A New Institutionalist History of Appalshop: Exploring the Agential Dynamics of an Appalachian Community Cultural Development Organization

Sarah E. Lyon-Hill

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Max O. Stephenson, Jr. Chair
Robert H. Leonard
Kim L. Niewolny
A. Scott Tate

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ABSTRACT

This research draws on New Institutionalist theory as interpreted by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) to explore the relationship between structure and agency within one nonprofit organization, Appalshop, located in Central Appalachia. Since 1969, Appalshop has worked with peer institutions to form a larger community cultural development (CCD) field, characterized by actors that value the potential of art and cultural activities to create space for individual and collective imagining and reimagining of communities. Through an exploration of archival documents and interviews with 18 current and former Appalshop staff, I analyzed the organization's 50-year evolution. I identified ways in which Appalshop has operated in the midst of different enabling and inhibiting structural forces, how its staff has sought to assert agency by contesting or circumventing those extant forces, and how the ensuing tensions have shaped the organization's approach to social change. During its evolution, Appalshop can be seen as having gone through four different stages characterized by changing national policy and culture as well as the actions of different generations of Appalshop staff. In order to withstand the growth of neoliberalism, changing technology and regional socioeconomic circumstance, Appalshop staff have had to adapt the organization's modus operandi to one that is more region facing and service based.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

Appalshop is a community cultural development organization located in central Appalachia. Community cultural development (CCD) is characterized by actors that value the potential of art and cultural activities to create space for individual and collective reimagining of communities. Founded in 1969, Appalshop and its staff have approached CCD in many ways, including through media production, youth education, theater and community organizing and, more recently, through community economic development. I explored Appalshop's evolution and sought to assess the ways in which this arts nonprofit has reacted to changing circumstances nationally and within its region, how those external forces have influenced the organization, and how its staff members have worked to contest forces that inhibited their organization's avowed mission and preferred activities. I used New Institutionalist theory, an analytic framework that emphasizes the need to explore the different *fields* of influence on any organization as well as the individual actors within that entity who, through their drive to create and perpetuate shared social meaning, may adopt or contest the narratives of external fields. I employed new institutionalism to make sense of the factors that have shaped Appalshop's trajectory as an institution to date. During its evolution, Appalshop has experienced four different stages characterized by changing national policy and culture as well as the actions of different generations of Appalshop staff. To withstand the growth of neoliberalism, changing technology and regional socioeconomic circumstances, Appalshop staff have had to adapt the organization's established modus operandi to one that is more region facing and service based.

Dedication

To my family:
Janet, Jim, Samantha, Jessie, Eric and my newest family member, Gavin.
Thank you for your continued support and love throughout my life.

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This dissertation was a very lengthy process that required the assistance and support of many wonderful people whom I am privileged to have met. First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without the incredibly amazing work and efforts of Appalshop staff during the 50 years of the organization's life. The fact that a handful of the nonprofit's founding generation, in particular, have tirelessly worked there since the nonprofit's inception is an illustration of their passion and dedication to the work and to their regional community. I would like to express my appreciation to those at Appalshop and many of Appalshop's former staff for working with me so openly and taking the time to provide me materials and thoughtful reflections on their time with the organization. Thank you in particular to Donna Porterfield for feeding and housing me when I visited (not to mention your delightful company), Dudley Cocke and Ben Fink for providing helpful input throughout my inquiry and Caroline Rubens for providing me access to the plethora of archival documents that Appalshop has collected since 1969.

I would also like to thank my committee chair and advisor, Max Stephenson, for his continued support of my work during my time as a graduate student at Virginia Tech. You have challenged me to think very deeply and deliberately about so many aspects of my work and broader society. I am grateful that I have had the opportunity to learn from and work with such a thoughtful, eloquent and compassionate person.

Thank you also to my entire dissertation committee members. You have been very patient with me, and I have appreciated your kind and thoughtful suggestions regarding my work. As a group, your deep knowledge, determination and deliberate approach to your work is awe-inspiring, and I hope to do at least half as well in my own career.

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Finally, I would not have made it into a PhD program without two groups of people who have always inspired me to try to do better. First, thank you again to my parents who have always encouraged me both by example and through their advice. Second, I would like to thank the Frenchies, a group of incredibly driven, strong and intelligent women. I was a bit of a slacker before your examples made me realize I could do more.

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Glossary of Terms

Actor: An individual, organization or collective that participates in an action or process within one or more fields.

Agency: "An actor's ability to have some effect on the social world—altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources. The presence of agency presumes a nondeterminant, 'voluntaristic' theory of action: 'to be able to act otherwise means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs… All actors, both individual and collective, possess some degree of agency, but the amount of agency varies greatly among actors as well as among types of social structures. Agency is socially and institutionally structured" (Scott 2014, p. 94).

Alternate ROOTS: A consortium of artists based in the southern U.S. was founded in 1976 at the Highlander Center in New Market, Tennessee in order to meet the distinct needs of artists who work for social justice, and artists who create work by, for, about and within communities of place, tradition, affiliation, and spirit. www.alternateroots.org

American Film Institute (AFI): AFI was established in 1967 as the nation's preeminent nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving and championing the past, present and future of the American film industry. www.afi.com

Americans for the Arts: With a strong belief in the transformative potential of the arts, Americans for the Arts is a nonprofit dedicated to "building recognition and support for the extraordinary and dynamic value of the arts and to leading, serving, and advancing the diverse networks of organizations and individuals who cultivate the arts in America" (https://www.americansforthearts.org).

Appalachia: A mountainous region along the southern tier of New York to northern Alabama and Georgia. The region is often described within a cultural context, under the ill-informed premise that those in Appalachia share one cultural identity. Appalshop is located in **Central Appalachia,** often described as the center of Coal Country. Central Appalachia is comprised of western Pennsylvania, (all of) West Virginia, Eastern Kentucky, southeast Ohio, Southwest Virginia, East Tennessee and Western North Carolina.

Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC): Formed in 1964 by an act of Congress, the ARC is a regional economic development agency whose mission is "to innovate, partner, and invest to build community capacity and strengthen economic growth in Appalachia" (https://www.arc.gov/about/).

Appalachian Studies: An academic area of study and research addressing the Appalachian region of the United States. This includes investigation of the region's history, culture, geography, environment, and more.

Appalshop: A 501(c)3 nonprofit organization operating in the community cultural development field and located in Whitesburg, Kentucky. Appalshop began operations as a War on Poverty program in 1969. www.appalshop.org

Appalshop Project: The different programs housed within Appalshop including Appalshop Films, Appalshop Archive, Appalachian Media Institute, WMMT-FM Radio, Roadside Theater, Culture Hub, Performing Our Futures, and others. Because Appalshop started as a film production nonprofit, it began to use the nomenclature "project" to describe each of its film-related activities. When different disciplinary activities began, the organization continued to call them projects.

Arts and Democracy: A nonprofit that developed from the 2004 National Voice campaign. Arts & Democracy "puts arts and culture on agendas where it hasn't been before, connects artists, cultural organizers, and activists who wouldn't otherwise know each other, and creates the connective tissue and generative environment needed for cross sector collaboration to succeed" (https://artsanddemocracy.org).

Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF): A coalition of independent filmmakers interested in the use of video and film media to comment on society and effect social change. Begun in 1975, AIVF supported filmmakers through financial and mentor support who avidly strove to make noncommercial media. Appalshop staff served on the AIVF board and helped to lobby for more funding for independent media. AIVF closed in 2006. www.ifta-online.org

Broad Form Deed: A legal document that severs a property into surface and mineral rights. This allows other individuals or organizations other than the resident landowners to purchase rights to resources below the surface. These parties also receive use of surface resources-such as wood or water-to facilitate gathering the resources below ground.

Community Cultural Development (CCD): Consists primarily of artists and arts/cultural organizations that understand the potential of such activities to create space for individual and collective imagining and reimagining of communities. Broken down: 1) *Community* indicates the participatory nature of the activity or activities undertaken, 2) *Cultural* is inclusive of many cultural activities (not just the arts), and 3) *Development* "suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambitious conscientization and empowerment" (Goldbard 2006, p. 21).

Community Film Workshop: A national program underwritten by the War on Poverty initiative in 1969. The Community Film Workshop sought to encourage workforce development in the growing film industry among minority youth and encourage the use of film in exploring and sharing the story of impoverished and/or minority communities. The Community Film Workshop funded organizations across the United States including entities in New York, Chicago, Puerto Rico and Appalachia. The **Appalachian Film**

Workshop was located in Whitesburg, Kentucky and became the nonprofit, Appalshop, when the Community Film Workshop program ended.

Critical Realism: Acknowledges the existence of an objective world that exists independent of individual perceptions, language and imagination. Those adhering to this view also hold that much social phenomena are understood via broadly accepted subjective interpretations (Collier 1994; Edwards, O'Mahoney & Vincent 2014). This perspective is situated in the middle of a debate among philosophers and other scholars concerning the import of structure and agency as social drivers. Its adherents argue that structure and agency are highly inter-related.

Cultural-Cognitive Logics: New institutionalists stress that shared narratives constitute the nature of social reality and create shared cognitive frames through which individuals make meaning. Actors (individuals and/or organizations) internalize these narratives, that then become part of their habitus (Bourdieu 1977) or social imaginary (Scott 2014, p. 70; Taylor 2004). These are often the taken-for-granted understandings for why individuals do what they do.

Culture War: First coined by James Davison Hunter in 1991, the Culture War was framed as a polarization in American culture and politics. The war slowly began in the late 1980s, but hit its peak in the 1990s with the two artists, Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe. Both had works of art in different traveling exhibits that were partially financed by the NEA. Serrano's Piss Christ with a crucifix floating in yellow liquid and Mapplethorpe's photographs of people in sexual positions exacerbated the already present political outcries from the GOP and conservatives concerning the questions of what constituted art and what the government should finance. The Culture War was made even more popular during the 1992 Presidential election, when Pat Buchanan described the nation as engaged in the midst of a religious and cultural war for its soul.

Existential Function of the Social: While maintaining, challenging or obtaining power may often *seem* to be the ultimate aspiration of individual and political agency, the underlying drive animating its expression is the human capacity for, and need to, develop shared meaning and identity. Thus, within each individual is an imperative to develop some sort of common meaning and identity with other individuals (Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

Field(s): Relational systems among actors with specific governing power dynamics. According to Fligstein and McAdam, fields are **"**mesolevel social orders, as the basic structural building block of modern political organizational life in the economy, civil society, and the state" (2012, p. 3). Fields are governed by institutional logics that set the rules for how actors operate and relate to one another, i.e. norms of the game. Actors may be incumbents (those in power) or challengers (those challenging existing rules and power dynamics). Internal governance structures are actants within a field and help to maintain the rules and power dynamics within it. Fields may be influenced by or may influence other proximate fields.

Habitus: "A system of durable, transposable dispositions [that serve as] principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 72).

Hegemony: Domination. The term is often associated with Antonio Gramsci, who identified hegemony as the "predominance of consent," or the way in which individuals, and thereby societies, are convinced to act in certain ways and operate under specific ideologies (Gramsci 2012).

Independent Television Service (ITVS): Established in 1988 by the U.S. Congress, ITVS has become the leading documentary film funder and distributor for public media. It has funded different media productions that are broadcast on *Point of View*, *Frontline*, *American Masters* and other shows on public broadcasting (https://itvs.org/).

Institutions: "Those standardized activity sequences that have taken for granted rationales that is, in sociological parlance, some common social 'account' of their existence and purpose" (Powell & Dimaggio 1991, p. 147).

Institutional Logics: Explicit and implicit narratives, or "rules of the game," that actors follow to succeed in their respective fields.

Internal Governance Structures: These help to legitimize and maintain the existing structures of fields. They may take the guise of government entities or professional associations that work to institutionalize and sustain certain organizational logics.

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth: "KFTC is a grassroots organization of 10,000 members across Kentucky. We have local chapters and at-large members in many counties. We use a set of core strategies, from leadership development to communications and voter empowerment, to impact a broad range of issues, including coal and water, new energy and transition, economic justice and voting rights" (http://kftc.org).

Kentucky Arts Council (KAC): Developed in the 1960s, KAC is the arts council for the state of Kentucky, the state flow-through for NEA and Kentucky General Assembly funding, and is responsible for developing and promoting support for the arts in Kentucky. Strategically placed in the Tourism, Arts and Heritage Cabinet. www.artscouncil.ky.gov

Kentucky Educational Television (KET): Founded in 1962, KET is Kentucky's public access television station. www.ket.org

Letcher County: Located in eastern Kentucky along the Kentucky-Virginia border, Letcher County is home to Whitesburg, Kentucky and Appalshop.

National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC): A partnership organization of media arts agencies meant to support those entities in growing and becoming part of their communities, fostering independent media artists, and promoting media literacy and socially responsible uses of media. This coalition was very prominent in the late 1970s and 1980s, garnering vigorous support from the NEA and NEH to bring together different media arts organizations and leverage their capacities. With the changing media technology and declines in media funding NAMAC lost some of its previous political power and prominence. It is now called The Alliance. www.thealliance.media

National Endowment for the Arts (NEA): Established in 1965 under President Johnson, the NEA seeks to support and encourage the growth of American arts and culture, improving access to the arts for all Americans. www.arts.gov

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH): Established in 1965 under President Johnson through the same legislation as the NEA, the NEH aims to support and encourage the growth of the American humanities. www.neh.gov

Neoliberalism: A concept defined by a political belief in the preeminence of free-market capitalism, a utopian idea in that democratic governance is no longer required thanks to the capitalist market and its invisible hand working as an ecosystem to keep everything in balance. Many scholars, such as David Harvey (2005), have shown this ideology is actually a pretense for improving capital and power accumulation among the governing elite. This ideology first became prominent with the Republican GOP, but eventually was adopted by many Democrats, including President Clinton, by 1992.

New Institutionalism: A school of thought in sociology focused on exploring periods of emergence, stability and change within the life of an organization, social movement, or what these authors call a *field* (Fligstein & McAdam 2012; Powell & Dimaggio 1991; Scott 2014). This includes understanding the rules of such fields, how they shape the actions and interactions of actors within and outside them, and how their rules of action change and may affect the larger society of which they are a part. Two New Institutionalists, Fligstein and McAdam (2012), have shown themselves to be less interested in understanding the institutional logics comprising fields than in discerning how the narratives constituting different institutional logics help to construct the power structures and activities within fields and in identifying the ways in which actors contest and circumvent extant hegemonic structures.

Normative Logics: Values and norms that actors in a field embrace as right behavior. Less explicit than regulative logics, they are nonetheless prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory. They operate under a logic of perceived appropriateness and are sustained only so long as the actors accepting them continue to do so.

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO): The executive arm of the War on Poverty under President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ). The OEO oversaw most of that initiative's programs including, the Job Corps, the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program, the federal work-study program, the Community Film Workshop, and several

other workforce and economic development efforts. President Nixon dissolved the OEO and dispersed its responsibilities among several other federal offices when he entered office in 1969.

Reflexivity: A process in which individuals actively process knowledge and conduct themselves accordingly, instead of being passive vessels upon which outside forces act to influence their knowledge and behavior. For Giddens, the complexities of the modern era demand that individuals pose the question "How shall I live?" daily to shape and decide the norms that will guide their behavior, what they will wear, and more (1991, p. 14). As such, a reflexive individual tends to be able to explain or provide reasons for their actions if asked.

Regulatory Logics: Explicit rules on which actors rely to maintain stability within a field, sanctioning those who do not follow them. Regulative logics are coercive and instrumental in character.

Skilled Actors: Those with social capabilities (see below).

Social Skills: "The cognitive, empathetic and communicative abilities of such individuals (leaders) help them to understand people and environments, and to mobilize others effectively in the service of broader conceptions of the world and of themselves" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, p. 17). It is these capacities that assist actors in reproducing and/or contesting institutional logics within a field.

Surface Mining and Reclamation of 1977: The primary federal law that regulates the environmental effects of coal mining in the United States. This act created two programs: one for regulating active coal mines and a second for reclaiming abandoned mine lands.

War on Coal: A campaign launched by coal companies to promote the presence of the coal industry in Appalachia and to claim that it was and is under threat from environmental and other interests. Through marketing, educational material and financial donations such as scholarships, those governing the coal industry attempted to put the coal industry at the center of Appalachian history, culture and identity. **Friends of Coal**, posing as a fake, grassroots organization, is one manifestation of the War on Coal campaign.

War on Poverty: An initiative under President Lyndon B. Johnson to address the nation's poverty in the 1960s. Johnson saw the initiative as an integral part of his Great Society vision, whose roots extended to the New Deal initiatives of President Franklin Roosevelt. The War on Poverty began in 1964 with LBJ's State of the Union Address and subsequent congressional passage of the Economic Opportunity Act. While the Great Society initiative formally ended under Richard Nixon, many of its programs continue today, including Medicare and Medicaid, federally subsidized school funding for support of vulnerable populations, and food stamps (the SNAP or supplemental nutrition assistance program).

