounded him, that if they are to eat him right away, he will not be able to show them the new dance he just thought up:

Well, everybody knows that wolves love to sing, but Rabbit knew they also love to dance. Sure enough, the wolves let Rabbit up and formed a circle around him while he got ready to sing. Rabbit made a great show of clearing his throat and preening his fur. At last, he began patting his feet and humming. Then he started to dance around in a circle. (Ross & Jacob, 2003, p. 25)

As the wolves get caught up in the new dance that Rabbit is teaching them, they do not notice that he has danced across the field towards the forest tree line, and eventually, the wolves get so distracted enjoying their singing, dancing and stomping that Rabbit quickly disappears into the forest. Just as with most of the tactics, placating and stalling require the ability to read people and their motivations quickly in a variety of situations to subvert the action to one's advantage. These tacticians seem especially adept at knowing how to placate and stall, because they frequently find themselves in precarious situations.

The Native American writer Gerald Vizenor (2005) describes his trickster characters as “word warriors,” which infers a competition for both survival and power using words (p. 18). The characters in these tales could definitely be called “word warriors,” as they try to find verbal opportunities to shake momentarily or unseat permanently the characters in power or to make and claim opportunities for themselves to insure their survival or victory. These characters show themselves to be “bamboozling,” “scheming and charming verbalizer[s]” (Nicolaisen, 1994, p. 146). Winning with Words would tend to negate representations of an isolated and asocial or “backwater” Appalachia (Biggers, 2006, p. xii), because of the obvious experience that these

tacticians have had in a plethora of situations with innumerable people in order to gauge the right words to use to procure a desired result for themselves. Winning with Words could also problematize a “pristine” and a “pitiful” Appalachia, as these characters are not always wholesome in their methods nor do they, in the end, appear incapable.

Reading Persons, Personifications, and Contexts

Tricksters must be good at reading people quickly and home in on their frailties and motivations, in particular (Chung & Kungnip-Minsok-Pangmulgwan, 2014). Characters traversing the Appalachian folktales used in this study, especially the trickster characters, also show keen intuitions, when walking into new contexts, to anticipate other characters’ weaknesses, thoughts, motivations, the social order, norms, etc. The trickster absorbs the strategies of a space quickly and tacitly flips back through his or her past social experiences and experiments to eventually mete out a tactic to upend the social order and get a desired reaction. This would assume two things: (1) the protagonist is cognizant of and experienced with strategies (hierarchy, social order and norms), and (2) he or she knows how to navigate or even upend them for his or her purposes.

Lyn Ford’s (2012) story “Spider and Snake” in the Affrilachian collection relays the story of Spider trying to trick Snake out of his beautiful colorful coat. In order to do this, Spider goes to a cool place “where he figured Snake would eventually come” (p. 81), and as soon as he sees Snake slithering through the grass, he quickly appears as though he has been hurt. Snake asks Spider what he could do to assist him, and Spider tells him that he is awful cold and weak and would get some comfort from Snake’s coat. As soon as Snake offers Spider his coat, Spider jumps up, pulls the coat off Snake’s body, and runs away with it. Knowing Snake’s innate behaviors, such as finding a cool place to rest, and empathy for others, Spider takes advantage of

the Snake's motivations and good nature to take what he wants, although in this *pourquoi* tale, Spider is left perpetually spinning gray webs, because of his disregard for Snake.

In the Anglo Appalachian tale, *Bearhide and Crow* (Johnson, 2000), the protagonist, Amos, appears to be reluctant to part with truly worthless items because he is able to read the conniving antagonist's desperation to have them. When Sam asks Amos to part with what he supposes is a magic talking crow, Amos extracts the best outcome for the situation by equivocating:

“Nope,” said Amos. “I couldn’t part with my talking crow. It was just telling me about another stash of gold over in Turkey Holler.” Amos put the crow on his shoulder and made like he was leaving.

“What’s your hurry?” said Sam. “Sarah Jane is just setting the table. Stick around and have a bite to eat.”

“Well, I don’t mind if I do,” said Amos, so he sat down at the table and had his fill.

When Amos had sopped up the last dab of gravy, Sam said, “Now, about that crow? Tell you what: I’ll trade half my golf for it.” Being the greedy type, Sam was itching to own Amos’s talking crow. If he could figure out where folks had stashed their goods, why, he’s be a rich man in no time.

“You drive a hard bargain, Sam,” said Amos. “My wife is out to tan my hide. I need to buy her somethin’ pretty, so I reckon I’ll swap.”

Amos took half the gold and handed over the crow. (para. 33-37)

The illustration shows Sam, Sam’s wife, and Sam’s dog and goat all crowded around Amos sitting at the table, smiling in insincere appeasing ways, while Amos happily eats a plate stacked

with food. Because Amos is able to recognize, provoke and exploit Sam's motivations, Amos ends up with all of Sam's gold for a useless crow and a moth eaten bear hide. It is apparent that the characters in these tales, the tricksters in particular, carefully observe the other characters, determining their natures and weaknesses, to wield against them. More than likely, this ability is not honed from an asocial solitary existence, as this tactic would take a great deal of experience and practice in a variety of circumstances with a plethora of people to master (Dimitrius & Mazarella, 2008). Additionally, these books rarely relay stories about protagonists who did not eventually have contact with people or animals outside of their immediate families. So, the ability to read other characters' natures and motivations belie the isolation apparent in the books through the texts and illustrations. This tactic could also be said to stretch beyond the pages of the book to include how the authors, illustrators, or tellers of the story mold their tale to their audiences, as well.

An illustration in Paul Brett Johnson's (2001b) *Old Dry Frye* lends itself to demonstrating the authors and illustrators' ability to anticipate their readers' reactions. A few pages before the end of the book, as an older couple who find the preacher Old Dry Frye's body in their smokehouse are sending Old Dry Frye riding off on their mean-spirited horse, it seems that the swat to the backside of the horse with a broom dislodges the chicken bone stuck in Old Dry Frye's throat. In the picture, Old Dry Frye's arms are thrown in the air and his eyes are open as the chicken bone is projected out of his mouth towards the ground. Johnson obviously wanted to leave the reader with the possibility that Old Dry Frye was not dead at all and soften the readers' apprehension that the corpse of an asphyxiated preacher is riding around the Appalachian countryside on a horse for all of eternity. Although Johnson does not draw attention to this possibility in the text, this subtle clue offers readers an alternate ending for Old Dry Frye.

Acting Deceptively

The code, Acting Deceptively, refers to the various tactics used to mislead others through secreting information, schemes, abilities and actions. These tactics involve a cognizant stream of subtle actions, including listening, reasoning, planning, taking action, etc. and can work with other tactics to secure desired outcomes. Many of the Appalachian tales involve tricksters that are disadvantaged whether by size, strength, position, or power. In the *Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) includes a quote from von Clausewitz's *On War*: "Trickery is possible for the weak, and often it is his only possibility, as a 'last resort': 'The weaker the forces at the disposition of the strategist, the more the strategist will be able to use deception'" (p. 37). Since tricksters can be initially viewed as marginalized in these narratives, often by their diminutive stature or social situation in relation to the other characters in the illustrations, their deceit provides the trickster a handy weapon for equaling out, if not overcoming, disadvantage

(Cooksey, 1998). The overwhelming messages spanning these folktales are looks are deceiving and assumptions are dangerous.

In the Anglo Appalachian tale “The Adventures of Molly Whuppie” (Shelby & McArdle, 2007), for instance, Molly Whuppie overhears the giant talking about how she intends to kill and eat Molly’s sisters. Molly’s awareness of the giant’s intentions causes her to use deception to save her sisters’ lives. Molly sneaks into the giant’s daughters’ bedroom where her sisters are sleeping and changes the red nightcaps on her sisters’ heads with the white nightcaps on the giants’ daughters’ heads, so the giant would mistake the two and beat her own daughters instead of Molly’s sisters.

However, deception is also used for teaching morals as in the Affrilachian tale “Frog and Rabbit” (Ford, 2012). Frog is annoyed by Rabbit’s constant greediness in gobbling down their food and is determined to teach Rabbit a lesson. He comes up with a cunning plan. He makes a big pot of soup and secretly hops into it, which Rabbit, happening upon the soup, gulps down, unknowingly swallowing Frog in the process. Frog begins to rumble around and upset Rabbit’s stomach and croaks “Greedy” each time Rabbit opens his mouth to burp. Rabbit decides that he should not have been so greedy, and eventually, when he expresses his shortcoming, Frog jumps out of Rabbit’s stomach. This *pourquoi* tale explains why frogs croak “greedy” and why rabbits nibble their food instead of gobbling it down.

Acting Deceptively becomes even more powerful when the actant is never discovered by the one being acted upon, such as Turtle in Ross and Jacob’s (2003) “Rabbit Races with Turtle,” who uses his look-alike family to win a race against Rabbit. Turtle places his family at intervals along the race route, and as Rabbit hurriedly hops along, he gets views of a turtle always in front of him. As Rabbit never discovers Turtle’s ruse, these instances present the reader with the

satisfaction of a perpetual tactic. The outcome of which is never to be revealed or reversed, but will have lasting power if kept a secret, teaching the reader that keeping such a secret can prolong advantage. Rabbit will always consider himself beaten by Turtle, and Turtle will always know that he has tricked the trickster.

Secreting one's knowledge, abilities, and thoughts, which may eventually come to fruition in actions, offers a character an excellent means of not showing his or her hand, giving one a measure of control in less powerful positions. Such secrets and deception also ensure that one's plans or schemes will not be thwarted until the power is either momentarily wrestled from the powerful's hand or, in some cases, switches hands. Since the reader is usually let in on the ruse, it is evident that power is often weighted in a tale according to the ways that a character's power is relevant or irrelevant to the immediate context, and it is usually the antagonist's power which becomes inconsequential to the context, allowing the protagonist to usurp power momentarily. Also, the antagonist's motivations usually become clear to other characters, often making deception simpler and the antagonist more vulnerable.

Enacting Revenge

The protagonists in the Appalachian folktales are initially presented to the reader as approaching a situation having less power, strength, or money than their adversaries. This unequal balance in power triggers a causal effect of an equal or greater retaliatory reaction by the protagonists to any intuition of harmful intent or negative action taken by their adversaries. By performing acts of revenge, the balance of power, again, is either equalized or tilted in the opposite direction.

For instance, in *How Medicine Came to the People*, Duvall and Jacob (2003a) tell the story of mankind and their destructiveness to the animals that share their environment. The

animals decide to create diseases and sicknesses as a revenge that will harm man with the same disregard as the animals have been shown. Although the plants eventually come to the humans' rescue to be used as medicine for these illnesses, the normal nature power hierarchy is momentarily upset, where the hunted become empowered.

In another instance, Molly, in Shelby and McArdle's (2007) "Molly and the Unwanted Boyfriends," takes revenge on three arrogant brothers that have unwelcomely come around to court her. When they try to force Molly to kiss them, Molly puts momentarily curses on all of the boys; one's hand is stuck to a doorknob, one to a coal shovel, and one to a cat. This, of course, discourages the boys from ever having intentions towards Molly, and Molly continues to get "along just fine" (p. 45). The Affrilachian tale (Ford, 2012), "Three Suitors," is much like the Shelby and McArdle (2007) tale, but instead of a magical revenge, the woman arranges for the three men to meet her at the same time and place and humiliates them in front of each other by rebuking each man in turn.

The tactic of Enacting Revenge could certainly work to reinforce stereotypes of "revenge-seeking hillbillies" (p. 142) and "backwater" or "pitiful" Appalachians (Biggers, 2006, p. xiii), as is apparent with the representations of vengeful and violence coded in the tales. Revenge, however, is almost always a reaction in answer to a previous wrong against someone or something (Thompson, 1977). So, although a defensive tactic, the ability to enact revenge shows agency for retaliation and can serve to disrupt deep-seated strategies, norms and rules constructed by the powerful, in an instance (de Certeau, 1984), such as mistreatment or disregard, and exhibit the ability for agency and the capability for effecting hegemony in the end.

Foiling Another's Plans

The name for this code Foiling Another's Plan is akin to de Certeau's description of "foiling the other's game" (1984) in *The Practice of Everyday Life*:

...the space instituted by others, characterize the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations. (p. 18)

Several of the Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee tales contain situations where the protagonists are placed in adversarial environments or situations where they are not under their own "forces" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 17) and must quickly find a way to navigate someone else's territory for their own safety. I envisioned the code Foiling Another's Plan as having a narrower scope than de Certeau's (1984) general description to include incidents in which the adversary, usually the antagonist, has a plan in mind, a scheme, that he or she thinks will assure him or her a conquest over the protagonist. In many of these incidents, because the adversary feels so certain of an advantageous outcome, he or she dares to toy with the protagonist to prolong his or her sense of triumph, which gives the protagonist time enough to reverse fortunes and "foil the other's game" (p. 17).

When the Rabbit is caught by the Tar Wolf in the Ross and Jacob's (2003) version of this Cherokee story, the Rabbit is at the mercy of the other animals who are angry with him for stealing water. The animals discuss ways of killing Rabbit, but each time the Rabbit would laugh and come up with an excuse as to why that method would not work on him:

Every way that was proposed to kill Rabbit made him laugh harder and insist that it was useless. At last, Fox said that maybe it would be good to throw him so deep into the briar thicket that he would never find his way out. At that, Rabbit began to cry and beg and

plead with them, saying that he would get lost and starve. The others were delighted to see Rabbit finally afraid of something, so they hurried to do as Fox had suggested. (p. 53)

Rabbit is tossed far out in the briar patch, landing on what turns out is familiar ground to him. As he bounds away, free, he calls back ““Didn’t you know? This briar thicket is where I live!”” (p. 53). Rabbit is able to foil another’s plan not only through acting as if he is frightened of the briar patch, but due to the other animals’ assurance in their command over his faith and complete obliviousness to where Rabbit lives.