Timeline of Appalshop's Evolution

Appalshop Timeline	National and Regional Events
1880s	First coal towns in Central Appalachia; Beginning of Arts and Crafts Movement Beginning of Settlement House Movement (1894)
1890s	Founding of the United Mine Workers of America; Institutionalization of Jim Crow (Plessy v. Ferguson)
1900s	
1910s	West Virginia Coal Wars (workers' rights) More railroad access to many of the larger coal seams in eastern Kentucky
1920s	Kentucky ranks 5th nationally in coal mining Harlem Renaissance and Little Theater Movement
1930s	Great Depression; Under the New Deal, the federal government creates the Federal Arts and Federal Writers' Projects; Works Progress Administration
1940s	Greater mechanization of coal mining during World War II contributes to coal mining boom and continued population growth; Appalachia's Population reaches 467,000
1950s	Mechanized coal mining leads to declining need for workers, as well as flooding and other environmental hazards that continue to plague the region; Area's population is 480,000
1954	Brown v. Board of Education
1955	Beginning of the Vietnam War; Rosa Parks arrested for not giving up her seat on the bus and beginning of Montgomery bus system boycott
1957	Civil Rights Act of 1957
1960	Candidate for President John F. Kennedy visits West Virginia and promises aid if elected; Area population is 386,000
1961	Freedom Riders; Beginning of Conceptual Art Movement
1962	*The Beverly Hillbillies* first airs on CBS TV
1963	Martin Luthor King's "I Have a Dream" address at the March on Washington
1964	Beginning of War on Poverty; Civil Rights Act of 1964

	1965	Formation of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC); Bloody Sunday; Voting Rights Act of 1965; Malcolm X assassination; President Johnson signs the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act which creates the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities (NEA and NEH)
	1966	
	1967	Every state has a designated state arts agency to qualify for NEA funding
Office of Economic Opportunity funds the Community Film Workshop across several communities in the US	**1968**	Martin Luthor King assassination; Fair Housing Act enacted
Beginning of Appalachian Film Workshop in Whitesburg, Kentucky	**1969**	Richard Nixon becomes president; Nancy Hanks becomes Chairperson of the NEA, stressing "art-for-all-Americans"
	1970	Clean Air Act of 1970; Area's population declines to 318,000
Production of films like *Coal Miner: Frank Jackson, In Ya Blood* and *Appalachian Genesis*	**1971**	NEA starts Expansion Arts Program tasked to nurture community-based arts organizations
The Community Film Workshop ends and the Appalachian Film Workshops becomes the nonprofit *Appalshop*	**1972**	NEA regional representatives go out into communities
	1973	Oil Crisis; President Nixon signs the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which supports many artists and workers in the CCD field
Production of films like *Catfish Man of the Woods* and *Nature's Way*	**1974**	Gerald Ford becomes President
Appalshop expands its activities and begins the Mountain Review, Roadside Theater, and June Appal Recordings	**1975**	Vietnam War ends; Formation of the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF)
Roadside Theater co-founds Alternate ROOTS; First performance of *Red Fox/Second Hanging*	**1976**	
	1977	Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act enacted; Formation of the Appalachian Studies Association; *Harlan County, USA* documentary; Jimmy Carter becomes President; Livingston Biddle becomes chairperson of the NEA
	1978	
Appalshop begins Headwaters TV Completion of the play, *Pretty Polly*, first in a trilogy	**1979**	1979 Energy Crisis; *Washington Post* editorial argues the NEA's review panels are tantamount to cronyism

	1980	Beginning of double-dip recession; Regional population rises to 401,000; Founding of the National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC)
Appalshop's revenue is $680,000 ($1.88 million in 2018 dollars); 30 people are on salary	**1981**	Ronald Reagan becomes President; Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities appointed to review activities of the NEA and NEH. The Task Forces recommends retaining both endowments
Completion of the play, *South of the Mountain*, second in a trilogy	**1982**	End of double-dip recession; NEA budget reduced by 10% New NEA chairperson, Frank Hodsoll, notes the rising cost of the arts and fewer independent art and film pieces
Appalshop moves into it new building: Appalshop Center	**1983**	Budget cuts in federal job training, food stamp and technical assistance programs
Production of *Strangers and Kin;* Appalshop hosts the National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC) annual conference; Under William Bennet, the NEH cuts funding for Appalshop's 7-film series that would map the history of Appalachia.	**1984**	Mario Biaggi (D-NY) and U.S. attorney of New York, Rudolph Giuliani, complain that the Metropolitan Opera's rendition of Verdi's Rigolletto staged in New York's Little Italy is demeaning to Italian-Americans;
Appalshop begins a community radio station, WMMT-FM; Production of *Sunny Side of Life*	**1985**	
Appalshop begins an annual festival, *Seedtime on the Cumberland*	**1986**	
Appalshop begins the Appalachian Media Institute (AMI); Completion of the play, *Leaving Egypt*, third in the Roadside Theater trilogy; More than 6,000 people attend screenings of Appalshop's films and videos at its headquarters. These productions were also distributed regionally, nationally and internationally to more than 105,000 colleges, schools, museums, churches, libraries, community groups, festivals, and conferences	**1987**	
Appalshop begins the American Festival Project; Appalshop supports the establishment of ITVS; Appalshop worked with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth to encourage the state's voters to pass an amendment to the Broad Form Deed in Kentucky, producing the film *On Our Own Land*	**1988**	AIVF successfully lobbies Congress to create the Independent Television Service (ITVS)

Appalshop creates an endowment fund	**1989**	George H.W. Bush becomes President; Official beginning of the "Culture War" with the NEA funding of exhibits by Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe
Roadside Theater in collaboration with Junebug Productions begins to write the play *Junebug/Jack*	**1990**	8-month recession; Regional population declines once more to 359,000; One in three Appalachians live below the poverty line; The NEA appropriations bills requires the addition of an obscenity clause to NEA grant's terms and conditions; Artists charged with violating Congress' "decency clause" take the NEA to court over defunded grants
Production of *Chemical Valley*	**1991**	Expansion of mountain top removal in Appalachia, continuing through the new millennium
	1992	The NEA Visual Arts panel of evaluators resigns to protest the obscenity clause
	1993	Bill Clinton becomes President
	1994	Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation receives $40 million from the Clinton Administration to invest in infrastructure, training and company attraction
Appalshop begins the Community Media Institute (CMI)	**1995**	Republicans take leadership of the House of Representatives and threaten to eliminate the NEA and NEH
Close of Headwaters TV	**1996**	NEA and NEH budgets are cut by 40% and almost all individual grants to artists are cut; Complete reframing of NEA grant awards away from disciplines; Ford Foundation and Americans for the Arts fund research into the arts' role in civic engagement and dialogue; Oxycontin released contributing to a growing prescription drug-fed epidemic
	1997	More than 87 percent of African American theaters founded in the 1960s were out of business by 1997
WMMT-FM plays precursor to *Hollar to the Hood*	**1998**	
Roadside Theater, in collaboration with Pregones Theater, completes the play, *Promise of a Love Song*	**1999**	President Clinton's visit to Hazard, Kentucky in Perry County next to Appalshop's Letcher County; Arts and Humanities departments from across the nation form "Imagining America"
Production of films *Stranger with a Camera* and *The Ralph Stanley Story;* Appalshop salaries rise to $1 million (or $1.46 million in 2018 dollars)	**2000**	Regional population declines once more to 340,000; Formation of Animating Democracy initiative

Size of Appalshop Endowment begins to decline; Appalshop begins Traditional Music Program; Appalshop buys a new building across the street from the Appalshop Center, the Boone Building;	**2001**	George W. Bush becomes President; Dot-com bubble bursts sending the country into a recession; September 11th attacks on New York and DC; The coal industry employs only 12% of employees in the region
First performance of *Voices from the Battlefront;* WMMT-FM begins to broadcast *Hollar to the Hood*	**2002**	Formation of Friends of Coal advocacy group; NEA chairperson, Dana Gioia, focuses the NEA's efforts on "the best in the arts and arts education to the broadest audience possible"
Appalshop begins its Appalshop Archive	**2003**	
	2004	
American Festival Theater closes; By this time, Roadside Theater has disbanded its ensemble	**2005**	
Appalshop Films produces *Up the Ridge*	**2006**	Housing market crash; The Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers closes
Performance of *A Thousand Kites* at University of North Carolina-Ashville	**2007**	Environmental activists protest at a Bank of America in Asheville, North Carolina against that company's investment in Massey Energy and Arch Coal, two of the largest surface mining companies in the region
	2008	Financial market crash; Beginning of the Great Recession; 20% reduction in arts funding by private contributors and 12% reduction in arts funding by foundations
	2009	Barack Obama becomes President; First National Arts Index measuring participation and presence of the arts
WMMT-FM airs *Making Connections* program about diversifying the Appalachian economy;	**2010**	Regional population is 326,000
Thousand Kites leaves Appalshop	**2011**	
	2012	
	2013	
Appalshop salaries were down to $595,000 (or $631,000 in 2018 dollars)	**2014**	
Appalshop starts Performing Our Future and the Letcher County Culture Hub; Performance of *BETSY! The Appalachian--Puerto Rican Musical* in Manhattan	**2015**	
	2016	2016 Presidential Election; The National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC) is renamed The Alliance
AMI creates All-Access EKY program in collaboration with Kentucky Health Justice Network and Power to Decide; Appalshop changes the size of its governing board from 45 to 9 members	**2017**	Donald Trump becomes President; Regional population declines again to 309,000
	2018	The coal industry makes up 5.6% of total employment in Appalshop region

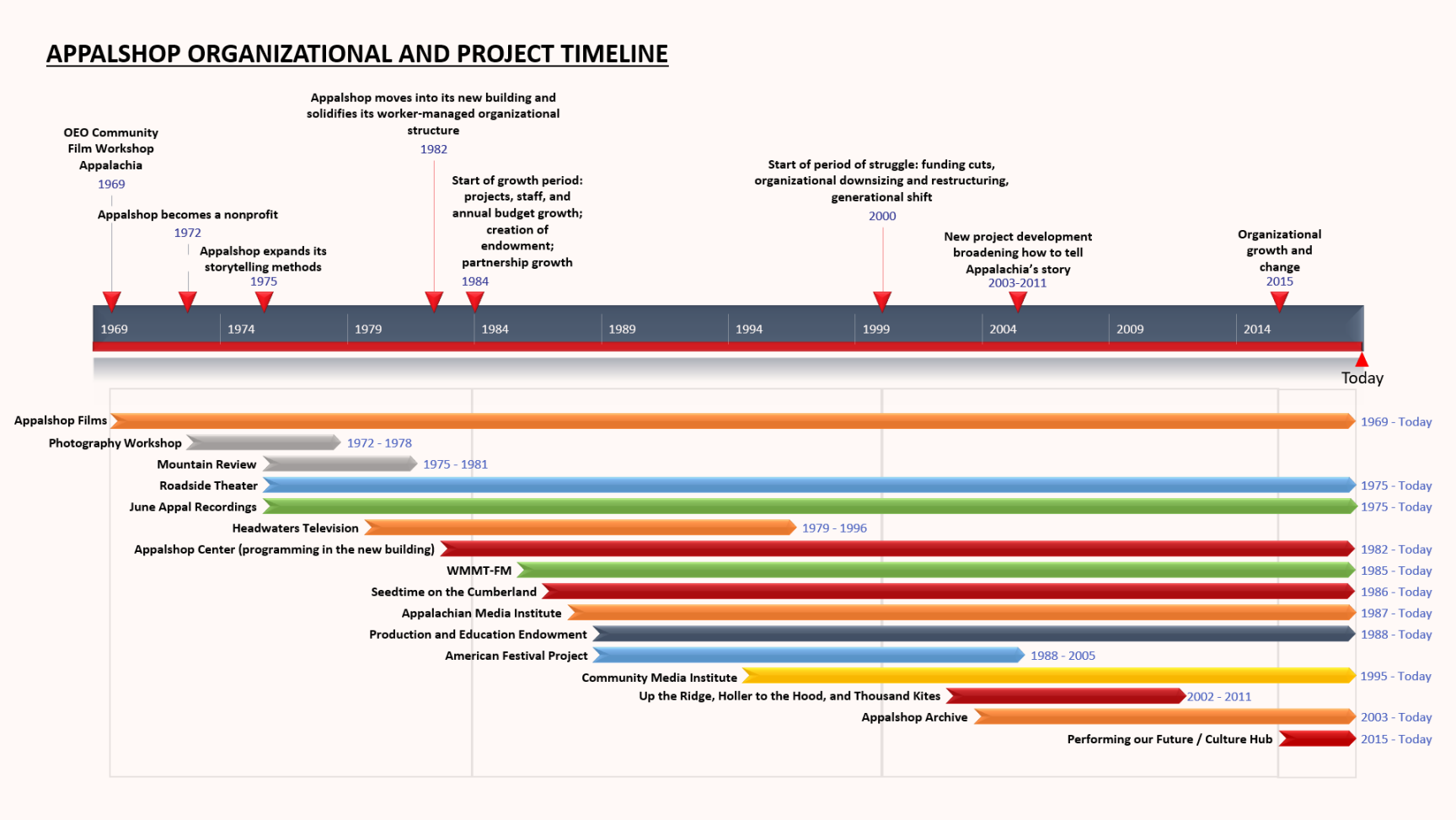


Figure 1. Appalshop project timeline

Chapter 1

Introduction

I think that our local and regional and national reality have changed some. What funders are interested in changes. And so, I think that different aspects of our work are highlighted at different times and through different people's lenses. Right? So, like someone could come in here as a social practice artist in grad school and understand that 'yeah the economy is a part of what you all do, but you're really just doing social practice.' And that is community and art always together. Right? And community-based art always has some development outcome that it wants. And so, I just think that people come with lots of lenses.

- Ada Smith, Development Director of Appalshop

The sole focus on individual genius is all part of the same paradigm that we've been talking about—the loss of the idea that artistic and cultural authority resides in and among the people. Appalshop was launched in a populist mode, and it has struggled to stay viable with all these other forces impacting it and containing it.

- Dudley Cocke, Former Artistic Director of Appalshop's Roadside Theater

The Central Appalachian region–comprising eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, southeast Ohio, western North Carolina, southwest Virginia, western Pennsylvania, and all of West Virginia–has a rich cultural history of storytelling, music, and dedication to family and place. Its history is also very controversial, marred by resource extraction that privileged a select few and sometimes contradictory narratives about what the region is and should be. By the 1950s, the coal industry had purchased much of the region's farmland that had once helped to support a network of extended families and communities. While World War II had supported the growth and prosperity of the coal mines and Appalachia's residents, the post-WWII economy brought to the region the competing forces of increased wages and mechanization. Mining mechanization resulted in labor layoffs and environmental degradation that contributed to flooding and landslides in the 1950s. Between 1940 and 1970, more than three million people left the region to find work, particularly in the Midwest (Eller, 2008).

In 1960, when then candidate-for-president John F. Kennedy visited West Virginia, the region was experiencing one of the coldest and snowiest winters it had witnessed in three decades. Kennedy was shocked by the state of the area's poor infrastructure and economy and promised to begin to address those conditions within the first sixty days of his presidency, if elected. As today's federally-sponsored Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) describes it, "a few statistics tell the story [of the time]:

- One of every three Appalachians lived in poverty
- Per capita income was 23 percent lower than the U.S. average
- High unemployment and harsh living conditions had, in the 1950s, forced more than 2 million Appalachians to leave their homes and seek work in other regions (http://www.arc.gov).

Meanwhile, state governors and national media highlighted the economic distress of residents of the region. Describing the state of emergency in the early 1960s, governors of states in the region argued that Appalachia was underdeveloped:

> By underdeveloped, we mean that basic handicaps to development of adequate facilities involving transportation and water resources have in turn hindered the local ability to support necessary public services and private enterprise activity. Because of such basic deficiencies, the success of local development activity in all areas of life is severely handicapped (Eller, 2008, p. 57).

As President Johnson took office, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC), established by Kennedy, released a report describing Appalachia as "a region apart […] The realities of deprivation across Appalachia, the report noted, were reflected in measures of income, housing, education, and employment" (Eller, 2008, pp.78, 79).

These and other findings from social scientists and journalists contributed to an effort to focus directly on spurring economic development in the region through Johnson's War on Poverty program, a broad-based government initiative to assist

impoverished individuals and communities in the United States. Appalachian historian, Ronald Eller (2008) has described this initiative:

> Though the region had long been perceived as an economic and cultural backwater, 'a land where time stood still,' its otherness could now be eliminated, they assumed, through development and assimilation into the mainstream. Once defined as part of the 'Other America,' Appalachia became a pawn in a great national experiment that sought to eradicate poverty without confronting the specific institutional and economic structures that abused the region in the first place. The catalyst for that experiment was the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and although it was short lived and conceived to fight national perceptions of poverty and its causes, the OEO brought hope and empowerment to millions in Appalachia, fueling a nascent regional identity and stirring the waters of resistance in ways its designers did not envision (p. 93).

Office of Economic Opportunity funding contributed to many projects in Central Appalachia including the formation of community action agencies (CAAs) that provided federal funds for local workforce and youth development programs meant to break the cycle of poverty. These programs included the Job Corps and VISTA that attracted volunteers, college students and community organizers from within and beyond the region, to support poverty alleviation efforts (Eller, 2008). However, the effort embodied an ongoing tension between a liberal approach to community and economic development—symbolized by initiatives meant to train individuals in mainstream values and culture that would help to lift them out of poverty once adopted—and community organizing approaches that questioned that paradigm and existing power structures, and emphasized democratic populism instead.

In 1969, the OEO provided financial support for ten Community Film Workshops across the U.S., which were to engage enthusiastic, disadvantaged youth. The program was established to train these young people for careers in the growing film industry,

particularly local television news. The original proposal also described the Community Film Workshops as:

> […] designed to do things with and for an unusual collection of young people who, on their own, have already made exciting progress on behalf of themselves and their communities, and it is designed, in part, as a pilot program to demonstrate ways in which film media can be used for community development and community action purposes (Appalshop Archive, Community Film Workshop Council/American Film Institute to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Spring 1969).

In short, this initiative aimed at both workforce development and community development, focused principally on minority populations, including Puerto Rican youth and African American youth in the South Bronx.

The Appalachian Film Workshop was a bit of an outlier in the eyes of the program's creators for this reason, as they saw Appalachia as being a majority white region with few minorities. One former Appalshop member explained:

> The program, the Community Film Workshop program, was a program directly for minority film makers… And so it was [for] Indians in New Mexico and it was [for] African-Americans in inner cities—New York, Chicago. It was [aimed at] Latinos. So, there were these programs. And so, Jack [Willis] came in to make 'Appalachia: Rich Land and Poor People,' which was a 1968 film. And he worked in Pikeville [Kentucky] where there was some, you know, there had been sedition. Here, there had been big battles, and he was working... And so, he convinced the [Community Film Workshop] Board that because of the poverty and the situation here that they should put one of these workshops in Appalachia. He wanted one in Pike County. But because there was so much anger there, it was just not possible to put it in in Pike County. But he convinced the Board's members, [even though] they were somewhat reluctant to actually create a white project, or white training program because they were seeing it as minorities who were not going to be in this burgeoning industry. But he convinced them to do it (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

The OEO sponsored a Community Film Workshop in Whitesburg, Kentucky forty-three miles from Pikeville because, like today, the Appalachian region was then connected

through cultural values and aspirations as well as limited access to financial and material resources. Moreover, the Appalachian Film Workshop had support from officials such as Carl Perkins, congressional representative of Kentucky's 7th district in which Whitesburg was located.

The Appalachian Film Workshop quickly embraced a storytelling approach to encourage individuals to recognize and act on their innate agency. Youth used the filmmaking equipment acquired for the workforce program to begin documenting and sharing their personal stories as well as those of their communities. In 1972, however, only a few years after the beginning of the effort, the federal government ended its funding. Nonetheless, the initiative continued as a nonprofit organization called Appalshop.

Appalshop has since expanded its programming to more than nine activity areas in different arts and media that employ diverse methods of public engagement:

- Appalshop Archive,
- Appalshop Films,
- Appalshop Media Institute,
- Community Media Initiative,
- June Appal Recordings,
- Letcher County Culture Hub/Performing Our Future,
- Roadside Theater,
- Seedtime on the Cumberland, and
- WMMT-FM.