Likewise, when Molly is caught by two giants in Shelby and McArdle’s (2007) “Molly the Giant Slayer,” she tries to placate the giants, by asking if she could be of help to them, as she imagines there are probably things that are not easy for them to do, because they are so big. The giants decide that Molly can help them get through the gates of a nearby kingdom, so they can kill the queen and take over. Molly proceeds to get into the kingdom and unlocks the gate for the giants. However, the giants are too big to fit through the gate. Molly tells the giants that if they can stick their heads through, she will help them in the rest of the way. The grayscale illustration at the first of the story shows a front profile of the giant’s big head stuck through the door of the gate, and a tiny Molly, about one-twentieth the size of the giant’s head, is standing as the only thing between the reader and the giant. This is the only illustration for this story, and like many of the illustrations in these folktales, it juxtaposes a big antagonist to a small protagonist, setting up the impossibility of an advantageous outcome for Molly. However, as the first giant sticks his head through the gate, the text relays that Molly chops it off. She tells the second giant to help push his brother through the gates, and when the second giant is able to stick his head through the gate, Molly cuts his head off, too, foiling their plans.

Several tactics can work symbiotically within the tactic of Foiling Another's Plan, like the codes Winning with Words, Applying Know-how, Reading People, Personifications and Contexts, etc., to allow one to react in the moment. Foiling Another's Plan often comes to fruition in the last moments of a story, winding up in a total reversal of fortune or in power. And, as was discussed in the code Acting Deceptively, when a story ends on a tactic, there is a perpetude to the tactics, making it that much more powerful and enduring.

Playing It Safe

There are plenty of situations in which the characters play it safe, which can entail hiding from danger, biding their time, pulling back and considering reason over wants, ignoring instructions that might seem unsafe and adhering to advice that seems sound, taking short cuts, taking a moment to study the situation, hedging, not acting, retreating, etc. Reading through the stories, I coded each of these incidences separately, but it took pulling back from specific codes to determine these codes' commonality included the amalgamated tactic of Playing It Safe, an overall code for an array of actions in which the protagonist's ultimate goal is to insure his or her own safety and security in a situation through any number of ways.

Studying. One of the most prevalent modes of Playing It Safe was initially coded as "studying." All four samples include commentaries on the advantage of deliberating and thinking things carefully through before acting and the disadvantages when one does not. Certain phases denote this in the Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, and Cherokee tales, such as "think on" (Affrilachian: Ford, 2012, p. 111), "study about/on/awhile" (Affrilachian: Ford, 2012, p. 130; Anglo Appalachian: Chase et al., 2003, p. 6, 23, 48, 64, 85, 114, 118, 127, 154, 162, 178; Shelby & McArdle, 2007, p. 51, 71), and "think" (Cherokee: Ross & Jacob, 2003, p. 9). This was especially prominent in the Anglo Appalachian tales where the character commonly

contemplates a situation and a plan before proceeding. Unlike other characters in the story, the reader is privy to the character's hesitation to act without having a plan, but the reader is usually not privy to the plan in advance to save the ingenuity for the storyline. However, it is extremely obvious in these tales that there is an advantage that comes with careful and deliberate contemplation and planning, thus "study on it" become a tactic that insures the characters' ultimate safety (Chase et al., 2003, p. 64).

Taking short cuts. Another means of Playing It Safe is Taking Short Cuts. The tactic, Taking Short Cuts, is shown both as a worthless and helpful tactic, with any advantage to be gained by using this tactic depending on not getting caught. Otherwise, taking a short cut is not found to be advantageous. Ultimately advantageous or not, though, the practice of taking short cuts was a tactic consistently used by characters that fit into the consolidated code of Playing It Safe. The Cherokee tales frequently show how this tactic, if discovered, is not advantageous. In *Yonder Mountain* (Bushyhead, Bannon, & Rodanas, 2002), two of the three young Cherokee men instructed to go to the top of mountain to bring back something to benefit their community stop at various heights along the way instead of going all the way to the top. Although they find gem stones and medicinal plants that they consider will benefit their society, they disobey the elder chief to go to the top of the mountain and are passed over as chief for the one young man who did as instructed.

In another Cherokee tale, "How Deer Won His Antlers," (Ross & Jacob, 2003), Rabbit seeks an advantage to an upcoming race with deer by attempting to clear a pathway. When he is caught by Mole, the animals decide that Deer should receive the antlers, since Rabbit has cheated. On the other hand, in the story "Rabbit Races with Turtle" (Ross & Jacob, 2003), Turtle enlists his similar-looking family members to help him take a short cut to trick Rabbit. Turtle,

sick of Rabbit's bragging, challenges Rabbit to a race, and as mentioned previously, Turtle positions one of his family members at the top of every ridge in the race to appear as if the Turtle is always ahead of Rabbit.

Rabbit ran even faster, and when he came to the top of the second mountain, he looked all around, expecting to see Turtle somewhere in the long grass. He looked up—and there was the sun glinting off Turtle's shell as he crossed the third ridge! Now Rabbit was truly surprised, and he was beginning to be worried. He gave his longest jumps ever to catch up. When he reached the top of the third ridge, he was so tired and out of breath he could only fall over and cry as he watched Turtle cross the fourth mountain and win the race!

The other animals gave the race to Turtle, and everyone wondered how slow Turtle had managed to beat Rabbit. Turtle just smiled and never spoke of it, but it was really very easy. (pp. 55-56)

These tales encourage the use of short cuts if an individual is assured he/she can get away with them, as they will bring advantage. But, if he/she gets caught, the tales also teach that this does not bode well for and can have lasting consequences on one's character, as he or she will be labeled as cheating or haphazard. Therefore, these tales not only exhibit and extol the use of tactics in advantaging oneself, but they also teach the reader cultural stratagem to using these tactics successfully and what can occur if one is careless and a tactic is not successful. Just as much can be learned from these characters' mistakes as their successes.

Applying Know-how

This tactical code is an antecedent of pure Mētis, as described by de Certeau, but Mētis, in turn, would not be possible without this “encyclopedia... treasure of past experiences” (de

Certeau, 1984, p. 83) that prompt the ability to envision how available resources can make do in time and space. De Certeau described Mētis as being everything “from know-how to trickery” (p. 81). Just as Mētis depends on an opportune time and space in which to pull a tactic, it also depends on having the ingenuity and creativity to create a “bricolage” with what is available in that time and space to procure advantage (p. xv).

Johnson’s (2002) *Jack Outwits the Giants* illustrates the depth of knowledge and familiarity necessary for quickly making use of what is on hand to advantage oneself. When young Jack happens upon the giants in the story, he is overwhelmed by their immense size and knows that he surely is not going to be able to act on them physically. He decides his best chance for constraining the giants from killing and eating him is to use his wit or tricks to make the giants think that he is bewitched. After a narrow escape from a beating by the giant, which left the giant and his wife considering that Jack could perform magic, Jack is asked to do a variety of difficult chores around the house to prove he is enchanted:

The [two-headed] giant-man rubbed first one chin and the other. “Well, young Jack, if you been witched you’ll have to prove it. They’s five milk-cows up in the pasture. I want you to carry ‘em all down here on your back and milk ‘em. Anybody that’s been witched ought to be able to do a little chore like that. If you can’t, then I’m going to eat you for breakfast.”

“Easy as pie,” said Jack. He headed for the pasture, but he was mighty worried. “I can’t carry *one* cow let alone *five*!”

Just then Jack noticed a patch of milkweed growing by the fencerow and he got an idea. He ambled over, plucked a few milkweed pods, and snuck ‘em in his pocket.

“Hey, Mister Giant-man! I got a better idea,” Jack hollered. “It’s too much trouble to go way up to the pasture. If it’s all the same to you, I’ll just milk a few of these rocks layin’ around the front yard.”

“That’s about the foolishhest notion I ever did hear!” said the giant-man.

Jack didn’t pay him no mind. Just bent over and acted like he was picking up a rock. At the same time he pulled a milkweed pod out of his pocket. Jack held out his fist, squinched his eyes, and gritted his teeth. Lo and behold a line of milk started dripping down!

“*How’d you do that?*” asked the giant-man.

“Easy as pie,” said Jack, and he did it again. (para. 20-27)

When the giant tries to do the same thing, he just manages to break boulders into sand, building more superstition in the giant’s mind about Jack’s magical abilities and causing more hesitancy toward killing him. Jack’s prior experience with the consistency of milkweed pods, knowing that a white watery substance comes out when one squeezes them, helps him during this intersect of space and time when asked to carry cows, realizing simultaneously that he cannot physically carry cows but the vital importance of keeping up his bewitched ruse. The fundamental know-how, knowing milkweed pods and their physiology, is obviously gained before this chronotope and makes Jack’s further tactics possible, saving and deepening his bewitched ruse, which eventually saves his life.

In this same manner, two versions of the Cherokee tale, Ross and Jacob’s (2003) “How Rabbit Tricked Otter” and Duvall and Jacob’s (2003b) *How Rabbit Lost His Tail* relay how Rabbit tricks his friend Otter out of his beautiful coat, eventually resulting in Bear trying to catch Rabbit to get his friend’s Otter coat, yanking off Rabbit’s tail in the process. Rabbit, in this story,

is jealous of Otter's beautiful coat and plots a scheme to steal it. By happenstance, while stoking a fire one evening, "an idea began to form in his [Rabbit's] mind" about how he could trick Otter out of his coat (Duvall & Jacob, 2003b, para. 18). Rabbit tells Otter about a place where fire falls from the sky, and Otter, of course, wants to see this magical place. Rabbit and Otter take off to spend the night at the spot. Rabbit convinces Otter that he should take off his coat to protect it in case the fire should start falling and jump in the river should it be necessary. Just as Otter gets to sleep, Rabbit takes a stick (Ross & Jacob, 2003) or paddle (Duvall & Jacob, 2003b), throws coals from the fire into the air and yells that fire is falling from the sky and for Otter to get in the river. Startled awake, Otter jumps into the river, leaving his coat unattended, which Rabbit steals. This knowledge that Rabbit absorbs by simply stoking a fire becomes inventoried as know-how that, when the time is ripe, he utilizes to advantage himself, and this successful experience again augments know-how for the next such opportunity and so on.

Also, when Jack happens upon a band of robbers in Chase et al.'s (2003) "Jack and the Doctor's Girl," he is coerced into stealing an ox. He heads out early in the morning to steal the ox from a man who he was told would be passing by on his way to town. Although he did not have any idea how he would steal the ox, Jack "happened upon a stout piece of rope" that he carried along with him without knowing "just what he'd do with it" (p. 118). When Jack hears the farmer, he places the rope around his body hiding it with his coat and making it look as if he had been hung. The farmer sees Jack hanging from the tree and decides to tie his ox to the tree and go back towards his home to have someone come and help cut him down. While he is gone, Jack steals his ox. Then, Jack is coerced into stealing another ox from the man by the robbers. This time, "he saw a brand-new woman's shoe there on the floor where the robbers had dropped it. Picked it up and took it with him" (p. 119). By placing this one shoe in the farmer's path not

once, but twice, the farmer considers a pair of shoes worthy of retrieving. So, the farmer, not knowing that this shoe is the only one, ties his ox up to a tree and heads back to find the first shoe that he left in the road, since just one shoe is worthless. And, Jack steals his other ox.

Appalachian tales are filled with such ingenuity. These opportunists can easily improvise with what is at hand (Hyde, 2010) and “demonstrate that confronting power from the under-side requires a gritty resourcefulness, a willingness to take what is at hand and turn it into a tool of subversion” (Ray, 1998 p. 139). Mundane, otherwise useless, objects in one’s environment are put to use in creative ways, becoming weapons in the hands of these protagonists (de Certeau, 1984).

Exercising Physicality

Although there are not very many incidents that emphasize the subjective physical use of space and they are mostly found in the Anglo Appalachian sample, they are worth noting briefly to offer a comprehensive definition of *Mētis*. Just like de Certeau’s (1984) example of walking in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, in which pedestrians are able to apply their own subjective purpose to routes and dominant spaces to advance their physical aims, such as taking shortcuts to get from one place to another quicker, the tactic Exhibiting Physicality also relies on the movement of the body to enact a subjective purpose in a space to advance one’s aim. For example, in the three different versions of the same tale (Chase et al.’s (2003) and Hick et al.’s (2000) “Jack and the Robbers” and Davis and Harvill’s (2001) *Jack and the Animals*), the ability of the downtrodden protagonists, in this case, Jack and an old cow, donkey, dog, cat, and rooster, to prevail over the robber is dependent on their subjective physical movement in a certain time and space. In this tale, Jack happens upon older animals that have outlived their usefulness. Jack invites them along on his journey, and eventually, hungry and tired, they come upon a deserted

house that has a feast set on the table and, in some versions, gold and money laying around. Jack assumes the house, whether by location or appearance, must be inhabited by robbers, but he and his group go into the house and make themselves at home, eating a big meal. Eventually, though, the robbers venture back to check on the house after dark, and Jack and the animals either hide in the version for younger children (Davis & Harvill, 2001) or get “ready for a fight” in the versions for young adults (Chase et al., 2003; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000, p. 35). When one of the robbers appears, the animals attack him in the dark of the night in their own barrage of subjective ways – clawed by the cat, bitten by the dog, kicked by the mule, and gored by the cow, while the rooster crowed. The illustrations of this attack in the Davis and Harvill (2001) picturebook comically exaggerate the features of the usually innocuous looking animals. The dog and cat’s teeth, the cat and the rooster’s claws, the cow’s exceedingly long tail, and the rooster’s sharp beak make them look beastly to exemplify the robber’s fright. The robber runs off and tells the others that the house is filled with witches (Chase et al., 2003; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000) or monsters (Davis & Harvill, 2001) and that he was attacked brutally by four of them, while yet another (the rooster) was on the roof crying, “Throw-him-up-here-too” (para. 53). The robbers decide to leave the house and all that is in it to the supposed witches and monsters. In this story, the characters individual subjective physical aims to scare off the robber is enacted in a space not of their own but to benefit their collective outcome.

In two stories, “Hardy Hardhead” (Chase et al., 2003) and “Hardy Hard Head” (Salsi & Young, 2008), Jack has to pass the ability to gain advantage in a dominant space to other characters that have the subjective physical aim to do so. This story is similar to the Chinese folktale “Ten Brothers,” in which the brothers all possess a special supernatural talent that eventually contributes to the well-being of them all. In this story, Jack wishes to save the King’s

daughter from a witch who has bewitched her. After Jack meets up with a donor character (Propp, 1968), a secondary character that renders assistance to the protagonist, and offers this character half of his food, the donor character gives him a magic boat that can sail on land and sea and instructions to pick up the men he meets along the way. Jack notices the unique supernatural physical talents of the people he picks up: a man who could bust boulders and trees with his head, one who could eat whole cows or sheep, one who could drink a whole creek, another that is a fast runner, one that could hear the slightest noise distances away, a man who could see long distances distinctly, and a man who is a sure shot with a gun. Jack confronts the witch, and with the help of these men and their physical talents, he is able to answer the witch's propositions, defeat the witch and rescue the king's daughter.

With these few incidents coded in the tales, it seems that protagonists sometimes have to rely on their or others' physical practices to seek advantage in a situation. So, the physical applications of characters, which collide in a time and place, is coded under Practicing Mētis, because of the characters' agency to act physically in the best way to gain advantage. Physical practices often add to the humor of the tales, but many times, the sheer happenstance of what the characters are able to affect with mortal bodies becomes mythical.

Practicing Interdependence

This second theme of tactics includes a sensibility of the need for interdependence between peers to secure a member's or group's well-being or ultimate success. Practicing Interdependence is a constant theme in all of the samples, with the ideal often being benevolence and a reciprocity between people and/or things having less power. Tactics included in this theme often show a keen understanding of communal navigation and an "ability to adjust to various situations" (Singelis, 1994, p. 581) that can work to debunk any notion of the purely isolated or

antisocial existence of Appalachians. Indicative of this theme, Interdependence tactics are practiced by one or many characters in the tales, which might or might not include the protagonist. This theme is different from the tactics that can be enacted individually, such as Practicing Mētis, because these tactics depend on one's interactions with others, as does the next theme of Practicing Stereotype-Fu, as well as a reliance on another or others. The following tables include definitions of the various codes under Interdependence, the total number of incidences recorded by frequency and tale, as well as what cultural communities' folktales are included these codes in their folktales.

Table 5.3. Definitions for the Four Tactical Codes under Practicing Interdependence in Alphabetical Order

Practicing Interdependence	
Tactical Code	Definition
Availing from Information Provided by Other Peers	Going into a situation with trustworthy helpful information
Banding Together to Gain Advantage	Showing strength in numbers
Excluding One from the Group	Banding together to expel a troublemaker from the group
Using Individual Talents to Benefit the Group	Using one's personal skills and abilities to provide for the collective good

Table 5.4. Total Number of Coding Incidents Per Tale/Per Book and the Cultural Communities Represented for Practicing Interdependence in Order by Frequency

Practicing Interdependence				
Tactical Code	Total # of Incidents	Total # of Tales	Total # of Books	Cultural Communities Represented
Availing from Information Provided by Peers	83	38	18	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee

Banding Together to Gain Advantage	46	31	17	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Using Individual Talents to Benefit the Group'	41	30	21	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee
Excluding One from the Group	8	6	5	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee

Availing from Information Provided by Peers

It is often contingent upon a character, seemingly having less power, to seek out, listen to and/or heed the information offered by other characters of the same status. The need for or acceptance of information is never viewed in the tales as something about which to be embarrassed. It is more prevalent that, if one does not seek necessary information or heed the information offered by another, the results are not favorable; therefore, these tales impart that the experiences and information peers can provide, offered in support of one's well-being, are something that should be observed for success. And, one should especially follow advice that emanates from an experientially supportive place. Information is usually volunteered through love and friendship, through donor characters in exchange for benevolence, because one is an underdog and is on the same side of a power struggle, etc.

All of the cultural samples show this same possibility for success when heeding well-meaning advice. In the Anglo Appalachian version of the three little pigs, *The Pig Who Went Home on Sunday* (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004), the third little pig recognizes the vast difference between the caring advice to build a house of brick, offered to him by his mother, and the advice about building his house of leaves which the stranger fox tries to offer him. By heeding his mother's advice and building his house of bricks, he remains safe from the fox. In the Affrilachian tale, "Hyena and the Big Cheese" (Ford, 2012), Big Brother Hyena and his family

are in need of water during the dry months. Big Brother Hyena overhears some birds talking with each other “about a place where the water was abundant and clean, and the grass grew soft and green, and the trees were filled with fruit” (Ford, 2012, p. 74). Because of the information Hyena overhears from the birds in a similar predicament, he is able to guide his family to water.

Conversely, when sound information is not heeded, it usually results in hardships, precarious situations, or death. In the Cherokee tale, *Rabbit Plants the Forest* (Duvall & Jacob, 2006), Rabbit and Squirrel do not listen to the wisdom offered them by an elder squirrel about the Wampus cat and are caught off guard when they come face to face with it, and in *The Pig Who Went Home on Sunday* (Davis & Mazzucco, 2004), the first two pigs do not listen to their mother’s instructions and build their houses of cornstalks and hay, so they are easily gobbled up by the wolf. In the Cherokee creation tale *The Land of the Great Turtles* (Wagnon & Stephenson, 2018b), the creator tasks children with taking care of the great turtles in order to continue living on an island and having all they could need. When they fail to take care of the turtles as instructed, their families have to leave the island.

Overwhelmingly, the source of and method of obtaining the information become paramount in these tales. Information offered by characters in similar or lower financial or power situations or information obtained in clandestine ways can be trusted. In the Jack tales, since Jack often disobeys the women characters concerned about his well-being, it would seem that in the Anglo Appalachian tales, men are more often believed than women. Similarly, information emanating from sources in more powerful positions should always be suspect, unless the information is obtained in clandestine ways.

Banding Together to Gain Advantage

Just as the adage says that there is strength in numbers, there were several instances in the tales where the instinct to band together allows a possible or much bigger response to an adversarial situation than what a single being can muster. This tactic appears prolifically in all of the cultural samples and mostly benefits the characters who band together for their collective well-being. This code amplifies the representations of collectivism in the tales.

In Bruchac, Ross, and Stroud's (2005) *The Story of the Milky Way*, for example, the community comes together to scare away a great spirit dog who is eating an elderly couples' cornmeal:

It was so big that many of the people were frightened and wanted to run, but the wise old woman whispered, "Do not be afraid. Only wait for my signal."

The great dog came to the bin and began to eat, filling its big mouth with the white cornmeal.

"NOW!" the Beloved Woman shouted.

Then all the people rose up, beating their drums and shaking their rattles:

THUM-THUM THUM-THUM

SHISSH SHISSH SHISSH SHISSH

The noise was as loud as the Thunderer when he speaks. The great dog leaped in fear and began to run, but the people chased it, still beating their drums and shaking their rattles. (pp. 22-24)

By banding together to scare the spirit dog, it creates a greater, more intimidating response. The spirit dog jumps into the sky, dropping corn meal out of its mouth as it leapt, which in this *pourquoi* tale is said to have been how the Milky Way was formed. Additionally, in the two

versions of the same story, *Rabbit and the Well* (Duvall & Jacob, 2008) and “Rabbit and the Tar Wolf” (Ross & Jacob, 2003), the animals come together during a drought to dig a well to benefit those in the community that assist with digging the well. Tactics under the heading of banding together for advantage communicate that one’s well-being might be dependent on others for help and that a unified force, even of marginalized persons, shows strength to outside threats and can usually procure a more effective outcome.

In Participatory Development in Appalachia: Cultural Identity, Community, and Sustainability, Lalone (2009) notes:

Appalachia is a region in which there is a long tradition of helping each other and pooling local labor to get things done. If something needs to be done for the benefit of the community, strong and effective action can be mobilized along the existing connections between families and neighbors, which in turn penetrate into local business and politics, forming the internal structure of each community. (p. 214)

Of course, interdependence tactics that call for banding together for the well-being of all balances out tactics that are independently enacted, complicating any exclusivity of these tactics. They also illuminate the array of tactics available to these tacticians at any moment and their evolving mindsets according to context that engender these tactics.

Using Individual Talents to Benefit a Group

Using Individual Talents to Benefit a Group melds individualism and collectivism, supposedly dualistic social models, into a necessary interchange (Hossain, Skurky, Joe, & Hunt, 2011). Characters in these stories individually hone and use their specific talents to benefit their community, and the community benefits from people having a multitude of talents to bolster the

whole. Although this tactic is usually considered intrinsic in a collective society, these tales often laud the rewards of lending one's talents to help others.

The two versions of the Cherokee creation story *How the World Was Made* (Wagnon & Stephenson, 2018a; Yasuda & Pennington, 2013) tell about the animals on earth initially living in crowded conditions and how several of the animals attempted to remedy this situation, so that they would have plenty of room to spread out. After searching for more dry land and not finding any, the Beaver decided more land had to be available under the water. Although all of the animals tried to determine if there was more land to be had under the ocean, none were able to dive down far enough to capture the land. The smallest water beetle asks to help. Making it to the depths of the water, the beetle returns with mud that is too wet to support the animals. However, Beaver enlists a buzzard's help to dry the mud with its wings and make land on which the animals can live, but when Buzzard flaps his wings too hard, the mud forms the mountains. Likewise, in the picturebook *The Story of the First Flute* (Hurst & Sharp, 2001), the community members each have a talent that becomes their responsibility to perform for the community, which is similar to the animals in the animal tales, who all use their innate talents for the good of the community: Turtle is the wise doctor, Rabbit is the messenger, Squirrel is the planter, Cricket is the barber, etc.

MacDonald and Harvill's (2017) Anglo Appalachian story, *The Wishing Foxes*, tell about two sisters, Bess and Tess, who have very different personalities. Bess is very congenial and personable, and Tess is not. When her mother asks Bess to go get some water from the well, Bess is able to agreeably make her way through several seemingly ferocious animals and satisfy three foxes in order to get their blessing, which includes gold coming out of her mouth when she talks, diamonds falling out of her nose when she sneezes, and her kindness shining whenever she

washes her face. Conversely, when Bess' disagreeable sister Tess is asked to go get water from the well, she does not show kindness to the various beasts she meets along the way, and she is not very accommodating to the foxes, who curse her with toads hopping out of her mouth when she speaks, corn coming out of her nose when she sneezes, and her meanness showing on her face when she washes it. Because of Bess's compassion and personability that leads to reward, she is asked forever after to go get water from the well for her family.

As part of the tactic of Interdependence, Using Individual Talents to Benefit a Group is a recognition that interdependence is essential, as others' talents and skills are often as necessary as one's own to secure personal advantage. Because of this reciprocity, these folktales, particularly the Affrilachian, Cherokee and Shawnee folktales, express that talents should be contributed willingly with no expectation of reward to assure personal as well as collective well-being, although cooperation is usually rewarded emphasis in these folktales. Also, in these folktales, this tactic is a visceral response and responsibility for adding to or remaining a part of one's community. Although this tactic could reinforce clannish (Snyder, 2014) and "pristine" (Biggers, 2006, p. xii) stereotypes associated with Appalachians, this code also cements a necessary synergy between individual talents and collective well-being.

Excluding One from the Group

Although this does not initially sound like interdependence, a few tales include instances where a group makes a joint decision to exclude a character for acting contrary to established social norms, for acting independently instead of interdependently. Most of these instances are due to a character not contributing to the well-being of others in a situation where survival depends on interdependence. Although these coded incidents are included in the Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, and Cherokee tales, they are more plentiful in the Cherokee and Anglo

Appalachian tales. This code of an interdependent decision to exclude one member from a group provides contrary ways of how the practice of interdependence can be defined.

The Affrilachian tale, the Cherokee tales, and one of the Anglo Appalachian tales include exclusion as a punishment for a character, Cat in the Affrilachian tale “Why Dog Chases Cat” (Ford, 2012), Rabbit in the Cherokee tales (Duvall & Jacob, 2008; Ross & Jacob, 2003), and Jack in Salsi and Young’s (2008) “Jack and the Heifer Hide” and Chase et al.’s (2003) “Heifer Hide,” not adding to the collective well-being of the group. In the two versions of the same story, “Rabbit and the Tar Wolf” (Ross & Jacob, 2003) and *Rabbit and the Well* (Duvall & Jacob, 2008), Rabbit is excluded from the animal community, and almost killed by the other animals in Ross and Jacob’s (2003) version of the tale, because he steals water from the community well that he refuses to help the other animals dig during a severe drought; “You’ll not have any of our water, you lazy rabbit!” (Duvall & Jacob, 2008, para. 30). Cat in “Why Dog Chases Cat” (Ford, 2012) decides not to help dog secure and cook food as part of their collective endeavor, and Dog becomes so angry with Cat in this *pourquoi* tale that his instincts are now to chase Cat each time Dog sees him. When Jack refuses to help his brothers work the land in Chase et al.’s (2003) “The Heifer’s Hide” and Salsi and Young’s (2008) “Jack and the Heifer Hide,” Jack is ousted from their cabin and ends up wearing a dried cow hide when he outgrows his clothes.

Being excluded from a group appears to be the ultimate punishment in these folktales and is not as frequent in the stories, because they mostly reflect a necessary interdependence between living things. Because of the cyclical nature of most of these stories, the exclusion of a character, usually the trickster, is not permanent. However, this momentary exclusion does not quell

tricksters' unruliness or, in the Cherokee tales, make most characters especially leery of the Rabbit's devious tendencies the next time.

Practicing Stereotype-Fu

While going through the tales, an interesting recurring tactic seemed to develop out of stereotypical representations. There was much more to these situations than just what was recorded as representations, because the character progressed through the tale using a stereotype as an abstract shield behind which they could perform tactics, ironically afforded to the protagonist usually by the antagonist. De Certeau (1984) noted in *The Practice of Everyday Life* that tactics are generated through and make use of strategies, which in this case, is short-sided generalizations of the characters.