Appalshop's leaders and staff call these program areas "projects." The organization currently employs approximately twenty professional staff. Appalshop, particularly its radio station, is also supported by dozens of volunteers. While the entity's governing structure has varied significantly since its founding in 1972, the nonprofit's current board

of directors is comprised of nine individuals; five staff members and four people not employed by the organization.

According to its website, Appalshop "brings forth new and often unheard voices and visions from the people of Appalachia and rural communities across America and abroad, demonstrating the power of arts and culture to create meaningful social and economic change" (http://www.appalshop.org/about-us/our-story/). The organization's mission is:

> To enlist the power of education, media, theater, music, and other arts: to document, disseminate, and revitalize the lasting traditions and contemporary creativity of Appalachia; tell stories the commercial cultural industries don't tell, challenging stereotypes with Appalachian voices and visions; support communities' efforts to achieve justice and equity and solve their own problems in their own ways; celebrate cultural diversity as a positive social value; and participate in regional, national, and global dialogue toward these ends (https://www.appalshop.org/about-us/our-mission/).

Throughout Appalshop's history, its staff have pursued this mission in the spirit of ensuring respect for and production of authentic Appalachian voice and identity.

Since its creation fifty years ago in 1969 in southeastern Kentucky, Appalshop has experienced periods of stability and crisis, of national accolades and strong federal funding as well as years of government budget cuts and significant economic struggle. As I will show, these influences have often been the product of external forces and are similar to those experienced by many of Appalshop's original OEO peer programs and by arts organizations in the community cultural development (CCD) field more broadly. However, Appalshop is one of only a few initiatives of its type launched by the Office of Economic Opportunity during the 1960s that still exists today. Indeed, many of its CCD peers from the 1970s and 1980s have either closed or have drastically altered their

activities and scope of work. I seek here to explore Appalshop's organization and history to learn about how its members have sought to sustain and adapt its operations while staying true to the nonprofit's arts and community-driven mission.

Defining Community Cultural Development

Reviewing the literature, one could argue that community cultural development (CCD) came into its own as a field of inquiry and practice in the early 2000s. A significant spate of national meetings and books discussing the field occurred in the late 1990s and the first decade of the 2000's when the emerging approach came under scrutiny by those embracing market-driven approaches to governance. However, most of those who played key roles in defining CCD as a field began their work in the 1960s and 1970s, as will be illustrated below. Thus, many of those working at Appalshop were influential in the structuration of the new field.

Today, the community cultural development field consists primarily of artists and arts/cultural organizations that understand the potential of such activities to create space for individual and collective imagining and reimagining of communities. Many artists and scholars now undertaking this work embrace the nomenclature "community cultural development." But others use such terms as community-based arts or simply, community arts. I have chosen to use community cultural development, persuaded by Goldbard's rationale for adoption of this term: 1) community indicates the participatory nature of the activity, 2) cultural is more inclusive of many cultural activities (not just the arts), and 3) development "suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambitious conscientization and empowerment" (2006, p. 21).

Community

Community serves as a vital distinguishing factor between all art and art within the field of CCD. For instance, this element helps to distinguish CCD efforts from a work of art in a museum or Richard Serra's public arts sculptures, meant to alienate and shock passersby into thinking of their space differently. Indeed, many works of art serve as commentaries or critiques of social norms or values and are meant to *shock* audience members into thinking differently about how they perceive the world. In contrast, those in the CCD field emphasize the role of community in creating those works of art as well as their collective experience. Indeed, within the context of theater, Leonard and Kilkelly (2006) have argued that:

> community is that coherence, that belonging, that specific social and aesthetic reality which is produced intentionally by the people coming together in acts of imagination … Community is a protean thing that both reflects and creates agency … The art of these [theater] ensembles is to create images from the audience's own experiences, histories and traditions that provide the possibility of such moments (p. 29).

Often, community is conceived as being very place-based, at least when one compares specific locations to an array of other communities that reflect diverse people from different backgrounds and cultures. A geographical place and its history can help to define the character of a community (Stephenson & Tate, 2015). For instance, in *Art and Upheaval,* Cleveland (2008) framed his stories of artistic endeavors around six groups embedded within disparate geographic communities and the conflict and histories that unfolded within them. Appalshop and its work is deeply embedded in the geographically-situated culture of Central Appalachia and its history of natural resource extraction.

In other cases, communities are comprised of certain groups, bounded by history or culture; for instance, refugee or minority populations. Nevertheless, cultural

development initiatives addressing those groups still tend to be place-based and to emphasize the role or agency of the particular population of populations within a larger geographic macro-community.

CCD tends to employ themes gleaned from exploring local history and identity to assist in the development of cultural infrastructure (often capabilities) and to address key community concerns. Program models for the groups that engage in this field include structured learning among citizens via sustained dialogue, documentation and distribution of community stories, creation of shared public spaces, and residencies that allow artists to engage with populations to create art (Goldbard, 2006). Irrespective of specific theme or format, the field tends to emphasize political praxis, iterative ideological critique, and continued questioning of the narratives and beliefs that legitimize the way individuals currently live their lives (Brookfield, 2001; Brookfield & Holst, 2011). In other words, CCD emphasizes artistic process over product (Becker, 1994; Cleveland, 2008; Goldbard, 2006; Graves, 2005; Leonard & Kilkelly, 2006; Martin, 2015; Stephenson & Tate, 2015; Woodson & Underiner, 2018).

Culture and Art

Like Goldbard, Graves (2005) has promoted use of the term culture, rather than arts, because they are inseparably bound, but function on different levels: art is more narrowly defined and operates in the relative short-term whereas culture is much broader and shifts and develops during the long-term. This distinction raises two key points that pervade the CCD field. First is the question of what is art? One justification for using the term culture is rooted in an effort to be inclusive, as some cultural acts may not necessarily or broadly be considered art, even if many argue they should be. Indeed, a

society's conception of art is often contingent on the framing of its presentation and/or how those in power have elected to define it. For example, the work of Roadside Theater, one of Appalshop's projects, incorporates callouts and talk-backs or direct exchange with audiences when performing—practices that are very much ingrained in Appalachian culture. However, when they brought their work and these acts to New York, critics framed their artistic approach as avant-garde (Stephenson & Tate, 2015).

Second, Grave's distinction alludes to the broader vision of CCD to encourage social and democratic change, which can only be fostered and sustained through an emphasis on culture and cultural plurality (i.e. different voices arising from different groups within communities). Goldbard (2013) has defined culture as "the fabric of signs and symbols, language and image, customs and ceremonies, habitations, institutions, and much more that characterize and enable a specific human community to form and sustain itself" (p. 11). Graves (2005) has also described the many components and activities that make up culture, saying they provide:

> […] the building blocks of our identity as social beings. Culture is a fundamental enactment of human community. It is the practices communities select to express themselves, the glue that binds them together internally, and the displays that represent them to the world. Culture is expressed in what we wear, what we eat, how we dance, who we revere, how we worship (p. 15).

Thus, culture is that foundation that undergirds all communities and their identities. The phenomenon is also elastic and dynamic, constantly changing. CCD seems to embrace this notion of culture and likewise to question what culture is (including its hidden narratives), how culture changes from population to population, who or what is changing culture, and how culture *should* shift across and within communities.

Development and Change

While the arts and culture have been inextricably and integrally a part of human life for known history, the contemporary CCD field began to emerge in the 1960s, in many respects as a rejection of modern cultural homogenization. Community Cultural Development has since constituted a counterforce to an ever more commercialized, neoliberal society—manifest through "loss of agency, a decline in spontaneous connection, a tendency for consumer activities to supplant other social relationships and a strong pull toward isolated pursuits" (Goldbard, 2006, p. 23). While Stephenson and Tate (2015) note the growing instrumentalization or narrowing of art's potential for economic purposes, as seen in Richard Florida's creative class argument (Florida, 2012), they and others maintain the possibility that artists, individuals, and communities can counter these forces through art. Stephenson and Tate (2015) frame the potential of art as a way of making space for agency and developing democratic capacities.

Thus, the underlying aspiration of this group of institutions and individuals that together comprise the CCD field, broadly defined, is to secure space for democratic social change in which residents have the opportunity to voice their views, collaborate, and pursue collective well-being. In other words, those working in this domain wish to foster conditions that encourage the exercise of political agency by the individuals and communities with which they work. Agency:

> […] refers to an actor's ability to have some effect on the social world—altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources. The presence of agency presumes a nondeterminant, 'voluntaristic' theory of action: 'to be able to act otherwise means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs… All actors, both individual and collective, possess some degree of agency, but the amount of agency varies greatly among actors as well as among types of social

> structures. Agency itself is socially and institutionally structured (Scott, 2014, p. 94).

Those in the CCD field do not always articulate their purpose or goals using the concept of "agency." Nonetheless, I use this construct at both the individual and collective level, as it is vital to CCD and to the purposes of this inquiry.

When describing the role of this field's activities in creating space for social change, Woodson and Underiner (2008) have argued that *change* has become a key word in theater and performance studies:

> Change is not only in the air; it *is* the air we breathe. Perhaps now more than ever *change* operates as *doxa*, taken for granted as self-evidently and universally a good thing, in and of itself… For a field so implicated in change, theatre and performance studies have not spent much time lately studying it, at least not in the systematic way undertaken by Bertolt Brecht and Augusto Boal… Each instead urged a theatre leading to action—Brecht, by provoking the audience to think critically; Boal by 'rehearsing the revolution' itself (p. 2).

Most CCD professionals either implicitly or explicitly desire change. Despite the fact that several authors have noted that arts activities can actually reinforce the status quo or have unintended negative consequences, the field tends to embrace a melioristic philosophy of social change or a "belief that the world can be made better through concerted human effort" (Woodson & Underiner, 2018, p. 339).

For this field, change is often relational or social, even if its principal target is individual. In the simplest terms, change is the opposite of equilibrium or stasis. However, John Fletcher has explored more deeply what artists and community organizers tend to mean by *change* (Woodson & Underiner, 2018). While some groups have very specific ideas about what levers they wish to employ to prompt shifts in the existing social equilibrium, such as legislative change, others' aspirations are much broader.

Fletcher, for example, has employed Antonio Gramsci's notion of *hegemony* and Kwame Anthony Appiah's *moral revolution* to describe how many of these groups seek to secure deep-seeded cultural changes that require individuals and communities to question and alter their understanding of themselves and their culture. It calls for activist (new or changed) ideas to be adopted, absorbed, and become "taken for granted" by the collective consciousness. Women's right to vote in the United States and several other democratic countries is a good example of this sort of shift (Woodson & Underiner, 2018).

One reason for CCD's particular effectiveness in this area is its emphasis on individual experience and day-to-day life rather than highly political issues. As Goldbard (2006) has explained, "Creating a cultural container for dialogue can give people the chance to encounter each other as human beings, to consider before they speak the effect their words may have on the listener, to speak from the heart" (,p. 53). Indeed, art provides both a *sensory* and an *emotional* experience that may heighten underlying messages and address both the "heart space" (which speaks to Marcuse's description of catharsis) and the "head space" of civic and social issues (Borstel & Korza, 2017).

Nevertheless, those working in the CCD field often pursue different approaches when seeking to realize such change. Arts-and-cultural work comes in many different forms, including community-based theater, film, radio, music, and the visual arts. During these activities, members from geographically defined communities or communities-of-interest play varying roles. For its part, art and cultural work for CCD emphasizes different aspects of a community, including its history or identity, its cultural infrastructure, or its citizens' capacity to organize and participate in politics (Goldbard,

2006). As such, specific actors and their activities may present very differently, even when all perceive themselves as engaged in CCD.

Research and Gaps

Several researchers and practitioners have examined the evolution of the CCD field. That trajectory has included efforts to broaden the definition of what constitutes art (e.g. cultural work from outside western Europe), explorations of the effects that generational change may be having on CCD in many locations, its relation to other disciplines and professional fields such as the fine arts and community economic development, as well as developing ways to measure its impacts and effectiveness (Becker, 1994; Borstel & Korza, 2017; Cleveland, 2008; Goldbard, 2006; Goldbard, 2013; Graves, 2005; Leonard & Kilkelly, 2006; Stephenson & Tate, 2015; Woodson & Underiner, 2018).

Previous investigators have uncovered research gaps in our collective understanding of the CCD field requiring further research. Specifically, Nellhaus has called for a deeper examination of the evolution of change dynamics associated with such initiatives (Woodson & Underiner, 2018). Examining CCD efforts within the context of history, an exploration of their long-durée, affords an opportunity to understand how organizations in this field may affect and/or mobilize shared individual and social norms and values over time. The idea of the long-durée refers to historical study of evolving societal structures (Woodson & Underiner, 2018). In addition, Woodson and Underiner (2018) have argued that existing analyses of the field are derived mainly from education, culture and performance studies and, to a lesser extent, sociology, leaving space for studies employing other lenses.

Exploring the Agential Possibilities of Appalshop as a Community Cultural Development Organization

I analyzed how Appalshop has sought to exercise its agential possibilities as an organization in the community cultural development field. This said, it is important to note, as suggested above, that the field was not really defined until the 2000s, and much like any other field, it continues to evolve. While I may describe Appalshop as a community cultural development organization, those within the organization did not present themselves using this terminology or deliberately pursue the development and integration of the CCD field until after it was already 25-30 years old.

I examined the ways in which this nonprofit entity's employees and leaders have operated in the midst of different enabling and restricting structural forces, how they have sought to assert the organization's agency by contesting or circumventing those extant and often, hegemonic influences, and how the ensuing tensions have influenced Appalshop's approach to social change. Much of this inquiry relates to narratives: the stories that comprise how individuals see themselves, accounts that tend to inform or sometimes mandate their actions, stories that construct the structures of power in societies, and narratives that individuals and groups may contest in order to reassert agency and/or to press their own perspectives.

Rather than focusing on how Appalshop has sought to encourage the exercise of agency among those it serves, the spotlight here is on *the organization's* political agency to operate and pursue its mission. This distinction implies a different methodological approach; one in which the inquiry takes place mostly within an institution and among its partners as opposed to within communities and among individual participants. The two foci are highly related, however. Indeed, this inquiry touches on the capacity of

Appalshop to pursue the goal of fostering individual political agency among those it serves.

The underlying ontological challenge implicit in this inquiry—exploring the organization's political agency—is that of structure versus agency or "the links between macrosocial processes and microinteractions" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, pg. 6). This study is a historical contextual analysis of the evolution of Appalshop, located in Whitesburg, Kentucky. I sought to understand better how the organization came to be how it is today—its activities and approach to CCD—by exploring, as noted above, what Nellhaus has termed *the long-durée*. I employed a theoretical frame not yet applied in the CCD field, *New Institutionalism*, to provide fresh insight into how Appalshop, and potentially other CCD organizations, function within different spheres of power relations and how they gain/maintain power to act (exercise their agency) within those spheres. Using Fligstein and McAdam's approach to new institutionalist theory, I contend that exploring Appalshop's history sheds light on the study of fields more generally, and the structure-agency dynamic within the CCD field more specifically.

Dissertation Organization

This dissertation explores the different periods of Appalshop's history and assessed different forces that have supported or hindered its activities throughout its fifty-year evolution. Following this introductory chapter, I review relevant organizational theory literature, specifically *New Institutionalism* (NI), and how it relates to CCD and Appalshop in Chapter 2. I then sketch the approach I employed in Chapter 3, which also describes this study's research design and methods. The findings chapters (4, 5, 6, 7) align with the research format used by New Institutionalists. They are organized

chronologically with each representing a period of the organization's evolution. I provide the rationale for my selection of those periods in Chapter 3. Brief synopses of the primary foci of the findings chapters by historical period follow:

> *Chapter 4: Institutional Formation (1969-1982)*: The initial development of Appalshop with federal support and the learning process that actors within it underwent as they formed an independent nonprofit when national assistance ended.
>
> *Chapter 5: Institutional Growth (1983-2000)*: Appalshop's growth from a regional institution to a nationally and internationally-recognized arts and culture organization.
>
> *Chapter 6: Institutional Contraction (2001-2014)*: The struggles the entity underwent due in part to federal, state and private foundation budget reductions during the recessions of the 2000-2010 decade (the bursting of the tech and housing financial bubbles, respectively) that bookmarked the Millennium's first decade.
>
> *Chapter 7: Institutional Change (2015-present)*: The changing fortunes and programmatic mix of the nonprofit as different funding sources have become significant and a new generation of Appalshop employees have attained power and revisited and revised internal governance structures.

Individually, these chapters seek to contextualize what was happening nationally and locally as well as how Appalshop was functioning, while highlighting the concerns confronting it during each period analyzed. Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the key findings of this inquiry and outlines possibilities for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

I employed Fligstein and McAdam's New Institutionalism analytical framework for this study. *Institutions* "are those standardized activity sequences that have taken for granted rationales; that is, in sociological parlance, some common social 'account' of their existence and purpose" (Powell & Dimaggio, 1991, p. 147). Researchers have used New Institutionalism to examine organizational structuration, isomorphism, and change. Analysts have employed this frame to examine periods of emergence, stability and change within the life of an organization, social movement, or what these authors call a *field* (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Powell & Dimaggio, 1991; Scott, 2014).

The ontological assumptions undergirding this theory of fields draw, at least in part, on critical realism. Critical realists acknowledge the existence of an objective world independent of individual perceptions, language and imagination; yet, those adhering to this view also hold that much social phenomena are understood via broadly accepted subjective interpretations (Collier, 1994; Edwards, O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). I describe this frame more fully in Chapter 3, which describes this study's research design and methods.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) ascribed to this ontological understanding in his theory of practice. He wove positivist and constructivist ontologies together, arguing that society can only be understood through a double reading: one objectivist and one subjectivist. I am persuaded by his assessment. In understanding our reality (ontology) and our ways of knowing (epistemology), I contend there are phenomena in our society that can be objectively identified. These include

actors, relationships, and many forms of capital. Likewise, the role of individuals and their perceptions and ways of understanding are highly relevant and important to understanding social reality. Individuals may reinforce, reproduce, or transform relationships and structures through their experiential knowledge and understanding (habitus), all of which can be manifest through their actions. New Institutionalists adopt this ontology when exploring the structuration, evolution and rupture of fields, often examining organizations as distinct fields themselves.

Defining Fields, Institutional Logics and Actors

New Institutionalists perceive *fields* as "mesolevel social orders, as the basic structural building block of modern political organizational life in the economy, civil society, and the state" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 3). Fligstein and McAdam (2012) examined the emergence and development of the civil rights movement as a field, almost a century in the making. They discussed the years leading up to and immediately following the Civil War (1781-1877) and the period after Reconstruction, during which southern states enacted racially discriminatory statutes and politics (e.g., Jim Crow laws). They identified the Depression and Cold War as periods of destabilization, which led to tensions and contention within politics and society, creating conditions that allowed for the emergence and eventual institutionalization of the civil rights movement.

Drawing on Bourdieu, New Institutionalists have conceived of fields as relational systems among actors with specific governing power dynamics and *institutional logics*. These rationalities tend both to be explicit and implicit narratives, or "rules of the game," that actors follow to succeed in their respective fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012;

Powell & Dimaggio, 1991; Scott, 2014). According to these theorists, institutional logics can be:

1) *Regulative*: Explicit rules on which actors rely to maintain stability within a field, sanctioning those who do not follow them. Regulative logics are coercive and instrumental in character.

2) *Normative*: Values and norms that actors in a field embrace as right behavior. Less explicit than regulative logics, they are nonetheless prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory. They operate under a logic of perceived appropriateness.

3) *Cultural-cognitive*: New institutionalists stress that shared narratives constitute the nature of social reality and create common cognitive frames through which meaning is made. Actors (individuals and/or organizations) internalize these narratives, that then become part of their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) or *social imaginary* (Scott, 2014, p. 70; Taylor, 2004).

Across the spectrum of logics, from regulative to cultural-cognitive, these rules are explicitly established and become embedded over time, often to the extent that individuals "take them for granted" as unquestionable facts.

This analysis of institutional logics aligns with Schein's description of organizational culture:

> The accumulated shared learning of that group as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration; which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, feel, and behave in relation to those problems. This accumulated learning is a pattern or system of belief, values, and behavioral norms that come to be taken for granted as basic assumptions and eventually drop out of awareness (2017, p. 6).

Schein has described organizational culture in very dynamic terms, arguing that it evolves according to the play of different cultural currents: power, gender, individualism/collectivism, tolerance for ambiguity/uncertainty, performance/human orientation, and time orientation. Institutional cultures also evolve based on outside

forces and changes occurring within and among internal actors. Schon's (1983) description of the professional practitioner trained in the dominant paradigm of technical rationality comes to mind as a way that actors may influence organizational culture. Schein (2017) has employed three levels of organizational analysis to investigate organizational culture, that run the spectrum from objective to subjective in character: artifacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions.

The *actors* within a field are those usually with a stake in the activities a field encompasses (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Powell & Dimaggio, 1991; Scott, 2014). They can be groups, organizations or individuals in some cases. In the case of community cultural development (CCD), the normative institutional logic that characterizes the field is one that encourages the recognition and exercise of political agency among individuals and communities in order to open space for social and democratic change. However, community cultural development actors within the larger field of community and economic development may also help actors in that larger field understand CCD institutional logics, by defining and legitimizing the role(s) of the arts in such processes. Figure 2 provides a visualization of a field and its different actors and components.

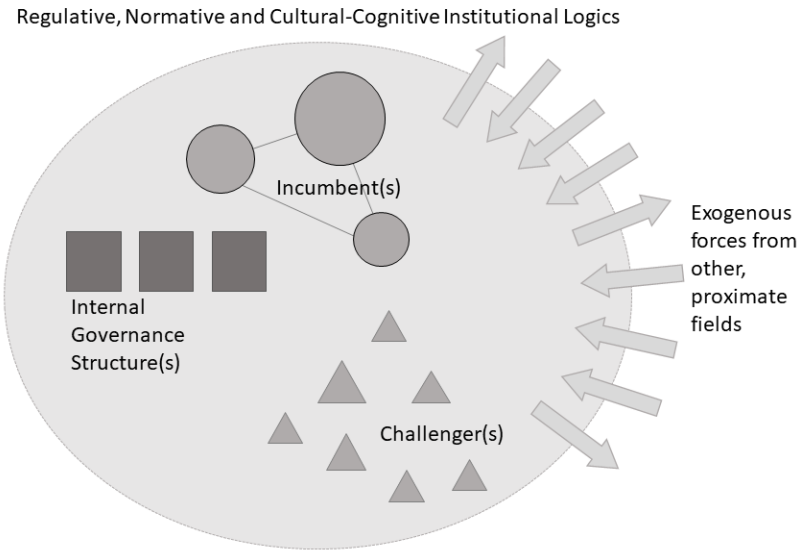


Figure 2. Basic components of a field

Incumbents within a field are those with the most power in it, who create and wish to maintain its structure and institutional logics. Depending on how a field is structured, these actors may maintain power through a hierarchy or by means of strategic coalitions. *Internal governance structures* help to legitimize and maintain the existing configurations of fields. These may take the guise of government entities or professional associations that work to institutionalize and sustain certain logics or ways of thinking and behaving.

Meanwhile, *challengers* are those with less power in a field, but that vie for more. They often seek changes in the rules of the game (i.e. institutional logics). As described above, actors within community cultural development, as they take actions in other fields such as community and economic development, often play the part of challengers. Challengers often gain power in a field through coalition building. As Bourdieu has argued, actors can enter fields:

> […] to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can, for instance, work to change the relative species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents

> rest (e.g. economic capital) and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess (e.g. juridical capital) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99).

In that way, they can alter the power structures of fields in their favor.

In some instances, a field may rupture, resulting in opportunities for change. For example, such may occur when an incumbent fails in its perceived role, such as the decline of coal companies in Appalachia, or a larger shock such as a natural disaster or economic crisis occurs. These breaks result in uncertainty, which may lead to actors questioning the field's institutional logics. Challengers may then take advantage of that ambiguity to seek a restructuring of the field that increases their power within it. According to most New Institutionalists, such reconfigurations are difficult to achieve and, as a result, rare (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Powell & Dimaggio, 1991; Scott, 2014).

Suggested Approach to New Institutionalism

New Institutionalists have proposed several steps to investigating a field's emergence, stability and transformation. Each of these can make analysts more sensitive to "the nature of the events and the possibility for social change in given fields" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p.175). First, these scholars suggest describing a field at a given time, using historical evidence to describe its characteristics. Researchers engaged in such efforts should delimit the time frame they are examining. Fields are characterized by their institutional logics, actors, relational networks and perceived boundaries (Scott, 2014). Fields tend to achieve stability through the imposition of a single power or coalition of smaller powers acting together, through coercion, competition or cooperation (Fligstein

& McAdam, 2012). Actors, relationships and institutional logics can change as a field develops.

Second, researchers must understand the actors involved in a field, participants' perceptions of it and how those views may translate to action (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Scott, 2014). Once such understanding is attained, analysts may begin to distinguish individual actors and groups who have utilized their social skills and capacities to exercise agency (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Finally, researchers should identify other actors in fields that may influence that which they are examining (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Powell & Dimaggio, 1991; Scott, 2014). These exogenous individuals and forces may account for certain activities or institutional logics within the field under exploration.

The Mutability of Institutional Logics

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have differentiated themselves from other New Institutionalists in several ways. For example, they have contended that the term, "institutional logics," conveys a false sense of homogeneity and masks the different power structures and possible conflicts present in a field. Few fields, if any, have institutional rules and norms that all actors embrace wholeheartedly all the time. Different groups will support and/or contest existing logics to varying degrees, even embracing institutional norms that may not then be prevailing within a field. Actors are constantly negotiating with each other and with the different circumstances that arise due to changing environmental contexts and forces from other fields. Because of these dynamics, most fields tend to experience at least low levels of incremental change across time.

When one views higher education, for example, many administrative leaders, and even groups from different disciplines view the field's role differently. They continuously vie for power and authority to influence how higher education operates within society, often through continued debate and discourse, to the effect that colleges and universities incrementally change their strategies over time more often than they experience instances of great upheaval and dramatic change (though cumulatively, of course, incremental changes can result in major shifts over time). Similarly, the CCD field, in its contemporary form, has experienced gradual changes in its cultural-cognitive logics more often than instances of dramatic rupture. For instance, community cultural development activities or partnerships may shift due to generational change and/or as a result of the growing pervasiveness of neoliberalism. Thus, to understand the dynamics of a field and discern incremental changes within it through time requires a methodical historical approach.

The Influence of External Fields

Compared to other new institutionalists, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have also more strongly emphasized the need for analysts to account for the influence of external fields. Indeed, many organizational changes occur as a result of exogenous shocks, or changes in other related fields. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have likewise argued that specific fields are likely to evidence distinct relationships with other fields. Moreover, other fields may be more or less *distant* or *proximate* to the one under study. Those that are near another field tend to have recurring ties to it in some way and may regularly influence it. For example, the field of urban and regional planning, particularly with the growing popularity of placemaking, is more proximate to CCD today than it was in

previous decades. While these fields both rest within the larger community development field, their institutional logics, as illustrated by their values and approaches, have nonetheless left them distant from one another in previous periods. Meanwhile, civil engineering, also a cognate field of community development, is and has remained more distant from CCD.

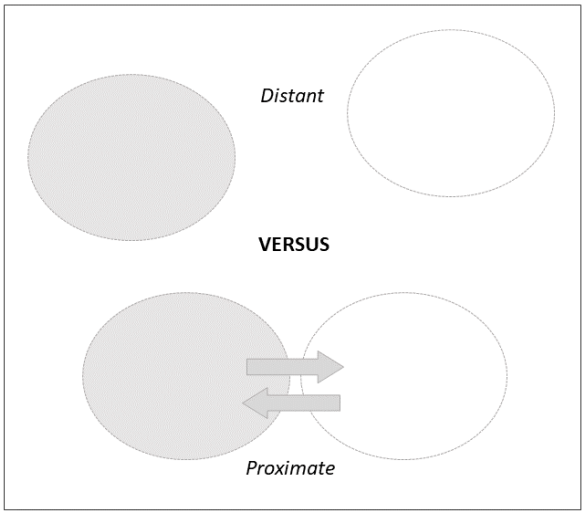


Figure 3. Distant versus proximate fields

Fields may be more or less *dependent* or *interdependent*. These characterizations imply different forms and degrees of influence, the first being a hierarchical relationship and the second being horizontal ties of mutual influence. For example, the CCD field may be seen as somewhat dependent on the larger arts field for its legitimation. But it may be more or less interdependent with other arts and community development groups in the same locale.

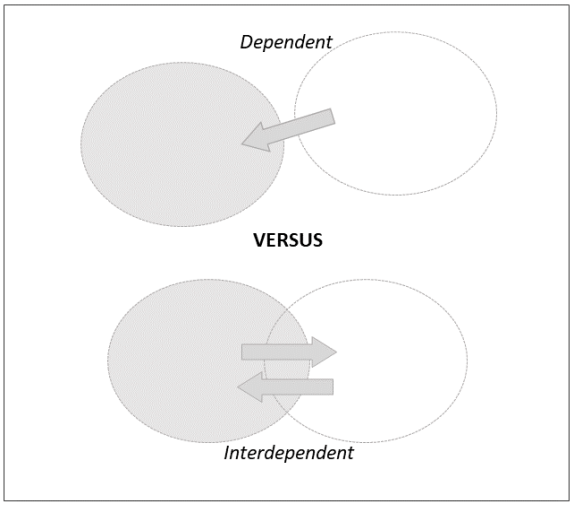


Figure 4. Dependent versus interdependent fields

Another distinction among fields is that some are *state* and some are *nonstate* in character. *State* actors in particular have distinct power and authority to legitimate fields (e.g., through funding or other authoritative action) and to establish institutional logics for fields (e.g., regulations and the values that underpin them). The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) have each played a role in legitimizing the CCD field by providing funding at various times to those working within it. However, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have rightly cautioned that there is no single, hegemonic state, but rather many government actors that may evidence both horizontal and/or vertical relationships with participants in their fields and with actors in other fields at various times. For example, federal agencies may exert hierarchical power in their relationships with a CCD organization, but local governments may act as equal partners with that same entity. Identifying the most proximate fields and understanding the nature of their relationships with the network under study may shed light on how a field is structured and how it has changed, or may be changing, during a given period.

Accounting for Political Agency

In an attempt to reaffirm the vital role that agency plays within fields, Scott (2014) has warned against institutional theory giving way to structuralism and reinforcing a "futility thesis that asserts that any attempt at reform is doomed to failure because of the intractable nature of society's social fabric" (p. 272). Rather, reflecting a Bourdieu-like understanding, he and other New Institutionalists have described the complexity of organizations' tendencies both to constrain choice/action and empower/enable choice/action. Scott has described fresh attempts by New Institutionalist scholars to explore how actors—through greater awareness, skill and reflexivity—strive to create, maintain, or disrupt institutions. Institutional and social movement theorists together have paid attention to forms of disruption, in which marginalized actors may mobilize resources to effect change within a field.

For example, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have contended that New Institutionalist theory has allowed too little room for the expression of individual or collective agency because such scholars have not fully developed Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* to make it useful at the organizational or societal level. *Habitus* is, "a system of durable, transposable dispositions [that serve as] principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 72). In other words, habitus is an individual's internalized narratives, subjectivities, and mores that are socially, historically, and experientially constructed. It reflects and influences the ways we understand and act in different fields of society. Depending on the make-up of one's habitus, one may perceive and act on his or her sense of political agency to varying

degrees. Although New Institutionalists, such as Powell, have described the role of entrepreneurs with respect to *habitus*, this approach to examining the role of agency has been somewhat haphazard compared to the more systematic line of attack that New Institutionalists have taken to examining the role of societal structures in determining organizational and societal activity (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Scott, 2014).

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have expanded on Bourdieu's concept of habitus by proposing another concept that connects individuals' habitus to the societal level: the "existential function of the social." They have argued that while maintaining, challenging or obtaining power may often *seem* to be the ultimate aspiration of individual and political agency, the underlying drive animating its expression is the human capacity for, and need to, develop shared meaning and identity. Thus, within each individual's habitus is an imperative to achieve some sort of shared meaning and identity with other individuals. While Fligstein and McAdam agree with their New Institutionalist peers that dramatic change within fields is rare, they argue that it is this imperative that can motivate activity and substantial change within fields when it occurs.

Certain actors within fields are especially capable of encouraging shared meaning with individuals of other groups, using what Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have referred to as their *social skills.* In fact, the cognitive, empathetic and communicative abilities of those individuals help them to understand people and organizational environments, and to mobilize others effectively in the service of broader conceptions of the world and of themselves (2012, p. 17). It is these capacities that assist actors in reproducing and contesting institutional logics within a field. This concept of social skills addresses an imperative that many scholars who have written about democratic agency have described

and for which they have prescribed capacity building among individuals (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1985). Fligstein and McAdam (2012), however, have contended that New Institutionalists have done little research with respect to social skill or agency within fields: “scholars should study how groups in a particular field are able to reproduce themselves on a period to period basis. Their tactics for doing so and their ability to adapt have not been well documented” (p. 180). It is essential to account for individual actors’ social skills as they pertain to the encouragement and exercise of agency, because these may elicit change within fields.

Fraser (2009), Benhabib (2004) and others have also described opportunities for exercising political agency among skilled actors within structured environments, as well as suggested mechanisms by which to promote that agency. Fraser (2009) advises the creation of spaces for agency by critically questioning existing discourses/imaginaries and “rupturing” hegemonic or dominant understandings. Her approach is similar to that of other critical theorists such as Herbert Marcuse and Antonio Gramsci. Marcuse (1991) has contended that the capitalist economic system has gone too far, creating false needs and a one-dimensional way of thinking about the world. He labeled his approach to reaffirming political and social agency “the Great Refusal:” when individuals perceive the perversity of their constructed, one-dimensional society and refuse to accept it. To promote agency, Gramsci (2012) espoused self-governance and sustained efforts to create an environment in which such becomes possible. To achieve this future, he called on civil society organizations and both elite and organic intellectuals to contest state domination and reveal the forms of social hegemony preventing people from actualizing their political agency.

Meanwhile, inspired by Habermas' concept of deliberative and communicative democracy, Benhabib (2004) has outlined how democratic iterations may allow for the exercise of political agency. She has described "jurisgenerative politics," which are iterative acts through which a democratic people that consider themselves bound by certain guiding norms and principles reappropriate and reinterpret norms (individually or in a group), thus showing themselves to be not only the subject, but also the author of their laws. Each of these theorists has broadly acknowledged the role of reflexivity in promoting political agency. Similarly, Schon presented his ideas of reflecting-in-action and in-practice as a means for professionals to escape their dominant technical rationality lens so as to become cognizant of the broader social challenges that their traditional professional training had not addressed.

Maintaining and Contesting Power in Fields

To encourage greater political agency, one must be aware of the role that power plays in everyday life (as already illustrated). Bourdieu contended that power is expressed in fields through the different forms and stocks of capital that are valued within them. Capital can be cultural (e.g. the way a person speaks), economic (the money a person has), symbolic (the material possessions that represent money or status), or social (the relationship and networks a person can access). As with Gramsci and Marcuse, Bourdieu believed that power could take the form of social hegemony and domination. The dispositions embedded within an individual's habitus represent these hegemonic narratives that are often taken for granted and which shape ways of thinking and acting externally as well as within fields. On the institutional level, Scott (2014) has focused on the constitutional rules that "operate at a deeper level of reality creation involving the

devising of categories and the construction of typification: processes by which concrete and subjectively unique experiences… are ongoingly subsumed under general orders of meaning that are both objectively and subjectively real" (p. 77). He highlights the institutional logics that both create understanding of power in a given field and adapt to power exerted by actors from within and outside of it.

When describing power, Rowlands (1995) has helpfully distinguished between "power over" and "power to." People often see power as a zero-sum game, as a tool of domination, in which one party has capacity to require another to act. However, Rowland conceives of empowerment as power that is generative, the ability to overcome traditional structures of domination and to act. Empowerment can also be seen as a process of understanding "power within," i.e. realizing one has the capacity and right to act and influence change. When combined with the capacity to negotiate and work with others, "power to" and "power within" combine to enhance collective power. Sen has also described "power within" and "power to," or the ability to have one's choice respected and followed no matter how that selection was made or its consequences. He has also distinguished power and control, or the ability actively to make a choice. The authors explored here tend to advocate for empowerment, particularly among those economically, culturally or socially marginalized, both through the creation of space for political agency (control) and through developing capacities to engage in those spaces (power).