In some instances, the stereotyped character gains advantage over his or her antagonist by exaggerating the representations projected on them. Additionally, these stereotypes are used as a way of limiting the antagonist to his or her underestimations, which thereby restricts his or her foreseeability until it is much too late. Since belief in a stereotype limits the antagonists to oversimplifications, they become naïve to what the stereotyped characters can actually do. The antagonists' belief in stereotypes also makes their actions more detectable in advance – and ironically, very stereotypical. Still, in other incidences, the character does not rebuff the stereotype initially, but uses it as something to possibly fall back on in case of failure or as motivation to build on, and the stereotype is eventually rebuffed in the stereotyped characters' actions and abilities. The antagonist's use of stereotypes, in essence, creates the catalyst that results in innumerable tactics.

While researching this tactic, I found a blog, now consolidated into a publication, written by Steven Savage (2011), a self-professed “geek,” who wrote about how geeks are often

stereotyped by their looks, interests, hobbies, etc. About these stereotypes, he says, “what I prefer to do is not discount them or ignore them, but find ways to use them to MY advantage” (p. 143). This does not mean just passively accepting what is dictated by others but, instead, determining how a person defines oneself in a situation. This might include accepting and maybe even advertising some of those stereotypical traits to procure his advantage, while eventually revealing at an opportuned time that there is more than meets the eye. He termed this ability to use other people’s perceptions against them “Stereotype-Fu” (Savage, 2011 p. 225), and it was this phenomenon that was also noted in these folktales. The codes for this theme include:

Table 5.5. Definitions for the Three Tactical Codes under Practicing Stereotype-Fu in Alphabetical Order

Practicing Stereotype-Fu	
Tactical Code	Definition
Exaggerating Stereotypes for Advantage	Overplaying imprudent generalizations made to one’s advantage
Rebuffing Stereotypes	Ultimately making generalizations invalid through discrediting them
Using Stereotypes to Stymie	Using the antagonists’ assumptions to stall their responses

Table 5.6. Total Number of Coding Incidents Per Tale/Per Book and the Cultural Communities Represented for Practicing Stereotype-Fu in Order by Frequency

Practicing Stereotype-Fu				
Tactical Code	Total # of Incidents	Total # of Tales	Total # of Books	Cultural Communities Represented
Rebuffing Stereotypes	34	25	13	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee
Exaggerating Stereotypes for Advantage	22	13	8	Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee
Using Stereotypes to Stymie	14	12	10	Affrilachian, Anglo Appalachian, Cherokee, Shawnee

Exaggerating Stereotypes for Advantage

To the protagonists in these tales, stereotypes projected on them by other characters provide an impetus for using these stereotypes, like skillful actors taking on melodramatic roles, to their advantage in two ways. In some instances, stereotypes assure the fulfillment of the protagonists' intentions without having to make any effort. At other times, the stereotype is acted out by the protagonist in an exaggerated way, making any deficiency imagined seem even more pronounced than was initially thought.

Johnson's book *Old Dry Frye* (2001b), for instance, is about a preacher, who is well known far and wide for liking fried chicken.

A while back there was this preacher man who was plumb crazy about fried chicken.

Now, all preachers like chicken, but Old Dry Frye was the chicken-eatingest sermonizer that ever laid fire to a pulpit. So if you was having fried chicken for Sunday dinner, you might as well set out an extra plate, 'cause here would come Old Dry Frye with his nose a-twitchin' and his false teeth a-snappin'. You could just count on it. (Johnson, 2001, para. 1-3)

Christian beliefs and etiquette dictate that, by merit of their occupations, preachers and priests, "doing the Lord's work," often procure free meals, and Old Dry Frye in Johnson's (2001b) book adopts this stereotype wholeheartedly and even exaggerates it much to the chagrin of his parishioners, who are obliged by religious norms to feed him his (and their) beloved fried chicken that he has the uncanny ability to sniff out. The illustrations are exaggerated as well, as Old Dry Frye is represented as cartoonish overweight man hurrying away from the church to a parishioner's house in the distance following a floating curling waft of fried chicken. His eyes are closed, and his tongue is protruding out the side of his mouth as he follows his nose and the

waft down the well-worn trail, and chickens, not wishing to be his next meal, scurry to get out of his path. In addition, the emphasized refrain throughout the book, “EVERYBODY KNEW OLD DRY FRYE” (Johnson, 2001b, p. 5), seems to further this stereotype and exaggeration. If “Everybody knows Old Dry Frye,” everyone knows of his propensity for sniffing out a free meal of fried chicken. Old Dry Frye, therefore, advantages himself due to, first, religious norms and, second, what everybody knew of Old Dry Frye, which he certainly never attempts to disaffirm but, instead, exaggerates.

Likewise, when Jack find himself about to be cooked by the giant’s wife in Salsi and Young’s (2008) version of “Jack and the Giant’s New Ground,” he quickly exaggerates his youth and inexperience as a way of finding a way out of the situation.

Jack sat on the bench, but he’d already figured what was a’gonna happen. When the mama giant told him to turn one way he turned the opposite. She kept a’tryin’ to get him to do her way and he pretended not to understand. The woman thought he was fooled up in the head. She got him off the bench and said, ‘Jack I’m a’gonna show you how to sit the way I keep tellin’ ya’. (p. 160)

In the illustrations in Salsi and Young’s (2013) picturebook of the same story, the upper half of the giant’s wife’s body is in the oven with flames leaping out and across the double-page spread a tiny Jack is standing back gleefully smiling and dancing. By acting as if he did not understand the simple directions offered, he was afforded the opportunity to change the power dynamics in the story.

Because of protagonists’ extraordinary ability to detect the antagonists’ biases or preconceived notions, the protagonists in these stories gladly give the antagonists what they envision and more. An expectation is automatically constructed by the antagonists, that goes

along with the stereotype, dictating others' behaviors and actions and the antagonists' response, which often locks them into a routine; "So if you was having fried chicken for Sunday dinner, you might as well set out an extra plate.... You could just count on it" (Johnson, 2001b, para. 3). The protagonist happily accepts the role offered them in this comfortable, predictable situation and melodramatizes it to their advantage, sometimes waiting for the perfect opportunity to introduce unpredictability.

Rebuffing Stereotypes

Several of the folktales rebuff stereotypes that might either be interjected by other characters in the story or invoked by the reader, communicating that a person or thing should not be judged by their physical appearance or underestimated when it comes to being capable of producing the biggest impacts. A great deal of the stories in this collection introduce the reader to a protagonist that is young, old or small in stature. When this is not established in the text, the illustrations usually accentuate these stereotypes to make what comes later much more miraculous and inspiring.

In three Cherokee stories, *Light Comes to the Mountains* (Hayes & Dawson, 2012), *First Fire* (Allen & Rogers, 2014) and *Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun* (Keams & Bernardin, 2014), the littlest oldest female spider is the heroine, when after all of the other bigger and stronger animals try and fail to capture fire and the sun to bring to their side of the world. The illustrations in Allen and Rogers' (2014) and Keams and Bernardin's (2014) picturebooks both show this tiny spider in the middle of the bigger animals – a wolf, bear, owl, moose, rabbit, snake, and even a mouse – to add to the stereotype of this miniscule spider surely being incapable of such a feat when the bigger stronger animals have failed. This, of course, later adds to the amazing ability of the old spider to succeed. And, in *The Great Ballgame Between the*

Animals (Duvall & Jacob, 2002), smaller animals are rejected by the bigger animals that do not want them on their team; “‘Ho!’ Bear roared so loudly the little animals rolled backward several times. ‘So you want to play ball with us! Go and find a safe place to hide and watch us win this game!’ His loud laughter followed them all the way back to the path” (Duvall & Jacob, 2002, para. 17). These two animals, a flying squirrel and a bat, join the birds’ team instead and end up being pivotal to their team winning the game against the much bigger and stronger animals. In the two versions of the Cherokee creation story, *How the World Was Made* (Wagnon & Stephenson, 2018a; Yasuda & Pennington, 2013), the small water beetle braves the depths of the water to produce land so that all of the other animals will have a bigger place to live and spread out.

This same message is recurrent in many of the Anglo Appalachian tales, too. In some of the illustrated tales, Jack and Molly are represented in the text or illustrations as minute compared to the illustrations or depictions of the big giants, dragons/Dragaman, and Blunderbore. It appears impossible for these protagonists to have the ability to affect these larger stronger characters. However, Jack and Molly rebuff both these powerful characters’ and the readers’ stereotypes of them in the end. Additionally, the squirrel in de las De Las Casas and Gentry’s (2012) *Beware, Beware of the Big Bad Bear!* not only warns the family again and again of the danger of the bear, but he eventually tricks the bear onto a thin tree limb. The limb breaks, and as the bear hits the ground, the family members, which have been eaten one by one throughout the story, bounce out of the bear.

Another interesting tactic is used in the story “Molly and the Ogre Who Would Not Pick Up” (Shelby & McArdle, 2007) to rebuff stereotypes. Molly sets out looking for her sisters, who

have fallen into the Ogre's den, and runs into an old lady, whom she assumes is a witch by her appearance. The old lady quotes a poem to Molly:

Just because I choose not to wear makeup
Just because I don't carry a purse
Try to go your own way, try to have your own say
They will call you a witch or worse.

Just because you may have certain powers
Just because you have found your own niche
They'll assume you have prisoners in towers
And your son is the son of a witch.

So she had a few hairs on her chin
So she doesn't go ga-ga for men
So she has a sharp nose
She likes wearing black clothes

And a tall pointy hat.
Tell me, what's wrong with that?
They'll stub their big toe and declare it's a curse.
They'll call you a witch or worse.

The old woman gives Molly a silver needle and a gold thread, the only thing that eventually rescues Molly and all of the female prisoners from the Ogre. Ironically, although the old woman

looks to be a witch based on previously held stereotypes and is able to perform magic, her poem uniquely rebuffs all of these characteristics as making one a witch, upending all of the preconceived notions one might have.

The authors and illustrators of and characters in these tales rebuke stereotypes, mostly invoked by physical descriptions or appearances, that underestimate one's capability. Making some initial judgments based on categorizations that evoke a character's limitations to affect a situation, readers learn over the course of the stories that the character, perceived initially as the incapable, powerless generalizations that they have been assigned, instead become clever, strong, and capable, just right for insuring the success in the context. These tactics disavow personally held generalizations fortified by representations, further complexifying representations by emphasizing the strength in defining oneself and what one is capable of accomplishing.

Using Stereotypes to Stymie

The antagonists and other characters in these Appalachian folktales are often limited in their responses, because of their unwillingness to look beyond narrow stereotypes to see the wide world of tactical potential the protagonists has available to them. Sizing narrow-minded characters up quickly, the protagonists, most often the tricksters, temporarily adopt these stereotypes to immobilize any further inquiry about their true motives and natures. The protagonists keep up this rouse until they are able to gain advantage over the stymied character.

In Chase et al.'s (2003) story "Big Jack, Little Jack," after Big Jack is duped and punished by the King, Little Jack is determined to seek revenge for Big Jack, so he goes to the King pretending to look for work. The King hires Little Jack with the underlying assumption that the King has another needy gullible villager that he can abuse and punish, just as he had Big Jack. He makes a deal with Little Jack, just as he did with Big Jack, that whoever makes the

other mad first would get to take three strips out of the other's back. However, Little Jack is aware of the King's intentions and by playing into the gullible stereotype for all it is worth, he is able to beat the king at his own game. For instance, after failing miserably at several jobs, which involved diminishing the King's possessions, the King, without displaying madness, tries to find something for Little Jack to do that would not mean any more losses. The King asked Jack if he is any good at picking apples.

“Oh, I'm a awful good hand to pick apples. That's mostly ever'thing I follered—pickin' off apples—at home and for all the neighbors. They say I'm hard to beat.”

“All right,” says the King. “You run down to the house and get that ladder settin' up 'side the barn. Get you a basket and a rope and go on up in the orchard, start pickin' off apples up there.”

Jack went and got the ladder and basket and rope, and he got him an axe. Went up to the orchard and cut down three big apple trees. Set the ladder up sideways on one of the stumps and started pickin' off apples.

The old King wasn't very long comin' up there, says, “Jack! What in the nation you a-doin' now?”

“I'm a-doin' what you told me, pickin' off apples.”

“What'd ye go and cut the trees down for?”

“How in the world you expect a man to pick off apples and them away up yonder like that? I always cut down the trees first. --You mad?”

After killing the King's prize sheep, trading the King's finest plowing horse for an old mule, cutting down several of the king's apple trees, and kissing the king's wife, Little Jack takes

revenge on the king by taking three strips out of the King's back and presenting them to Big Jack.

Likewise, in Ford's (2012) story "Possum and Snake," Snake, who cajoles good-hearted Possum into letting him out from under a rock, is so confident in his ultimate power over the defenseless Rabbit and Possum, he decides to play along with Rabbit and Possum until he is not amused anymore. "Snake didn't care if they went back up the road. Snake figured he'd bite Possum soon, and bite Rabbit, too" (p. 41). Rabbit, feigning ignorance at how the snake could have possibly gotten into Possum's pouch from under a rock, asked Snake to reenact the scenario again, and as soon as Snake is safely back under the rock to culminate the reenactment, Possum and Rabbit walk away, leaving Snake right back under the rock where he began. And, even in the Shawnee tale, *Red Hawk and the Sky Sisters* (Dominic & Reasoner, 2003), to convince Morning Star to come close enough to Red Hawk for him to hold her in his arms, he transforms himself into a mouse; "Surely she will not be afraid of a creature as small as a mouse" (p. 14). When Morning Star bends down to let the mouse climb into her hand, the mouse transforms back into Red Hawk.

Stymieing the antagonists by recognizing and momentarily adopting stereotypical impressions results in a reversal of power for the protagonists. To play along with the antagonists' short-sightedness might seem like an acceptance of stereotypes depending on perception. However, since the protagonists often use these stereotypes as shields against their originators, behind and through which they devise and perform tactics, there is something much more to the stereotypes than a passive acceptance of them, which cannot be projected in the stasis of representations.