Underlying notions of empowerment and participation is the assumption that ensuring these will result in more effective and equitable public policy and governance (Cornwall & Coelho, 2006). As Cornwall (2011) has explained, "there has been

remarkable consensus on the merits of citizen engagement, as common concerns with mobilizing and articulating citizen voice and enhancing the responsiveness and accountability of the state have evolved into a productive engagement with institutional innovation" (p. xviii). Hence, Fraser (2009) and Benhabib (2004) have focused on reframing Westphalian principles to be more inclusive of the voices of currently marginalized groups. In other words, they challenge and illustrate the weaknesses of the global cultural-cognitive logics that place citizenship and the power of the state (Westphalian principles) above all else, particularly for those who lack citizenship and therefore do not possess identity or agency within the global system (i.e. migrants, asylees and refugees). For them, participation is a distinct form of social justice.

Gaventa (1988) has presented three continua that he has suggested intersect with participatory democracy: power, space (public sphere/civil society), and place (local, national, global). To understand how democratic processes may be more inclusive/participatory and have more "pro-poor" development outcomes (allied with Fraser's theory of redistribution), he has argued analysts need to examine the structures of power acting in those spaces and places where more participation is desired; he has thus aligned himself with many of the critical theorists already described. Like Frasier and Benhabib, Gaventa has epistemically linked participation with the rights of citizenship. However, those rights are corroded if the available social spaces cannot empower the voices of citizenry (civil society) and/or if governments are not responsive or accountable to them.

Similar to these authors, and counter to their New Institutionalism peers, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) seem less interested in understanding the institutional logics

comprising fields than in discerning how the narratives constituting different institutional logics help to construct the power structures and activities within them and in identifying the ways in which actors contest and circumvent existing hegemonic structures. Attaining such an understanding entails not only gaining a clear understanding of the logics at play during research, but also identifying the existing actors, structures and counter narratives within the field under examination. This is particularly true if the analyst is to grasp how individual actors mediate and react to a field's prevailing logics, either through reproduction or contestation, and translate those into collective action at the organizational, municipal, national, or other geographic levels. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have suggested that by examining the role of individual actors within a broader structure of multiple fields and social contexts:

> […] the analyst [can do] more than just tell the story of how the winners were inevitable. Instead, the analyst must carefully specify the players, consider their resource endowments, understand the nature of the collective projects at stake, and study what courses of action were possible and then successful or unsuccessful. This will force the analyst to uncover surprising or subtle results (p. 172).

Drawing from this literature, I sought to frame how Appalshop, as an institution in the CCD field, has operated and how its staff and leaders have established a sense of agency within its larger social context. First, as the New Institutionalist literature suggests, I asked, who are the actors and what are the institutional logics of the organization? I explored the mutability of logics and levels of contestation or adoption within Appalshop during different time periods throughout its history. Second, I asked how Appalshop related to other fields, including its status within the CCD field. With this focus, I began by examining the larger social context and identifying proximate fields that may have influenced or been influenced by Appalshop.

Third, the authors in this literature highlight the importance of accounting for political agency, not just accepting a structuralist interpretation of fields and change within them. While not fully explored in the literature, I sought to pay special heed to actors' social skills and the *existential function of the social*, or that need to create and disseminate shared meaning and identity so as to chart how it may have helped the actors I studied exert political agency. These components of agency existed in fields comprised of different structures of power, many of which were comprised of narratives driving institutional logics within the field. I set out to understand them better to shed light on how Appalshop may maintain or contest such hegemonic narratives both within and outside of their organization.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methods

This research examined Appalshop as an institution in the larger community cultural development field as it formed in the latter half of the 20th century. In effect, the Kentucky arts nonprofit served as a case for analysis. A case study research design was therefore appropriate for this research because I wished to understand a complex phenomenon—the ongoing dialectic between agency and structure within an existing CCD organization—that is embedded in a changing social context. A case study is an, "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p.18). Similarly, I wanted to investigate the structure-agency tensions inherent in organizational change—the different forces active within a single organization (Appalshop) arising from different fields including, CCD, community and economic development, and higher education—all while being situated in a shifting American (particularly Appalachian) landscape during the last 50 years. Exploring one case in-depth is one of the best approaches to obtaining a "thick description" of a situation and actors' interpretations of reality (Geertz, 1973). This approach can allow the researcher to capture the complexity of a social phenomenon. I employed New Institutionalist theory to guide my data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009).

Appalshop can be considered both a typical and a unique case. The Central Appalachian CCD organization is a typical case, as defined by Yin (2009), in that it is highly representative of the last fifty years of that field in the United States. Like other organizations active in the community cultural development field, Appalshop's leaders

and staff have sought to act on the potential of art and cultural activities to create space for individual and collective imagining and reimagining of communities. Using Goldbard's framework for CCD (2006), I illustrate Appalshop's alignment with that field in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Aligning Appalshop and the CCD field

Goldbard CCD Definition	Appalshop as a CCD Organization
Community indicates the participatory nature of the activity. Culture and arts activities are deeply embedded in community. They are produced from and for the community, with the process of production sometimes taking prominence as opposed to the final product.	One of the founding principles of Appalshop is to have its work reflect and come from the community in which it was made. For the most part, that is different voices from the Appalachian region. But even when the organization works with communities outside of Appalachia, its staff emphasize ensuring work that is by, of and for the community in which they are situated.
Cultural is more inclusive of many cultural activities (not just the arts). Activities in the CCD field take many forms and are not limited to certain traditions, cultures, or groups. At its best, CCD is therefore very democratic in character.	Appalshop's activities manifest culture in many forms such as film, theater, radio, music, etc. From interviews, it is also evident that Appalshop staff are very cognizant of the multiple voices present in every community. Staff conscientiously try to remain inclusive of both the various organizational forms and voices in the communities in which they work.
Development "suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambitious conscientization and empowerment." These cultural activities reach individuals both through reason and emotion. This element alludes to the emancipatory potential of art to help individuals think outside the everyday and imagine alternatives ways of moving forward for shared action.	Because Appalshop strongly values voice and agential possibilities within communities, they wish for their work to resonate with the residents of those places. Staff aim to elicit as many perspectives as possible, so as to create space for listening, reflection, dialogue and possibly shared action.

As noted above, the nonprofit's underlying aspiration, broadly defined, has been to secure space for democratic social change as its leaders and staff understand it. For many in the organization, that vision has long manifested as opening spaces for citizens to voice their opinions, collaborate, and achieve collective well-being. Appalshop has experienced many challenges that other U.S. CCD organizations have also faced and so is broadly representative of the field of which it has been a part in that sense. The nonprofit's projects also nicely reflect the many themes and artistic approaches of community cultural development organizations operating in the United States during the past fifty years. Indeed, given its multitude of activities and varied approaches to CCD during its work to date, Appalshop can be said to serve as a microcosm of the field (Cohen Cruz, 2005; Goldbard, 2013).

Interestingly, however, and simultaneously, Appalshop could also be characterized as a unique case in that, unlike many of its peers, it has survived and adapted to forces that have arisen from its own and nearby fields. Seen in this light, the organization may serve as an exemplar within CCD. An analysis of the organization's principal challenges and responses to those concerns during its fifty years of operation illuminate strategies and techniques for addressing power structures and institutional logics within a field during an extended period.

Case analysis requires that the researcher draw from a theory or theories, if its findings are to be analytically generalizable. In contrast to *statistical generalizability*, which many people think of when describing research, *analytic generalizability* applies case analysis findings to a theory, rather than a population (Yin, 2009, p. 43). As Bailey

(2018) has explained, “such generalizations occur when the researcher identifies concepts and social processes that have theoretical implications or significance beyond a specific setting” (p.147). In other words, setting one’s research within a clear theoretical frame increases the likelihood of analytical generalizability. In such instances, a case study’s results may inform other cases and contexts (although not all). As I utilized Fligstein and McAdam’s field theory framework, I interpreted my results in light of that conceptualization, exploring what the Appalshop experience might suggest about the larger study of fields generally, and the structure-agency dynamic within CCD, more particularly.

Critical Realist Ontology

Critical realism provided a foundation for this research in that it shaped my understanding of both how the world works. Combined with a critical constructivist epistemology, I have analyzed the information I gathered for this inquiry with the understanding that historical, cultural, social, political and economic contexts have helped to shape our perspectives of reality and ourselves. Thus, this research examines a microcosm of the power structures at play in society from 1969 to today. Most significantly, neoliberalism and its absolutist approach to market-based governance has played an influential role in how many Americans view the world and how nonprofit organizations such as Appalshop function today.

As noted above, critical realists acknowledge the existence of an objective world that exists independent of individual perceptions, language and imagination. Yet, those adhering to this view also hold that much social phenomena are understood via broadly accepted subjective interpretations (Collier, 1994; Edwards, O’Mahoney & Vincent,

2014). For instance, different hand signs and facial expressions may be interpreted differently depending on the culture or even region of a country.

Giddens (1991) describes this ontological paradigm as derived from and reacting to elements of modernity, which began in the Enlightenment. It is associated with the industrialized world, the rise of capitalism, prominence of the nation-state, and growing presence of the *modern-day organization*. Giddens has also characterized modernity as the transition from traditional social orders, which are embedded in the context of place, time and local knowledge. Modernity, he argues, artificially separates these concepts. With modernity, time is separate from the context of a particular place; for instance, the rising and setting of the sun does not matter when your daily activities are reliant on a clock and Microsoft Outlook Calendar. Modernity uses "disembedding mechanisms," such as money and professional expertise that cross contextual boundaries of place. Finally, modernity relies strongly on "institutional reflexivity" to standardize knowledge. That understanding in turn serves as a constitutive element of organization, transferring insight across societies and cultures. This view accords expert knowledge such status that it devalues the role of local knowledge of particular contexts. When describing reflexivity, Giddens (1991) has contended:

> Self-identity for us forms a *trajectory* across the different institutional settings of modernity over the *durée* of what used to be called the 'life cycle,' a term which applies much more accurately to non-modern contexts than to modern ones. Each of us not only 'has,' but *lives* a biography reflexively organized in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat–and many other things–as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity (p. 14, emphasis in original).

Note that for Giddens, reflexivity is a process in which individuals actively process knowledge and conduct themselves accordingly, instead of serving as passive vessels upon which outside forces act. In such cases, individuals tend to be able to explain or offer reasons for their actions when asked. This exchange of information and understanding is not uni-directional, however. As Giddens (1991) has suggested, "for social circumstances are not separate from personal life, nor are they just an external environment to them. In struggling with intimate problems, individuals help actively to reconstruct the universe of social activity around them" (p. 12).

The critical realist frame contests modernity, particularly its objectivist approach to understanding. It also questions many post-modern ontologies due to their purely subjective take on reality. Instead, it situates itself in the middle of the debate between structure and agency as social driver by arguing that structure and agency are highly interrelated. As Giddens (1984) has observed, *agency*:

> […] refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but their capability of doing those things in the first place (which is why agency implies power: cf. the Oxford English Dictionary definition of an agent, as 'one who exerts power or produces an effect.' Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently (p. 9).

Similar to Scott, Giddens has emphasized that agency is often the ability to choose whether to act one way or another, and that capacity implies the chance to intervene and influence specific processes or states of affairs (Scott, 2014). In this sense, agents make choices, act and intervene to shape the world around them, or in the case of this research, the *fields* in which they are ensconced. Often, this takes the form of contesting or reproducing learned behaviors and processes that then become part of, reinforce or contravene existing social structures.

Agency also depends on the power that an individual possesses both internally (i.e. via their own capabilities and knowledge) and externally (i.e. by means of their position within social structures/hierarchies). Both internal and external power, however, are often influenced, if not wholly defined, by prevailing social structures. Giddens (1984) has defined such *structure(s)* as:

> […] recursively organized sets of rules and resources… out of time and space, save in its instantiations and co-ordination as memory traces, and is marked by an 'absence of the subject.' The social systems in which structure is recursively implicated, on the contrary, comprise the situated activities of human agents, reproduced across time and space… Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling (p. 25).

New Institutionalists view structures as the *institutional logics* that shape and are shaped by actors in a field. When attached to resources, they express different forms of power. Social systems are the *fields* in which actors reproduce or challenge the institutional logics they encounter.

Research Question

Using New Institutionalism as a theoretical framework ungirded by a critical realist ontology, I analyzed Appalshop as an organization in the community cultural development field (CCD). I asked: **What have been the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive narratives that Appalshop has contested or replicated to maintain its legitimacy as a CCD organization in Appalachia?** I also explored three subquestions:

Subquestion 1: How is Appalshop defined as an organization in the CCD field? This entailed identifying and mapping the actors, relationships (including power relations), institutional logics and boundaries of Appalshop. I analyzed the broader

cultural context in which this field formed and in which it remains embedded today, particularly with respect to the nation and Appalachia.

Subquestion 2: How have other fields influenced the operations of Appalshop?

During my research, I asked what fields were proximate, dependent and interdependent with Appalshop and in which the nonprofit was/is also embedded (geographically and institutionally). Further, I sought to chart the key organizations with which the nonprofit has worked. I aimed to determine how those relationships had changed and influenced the Appalshop over time. I identified the institutional logics of those other fields and how they had influenced the arts entity, if at all.

Through an archival analysis, I was able to analyze several proximate fields to Appalshop, whose character and contours I then explored during interviews with former and current Appalshop employees. As a CCD organization, the Kentucky nonprofit is situated within that field, which in turn is located within the larger arts field. Appalshop has collaborated with many CCD partners, and it has presented its work at several national arts outlets, including on Broadway and public broadcasting (PBS). Working in communities and seeking to promote conditions conducive to potential social change, Appalshop is also proximate to the fields of community and economic development, social justice organizations, and often, higher education faculty members in the fields of Appalachian Studies, History, and other social science disciplines and liberal arts. Appalshop's embeddedness in Letcher County, Kentucky and the Appalachian culture is another contextual field of which the organization is innately a part. Finally, Appalshop's relationship to different state actors, particularly its relative dependence on federal

funding agencies during much of its history, represents a distinct sphere of influence on the organization and on the larger CCD field.

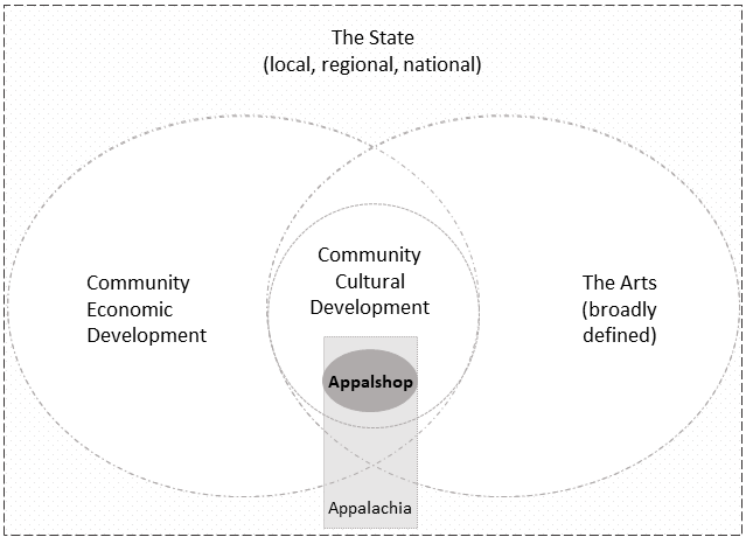


Figure 5. Appalshop and related fields

Subquestion 3: How have skilled actors within Appalshop contested or adapted to the influences exerted by actors from other fields? How have they have influenced other fields? I sought to identify the skilled individuals in Appalshop during the past 50 years and the roles they have/had played in the organization's development. I defined those actors as those with the cognitive, empathetic and communicative capabilities to understand people and environments, and effectively mobilize others in the service of broader conceptions of the world. They are leaders within the organization who have been able to reproduce and contest logics within and outside of the CCD field. These individuals appear frequently in archival documents and interviewees frequently described them as change makers in the organization.

I asked how those actors have negotiated with, reproduced or contested institutional logics from other fields (i.e. narratives). This included examining the norms and acculturated understandings they brought with them when entering the organization

(e.g. their professional backgrounds). I was also interested in how their social skills helped to mobilize actors within and outside of the organization. Finally, I explored whether and when there had been opportunities for Appalshop actors to influence other field actors during its history.

Data Collection and Analysis

I collected my data first through the Appalshop Archive, using documents to map the organization and its history. That archival investigation was useful for gathering the "objective" structural information I needed to map Appalshop, its embeddedness in the CCD field, its proximity to other fields, and changes in its activities over time. Following that documents review, semi-structured interviews with 18 individuals from across Appalshop's projects and its history helped me to address the "subjective" understanding of the organization, including the power relations and institutional logics (narratives) that have informed actor's activities and perceived impacts within the institution and larger CCD field during its history. Table 2 illustrates how these types of data aligned with my three sub-questions, followed by more details concerning each strategy.

Table 2. Data collection methods

Subquestions	**Data Collection Methods**
Subquestion 1: Defining Appalshop as an organization in the CCD field.	***Archival Analysis:*** Map the organization during the past fifty years (actors, relationships, norms, boundaries), initially identify the institutional logics of the organization, its activities, and its place in the CCD field. ***Interviews:*** Confirm aspects of Appalshop, specifically its institutional logics and key contextual concerns.
Subquestion 2: How have actors in other fields related to and influenced the	***Archival Analysis:*** Note any descriptions of other fields, the nature of any partnerships or relationships with entities in those fields and their influence on Appalshop's staff and leaders.

operations of Appalshop?	***Interviews:*** Explore relationships between Appalshop projects and other field entities in-depth. What institutional logics from other fields do interviewees perceive, particularly with respect to project activities (or vice versa)?
Subquestion 3: How have skilled actors within Appalshop contested or adapted to the influences of actors from other fields? How might they have influenced other fields?	***Archival Analysis:*** Identify key actors within Appalshop and the roles they have played in the organization during its history. ***Interviews:*** Explore the roles of certain skilled actors in supporting or contesting different logics, both from the perspective of those individuals and from those with whom they have worked.

Archival Analysis

An archive consists of documents and files that may be used to address "who, what, where and how many" questions. Documents and archival records provide precise, longitudinal coverage of an organization as well as exact, detailed data (names, references, dates, partnerships, etc.) (Becker, 2018; Yin, 2012). Saldaña (2016) has described documents as "social products" that must be examined critically because they reflect the interests and perspectives of their authors and carry values and ideologies, intended or not. Official documents, particularly, represent claims to power, legitimacy, and reality (p. 61). In addition to reading about archival analysis, I talked with history professors from Virginia Tech and the University of Kentucky about their approaches to archival analysis. Those individuals advised me:

1) To learn how the archive is organized before beginning any data collection.
2) To talk with the archivist for advice.
3) To take very detailed notes when drawing from the archives, taking special care to record where I found each piece of evidence. I was also advised to make copies or take photos of records when able to do so.

I kept these lessons in mind as I began to review the large Appalshop Archive.

Appalshop employs one archivist, and a handful of other employees and volunteers have assisted in maintaining the institution's collection since its creation in 2003. The Appalshop Archive consists primarily of organizational grants, reports, correspondences, board meeting minutes, marketing material, and other documents saved by Appalshop staff as well as cultural materials from both Appalshop and the larger region. For instance, Appalshop staff first conceived of the archive when they were given a large collection of old photos of families and daily life from the region taken by local photographer, William R. "Pictureman" Mullins. Most of the documents that I reviewed were in legal boxes. The nonprofit's archivist is slowly working to digitize these materials to create an online database suitable for researchers. The archive's goal is to:

> to preserve the creative output and history of the independent, non-profit organization, as well as orphaned media materials and other collections that help enrich our understanding of the history, culture, art, and social issues of central Appalachia (https://www.appalshoparchive.org/about/).

I narrowed my search of Appalshop-specific documents dating from 1969 to today by selecting the following for attention:

- *Annual audits*: These documents identify the different actors, activities and funding streams of Appalshop throughout its history. The following years were available: 1979-1981, 1987-2017. The missing years (1969-1978 and 1982-1986) were lost prior to the archive's establishment.
- *Grant applications and related documents*: These documents describe the activities of Appalshop in more depth than might otherwise be available from public sources and suggest how its leaders have described it as it has evolved while also revealing their approach to its mission during different periods of the institution's life. Correspondence related to Appalshop's various projects also provides insight into key challenges and opportunities that were occurring at the time of their creation.

I began my research by talking with the archivist about what documents she and I thought would be most useful for my analytic purposes. She had organized the Appalshop Archive by date, by decade, and by document type.

Wearing white gloves in an empty office, I spent a week in Whitesburg, Kentucky, sifting through more than a dozen, filled Bankers boxes. I scanned relevant documents and used my phone to create PDFs of those I found relevant to my analytic goals. For later years (after 2010), Appalshop's archivist pulled digital files for a selection of different funded programs for my review. Many of these contained multiple documents, including grant proposals and reports to public and private entities, correspondence with different agencies and partners, and marketing and news material about the nonprofit's different activities. I chose boxes containing these types of documents specifically because they not only gave clear descriptions of the organization and its history, but also provided names of established partners—financial, local entities, national peer arts/media organizations and professors and higher education institutions. Later in that same month, I returned to scan all available Appalshop annual audits.

During the following two months, I reviewed more than 185 pdfs scanned from the Appalshop Archive, more than one thousand pages of information in total. From those files, I identified and recorded the details of more than 100 documents that described the history, mission, activities and challenges of the organization and its individual projects at various points in its evolution. I skipped documents that had similar language, often boiler plate descriptions, as other records I had already reviewed had contained those descriptions. For each document, I recorded the following data using Microsoft Excel:

- The location, name, author and year;
- A description, including to what Appalshop project(s) it pertained, key themes that arose and partners (if any) identified;
- The intended audience, such as a specific funder, partners external to Appalshop, its staff, or a broader regional or national population.

I also collected budgetary and funder information from the organization's annual audits to assess its financial health and funder networks over time.

These details—along with the names of the documents' authors and correspondents, activity or project names, Appalshop staff named, if any, and listed external partners—provided me with information:

- To develop an initial timeline of Appalshop, its activities, partners and people;
- To chronicle the nonprofit's changing articulations of its mission, the different ways the entity has approached its aims and recurring themes and challenges within the organization;
- To identify times of stability and times of uncertainty during which Appalshop's leaders had to make decisions that could alter the institution and/or solidify specific operating principles or activities; and
- To identify people who could provide context concerning Appalshop and establishment of its various projects, their evolution, specific times of uncertainty, and their possible futures as well as that of the organization as a whole.

Much of this data constituted "objective" information concerning the organization and its partners. I was also able to glean some sense of the institutional logics and power structures at play within and outside of Appalshop from these documents. I used this information to develop a working sense of the organization's evolution, and to provide context for my interviews.

The archival analysis allowed me to organize the history of Appalshop into four different periods. Past New Institutionalism research has often broken down the life cycle of fields into different periods representing institutional formation and different periods of stability and change. These phases may be defined by distinctive field characteristics, including the primacy of a group (incumbents) or institutional logic, the shifting influence of an adjacent field, or by dramatic changes. Assuming Appalshop is to some

extent representative of the CCD field and further to this logic and my review of archival documents, I organized the organization's historical evolution into the following periods:

1) *Institutional Formation (1969-1982)*: This period was roughly characterized by the beginning of the Appalachian Film Workshop and its transition into becoming a functioning nonprofit housed in a new building, the same structure the institution occupies today. The organization's mission, operative logics, and primary activities were all established by the end of this period.

2) *Institutional Growth (1983-2000)*: Appalshop experienced the most significant growth of its history during this life phase. Its staff doubled, and its budget increased by approximately 400%. Many of its activities expanded from a local or regional reach to national or international scale.

3) *Institutional Contraction (2001-2014)*: Due to changing national and regional politics and a shifting economy as well, Appalshop and many of its peer organizations faced significant budget cuts during the 2000s. Funding patterns among public and private sources changed, and the organization was forced to reduce its staff and scope of activities and to rethink its institutional structure.

4) *Institutional Change (2015-now)*: The rise of community-based placemaking efforts in local and federal circles offered a new type of funding opportunity and a different way of framing Appalshop's CCD work. Moreover, the retirement of Appalshop's first generation of staff and the influx of a new cadre of employees with different professional skillsets has provided fresh possibilities and ways of thinking about the organization's storytelling and social change mission.

Because institutional and cultural change is typically gradual, these stages of the nonprofit's evolution are not necessarily absolute. The trends highlighted here and in future chapters did not start and end neatly within the confines of these specific periods. Rather, they tended to ebb and flow, like the tides. Framing the organization's evolution by means of this chronological heuristic allowed me a useful frame by which to describe and highlight the key themes and forces at play in and on Appalshop throughout its history.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews employ a protocol with specific questions, but the flow of each exchange tends to guide when and how those are asked. This form of interview protocol includes *open-ended questions, probes* and room for *follow-up queries* (Bailey, 2018; Yin, 2012). These conversations helped me expand on the knowledge of Appalshop I gained via the archival analysis. Specifically, I employed the interviews to test the reasonableness of my findings related to sub-question 1 and to delve more deeply into sub-questions 2 and 3.

- ***How have other fields influenced the internal operations of Appalshop?*** How have the relationships with other fields changed and influenced Appalshop over time? What are the institutional logics of those exogenous fields and how have they influenced the organization's staff and leaders over time?

- ***How have skilled actors within Appalshop adapted to and influenced the nonprofit's activities?*** How have formal and informal leaders within Appalshop negotiated with, reproduced, or contested institutional logics from other fields? What institutional logics did they bring with them when entering the organization (e.g. their professional backgrounds)? How have their perceived social skills helped to mobilize actors within and outside of the organization? Have there been opportunities for Appalshop and its actors to influence other fields and their institutional logics?

Appendix D contains the interview protocol I used.

Between December 2018 and February 2019, I conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with people who currently or at one time worked at Appalshop. Ten of those interviews were in-person. I conducted eight interviews by telephone, mostly with individuals who now work outside of eastern Kentucky. This sampling of Appalshop staff was representative of the four institutional periods of the arts organization's development, which I identified during the archival analysis and further refined through these interviews.

This sampling also represented the different generations of leaders and staff members who have worked at Appalshop and in several of its larger on-going projects. For example, six interviewees were members of the founding generation of Appalshop. They joined the organization during its first period (1969-1983) and played a part in the structuration of Appalshop's institutional logics. Four of those interviewees are still active in the nonprofit. The second generation of Appalshop staff came between 1990 and 2010. All but one of this second generation had departed by the end of Appalshop's third period. Finally, six interviewees came to Appalshop in or after 2010, and they are part of the entity's third generation and are current staff. Table 1 provides a breakdown of interviewees by period and project. Note that several study participants were active during several periods and have held positions in multiple projects.

Table 3. Breakdown of interviewees by period and project

	Institutional Formation (1969-1983)	**Institutional Growth (1984-2000)**	**Institutional Contraction (2001-2014)**	**Institutional Change (2015-now)**
Appalshop Films	3	4	4	2
Appalachian Media Institute (AMI)	----	2	3	0
Appalshop Archives	----	----	1	1
Roadside Theater	2	2	2	3
American Festival Project	----	4	3	----
Culture Hub/Performing Our Future	----	----	----	1
WMMT-FM	----	2	2	2
Appalshop Core	2	3	2	2
Total Representation across Periods	*6*	*9*	*12*	*10*

I provided interviewees with the option of having a pseudonym or using their real name. Six chose to use their real names. Below is a table of interviewee names and pseudonyms with some details of their generation and projects in which they participated

at Appalshop. Several had roles in the administrative division of the organization, internally dubbed the Appalshop Core.

Table 4. Interviewee list

Name/Pseudonym	**Generation**	**Project(s)**
Oscar Bellamy	1st Generation	Appalshop Films; Appalshop Core
Dudley Cocke	1st Generation	Roadside Theater; Appalshop Core
Marty Newell	1st Generation	Appalshop Films; Appalshop Core; Headwaters TV; WMMT-FM
Mimi Pickering	1st Generation	Appalshop Films; Community Media Initiative
Herby Smith	1st Generation	Appalshop Films
Donna Porterfield	1st Generation	Roadside Theater; Appalshop Core
Steven Kinley	Interim Generation	Appalshop Core
Caron Atlas	Interim Generation	Appalshop Core; American Festival Project
Marion Fairfield	2nd Generation	Appalachian Media Institute
Tom Hansell	2nd Generation	WMMT-FM; Appalshop Films; Appalshop Core
Olivia Nottoway	2nd Generation	WMMT-FM; Appalshop Films
Dorothy Adams	2nd Generation	American Festival Project; Appalshop Films
Caroline Rubens	2nd Generation	Appalshop Archive; Appalshop Center
Troy Hodges	3rd Generation	Culture Hub; Roadside Theater; Performing Our Future
Sonya Harrington	3rd Generation	WMMT-FM
Oliver Holmes	3rd Generation	Appalshop Core
Jordan Park	3rd Generation	WMMT-FM; Seedtime on the Cumberland
Opal Patterson	3rd Generation	Appalachian Media Institute; Appalshop Core

Upon completion of the interview transcriptions, I sent the transcripts to each interviewee for review and to make any clarifications they deemed necessary. Seven chose to edit their transcripts. An additional nine responded but did not offer any edits. I did not receive a response from the other two interviewees, which I interpreted as acceptance of their interview record as rendered.

Thematic Coding of Interviews

To analyze the interview data (transcripts), I engaged in an iterative process of coding using ATLAS.ti 8, a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) program, which tracks different codes used throughout the analytic process. A code is, "often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data … a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes or 'translates' data" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 4). Coding is the critical link between data and drawing analytical or explanatory meaning from an inquiry.

Round one of transcript review consisted of thematic analysis using codes drawn from New Institutionalism theory, the archival analysis, and initial takeaways from the interviews. I list these codes and how they related to my research sub-questions in Table 5 below. I also identified whether other codes were necessary. Indeed, I added several more, including Challenges, Generations, and Governance Structure. I refined round one coding and definitions during a second iteration of analysis. By refined, I mean I examined what interviewees said with respect to each code and considered the differences and similarities among them. Round three consisted of axial coding, in which I observed how the individual codes related to one another, particularly with respect to the four periods of evolution the organization has evidenced during its history to date.

Table 5. Initial coding scheme

Research Questions	**New Institutionalism Codes**	**CCD Literature**	**Other Secondary Literature**	**Archives**	**Interviews**
RQ: What have been the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive narratives that Appalshop has contested or replicated to maintain its legitimacy as an arts organization in Appalachia?					
SQ1: How do I define Appalshop as a CCD organization?	Actors			X	X
	Institutional Logics			X	X
	Activities	X		X	X
	Timeframe			X	X
SQ2: How have other fields influenced the operations of Appalshop?	Partners (fields)	X	X	X	X
	Broader context influencing Appalshop and partners	X	X	X	X
SQ3: How have skilled actors within Appalshop contested or adapted to the influences of other fields?	Actors			X	X
	Skills			X	X
	Activities	X		X	X

, I organized my findings chapters into the four periods of Appalshop's history for my analysis, cross-coding interview excerpts by **time frame**. For each findings chapter (Chapters 4-7), those codes helped me to create the different sections of the analysis I present.

Environmental Context: I relied on my **broader context** coding, in which I described what national, international, state and local events influenced different aspects of Appalshop's work. The events often represent the influence of different proximate *fields*. For instance, if several interview participants described the

impacts of the Civil Rights movement on their work and/or world view, I combined their insights and those in Appalshop archive documents with secondary data to describe the trends typifying those periods.

Community Cultural Development: This section used mostly secondary information, but also interpolated some interview data to highlight the **broader context** and common **partners (representing fields)** in the arts and community cultural development fields. In every interview, for instance, the influence of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was distinctly evident. So, I also referred to the literature on NEA history and trends.

Appalshop: This section describes Appalshop's principal **actors, activities, governance structure** and **institutional logics.** I first focused on the activities that occurred during the period, including those of the organization's different projects and actors. I defined actors as those employed by, or who volunteered with, Appalshop; mostly the institution's staff members. However, many interviewees also described individual actors who served as key **partners**. I coded for **partners**, or those external fields that influenced and were influenced by Appalshop the most through their interaction. The predominant partner fields were peer arts/media and social justice organizations, faculty from higher education institutions, and local institutions. I then examined the interplay between **actors** and **skills** to see how individual actors may have adopted, contested or disseminated certain **institutional logics** both within and outside of Appalshop. In this case, the different **generations** represented in Appalshop served as **actors**. Finally, I examined and analyzed the **institutional logics**

(regulative, normative, cultural-cognitive), or those external and internal narratives (i.e. rules of the game) that have shaped how Appalshop has operated during each period. Through axial coding, I examined how these institutional logics might have been influenced by the broader context, nearby fields, and actors within Appalshop.

Throughout, I also coded for **challenges** to examine how the tensions between structure and agency, both within and outside the organization, influenced Appalshop's activities, actors, and institutional logics. **Governance structure**, or the rules and policies that set up the way the organization is governed, came up in most interviews as an enabler of agency, but also an ongoing challenge for the organization (as indeed it is for all nonprofit institutions). Governance influences, is influenced by, and is a manifestation of the **institutional logics** of nonprofit organizations.

Trustworthiness and Reliability

The goal of trustworthiness is "to produce high-quality research that accurately reflects the participants' experiences in the setting" (Bailey, 2018, p. 144). A researcher seeking to ensure trustworthiness focuses on whether the research conducted and presented is believable and worthy of others' attention. Reliability plays a key role in making a study trustworthy.

For Bailey (2018), reliability inheres in the consistency of the data presented. For instance, if similar responses are elicited at separate times or if different researchers draw similar conclusions when conducting their analyses, the analyst may be confident that the information collected is reliable. Some researchers have argued that this kind of reliability is difficult to achieve because the relationship between the individual

researcher and participants affects the information obtained as well as the findings derived from it (Bailey, 2018). For his part, Yin (2009) has defined reliability as "demonstrating that the operations of a study—such as the data collection procedures—can be repeated, with the same results" (p. 40). While similar, Yin's definition also relates to what Bailey (2018) has called dependability, or those "reading your research should conclude that your findings seem logical based on how you conducted your research" (p. 146). This definition seems somewhat more achievable as it focuses on the process of how the investigator conducted and reported their research and ensured that interested individuals could later follow and re-create that chain of evidence.

I settled on several strategies to increase the trustworthiness, reliability and dependability of this study. First, I tried clearly to document my methodology and illustrate "close linkages among the core elements of [my] research—research questions, data collection, analysis, and findings" (Bailey, 2018, p. 146). Yin (2009) has advised using a *case study protocol* and *database* during data collection. As I pursued my data collection, I sought to record what I was doing and developed matrices for how I would connect this data within my theoretical framework. I treated this research as an iterative process. As I have noted, with the archives information, I created a database providing information on each document that I used including its location in Appalshop's depository. From that, I developed a rough timeline with descriptions of each period that I vetted and adapted based on interview responses. For my interviewees, I created and routinely updated a database keeping track of when I reached out to them and when and where their interviews took place. I also recorded the dates in which each interview participant was employed at Appalshop, the different projects in which they worked, and

their generation in the organization (e.g. founding generation or later groups, as outlined above). During and upon completion of the archival analysis and interview phases of my research, I took notes to document the steps I took. These databases and notes helped me maintain a *chain of evidence*, as described by Yin (2002), on which I relied to formulate my findings and ensure that they were dependable.

Second, data triangulation and results verification serve as ways of ensuring that an investigator is gathering reliable data. *Triangulation* refers to collecting data using different methods and/or sources, as well as analyzing that information in multiple ways, by using several theories/concepts/codes, or researchers (Bailey, 2018). For this research, I used two different primary data collection methods and interviewed numerous people from different positions within the field until I perceived that I had reached *data saturation,* i.e., was receiving similar responses from interviewees. As part of triangulation and verification, I shared my initial archival findings during my interviews, and provided interview transcripts with my interlocutors to allow each to ensure their accuracy. This step followed from Bailey's recommendation to do *member checking*, or sharing notes and findings with participants for feedback, to ensure their trustworthiness.

Finally, I engaged in *peer debriefing*, and discussed my research and findings with my advisor, committee members, and fellow students for feedback, new ideas and reflection. Outside perspectives during the research process can keep the inquiry on track and help the analyst account for other viewpoints.

Lessons Learned and Study Limitations

I learned a lot during this inquiry about the field of CCD, the incredible history of Appalshop and the many people that have made both possible. I focus here on the

research process, however. First, studying the history of an organization, particularly one that has existed for fifty years, entails gathering an enormity of data. Appalshop has done a remarkable job at retaining many of the organization's documents and materials during its evolution, not to mention maintaining relationships with former Appalshop members now scattered across the nation. While I was certainly not perfect, I am thankful that I created the databases I outlined above and approached this data collection process and analysis in an iterative manner that kept me focused.