Conclusion

The tactics identified in this chapter – Practicing Mētis, Practicing Interdependence and Practicing Stereotype-Fu – reveal that Appalachian folktales from the cultural communities included in this corpus are “living museums of these tactics” as de Certeau contended (1984, p. 23). They offer general perceptions about the cultural communities of Appalachia that generate and transmit these tales, including (1) the use of tactics, (2) the marginalized status of the Appalachians that prompt the use of tactics, (3) the continual and adept use of tactics and the ability to link them together successfully in an attempt to advantage oneself, (4) the agency to use tactics to bypass or reappropriate strategies in a space dictated by strategies, and (5) engagement in unequal power situations and, utilizing tactics, possibly to come out of it advantaged. The use and recurrent of tactics, with one or more tactics coded in each of the 114 tales, indicate tactics are “benchmarks” of an Appalachian “apprenticeship” as de Certeau contends in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984, p. 23). However, these five commonalities, compiled through data found in the Appalachian folktales, could also represent a vast number of marginalized people throughout history, who generate such folktales and reiterate them for generations to teach cultural lessons and to cope with oppression (de Certeau, 1984; Zipes, 2012) of many kinds from innumerable sources, including governmental decrees, slavery, denigration from mainstream origins, social norms, educational standardization, etc. Therefore, the cross-cultural universality of these findings to marginalized cultures could just as well be said to disrupt ideologies of the exceptionalism of Appalachia.

Yet, the tales hold a valuable trove of tactics practiced by the characters in the tales, reproduced and retold by the authors, illustrators, storytellers, compilers, and publishers and absorbed into experience to be put into practice in new contexts by readers. These narratives

show the potential for the marginalized to be agents, make do, exude efficacy, spark movements, etc. through tactics within spaces dominated by hegemonic strategies (de Certeau, 1984). In the introduction, I mentioned Appalachian Studies scholar Loyal Jones saying in an interview, “If you're with a minority culture and deal with people who think they're better than you are, you have to find circular ways to deal with it.” (Briscoe, Collins, Deal, Hancock, & McGraw, 2000, p. 397). Thus, the “circular ways” and tactics emanating from these tales certainly deny an utterly powerless existence even in the midst of hegemony, speaking back to stereotypes of a “pitiful” Appalachia (Biggers, 2006, p. xiii).

In defining his view on the memetic qualities of folk and fairy tales, Zipes (2008) explains that:

...only when a tale makes itself relevant or is made relevant through human agency, and also fulfills certain basic needs, will it become a meme.... Once it retains a place within a module of our brain, it provides information vital for adapting to the environment. (p. 111)

The memetic value from these tales in the form of tactics alerts the cultural communities of Appalachia to who they are or who they can be in response to historical marginalization (Zipes, 2008), while also alerting persons outside of these cultural communities and Appalachia to the short-sightedness cultural generalizations engender. These tactics can be “poached” from the literature (de Certeau, 1984, p. 165) and redeemed in current contexts in different, usually more subtle, ways, contributing “to the survival and reproductive success of those who relate, hear, or read” them (Oring, 2014, p. 459). Therefore, it is the intangible memetic value of the tactics in these folktales that can assure the cultural communities of Appalachia more than just a disruption.

These repetitive tactics not only teach, but prompt Appalachians of all backgrounds to, as de Certeau noted, “a movement” (p. 81) and “coups” (p. 80) against such generalizations, normalizations, and neglect from mainstream sources (Harkins & McCarroll, 2019). The tactics in these folktales show Appalachians that through knowledge and experience, ingenuity or stereotypes, with or without words, and alone and/or together, we have “a museum of living tactics” available to us whenever we should choose to practice them (p. 23). And, though this does not mean that Appalachians are able to overturn power easily or in every instance, nor that we should just settle for tactics, we are definitely wired, through this ethos, to look every which way (Ford, 2012) in order to discombobulate the norms that disadvantage us and effect an outcome that just might.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions, Implications and Future Research

The characters in these Appalachian folktales are ordinary and complex. They display the fickleness of human nature, exhibiting just as many flaws as they do morals, and do not, in most cases, demonstrate any noticeable changes in their natures and dispositions. Just as Appalachians are deemed religious (Brodie, 2011; Jones & Brunner, 1994; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b), sometimes, they do not want to go to church, as in Ford's (2012) "No Fishin' on Sunday." Sometimes, they work (Chase et al., 2003; Duvall & Jacob, 2006), and sometimes, they prefer to be lazy (Chase et al., 2003; Duvall & Jacob, 2004a, 2008). In most cases, the Appalachian folktale heroes and heroines in these tales are not rich, powerful, or well-connected and portrayed in contrast to the powerful characters apparent in the story. They have to work, mostly in physically laborious jobs, to make a living or do without. They normally do not possess magical abilities, unless loaned to them for a short time, surviving mostly on their wits instead. They often come out of their extraordinary adventures with not much more than they had previously. As mentioned in his chapter on folktales in *Appalachian Inside Out*, Reese (1995) says this can either "tell the child something about one's place in the social order" or it can represent that "there is nothing wrong in being where one is" (p. 497). It might also suggest that experiences and adventures are more valuable than wealth.

If taken out of Appalachian contexts, whether by setting, language, or human artifacts, such as unique clothing and objects that often do more to define the story's Appalachian-ness or the culture from which it originated than the plot itself, the protagonists become universal

archetypes of marginalized heroes, erasing the exceptionalism that has been historically placed on Appalachia. For example, as Jack evolved from Europe to Appalachia, Appalachian analogies, such as place names, flora, fauna, dialect, and confluents, like overalls and log cabins, were infused throughout the tales, locating the character of Jack and some generic and malleable plot lines to Appalachia. And, the anthropomorphism in the Affrilachian and Cherokee tales could be said to create guarded representations using common animal actors and their characteristics that mimic human actors (Burke & Copenhaver, 2004). Although these stories certainly depict animals spiritually connected with the human world by relating the two, generally, these animals themselves would be unremarkable outside of setting, human-like artifacts and/or the inclusion of a unique language. And, the mostly transitory representations – brave, fearful, passive, peaceful, content, vengeful, wise, unwise, etc. – found in the Appalachian folktales cannot necessarily be suggestive of any particular culture.

Simultaneously, the tactics in these tales are explicit. They represent creative defiance and the agency to act against those in power, not to be waylaid without a means of responding. Even stereotypes, meant to degrade and bind, can be utilized to disguise and inspire action. Therefore, these tactics generally serve to disrupt any notions of passivity or lack of deservedness, confidence and skills by demonstrating over and over the ability, the right, and the power these characters have to advantage themselves. As Reese (1995) says, these tales advocate “that a person can beat even devils if he keeps his courage and uses his wits” (p. 497). Appalachian folktales, as oppositional narratives, lay out playbooks of tactics that entice readers to disrupt that which would restrict us from our objectives. They offer innumerable examples that accrue in our experience through reading these tales of how this can be accomplished. By influencing our experience, these stories’ can initiate change in readers, as Chambers says

(1991), “not radical, universal, or immediate change; only changes local and scattered that might one day take collective shape and work socially significant transformation” (p. xi). These changes might start with a glimpse of Appalachian cultural communities that are determined yet careful, proud but dependent, complex and common. They might also assure us that “there is nothing wrong in being where one is” (Reese, 1995, p. 497), while prompting us just as assuredly not to shy away from adventure because of strategies that would seek to keep us from it. Experiences of past generations have conducted us to this chronotope right along with these instructive folktales and tactics. So, as archivists of this “living museum of tactics” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23), it becomes contingent on us to share and add to its marvelous collection.

The quote at the beginning of Chapter Five, “He has not one chance, but a hundred chances,” taken from Emerson’s essay “Self-Reliance” (2017, p. 32), offers an explanation for how tactics can unfurl who and what constitute Appalachia. Although written in the formal gendered way of a mid-nineteenth century academic, this quote can be appreciated as a tactic unto itself, with the hopeless first half of the statement, “He has not one chance...,” belying the possibility in the second half, “...but a hundred chances” (Emerson, 2017, p. 32). Its message is especially applicable to how tactics are introduced in these tales, which normally start with a young small vulnerable rabbit or boy or girl journeying away from home to seek adventure elsewhere. Coming upon wolves or giants, beasts and monsters, these protagonists seemingly have “not one chance” (Emerson, 2017, p. 32) that is sometimes heightened by illustrations that elaborate on such disparities. But, drawing on their grit and a wellspring of experience for just such circumstances, these protagonists take advantage of any chances offered them and manage to pull off the impossible.

Located even in this sample's limited span of eighteen years of print publications, the themes and codes of tactics offer a pretty substantial glimpse into the various "arts" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 18) creative protagonists can generate. If one imagines these tactics working together in varying combinations to effect diverse contexts and bring about various advantageous ends, a hundred chances turn into thousands of tactical sequences or "weapons" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). Then, if these folktales are considered cyclically, Rabbit, Jack and Molly show up time and again seemingly none the worse for wear, finding themselves in yet another adventure with a hundred more chances. Their recurrence offer familiarity with their abilities, motivations and personalities as well as confidence that they will find a way, almost always successfully, in and out of adventures, with the only questions being what new tactics will be used.

In this summary chapter, I would like to discuss tactical reading, the uniting of the reader as tactician with cultural counternarratives and the agency for change. Additionally, I would like to revisit some representations in the sample that were not contradicted in this study or other studies on Appalachian children's literature that could have implications, albeit qualifyingly, to act as cultural markers in folktales from the Appalachian Region. I would also like to offer some brief considerations for teachers and librarians when choosing and using folktales in classrooms, in particular folktales from Appalachia. Lastly, I will add some final thoughts and possibilities for further research.

Tactical Reading: The Ability for Change

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), de Certeau extols the art of reading as an ultimate resistance. To him, reading, as literacy theorists would concur (Rosenblatt, 1938; Galda & Beach, 2001), is not passive. Instead of being "sheep progressively immobilized and 'handled'" (p. 165), consuming and expelling exactly what is read, de Certeau (1984) envisions

reading as non-conformity. The readers are seen as making do, or creating their own worlds, with what the authors offer, as they begin the process of picking and choosing, poaching, from the text whatever suits their needs or interests:

...readers are travelers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves. (de Certeau, 1984, p. 174).

By poaching, the readers absorb knowledge that can be reappropriated, recycled, and reinvented in times and spaces of their choosing, turning the reader into a producer. By reading cultural counternarratives, such as folktales, de Certeau envisioned the potential of a marginalized reader connecting to the literature on a more intimate level that could add a depth of familiarity to serve as benchmarks that could be reappropriated, recycled, and reinvented in the right space and time for their advantage.

However, one must remember that there are limits to tactics, because they depend on strategies. With reading, for instance, the reader tacticians have to work within the framework of a text and the strategies that produce the writing. So, although tactics offer momentary advantages for marginalized people, it should be remembered that but for strategies, tactics would not be needed. Tactics still infer marginalization and could, as was shared in Chapter One, uphold the power structures by not attempting to change them, but instead work around them (Chambers, 1991). To prompt change through oppositional reading, though, a reader must formalize the knowledge poached from these texts that convert desire into change (Chambers, 1991, p. 233). It is within these conversions that change happens.

There is little disagreement between scholars that literacy is critical for stimulating social change, just as Paulo Freire (2000) put forth in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Literacy is important

for sparking engagement and critical thinking as well as building empathetic learning, which are all foundational to activism. To guide this encompassing interest in the reader's response, though, children's literature scholars, while agreeing with these premises, contend that the authenticity and value of the text being read is also of great importance for engagement. Literacy for engagement that includes an deep cultural impetus through authentic texts, such as shifts in the discourse on Appalachian identity and tactical engagement as discussed in this dissertation, could definitely, as de Certeau (1984) says, become benchmarks for an Appalachian apprenticeship and possibly spark the activism and/or empathy to form a "movement" (p. 81) or encourage a "coup" (p. 80), disrupting the stereotypes that have long dictated Appalachians' own ability for reinvention.

Representations Corroborated or Uncontested

Two representations were upheld in this study that had been identified in previous research on Appalachian's children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002). These included the use of dialect and language and the projection of a sense of place (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002). Additionally, in this study, two representations remained uncontested, which included the complex character development in these folktales and the agency to use tactics. Since the uncontested representations from this study, complex character development and agency to use tactics, along with use of dialect and language and sense of place, remained generally unchallenged when looking at the data comprehensively, these four representations could be potential cultural markers in folktales for Appalachian readers.

Use of Dialect and Language

Two of the dissertations on representation and themes in Appalachian children's literature found that language and dialect were often characteristics in Appalachian children's

literature. Lynn Alexander (1987) found that “quaint speech patterns” were used in children’s literature set in Appalachia (p. 101). As part of her definition of Appalachian children’s literature, Smith (2002) also found that the “use of language” defined Appalachian children’s literature, which in her sample included the use of dialect and colloquialisms as well as unique storytelling techniques, such as the use of figurative language and similes and metaphors (p. 170). This study supported the use of language, dialect and colloquialisms and unique storytelling techniques, although similes and metaphors were not as frequent in the folktales.

In *Talking Appalachian: Voice, Identity, and Community*, Ellis (2013) contends that authors employ dialect to shape cultural or regional identities in their works. “A literary dialect can help create that sense of place, home, community, and family. Literary dialects can also be used to illustrate the social barriers inherent in language differences” (p. 177). In some instances, the addition of dialect worked well. Often, though, the use of dialect and colloquialisms could be hindered by inconsistency in the use of language or be gauged as insincere by the quantity and degrees of language used, which could definitely emphasize “social barriers inherent in language differences” (Ellis, 2013, p. 177). Additionally, the language in both the Cherokee and Shawnee tales appeared to be used both as cultural markers for readers familiar with the language and as a cultural lesson for those unfamiliar with the language. This use of dialect and language in folktales from the Appalachian Region, although possibly providing cultural markers for more engaged reading, needs to be qualified, though, as the use of language can either create a familiarity with readers inside of a culture and/or provide an experience with the culture it intends to represent, or it can be an irritant to readers inside and outside of the culture. The difficulty in determining what kind of effect it will have on the readers is solely up to each individual reader and their various contexts.