Even with the volume of information I collected, I recognize limitations with the data I employed for this analysis. As Fligstein and McAdam have argued and undertaking this effort persuaded me is the case, analyzing a field can become very complex, particularly when considering other proximate fields that influence it. With more time, I would have interviewed Appalshop partners such as representatives of regional, peer arts and media organizations, social justice groups, and collaborators in other communities. Given the limitations of time and the complexity of Appalshop as an organization, however, I narrowed my data collection to the Appalshop Archives, some of which contained external media about Appalshop, and to its former and current staff. Considering the emphasis on organizational agency as demonstrated by different individuals within Appalshop, this approach to limiting the scope of inquiry seemed appropriate.

Finally, in applying New Institutionalism to my research, I realized differentiating among institutional logics—regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive—is much more difficult to realize in practice than it is to articulate in theory. This challenge may have arisen due to the nature of the organization I studied. Investigating an institution highly

driven by values and self-consciously reflective about how it pursues them makes distinguishing among normative and cultural-cognitive logics very challenging. In the end, I tended to merge those logics in my analysis, parsing them only to highlight specific points of interest.

Chapter 4

Institutional Formation (1969-1983)

In 1969, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) funded Community Film Workshops across the country. The announced purposes of the effort were two-fold: 1) to train youth from vulnerable populations for careers in the growing film industry, and 2) to demonstrate how media could be used to build dialogue among disparate groups for community development. With the Leslie, Knott, Letcher and Perry (LKLP) Community Action Agency of Hazard, Kentucky as its fiscal agent, one of these new Community Film Workshops was established in Whitesburg, Kentucky.

During the evaluation phase of that Community Film Workshop in 1972, the first listed goal of the program, workforce development, had clearly taken more political root than had its second aim. Descriptions of the different community film workshops tended to focus on the number of youths trained to be in the film industry, and those who currently worked in that field. Meanwhile, the Appalachian Film Workshop embraced the latter goal while also exploring opportunities to expand the film industry in the region through community-based cable television stations. In describing the blending of the Appalachian Film Workshop's original goals, Dudley Cocke explained in an interview,

> Not only was it about building youth leadership, but a lot of people were gaining job skills through their production projects here and then would go on to have careers with other employers. It wasn't typical workforce development because the engine for it—the drive for it—was the creative impulse to tell untold stories (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

The OEO ended the Community Film Workshop program in 1972. In response, The Appalachian Film Workshop became a separate nonprofit organization called Appalshop. Its staff and leaders set out to tell the story of Appalachia from the perspective of its residents. With a mission aligned with the broader CCD field, Appalshop sought to employ theater, music, photography, and literary work to attain its aims. In 1982-83, Appalshop moved into a newly renovated building and in many ways, solidified its mission and worker-managed organizational structure for the coming two decades. During this early period of its establishment and institutionalization as an autonomous nonprofit entity, Appalshop's different project staffs began to expand their focus from product development/distribution to articulating their process-oriented work with the broader community. This chapter explores the 1969-1983 period of Appalshop's evolution as well as its embeddedness in the national and regional cultural context of the time.

Environmental Context

The founding of Appalshop was firmly entrenched in the post-World War II cultural context and the rise of strong democratic and countercultural movements in the United States. The late 1940s and 1950s brought more signs of modernity to the country, manifest through improved access to technology, greater connectivity to other parts of the nation through roadways and media, and a more widespread, institutionalized understanding of American and democratic values. The politics of the Cold War highlighted the nation's attachment to democratic values, yet it also revealed the incomplete character of that project in the country. By the late 1950s and 1960s, many in the nation were disenchanted with the idea of the American Dream, thinking it not

accurate for many. Indeed, many citizens remained in poverty despite their hard work. Many minorities de facto did not enjoy the right to vote, among other persistent social and political inequalities, best illustrated by Jim Crow laws, which existed from the post-Civil War Reconstruction years into the 1960s. The Civil Rights Movement arose in part due to a growing disillusionment among Black Americans, especially, at the obstacles besetting them as they pursued the American Dream. Many were also disenchanted by what they perceived to be the hypocrisy of the Cold War (Fligstein & McAdams, 2012). Meanwhile the war in Vietnam, which first began on a small scale in 1955 as a by-product of the Cold War, also raised tensions and elicited a massive backlash in the country until its end in 1975.

The Appalachian experience also did not match the promises of post-WWII democratic rhetoric, and the repercussions of national conflicts, such as that concerning the Vietnam War were regularly felt in the region too. Appalachia struggled with a declining coal economy in the 1950s and, especially, the 1960s. A combination of changing patterns of demand, competing fuel sources, especially natural gas, ongoing mechanization and rising wages led to employment reductions. One of Appalshop's founders, Herby Smith, described:

> The new wave of modern machines that were being brought into these mountains in the sixties: [They] were tearing the place up... The mining techniques had shifted from mainly underground where the miners go into the mountain and get the coal out to them drilling through the strata and blasting the mountain off the top of the coal. And that was big time. [...] Some of those machines hadn't even been on the planet [before then]. I mean it was a whole new wave of mining technology that came about in the 1960s, and these coal companies just started really going after it. And so, of course, it was like streams polluted, people driven from their homes. It was the effect on the water supply. And, of course, employment [fell] because it basically required a lot fewer miners to use those big mining machines and get it from the surface than to go inside the mountain mining (Personal interview, Herby Smith 12.18.2019).

New technology in the 1960s and 1970s made surface mining a more cost-effective approach to obtaining coal. However, this new strategy tended also to create negative environmental repercussions. The long-used broad form legal deed that had split land rights between surface landowners and those who owned the mineral rights beneath that property, no longer addressed the new mining techniques that literally destroy certain portions of the surface land. By 1977, the federal government took action on this turn, and Congress passed the Surface Mining and Reclamation Act (91 Stat. 445). In collaboration with state governments, the statute charged the new Office of Surface Mining and Reclamation in the Department of the Interior with ensuring that coal companies approached mining in a way that was appropriate for the environment and surrounding communities, and that they would reclaim any land they destroyed. To some extent, this new regulatory effort, which obviously implied costs for the corporations in the name of the greater public good, combined with continuing mechanization and later, with recessions, to decrease coal company employment further in Central Appalachia. Many area residents left the region during this period to find jobs elsewhere, mostly in the Midwest.

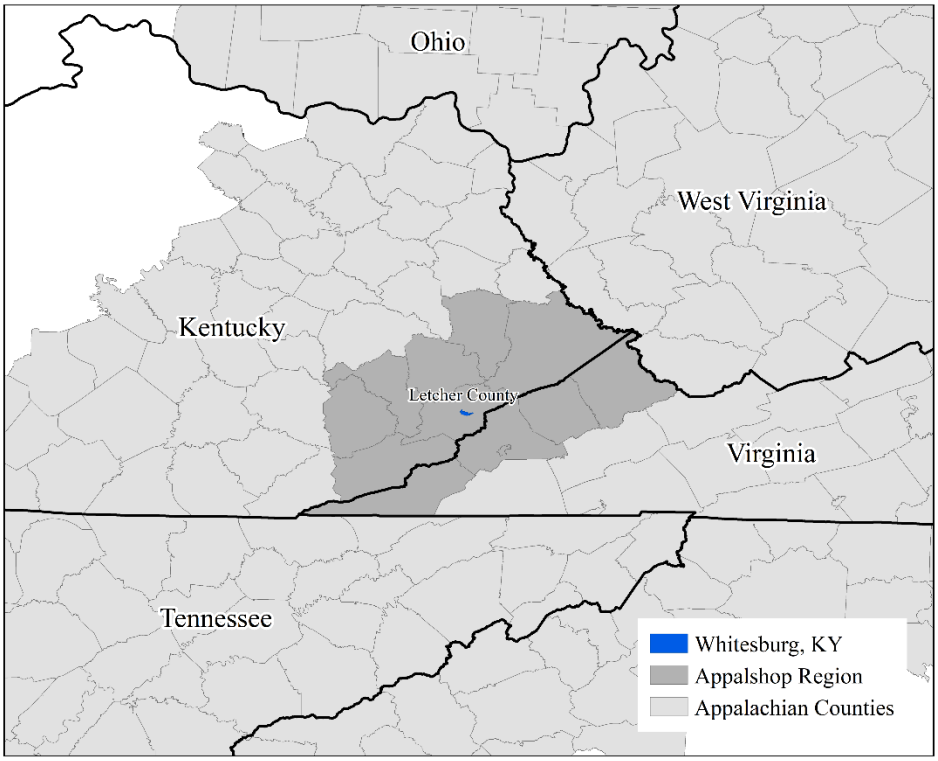


Figure 6. Appalshop region within Central Appalachia

Figure 6 above, provides the location of Appalshop in Whitesburg, Kentucky and the "Appalshop Region" within Central Appalachia. I have defined this area as Letcher County, where Appalshop is located, and its surrounding Kentucky and Virginia counties. These counties are Floyd, Harlan, Knott, Leslie, Letcher, Perry and Pike in Kentucky, and Buchanan, Dickenson, Lee and Wise in Virginia. Virginia also has independent cities, which are their own government entities apart from counties. This region contains the independent City of Norton. These counties have been some of the hardest hit by the decline of coal in Appalachia, and the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC's) has classified many as distressed. Figure 7 below shows the outmigration trend in the Appalshop region. While there was a population rise in this region during the 1970s, possibly due to increased coal employment during the oil crisis, the overall trend of

decline in the area continues today, with the total population of the Appalshop region now at the level it was in 1970.

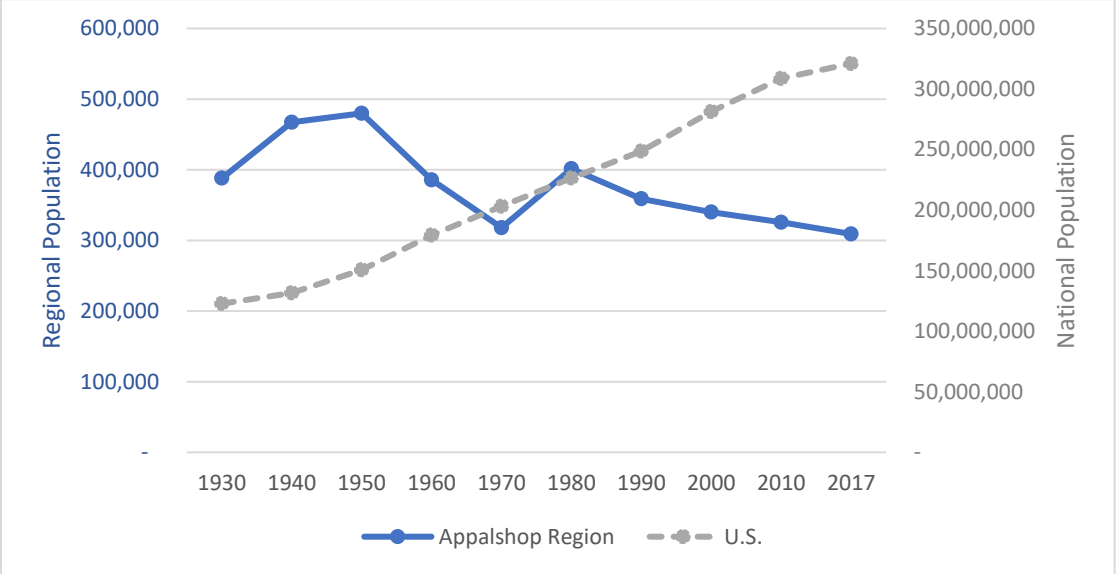


Figure 7. 1930-2017 Population change (U.S. Census Bureau 1930-2017)

Another way to consider this continuing challenge is to compare the population density of Appalshop's home, Letcher County, and other nearby counties over time. These jurisdictions had a population density of one hundred people per square mile in 1950, similar to the population densities of Eau Claire, Wisconsin or Albuquerque, New Mexico today. By 1970, however, Appalshop's region included about seventy people per square mile or the equivalent of Amarillo, Texas or Pueblo, Colorado today (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Culturally, the Appalachian region is different than other parts of the United States. When Appalachian families relocated, they often confronted culture shock. As an example, many Appalachians had different accents from those of the existing residents of the new localities to which they relocated, and these were often perceived negatively by their new neighbors. Their children, who often roamed freely and played across their home neighborhoods, were perceived by their new neighbors, who expected children to

stay close to home, as wild (Eller, 2008). Here is how one Appalshop employee described her experience when she moved from West Virginia to Northern Virginia, for example:

> My brother and I were wide-eyed, but we wanted to fit in. However, the first time we would open our mouth to talk, the kids would say, 'Are you a hillbilly? Are you from Kentucky?' And we would say, 'No, we're not hillbillies, we're from West Virginia,' which was met with howls of laughter. We didn't know what a hillbilly was, so we had no idea what they were laughing about. […] My teacher noticed that the kids were making fun of me because of my accent. After lunch every day, she would read us a portion of a book. When she saw that the kids were making fun of me, she read us *Tom Sawyer*. Before she started reading it, she talked to us about it. She said, 'What do you all notice about the way that people talk in Tom Sawyer?' And all the kids would raise their hands and she said, 'Now we call that dialect.' And she said, 'There's standard English. And she told us what standard English was. 'And then there's dialect.' And she said, 'Both of them are very, very important, but you use them in different ways.' And then she talked about all the dialects in the country, and after that I didn't get made fun of one single time (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

Unfortunately, many of those who left Appalachia during this time did not experience this level of kindness and understanding. Indeed, organizations such as Berea College in Kentucky saw the need to work with governments and employers in the Midwest to inform them about Appalachian culture to address misperceptions and stereotyping and to ease cultural tensions (Eller, 2008). Despite their new locations, many Appalachian migrants stayed close with their friends and family back home, visiting often. In light of the discrimination many encountered in their new locations and their attachment to family and place in Appalachia, some migrants ended up returning to their homes in the mountains. Moreover, despite the efforts of some institutions, including Berea, many unfair cultural stereotypes about Appalachia and its people were spread by means of these encounters with Appalachian migrants to other parts of the U.S. Moreover, this ugly tendency was exacerbated by the egregious representation of this

population in television shows such as the very popular, *The Beverly Hillbillies* [1962-1971] (Eller, 2008).

Leading up to and during the War on Poverty, media coverage of the plight of Appalachian communities was common and it too often reinforced negative regional stereotypes. As one Appalshop staff member explained in an interview:

> When Appalshop was founded in 1969, the War on Poverty was going on, and there were reporters flocking into Central Appalachia from New York, California, Europe . . . they were coming in and looking for a couple of kids playing in a mud puddle in their underwear or something. (I grew up out on the farm, no one was around; we just wore our underwear in the summer because it was hot; we were little kids, for crying out loud). And then you would end up seeing your house on the cover of *Life* or *Time* magazine. And it looked like a shack with a bunch of dirty kids playing in filth, and it was shameful. When Appalshop started making films–telling their own stories–the films got national attention because there was more truth and more beauty in those little films than in what the professionals were doing, which was playing to all the Appalachian stereotypes. It was hugely empowering. It was heady. It was exciting (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

At the same time, however, structural unemployment in the region continued to rise, starting at 4.5 percent in 1950 and rising to as high as 9.5 percent in 1980. Meanwhile, average U.S. unemployment remained between 4.8 percent and 6.5 percent during this time. When the U.S. Census first started measuring poverty in 1970, it found that rate in the region surrounding Appalshop to be 35.2 percent, 24.5 percentage points higher than the national figure. The War on Poverty and associated activities helped to narrow that gap. By 1980, poverty in the region had fallen to 22.3 percent while U.S. poverty had risen to 12.4 percent, a continuing difference of ten percentage points (U.S. Census). Since, several economists have argued that poverty today would be much higher in Appalachia and beyond if it had not been for the steps taken during the War on Poverty initiative (Bailey & Danziger, 2013).

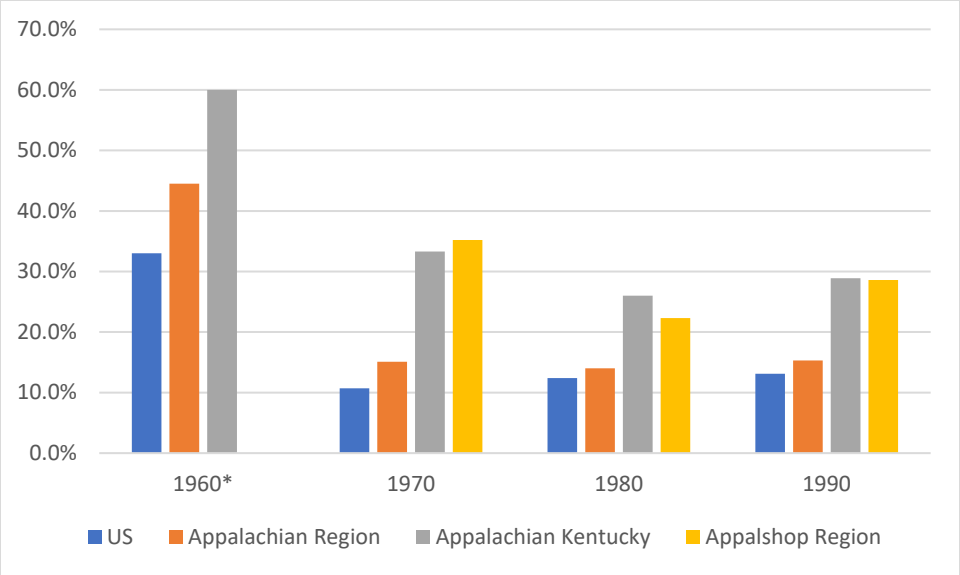
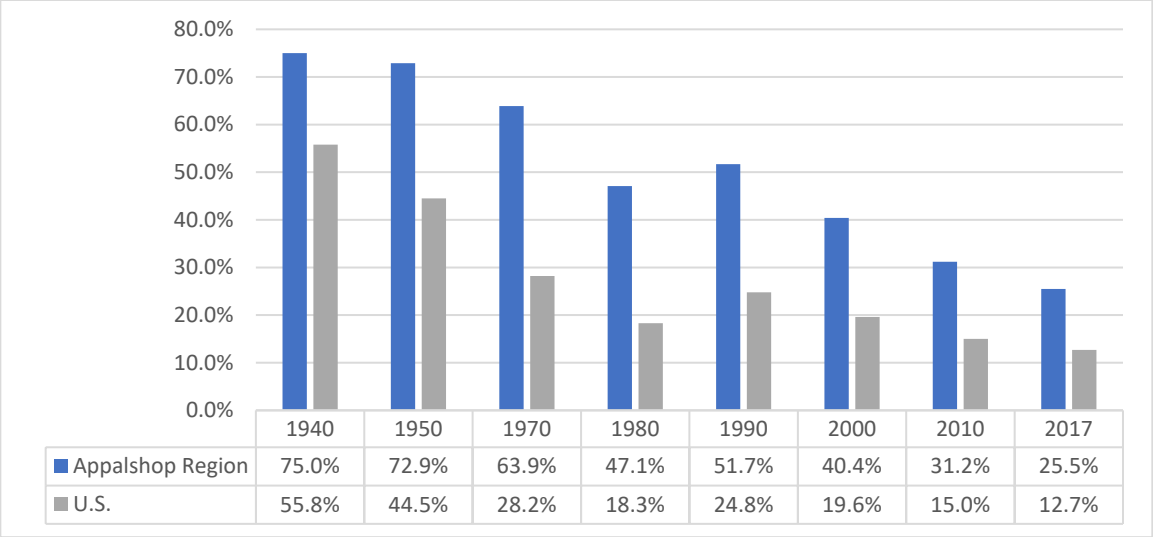


Figure 8. 1960-1990 Poverty rate (U.S. Census Bureau 1970-2017; *1960s data contributed by different source, Ziliak 2012)

Education attainment also varied significantly between Appalachia and the United States as a whole. The push for modernization and investment in education systems across the U.S. encouraged many to ensure that their children received a good education. Between 1940 and 1980, for example, the percentage of American citizens aged twenty-five and older with less than a high school education fell from 55.8 percent to 18.3 percent. In the region surrounding Appalshop, however, educational attainment grew more slowly. The percentage of people with less than a high school education went from 75.0 percent to 47.1 percent between 1940 and 1980 (See figure 9). With the post-WWII G.I. Bill, veterans at that time were also encouraged and supported to pursue higher education, particularly those who had served in the Vietnam conflict. The number of people twenty-five years and older with a bachelor's degree in the U.S. increased 2.5



	1940	1950	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Appalshop Region	75.0%	72.9%	63.9%	47.1%	51.7%	40.4%	31.2%	25.5%
U.S.	55.8%	44.5%	28.2%	18.3%	24.8%	19.6%	15.0%	12.7%

Figure 9. Less than a high school education
(ages 25 years and older)
(U.S. Census Bureau 1940-2017)

times between 1940 and 1980, or from 4.6 percent to 16.2 percent. That population more than tripled in Appalshop's region too, although it remained considerably lower than the national average, 1.5 percent in 1940 and 6.2 percent in 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1980).