The use of Cherokee names and words, for instance, are scattered intermittently throughout the Cherokee texts, which are mostly written in standard English. The inclusion of these Cherokee words are usually easily decipherable within the context of the tale, which is different from the Shawnee tale where the language is set apart from the standard English text in a glossary. The inclusion of Cherokee language in the text was particularly effective if the words are pronounceable to readers unfamiliar with the Cherokee language or are followed by a standard English definition that does not interrupt the reader's flow. For instance, in the Duvall and Jacob's Rabbit tales (2003b, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008, 2009), Duvall includes the animal characters' Cherokee names; Yona is the Cherokee word for bear, and Ji-Stu is the Cherokee word for Rabbit. Also, Duvall includes Cherokee words that are not difficult for a reader of standard English to easily read and pronounce; therefore, this use of language is effectively incorporated into the story without being intrusive to the reading flow and provides Cherokee language within the text as cultural markers or an introduction, although readers might confuse these names as the animals' proper Cherokee names instead of the Cherokee words that mean bear and rabbit.

Contrary to this, though, are tales that include words that are difficult to pronounce by sight or are included in parentheses seemingly set apart from the standard English words in the text, interrupting the reading flow. In Hayes and Dawson's (2012) *Light Comes to the Mountains*, for instance, it reads:

Deer (*a wi*) pushed a piece of decaying wood that gave off a greenish light into the cave (*u s da ga lv*), so the animals could see each other. Some fireflies danced around the foxfire giving a little more light (*a tsv s dv*). (para. 3)

These words, which are difficult to pronounce to readers of standard English, are set apart in parentheses and could interrupt a smooth reading flow, indicating difference, otherness, or difficulty against the standard English. Also, there is no indication why these words in particular are selected for translation. In Bushyhead, Bannon, and Rodanas' (2002) *Yonder Mountain*, the Cherokee words, which are also included in parentheses after their corresponding English words, were made even more difficult to pronounce because of the inclusion of symbols without a means for understanding how the symbols should be used:

Once in the land of the Cherokee people, there lived a beloved chief called Sky
(kalv:lo:ʔi). (para. 1)

Although the Cherokee words that include such symbols are difficult for a person unfamiliar with the Cherokee language to read, viewing it from another perspective, this could be even more powerful and exclusive to Cherokee readers who can read Cherokee. Of course, these different linguistic features provide facets to the reading of the Appalachian tales that could generate different representations of Appalachians as per the tale's reader.

There is a scope of language and dialect usage in the Anglo Appalachian and Affrilachian books, as well, that adds layers of dimension to the representation of Appalachians. Some of the picturebooks and young adult collections are totally or almost totally written in a dialect, which includes "eye dialect" and "unconventional spellings," apparently reminiscent of the Appalachian vernacular (Ellis, 2013 p. 165). However, mimicking Appalachian dialect can be problematic, as the English "alphabet ... has significant limitations in terms of how it can be used to portray the sound of a dialect" (Ellis, 2013, p. 165). Additionally, "we are still confronted with the major problem of determining the authenticity of an individual literary dialect and what, if anything, the language spoken by fictional characters has to tell us about how living people

actually speak” (Ellis, 2013, p. 166). And, besides the complexity of authenticating an Appalachian dialect through an alphabet that has constraints as to how it can render any dialect, the rendition of this dialect conjures different perspectives and representations for each individual reader according to their experiences as an insider or an outsider to the culture, the amount and balance of dialect used and the possible breaks in the reading of the stories. As points along a spectrum of representations, the use of dialect could show a semi-literate culture; it could demonstrate a subject “to the forces of domination ... by institutions” who possess the authority to portray the culture’s stories however they like, or it could can show agents that “constitute their own systems of empowerment to resist” (Puckett, 2013, p. 143). All of these possibilities were born out in interesting and unusual ways in these folktales.

Some of the books juxtaposed standard English (narration) with an Appalachian dialect (dialogue), which can make the Appalachian dialect stand out in an essentializing way (Herrin, 1991). Although a literary dialect can create familiarization, when used in this way, it can be forced into a comparison with standard English, and “illustrate the social barriers inherent in language differences” (Ellis, 2013, p. 177). Salsi and Young’s *Jack and the Dragon* (2009), as discussed in Chapter Four, included the word “tater” juxtaposed to the almost wholly standard English narration and dialogue:

Jack wanted to go. But he stayed and cleaned the house.

He fried chicken, mashed ‘taters, and cut cabbage into slaw.

Then, he poured two tall glasses of milk.

About then, Jack heard a LOUD CRASH.

‘Will and Tom are trying to scare me,’ he thought.

He opened the front door and peeped out. (Para. 7-10).

“‘Tater” is used four times in this picturebook in similar contexts, which accentuates an abrupt code shift in language that appears to lend itself to stark comparisons with the words around it and can appear to “condescend toward Appalachian speech” (Herrin, 1991). It also seems more of an anomaly placed in the narration of the story instead of the dialogue, where such dialect could possibly be used more plausibly. This periodic placement of a word or eye dialect to demonstrate some artificial familiarity or the juxtaposition of “standard” English and a nonstandard Appalachian dialect made several of these books and picturebooks appear laboriously inauthentic to me, an Appalachian reader, because of their non-fluent and contrived depictions of Appalachians and the Appalachian dialect (Herrin, 1991). Texts with these inconsistencies seem to illustrate an exaggerated exceptionalism while bringing an Appalachian reader back to the “emotional effects of assimilation and isolation” that Herrin (1991, p. 192) notes in her study. It became apparent while reading the folktales in this sample that the books that represented Appalachian speech in both narration and dialect, without illustrations that completely denigrated what was being relayed, could create a “sense of place, home, community, and family” (Ellis, 2013, p. 177) in the Appalachian folktales for Appalachian readers.

Paradoxically, it could also be ponderous for readers not familiar with the Appalachian dialect or for those whose reading flow is disrupted by this dialect. Most of the texts written completely or almost completely in Standard English, without entirely stereotypical images, do not seem dishonorable, either, although they are probably less reassuring than some of the aforementioned texts. On most occasions, Appalachian texts that sporadically and unnaturally placed nonstandard words in a standard text or that induced too much comparison or disassociation between standard English and a nonstandard Appalachian dialect might create the most disconnect for an Appalachian reader. Therefore, the dynamic of language and the dialect

had a lot to do with embracing or repelling a reader from the cultural communities of Appalachian.

Initially, too, I found there were several references or inclusions in that books' introduction or notes that can conjure othering about the Appalachian dialect. For instance, the preface to the Hicks, Salsi, and Smith's collection (2000), written by Lightfoot, asserts that the co-author, along with the publisher, have "synthesized Ray's idiosyncratic Appalachian dialect with the need to present language that is accessible to children" (Lightfoot, 2000, p. 4). The Hicks, Salsi, and Smith (2000) collection of Jack tales includes dialogue in dialect paired mostly with standard English narrative. Although the ability to decipher what is written is an understandable objective for children's literature, accessible is an objective term, and can, in this case, as Egan (1983) contends, feel like "The language...has been exorcised" (p. 230). This book also contains a glossary of terms at the beginning of the book that are used once or quite sparingly throughout the collection. This glossary can feel othering, as some words are quite common – swap, ridge, coon, and pocketknife – and the use of other words, such as hog rifle and pegs an' awls, are in complete discord with the previously expressed need to synthesize the "idiosyncratic Appalachian dialect" to make it "accessible to children" (Lightfoot, 2000, p. 4). Additionally, in the introduction to Salsi and Young's collection of Jack Tales, Salsi writes that "Since Appalachian speak is difficult to read in written dialect, I limited it" (Salsi & Young, 2008, p. vii). Although these comments are not included in the texts of the stories and I can appreciate the need and the transparency, this might communicate that the Appalachian dialect is confusing, peculiar and exceptional.

The use of dialect and language in these folktales from Appalachia in some instances helped to capture the story and attempted to maintain some of the oral tradition in print form.

Certainly, the stories or collection that use dialect and language in an effective way infuse these tales with the culture from which they originated. It is also empowering to see one's dialect or language in writing. If done well, the use of their dialect and language in print can seem if the text is written specifically for one's ears, as opposed to one's eyes. But, unfortunately, well is measured by a subjective and shifting line, and it becomes difficult to envision where that line is crossed.

Sense of Place

Just as in all of the other studies on Appalachian children's literature (Alexander, 1987; Brodie, 2011; Smith, 2002; Valentine, 2008a, 2008b) and Jones and Brunner's (1994) *Appalachian Values*, sense of place was also found to be omnipresent in the folktales, in particular, the Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee folktales. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the illustrations, descriptions, and inclusion of local flora, fauna, and place names in these tales, although generic when viewed separately, coalesced to construct the setting as the Appalachian Mountains, while mostly eliciting positive feelings towards the place of Appalachia. The only reason offered for characters leaving home was to look for work and to find adventure. However, most of the characters in the Anglo Appalachian and Cherokee tales and some in the Affrilachian tales do not stay gone long and are home by the end of the tale; "Ji-Stu tied the red feather to his dance rattle and smiled. How glad he was to be home!" (Duvall & Jacob, 2005b). Therefore, I would concur with the previous studies on Appalachian children's literature that sense of place could definitely be perceived as a strong theme, representation, or cultural marker to Appalachian readers in the folktales from the Appalachian Region and provide all readers with the importance of place to Appalachians.

It serves to reason that people who identify as Appalachian obviously define themselves by place. Jones and Brunner (1994) included “love of place” as a value in *Appalachian Values*. They write that a “Sense of place is one of the unifying values of mountain people, and it makes it hard for us to leave the mountains, and when we do, we long to return” (p. 99). Extending this topic is a collection of essays by bell hooks (2008), *Belonging: A Culture of Place*, in which she chronicles her return to her native Appalachian Region. However, in more recent books on Appalachia, place-based identity involves the responsibility one assumes for claiming place and for belonging. In Fisher and Smith’s (2012) *Transforming Places: Lessons from Appalachia*, for instance, place-based identity inspires collective mobilization and activism to protect and reinvent Appalachia. Similarly, in bell hooks’ (2008) *Belonging: Culture of Place*, belonging becomes a wellspring of activism, in this case, conservationism. In other words, one’s “love of place” (Jones & Brunner, 1994, p. 99) should spur creative means of protecting and uplifting one’s beloved place, which is a repetitive theme in many of the Cherokee folktales. Animals and humans in these stories take on the responsibility of caring for and conserving resources, and symbiotic relationships are emphasized between humans, plants, animals, the earth, the sun, the stars, the elements, etc. Animals are tasked with replenishing the forest, plants serve medicinal purposes, and people are responsible for caring for their surroundings, including animals, plants, and other people.

This responsibility is also shared by Scott Russell Sanders (1991) in *Secrets of the Universe: Scenes from the Journey Home*:

It is rare for any of us, by deliberate choice, to sit still and weave ourselves into a place, so that we know the wildflowers and rocks and politicians, so that we recognize faces wherever we turn, so that we feel a bond with everything in sight. The challenge,

these days, is to be *somewhere* as opposed to nowhere, actually to belong to some particular place, invest oneself in it, draw strength and courage from it, to dwell not simply in a career or a bank account but in a community.

Once you commit yourself to a place, you begin to share responsibility for what happens there. (p. 101)

The potential that sense of place, love of place, belonging, topophilic or place-based identity instills can be likened to the dynamic between representations and tactics in these folktales. About folktales, de Certeau says that “whereas historiography recounts in the past tense the strategies of instituted powers, these ‘fabulous’ stories offer their audience a repertory of tactics for future use” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). In other words, one can linger under historic representations, confined by definitions determined by instituted powers in the past tense, or one can progress past representations, using a repertory of creative tactics to interrupt, expose, renounce, redefine, advocate, reinvigorate and liberate.

Complex Character Development

Appalachian folktales include complex character development that is generated through both the vacillation of representations, as discussed in Chapter 4, and the accrual of character development through the cycle nature of these tales. These characters not only develop over the course of a story and a collection of stories, but the episodic structure of these folktales that spill over to other books and collections, as well, allows for added familiarities and experience with the characters intertextually. In the very first tale in the Chase et al. (2003) collection, the reader is told that Jack is extremely poor, and this early representation follows him throughout the whole collection and beyond. Ross (2003) described the trickster Rabbit in the first paragraph of the Ross and Jacob collection; “Rabbit was the leader of them all in mischief, and his bold ways

were always getting him in trouble” (p. 6). This description adheres to him not only throughout this collection, but could also follow him throughout Duvall and Jacob’s picturebook series of Cherokee folktales and the Affrilachian stories (Ford, 2012), as well.

This added development lends a dynamic dimension (Bertman, 2007) to the navigation and negotiation of the tales and often makes the reader into the writer. For instance, in Ross and Jacob’s collection (2003), from one story to the next, the main character, trickster Rabbit makes enemies of Bear, and Rabbit and Bear are friends again a few stories later. Of course, this begs the question, “How did these two animals reconcile their differences?” Readers begin to imagine, because of their familiarity with the characters over several stories, how this could have happened. These intertextual features allow the reader to construct their own scenarios and familiarities.

Additionally, instead of mostly sanitized stories with innocent characters (Egan, 1983), these folktales paradoxically include morals interwoven with unapologetically flawed protagonists that sometimes make the reader unempathetic to the protagonist’s behavior, and these characters rarely make amends or suffer consequences. In the three versions of “Jack and the Bean Tree” (Chase et al., 2003; Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000; Salsi & Young, 2008) for instance, Jack keeps going up the bean tree to steal treasures from the giants. Each trip, the giant’s wife hides Jack again from her husband and implores him again not to come back. At the end of the Hicks, Salsi, and Smith (2000) version of this story, after Jack cuts down the beanstalk, he and his mother walk the length of the bean tree, past the body of the giant and the giant’s wife, who had hidden Jack from danger on all of his unwelcomed visits, to get to the house and the giants’ treasures. Admittedly, in folktales with giants, readers are often desensitized to the killing of the giants (Yolen, 2000), probably due to the giants’ propensity for

cannibalism, want to do harm, and their intimidating size, strength, ability, and wealth in comparison with the protagonist. However, to offset the gratuitous killing of the giant's accommodating wife, a rationale is offered at the end of the story that is directly in contrast to Jack's behavior throughout the tale: "Jack and his mama took just enough from the giant's house so that they would never have to worry about starving again, and then they went home for good" (Hicks, Salsi, & Owens, 2000, p. 29). Jack's greed and dereliction that lead to the giant(s)'s death(s) make such rationales seem ironic and thinly veiled, thus offer Jack a complicated psychological makeup.

Also, in Chase et al.'s (2003) version of "The Heifer Hide" and Salsi and Young's (2008) "Jack and the Heifer Hide," Jack tricks an older man passing by to let him out of a bag in which his brothers had tied him up to throw him into the river and to take his place. He tells the older man that angels tied him up in the bag to take him to heaven, and for the ability to supposedly get into heaven, the man gives Jack a hundred sheep to take his place. So, Jack takes the man's sheep, ties the man up in the bag knowing that his brothers will throw the man in the river to drown when they return, and tells the man not to talk to the angels. The characters' rationalizations in these tales are most often thin and self-serving, and they do not always earn the readers' sympathy. These flaws disrupt the notion of a flawless cultural hero and effectively add layers to characters' complex natures, too, particularly when the rationales are not perceived sympathetically or as reasonable.

Instead of packing away such incongruent and antithetical opportunities for discussion and leaving these representations forever burdening the Appalachian culture as nihilistic in a child's mind, it is imperative for teachers to take these moments in their classrooms to critically

consider the complexities, moral dilemmas and lived experiences that can be opportunities for teaching. For instance, the story “Jack and the Bean Tree” starts out:

Years ago, Jack and his mama lived in an old log cabin down in a pretty little hollow way back in the mountains. They were on their own and farmed all spring and summer to have enough food to last through the winter. But they had fallen on hard times, and the only thing they had left to eat was cornmeal, a little flour, a few potatoes, and some dried apples. They owned one milk cow, too, but were running out of food to feed her. They were starving. (Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000, p. 19)

Although poverty should not excuse Jack’s behavior as morally acceptable in this instance, stealing from and killing the giants, the entirety of Jack and his mother’s situation offers a context as to why Jack might have acted in the way that he did. The opportunity to reflect critically on such representations can offer children new insights into how power functions to privilege some and deprive others and involve groups in dialogue who have previously been excluded whether by race, class, geography, sexuality or gender. Such teaching moments will also disrupt readers out of compliant states and begin to engage them in challenging and questioning what they read.

It has often been assumed that children do not have enough experience and ability to understand characters with such complex makeups as the characters in these folktales, but Nikolajeva (2001) contends that such assumptions hinder the advancement of complex and sophisticated characters. In addition, she asserts that when authors are willing to let readers exercise their own subjectivities in the assessment of the characters, illustrations and storyline, they are offered opportunities to improve their abilities for interpreting and decoding texts. Additionally, Egan (1983) asserts that

In mythology and folktales we are taken into a strange world which glitters with gold and precious stones, but which is also menacing. We may encounter sickness, deformity, pain, and death, or images of evil and moral degradation. Goodness wins out in the end, but it always remains interwoven with its darker side, and we cannot remove one without destroying the other as well. (p. 230)

The mischievous protagonists and tricksters cultivated through these folktales from Appalachia actually inspire believability and garner the reader's trust, precisely because they are not perfect and exhibit good and bad characteristics and some measures in between, along with fallibilities and frailties that are familiar to readers. The moral is often received by the reader even if not always heeded by the protagonist.

Tactical Agency

As was mentioned in Chapter Five, Lindahl (2001) writes "...one of the great failures of American folklore scholarship is to mistake the skeleton of justice for the real thing by ignoring the intensely local and personal ethos that these tales convey for their native speakers" (Lindahl, 2001, p. 81). Lindahl, in this instance, is addressing Richard Chase et al.'s (2003) gentler version of the Jack tales that excluded much about poverty and many of Jack's deeper motivations for his actions, leaving just the bare bones to explain more complex contexts. I, too, read and coded Chase et al.'s collection (2003) for this study, because this collection has proliferated these tales outside of Appalachia and has been accepted as representative of Appalachia more so than any other folktale collection. However, I noted that Lindahl's quote explained my impetus for this study all along. The "skeleton of justice" is what has been picked over, generalized and chosen for Appalachians that negates the complexity and totality of who Appalachians are and can be that also abates our own ability to represent ourselves broadly and authentically without

reticence of pigeon-holing ourselves further. To me, the “intensely local and personal ethos that these tales convey for their native speakers” (Lindahl, 2001, p. 81) is the prolific tactical ideology teeming through them that de Certeau so aptly asserts provides “the benchmarks of an apprenticeship” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). The ability for and use of these tactics, as shown in these stories, are a constant steady stream of certitude that is never negated, compromised or abated. Just as the representations often contradict and reverse each other, the tactics identified do not reverse or negate other tactics. Instead, they often work in tandem.

In addition, these tactics are generated by characters with a wide range of experiences with people, things and contexts, even when the illustrations and some of the texts suggest they come from isolation. They know how to read their antagonizers’ motivations, the right words to appeal to emotions, and the right spin to get what they might need. In these tales, as de Certeau (1997) says in *Culture in the Plural*, “social art unfolds a field of play ... to create itineraries, and to make use of the surprises that lie ahead” (p. viii). These characters’ whetted social literacy and arts unleash tactics that belie a totally isolated, aberrant and asocial “backwater” existence (Biggers, 2006, p. xii).

The circumstances that tactics can invoke are recognizable and translatable, as well. Many Appalachians, for example, can identify with being underestimated and the tactics that spurs to prove oneself otherwise. Pasevic (2005) notes, “In the culture that created Jack, cleverness is of more value than strength. Ordinary people who could not hope to become as strong as a giant (lacking the proper genetic code) could see themselves learning enough to trick their opponent” (p. 11). Therefore, to me, the “intensely local and personal ethos” of these tales is the consistency of tactical use that appeals to Appalachians’ natures and can filter down to our everyday practices, which could indeed serve as cultural markers to Appalachians.

Considerations for Selecting Folktales for Use in the Classroom

Authentic is a descriptor commonly used to describe culturally relevant and quality children's literature, although what constitute authentic children's literature continues to be a debated (Fox & Short, 2003). In regard to folktales, the description of authentic has an even deeper connotation. Not only can it refer to culturally relevant and quality children's literature, but it can denote the deep tradition and recognition of a narrative as originating in a culture. However, in both instances, authenticity is problematic to determine.

Folktales are often introduced in social and language studies as "cultural artifacts" (Krohn, 1971, p. 139) comprised of the cultural values of a named culture. Responsibility for identifying something in reference to a culture should, therefore, require educators to critically assess the quality of the folktales before introducing them as representative of a culture, as they may be misleading or "perpetuate false stereotypes about the very people and places they are trying to illuminate" (Virtue & Vogler, 2008). Likewise, critical assessment of folktales becomes even more important, because the titles or sub-titles of many folktales and folktale collections link them to a place, an ethnicity, or a group (including Affrilachian, Appalachian, Cherokee, Native American, Shawnee, etc.). Designating a book the ability to represent a cultural group could automatically create the assumption of the authenticity of the book, serving as an "official" (Genette, 1997, p. xx) declaration made by the author or publisher that this book or tale is representative of a particular cultural group. And, assigning a book to a certain group can shape the engagement between the reader and the text and suggest possible interpretations of the text (Harris, 2005).

Therefore, a careful critical assessment of folktales and books claiming to represent a culture should be undertaken before connecting readers to these books, as these books can come

to represent students' only experience with these groups just by license of the book being negligently assigned. Because just as I looked up the books for this sample in a database by subject keywords, which included the cultural communities in Appalachia, these titles assigned to the books point librarians and readers to materials supposedly representative of Affrilachians, Appalachians, Cherokee, and Shawnee.

Although it is contingent on the ethics of authors, illustrators and publishers to accurately represent such groups and relay their values and morals correctly and deferentially, this becomes difficult to measure in most cases without critical assessment. For instance, Duvall and Jacob (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008, 2009) wrote a series of picturebook versions of the Cherokee folktales included in the corpus that were published by University of New Mexico Press, which would seem to vet their products, and for the most part, they match the versions written by Gayle Ross (Ross & Jacob, 2003). However, Duvall and Jacob's (2005a, 2008) version of *The Opossum's Tale* extends the ending to the story about the opossum's tail becoming bare, and the book *Rabbit and the Well* amends the famous rabbit and the tar wolf story, in which Rabbit is thrown into the briar patch, which I had previously only heard with the same storyline as the Ross and Jacob's (2003) versions. Ross and Jacob's (2003) version of the opossum tale ends with the bragging Opossum finding that all of the hair has been plucked off his formerly beautiful fluffy tail, leaving him with a rat-like tail. Opossum is taught the lesson that if one brags too much and too often and annoys others, whatever one brags about will eventually be taken away. However, in Duvall and Jacob's story (2005a), in the end, Opossum learns to appreciate his rat-like tail, finding all of the many handy things he can do with his new tail. This extended version of the tale mitigates the moral about bragging, and it

might tell readers that if one is punished for asocial behaviors, the consequences could actually turn out to be beneficial, so it could negate the moral.

Additionally, Duvall and Jacob's (2008) version of *Rabbit in the Well* skips the famous ending of the tale, in which the Rabbit begs not to get thrown into the briar patch by the animal community for punishment, all the while tricking the animals, as the briar patch is his home. It is difficult to determine the degree to which these changes affect the meanings of these stories and is outside the scope of this study. However, it could defeat the purpose of the story altogether. And, by leaving out the famous ending of the rabbit and the tar wolf story for a gentler version, where Otter congenially helps the trapped Rabbit get loose from the tar wolf with oil, the popular tactical ending of the story is taken away in which Rabbit cunningly escapes using his own wit (Duvall & Jacob, 2008). Although moderations in folktales are expected, as with the culture from which they emanate, Duvall and Jacob, the author and illustrator, are not members of the Cherokee Nation. It is difficult to say how the Cherokee tribe would feel about such changes by members and non-members, without reviews that are available for mainstream consumption, but the ending to these stories, in particular, are renown and popular and can serve to define the story. This book series was published by the University of New Mexico Press, which can usually add a level of authorization to the tale and an assumption that, as an academic institution, they did their research to insure its reception.

Too, in the Anglo Appalachian tales, Smith (Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000), the illustrator for the Hicks' collection of Jack tales, certainly rendered some of the most detailed and artistic illustrations in the corpus of the study. However, they could be the most stereotypical images, too, with the characters having distended features and ragged or inadequate clothes, no shoes, missing teeth, and misshapen faces and bodies. Ray Hicks and the Hicks family were/are renown

Appalachian storytellers, especially known for telling Jack tales, and would be considered authorities by most (Pasevic, 2005). To have Ray Hicks' name linked to a book on Jack tales would in most instances assume an authoritative source on Appalachian folktales. However, to associate this legend on Jack tales with stereotypical illustrations is disconcerting. Since this collection was published by a bigger press, Callaway, the co-authors might not have had a say in how the collection was illustrated, and all of Salsi's other renditions of Hicks' folktales (2008, 2009, 2013) are illustrated by James Young instead, which, although the illustrations are less artistic and more cartoonish, seem to be much less stereotypical. However, these stereotypical illustrations in this collection (Hicks, Salsi, & Smith, 2000) are now unfortunately linked with Ray Hicks' name, creating dissonance between the authority and legacy of a legendary Appalachian storyteller of Jack tales and the stereotypical illustrations used to illustrate his book.

The concerted hope is that authors, illustrators, and publishers inside or outside the culture they are attempting to represent through children's literature and folktales expressly do their research and show deference to the group. Of course, this is just an assumption. Therefore, just as with other children's and young adult literature, folktales need to be carefully and critically assessed by educators and librarians before their use in the classroom, and this assessment should include possibly reading book reviews from within the culture, reading works by people indigenous to the culture (Bradford, 2016), whether online resources originating from the group or vetted research, and reading several versions of the same tale. This weighed heavily on me while reading the folktales, as these texts and illustrations are, as was expressed in Chapter Two, students' mirrors into their own cultures and a window, which might be the only window available, for a child to experience and form impressions about a culture. Ideally, we

want these mirrors and windows to provoke self-confidence and engagement, not self-loathing, stereotypes and bias.

Yet, it is certainly difficult for someone not of a culture to determine what would be considered authentic literature for that culture, and it is just as difficult for a person of one cultural community in the Appalachian Region to determine what is authentic for another. As was proffered by this study, the Appalachian identity, as well as cultural authenticity, are not either/or propositions (Ferrence, 2012; Guevara, 2003). Of course, the best way for a cultural outsider to determine the accuracy of a text and its illustrations is still to either read several reviews and/or research about the text or to study the culture deeply through experiences with the culture or the assistance of insider narratives (Bradford, 2016). However, this is not always feasible for busy educators. And, although I offer these four cultural markers from Appalachian folktales – language/dialect, sense of place, complex characters, and tactics, they can be generic in their coverage, because there are differences between and many ways of representing the cultural communities of Appalachia.

If the only thing filtering children's and young adult literature is educators' experience and critical judgment, though, I would ask these educators to envision the book representing themselves and their own families and to ask some critical questions. Would you wish you or your family defined by the text and illustrations? Does the story ring true to your experience of the world generally (and not the perspectives you might hold about the culture represented specifically) (Guevara, 2003)? Does the story present a complex, yet respectful, affirmation of human life and a vibrant culture? Additionally, I would recommend that educators never offer one book as representative of a culture. If the intent in reading folktales is to present a culture to children, then read several and a variety of texts so as to not leave children with a single

impression. I would, in turn, recommend the need for teacher education and library/media specialist programs to introduce critical literacy, ideology in children's and young adult literature, the danger of unquestioned ideology, and the teacher and librarian's responsibility and means for choosing culturally authentic and accurate literature. Ironically, although cultural authenticity is not easy to determine for any culture, and may be subjective for those inside the culture, it is still essential for ensuring accurate experiences of a culture for readers of the culture and those who are not of the culture and for providing a clear view of the world to all readers, so we can enjoy our similarities and embrace our differences.

Conclusion

Pertinent to the findings of this study, Montgomery (2013) says in his chapter "Language and Power" in *Talking Appalachia: Voice, Identity, and Community*, "Appalachia is a place as well as places, people as well as peoples. The more closely one examines the region, the more complex it becomes" (p. 25). If the contradictory representations and the span of tactics garnered through this study indicate anything about who or what constitutes Appalachia, as determined by these folktales, it is that Appalachia is not exclusively one thing or another. So, constant vacillation between extremes or degrees therein means the vast scope of mainstream ideologies about Appalachia and Appalachians –from "pitiful" to "pristine" (Biggers, 2006, pp. xii-xiii) – and even those Appalachians hold about themselves – personable (Jones & Brunner, 1994, p. 81) and proud (p. 51), can be blurred and/or expanded by tactics and, as with and added to the representations, complicate each other.

The sample for this study represents a multiethnic Appalachia made up of different cultural communities and individuals within those communities that tell and illustrate their narratives in a variety of ways utilizing unique cultural heroes and heroines as well as languages

and dialects. The experiences relayed in these books by and through ethnically diverse tacticians can assist in revealing the genuine diversity in Appalachia belying its generalization as solely “Anglo-Saxon” (Biggers, 2006, p. xii), while highlighting the commonalities that coalesce in this “sense of place” (Smith, 2002, p. 170). The folktales can also offer a dimensional view of the complexity of humankind, in general, as multifaceted beings who can think and act in a myriad of ways that make them authentic, especially following a character from one tale to the next, and through many versions of the same tale, who exhibits extremes and all the possible degrees in between.

Suggestions for Further Research

As studies on Appalachian children’s literature are fairly recent and sporadic, innumerable studies are needed in a variety of areas on a variety of topics to add to the scholarship in this area. The first obvious step to advancing this study would be to take what has been learned from these folktales into an Appalachian classroom to observe the sociocultural transactions these folktales invoke as Appalachian children read them and what things they pick up or engage with as part of their experience. Some other possibilities for further research identified in this dissertation are studies on complex character development in Appalachian’s children literature and folktales, studies on Cherokee and Shawnee children’s literature and folktales, distinguishing these nations apart from Native American and multicultural literature, and more in depth studies on sense of place in Appalachian children’s literature and folktales. The evolution of the Appalachian culture and/or the evolution of folktales from the Appalachian Region is another possible area of research to explore. Research on language and dialect usage in children’s literature, including its potential to be cultural markers, would definitely fill a gap in a very ambiguous area. The introduction of these folktales into classroom settings, particularly with

minoritized children who use tactics as an everyday practice, would be an empowering study, as well. Also, a study in which folktales are introduced with vigor into classrooms to serve as more than just unpopular cultural props would be inspirational. Jane Yolen (2000) expresses in *Touch Magic* that “tales and stories handed down to us from the cultures that preceded us were the most serious, succinct expressions of the accumulated wisdom of those cultures” (Yolen, 2000, p. 17). These folktales should be afforded the cultural importance they deserve, especially in Appalachian classrooms where textbooks are often void of even “succinct expressions” of Appalachian wisdom, leaving the cultural communities of Appalachia glimpsing through the windows of other cultures trying to catch-as-catch-can our place in shaping the country. Offering Appalachian students opportunities to replace the unfamiliar and irrelevant with experiential authenticity creates lasting, powerful results; so, when ignorance pegs them as stereotypes, their self-esteem will remain confident, and their potentials and abilities will be limitless, well-versed with tactics at the ready.

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APPENDIX A

The Corpus of Folktales

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APPENDIX B1

Versions of the Same Folktales

Versions of the Same Folktale			
<i>Rabbit and the Well</i> (Duvall, 2008) C	"Rabbit and the Tar Wolf" (Ross, 2003) C		
"How Rabbit Tricked Otter" (Ross, 2003) C	<i>How Rabbit Lost His Tail</i> (Duvall, 2003) C		
"Why Possum's Tail Is Bare" (Ross, 2003) C	<i>The Opossum's Tale</i> (Duvall, 2005) C		
"Rabbit Escapes from the Wolves" (Ross, 2003) C	<i>Rabbit and the Wolves</i> (Duvall, 2005) C		
"Jack in the Giants' Newground" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	<i>Jack Outwits the Giants</i> (Johnson, 2002) AA	"Jack and the Giant's New Ground" (Salsi, 2008) AA	<i>Jack and the Giants</i> (Salsi, 2013) AA
"Jack and the Varmints" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	<i>Fearless Jack</i> (Johnson, 2001) AA	"Big Man Jack" (Salsi, 2008) AA	
"Jack and King Marock" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Molly and Jack" (Shelby, 2007) AA		
"Jack and the Robbers" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Robbers" (Hicks et al., 2000) AA	<i>Jack and the Animals</i> (Davis, 2001) AA	
<i>Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting</i> (Duvall, 2004) C	"Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting" (Ross, 2003) C		
"Jack and the Doctor's Girl" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Doctor's Girl" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"Jack and the North West Wind" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the North West Wind" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"Jack and the Bean Tree" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Bean Tree" (Salsi, 2008) AA	"Jack and the Bean Tree" (Hicks et al., 2000)	
"Old Fire Dragoon" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	<i>Jack and the Dragon</i> (Salsi, 2009) AA	"Jack and the Giant Fire Draga'man" (Salsi, 2008) AA	
<i>Old Woman and Her Pig</i> (MacDonald, 2007) AA	"Pig Tale" (Shelby, 2007) AA		
"Jack and the Bull" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Bull" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"The Heifer Hide" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Heifer Hide" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
<i>First Fire</i> (Allen, 2014) C	<i>Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun</i> (Keams, 2014) C	<i>Light Comes to the Mountains</i> (Hayes, 2012) C	
"Cat 'n Mouse" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Cat and Mouse" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"Fill, Bowl! Fill!" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Fill Bowl, Fill" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"Sop Doll!" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Grindin' at the Mill" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
"Hardy Hardhead" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Hardy Hard Head" (Salsi, 2008) AA		
<i>The Big Toe</i> (Kirby, 2010) AA	"Tater Toe" (Shelby, 2007) AA		
<i>How the Milky Way Began</i> (O'Sullivan, 2013) C	<i>The Story of the Milky Way</i> (Bruchac, et al., 2005) C		
<i>How the World Was Made</i> (Wagnon, 2018) C	<i>How the World Was Made</i> (Yasuda, 2013) C		
A = Affrilachian; AA = Anglo Appalachian; C = Cherokee			

APPENDIX B2

Folktales with Similar Episodes

Similar Details or Episodes			
<i>Rabbit and the Wolf</i> (Duvall, 2008) C	"Rabbit and the Tar Wolf" (Ross, 2003) C	"Fox and the Old Turtle Man" (Ford, 2012) A	
"Why Possum's Tail Is Bare" (Ross, 2003) C	<i>The Opossum's Tale</i> (Duvall, 2005) C	"Why Possum's Tail Is Bare" (Ford, 2012) A	
"Bear Dines with Rabbit" (Ross, 2003) C	<i>Rabbit and the Bears</i> (Duvall, 2004) C		
"Jack in the Giant's Newground" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	<i>Jack Outwits the Giants</i> (Johnson, 2002) AA	"Jack and the Giant's New Ground" (Salsi, 2008) AA	"Molly the Giant Slayer" (Shelby, 2007) AA
<i>Jack Outwits the Giants</i> (Johnson, 2002) AA	"Adventures of Molly Whuppie" (Shelby, 2007) AA		
<i>Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting</i> (Duvall, 2004) C	"Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting" (Ross, 2003) C	"Jack's Hunting Trip" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	
"Jack and the Doctor's Girl" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Doctor's Girl" (Salsi, 2008) AA	"Rabbit Steals from Fox" (Ross, 2003) C	
"Jack and the Bull" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Bull" (Salsi, 2008) AA	"Grind Mill Grind" (Shelby, 2007) AA	
"The Heifer Hide" (Chase et al., 2003) AA	"Jack and the Heifer Hide" (Salsi, 2008) AA	<i>Bearhide and Crow</i> (Johnson, 2000) AA	
"Three Suitors" (Ford, 2012) A	"Molly and the Unwanted Boyfriends" (Shelby, 2007) AA		
"Molly and Blunderbone" (Shelby, 2007) AA	<i>Wishing Foxes</i> (MacDonald, 2017) AA		
A = Aftikachian; AA = Anglo Appalachian; C = Cherokee			

APPENDIX D

List of Folktales by Cultural Community

AFFRILACHIAN: Name of book/collection (some abbrev.)	Tale in collection	Year
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Possum and Snake	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Why Possum's Tale is Bare	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Frog and Rabbit	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Fox and Old Man Turtle	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Turtle Wants to Fly	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Why Dog Chases Cat	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Look Every Which-A-Way	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Hyena and the Big Cheese	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Spider and Snake	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	The Sing	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Three Suitors	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Oh, John, No!	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	No Fishin' on Sunday	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Sistah Sarah Mae	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	No, I'm Not!	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Jack and the Old Woman	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	Zuri Killed Me	2012
Affrilachian Tales/Ford	A Bedtime Story	2012

ANGLO APPALACHIAN: Name of book/collection (some abbrev.)	Tale in collection	Year
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Adventures of Molly Whuppie	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly the Giant Slayer	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Tater Toe	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly and the Blunderbore	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly Fiddler	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Runaway Cornbread	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly and the Ogre Who Would N	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Pig Tale	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly and the Unwanted Boyfrien	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Grind Mill Grind	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Jack and the Christmas Beans	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly and Jack	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Molly, Jack, and the Sillies	2007
Adventures of Molly Whuppie/Shelby	Just Past Dreaming Rock	2007
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Big Man Jack	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Cat and Mouse	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Fill Bowl, Fill	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Grindin' at the Mill	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Hardy Hardhead	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Heifer Hide	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Bean Tree	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Bull	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Doctor's Girl	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Giant Fire Draga'man	2008
Appalachian Jack Tales/Salsi	Jack and the Giant's New Ground	2008
Bearhide and Crow/Johnson		2000
Beware, Beware of the Big Bad Bear!/De Las Casas		2012
Big Toe/Kirby		2010
Fearless Jack/Johnson		2001
Jack and the Animals/Davis		2001
Jack and the Dragon/Salsi		2009
Jack and the Giants/Salsi		2013
Jack Outwits the Giants/Johnson		2002
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack in the Giants' Newground	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the Bull	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the Bean Tree	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the Robbers	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the North West Wind	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the Varmints	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Big Jack and Little Jack	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Sop Doll!	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the King's Girl	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Fill, Bowl! Fill!	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Hardy Hardhead	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Old Fire Dragaman	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and the Doctor's Girl	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Cat 'n Mouse	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack and King Marock	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Jack's Hunting Trip	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	The Heifer Hide	2003
Jack Tales/Chase	Soldier Jack	2003
Jack Tales/Hicks	Jack and the North-West Wind	2000
Jack Tales/Hicks	Jack and the Bean Tree	2000
Jack Tales/Hicks	Jack and the Robbers	2000
Old Dry Frye/Johnson		2001
Old Woman and Her Pig/MacDonald		2007
Pig Who Went Home on Sunday/Davis		2004
Soap Soap Soap/Dulemba		2009
Wishing Foxes/MacDonald		2017

CHEROKEE: Name of book/collection (some abbrev.)	Tale in collection	Year
First Fire/Allen		2014
Grandmother Spider Brings the Sun/Keams		2014
Great Ball Game of the Birds and the Animals/Duvall		2002
How Medicine Came to the People/Duvall		2003
How Rabbit Lost His Tail/Duvall		2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Flint Visits Rabbit	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	How Rabbit Tricked Otter	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Why Possum's Tail is Bare	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Escapes from the Wolves	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	How Deer Won His Antlers	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Why Deer's Teeth Are Blunt	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Helps Wildcat Hunt Turkeys	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit and the Tar Wolf	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Races with Turtle	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Bear Dines with Rabbit	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Steals from Fox	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Sends Wolf to the Sunset	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	Rabbit Dances with the People	2003
How Rabbit Tricked Otter and Other Cherokee Trickster Stories/Ross	What Became of Rabbit	2003
How the Milky Way Began/O'Sullivan		2013
How the World Was Made/Wagnon		2018
How the World Was Made/Yasuda		2013
Ice Man/Moore		2000
Land of the Great Turtles/Wagnon		2018
Light Comes to the Mountains/Hayes		2012
Opossum's Tale/Duvall		2005
Rabbit and the Fingerbone Necklace/Duvall		2009
Rabbit and the Bears/Duvall		2004
Rabbit and the Well/Duvall		2008
Rabbit and the Wolves/Duvall		2005
Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting/Duvall		2004
Rabbit Plants the Forest/Duvall		2006
Story of the First Flute/Hurst		2001
Story of the Milky Way/Bruchac & Ross		2005
Yonder Mountain/Bannon		2002

SHAWNEE: Name of book/collection (some abbrev.)	Tale in collection	Year
Red Hawk and the Sky Sisters/Dominic		2003

APPENDIX E

Representations, Totals, and Number of Cultural Communities Represented

Representation	Sub-code	Total/Sub-code	Total	# of Cultural Communities
Wise	Clever	685	750	4
	Didactic	65		4
Independent/Self-Reliant/Proud			201	4
Unwise	Unintelligent	103	180	3
	Gullible	77		4
Poor			137	3
Gendered			132	4
Self-sufficient/Self-Reliant/Proud			129	4
Collectivistic			113	4
Violent			105	3
Topophilic			95	4
Linguistically Distinct			92	4
Humorous			90	3
Brave			84	4
Antiquated			78	4
Benevolent			76	4
Individualistic			75	4
Self-effacious			73	4
Fearful			67	3
Rebellious			64	3
Determined			62	4
Disobedient			59	3
White			55	1
Passive/Powerless	Settling	28	51	3
	Nonviolent	23		3
Vengeful			50	3
Angry			48	3
Conceited/Boastful			46	3
Greedy			44	3
Selfish			43	3
Industrious			41	4
Isolated			38	4
Lazy			27	3
Religious/Spiritual			27	3
Content			25	3
Humble			23	3
Peaceful			20	3
Superstitious			15	3
Multiracial/Multiethnic			14	4