Even before the War on Poverty, churches and religious groups, such as the Glenmary Sisters, a Roman Catholic organization in the Appalshop region, played significant roles in community development. The Sisters, for example, began to use community empowerment strategies drawn from liberation theology, an approach only beginning to be recognized in the Catholic Church at the time (Eller, 2008). The Glenmary Sisters helped to develop senior housing, workforce development programming such as the University Without Borders, and other civic organizations. Another example was CORA, the Commission on Religion in Appalachia:

> . … a major funder of community groups and the church. It was an example of how, in the 1960's and 1970's, the church was a big player, organized religion was a big player in bringing resources and people to the region. And some came as missionaries, but others came to live and to be a part of the community. And the

> FOCIS (Federations of Communities in Service) nuns were a great example of the latter. […] The Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Synod, those folks had pretty big sway. They had robust membership, and assets, and interest. We had quite a few Baptists, the small independent Baptist churches here in the region, and still do, but it did not lessen the notion that the Episcopal church felt like they had a role to play all up and down Appalachia. […] We ended up doing a lotta work for the Episcopal church. They had a funding program for youth projects, and it was one of the first grants we got outside of the OEO grant through Community Film Workshop Council. And they made small grants for a number of years (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019)

These groups remained active throughout this 1969-1983 period and were good partners to Appalshop.

The War on Poverty began in 1964 and was a national campaign to ameliorate living conditions and livelihoods of the most impoverished. President Johnson believed the federal government could alleviate poverty by supporting education, workforce development and health care programs. Bailey and Danziger (2013) have described his approach well:

> The War on Poverty was more than a disparate set of programs. One of its unifying elements was prevention of economic hardship. An example is Medicare. Although Medicare is targeted to all of the elderly, not just the elderly poor,6 Johnson stressed its capacity to prevent poverty. […] That is, Medicare not only prevented financial ruin among the elderly—it also protected their adult children from having to pay for the costs of their parents' illness. The War on Poverty's human capital programs, from Head Start to subsidizing access to higher education, and workforce development programs sought to increase workers' opportunities and increase their lifetime employment and earnings. Increased access to health care among the poor (Medicaid) sought to reduce the incidence of health problems and the related costs of attaining higher education, thereby also contributing to increased lifetime earnings. Rehabilitating neighborhoods and expanding income support and subsidized housing for poor families aimed to facilitate human capital investments among children and raise their longer-term earnings potential. Expanding income support for the elderly both raised their living standards and reduced the burden for their care on their adult children. These programs aimed to prevent poverty in both the short and the longer term (pp. 7-8).

In many respects, the initiative was a continuation of Roosevelt's New Deal policies. Johnson's vision of "the Great Society" was realized in part by legislation that expanded social security benefits and created Medicare and Medicaid. LBJ's dream also helped to establish the food stamp program (now Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP), Head Start, and the Title 1 subsidization of school districts with lower income families, the precursor to today's No Child Left Behind federal education program. Finally, the Great Society initiative created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which directly funded and oversaw the Job Corps, the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program, the federal work-study program and several other workforce and economic development initiatives (Bailey & Danziger, 2013; Matthews, 2014).

In the spirit of Kennedy's intention to support economic development in Appalachia, President Johnson made a special effort to address the challenges of the region through War on Poverty legislation. In 1965, the federal government formed the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) with the support of the governors of the states in the region to help to implement and oversee larger multistate development projects (Appalachian Regional Commission, http://www.arc.gov). In addition, the OEO formed Community Action Agencies (CAAs) to provide federal money to activities across the region. As Eller (2008) has explained:

> In reality, the concept of community action encompassed a range of strategies designed to assimilate the poor into the mainstream of American society. Some proponents saw the process as one of institutional change, helping to reorganize government services to open new opportunities for individuals to succeed within the existing system. Other, more radical strategists saw community action as a way to bypass conservative local governments and empower the poor to take charge of their own communities through political organizing. While some saw community action in terms of cultural rehabilitation, resident involvement, and

> top-down change, others advocated bottom-up strategies of resident control and empowerment (p. 98).

These two approaches to community and economic development occasionally struggled to co-exist, particularly when defined as either of the two extremes they represented. For instance, local elites did not always appreciate Appalachian Volunteers, a community-development nonprofit that came to the region and advocated for social justice and economic reform. Existing social elites often saw the CAAs as creating alternate means of service delivery and self-improvement programming that removed them from their traditional positions of power and authority. As a result, the programs often engendered resentment from such individuals. Community organizers, such as those from Appalachian Volunteers, initially supported these self-help initiatives. However, observing conditions and inequalities in the region led them to question the overall structure of poverty, resulting in more radical strategies, such as sedition in the coal fields and advocating that CAAs be more demographically inclusive (Eller, 2008). Many organizations, including Appalshop, sought to straddle these two poles.

Precursors and Structuration of the Contemporary Community Cultural Development Field

The community cultural development field tended to run parallel to the broader arts field from its precursor stages in the early twentieth century, to its nascent formation in the 1960s, full blown development in the 1990s and early 2000's and forward to today. That larger field includes multiple forms of visual and performing arts and literature from across the world, but it has long been dominated in the U.S. by western European notions of the arts. The CCD field, meanwhile, has constituted a smaller field in close proximity

to and often dependent on the larger arts field. CCD contains individuals dedicated to art of, for and by communities of all kinds.

Seeds of Community Cultural Development

The seeds of the CCD field can be seen at the beginning of the modernism movement, which became prominent in the early to mid-twentieth century and whose devotees rejected enlightenment ideals of science, reason and logic. Modernist artists and writers such as Picasso and James Joyce turned to aesthetics and art for art's sake to fill the void left by burgeoning disillusionment with the evolution of society. The seedy underbelly of the Gilded Age in the late nineteenth century and the horrific realities of deadly modern technology during World War I led many to question whether the hope in science and modern-day capitalism of the Victorian Era was a false promise. Indeed, many scholars and citizens alike were led to ask the question of what lies at the center of existence, if not God and/or science (Powell, 1998). Beginning in the mid-19th century, an increased interest among philosophers and social thinkers in understanding reality and exposing structures of power (e.g. Karl Marx) also informed artistic thought. For instance, playwright and director Bertolt Brecht, active in the early decades of the 20th century, wanted theatre to assist its audience to think critically about the reality presented to them in his plays. For instance, in the midst of a highly emotional point in a Brecht play, a character would address the audience, breaking the fourth wall and severing the emotionally cathartic moment that would have happened in favor of one in which the audience would become estranged. By such actions, Brecht intended to encourage moments of critical dialectic thought among audience members (Willet, 1964).

Later, Frankfurt School critical theorists employed Marxism to explore hegemony, domination and instrumentality within modern society. They and other critical

theorists argued that art could help audience members and participants to think more searchingly about their society and to create a potential for change away from and beyond dominant ideologies, including capitalism. Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) contended, for instance, that advanced capitalism was rapidly transforming cultural expression into a commodity that individuals throughout society, the working class included, could sell and purchase. Benjamin (2008) cautiously approved of the democratization of the arts through media, but also worried about whether commodification would transform works of art into shells of what they really were. Marcuse (1978) saw the unique position of art as situated within certain historical and cultural contexts that it could not escape. However, in his view, the trans-historical substance of art—containing its own dimension of truth, protest and promise—endowed it with an aesthetic form allowing it to dissociate itself from those realities. As a result, he contended that audiences could be shocked by art into a conscious, critical state. Similarly, Brazilian theater practitioner, Augusto Boal, and Brazilian educator and philosopher, Paulo Freire, both observed how theater and education possessed capacity to create space for individuals to gain critical consciousness and become their own authors of history/reality rather than the subjects of a received reality (Boal, 1985; Horton & Freire, 1990).

Becker (1994) has described how many in our society today have an "implicit assumption" that artists have always been on the margins of society, antagonistically criticizing mainstream beliefs and values. She has contended that history tells a different story. Indeed, this misperception may have its roots only in the last century with the rise of the modernist movement, when artists and writers rejected conventional enlightenment beliefs and viewed themselves as an exiled, alienated cultural elite (Powell, 1998).

Meanwhile, several artists, with the support of nonprofits and governments, attempted to connect art with community as a way of democratizing it. During the 1880-1920 period, for example, devotees of the Arts and Crafts Movement sought to have art play a higher role than decorating spaces for the wealthy elite. These artists' political sentiments often aligned with Marxist ideology and the rise of unions in the country. At the same time, the Neighborhood Arts Program, an outgrowth of the Settlement House Movement, was active and its members sought to acculturate vast numbers of immigrants into American society (Goldbard, 2006). Individuals in today's community development and planning professions cite the Arts and Crafts and Settlement House Movements as precursors of their fields as well. Finally, in the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance and Little Theater Movements decentralized these forms of art and began to offer space for voices in the U.S. that were not accepted in the arts world previously (Leonard and Kilkelly, 2006, p. 12).

In the 1930s, the United States government developed the Federal Arts and Federal Writers' Projects as a part of the New Deal. These programs employed jobless artists and writers who comprised a portion of the struggling poor during the Depression. Much of the art produced during this time, largely Works Progress Administration (WPA) sponsored works, espoused collectivist values and a strong government role in society; this was in part due to available public funding, but also prevailing political beliefs (Bauerlein, 2009; Goldbard, 2006; Leonard and Kilkelly, 2006). The American Artists' Congress convened to discuss the role and state of the arts in 1936. That group concluded that, "in order to withstand the severe shock of the crisis, artists have had to

seek a new grip on reality… we are witnessing determined efforts by artists to find a meaningful direction" (Goldbard, 2006, p. 109).

Birth of the Contemporary Community Cultural Development Field

While it was not called community cultural development, many of the field's leaders, values and activities began to take identifiable shape by the 1960s and 1970s. Postmodernism had begun to take root in the United States. A reaction to modernism, postmodernism rejected what had become esoteric modernist art understood and translated only by elites. Postmodernists often argued for a decentering or understanding that there was no single center or purpose to existence. If modernists looked for meaning, postmodernists focused on play and the process and performance of art. Most importantly to the field of CCD, postmodernists acknowledged a plural and heterogenous society (Powell, 1998). One example of postmodernism is the conceptual arts movement, in which artists such as Christo, Maurizio Bolognini and Martin Creed ranked the concept and meaning behind art above its associated aesthetics and technique. In an attempt to escape the hegemonic social status of capitalism, for instance, the conceptual arts movement created different types of art works that could not be sold, i.e. installations (Leonard and Kilkelly, 2006).

In some ways, CCD was a melding of modernism, postmodernism, and early attempts at employing art in communities for the social good. Drawing from modernist philosophies, including Marxism and the thinking arising from the Frankfurt School's critical theorists, many artists in the burgeoning CCD field called for social change to counter the overweening power of capitalism and consumerism. Postmodern thinkers of the time offered criticisms of dominant social trends and supported values already present in CCD work such as a respect for a variety of voices, an emphasis on process rather than

product, and a more inclusive definition of art that included many different aesthetics. When discussing Roadside Theater's relationship to CCD during his interview, that group's long-time artistic director Dudley Cocke remarked:

> Beginning in the 1970s, there was an intentional idea to expand the arts to all people and places, to have what Roadside calls art in a democracy. That all ties back to this notion of democratic populism, which came out of the Civil Rights Movement. […] Martin Luther King always saw his own work in the Civil Rights Movement as a part of this democratic populist tradition. As you know, Roadside tracks its work back to that same populism in the Grassroots Theater Movement of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

This emphasis on and rootedness in community played a pivotal role in the birth, and later, the evolution, of CCD. Indeed, it became and has remained the central value of the field.

National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities

The history of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) helps to tell the broader story of the arts in America in recent decades. Advocacy for the arts and culture in the 1960s differed from previous iterations of arts renaissance in America. The end of the nineteenth century brought huge investments by American elites in museums, architecture, art and culture. The Great Depression involved government investing in the arts to employ artists and inspire hope. But these eras of artistic development were top-down initiatives. In contrast, the 1960s push for the arts was primarily grassroots driven.

With the growth of the middle class, longer lifespans and extra free time thanks in part to technology and the 40-hour work week, middle and even working-class families were able to engage in arts and cultural activities more frequently. They began to visit museums, and to attend concerts, community theater, the opera, and other cultural events at higher levels than previous generations. As Bauerlein (2009) has explained:

> America was changing profoundly, with more Americans attending college than ever before. As baby boomers matured, so did America's taste, habits, and mores. Far from the traditional centers of culture, people were demanding a local presence for music, dance, theater, and visual art. More and more, along with European immigrants who wanted classical culture, citizens were claiming the heritage of Walt Whitman, Edward Hopper, Frank Lloyd Wright, Martha Graham, Louis Armstrong, and other great American artists as their birthright, and they wanted access to music education, dance performances, professional drama, and regional artists (p. 19).

By 1977, museum attendance had reached 500 million annually and annual attendance numbers for ballet and modern dance performances exceeded those for National Football League games (Stencel, 1978).

Moreover, there was great enthusiasm about the role of the arts in U.S. national identity and development during the 1960s and 1970s. President Kennedy, for example, argued that the nation has "hundreds of thousands of devoted musicians, painters, architects, those who work to bring about changes in our cities, whose talents are just as important a part of the United States as any of our perhaps more publicized accomplishments" (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 15). By the mid-1960s, U.S. congressional representatives and senators desired to have the U.S. be not just a military and political force in the world, but also a cultural leader within it. Federal support of the arts and culture seemed like a logical step toward that goal.

As a result, on September 29, 1965, President Johnson signed the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act, which established the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The NEA's mission was, "to spread this artistic prosperity throughout the land, from the dense neighborhoods of our largest cities to the vast rural spaces, so that every citizen might enjoy America's great cultural legacy" (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 1). Panelists of artists

and writers in all fields of the arts had come together to frame the initial work of the endowment, which included direct financial support for individual artists, dance companies and theaters to do their work and engage in different residency programs; funding to establish the American Film Institute that would preserve the nation's media history; and support to preserve oral traditions throughout the U.S. (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 16).

The NEA had three Chairs during this period: Roger Stevens (1965-1968), Nancy Hanks (1969-1977), and Livingston Biddle (1977-1981). The first years of the NEA under Roger Stevens saw that agency not only support arts education programming in schools, individual artists, musicians, writers and performing arts groups, but also help to create the American Film Institute. During this time, there was some debate about whether the NEA should support individual artists, particularly those that could not thrive in the capitalist system, due either to the character of their work or to controversy concerning it, or both. This argument continued to bubble.

Under Nancy Hanks, the NEA worked with a variety of partners including nonprofit art institutes, rather than "underwrite the budgets of official state-sponsored groups," as originally envisioned (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 36). She encouraged the NEA to work with local and regional institutions, encourage the development of state arts councils and promote an "art-for-all-Americans" approach that led to support of grassroots work. In 1972, for instance, the NEA began hiring regional representatives across the United States to serve as liaisons to potential and current grantees. The goal was to bring the Endowment closer to communities and arts organizations and to strengthen the flow of communication, so the agency was not seen as a faceless

bureaucracy. By 1980, the NEA had 12 men and women working nationally, providing free support to artists and organizations, and representing the NEA in communities throughout the U.S. (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 66).

During Hanks' tenure the NEA also provided strong support for touring by visual and performing artists, by both the nationally known and the more obscure, so that they could reach communities across the nation. The NEA offered funding in new areas too, such as exhibitions, crafts fellowships and apprenticeship and fellowship programs for arts critics. Many awardees were able to leverage this funding to obtain other government and private support; indeed, most claimed that the NEA's "stamp of approval" facilitated their efforts to gain assistance from other entities (Bauerlein, 2009, pp. 40-41). Under Hanks and President Nixon's tenure particularly, the NEA grew from "a tiny federal program into a significant policy leader in the arts" (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 38).

Key NEA programs during Nancy Hanks' years of leadership helped to support and strengthen CCD organizations nationwide. These initiatives included the Expansion Arts and Challenge Grant Programs, two efforts that benefited Appalshop immensely. Begun in 1971 and offered for 25 years, the NEA's Expansion Arts Program (along with its partner, the Folk Arts Program) was tasked with nurturing community-based arts organizations in America's inner-cities, rural regions, and tribal communities:

> Many of the programs first grantees later became nationally renowned—Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater in New York, Appalshop in Kentucky, Arte Publico Press in Texas […] Hundreds of mid-size and smaller nonprofit organizations benefited from initial NEA funding and still remain vital community anchors today […] During the program's 25 years of operation, many of its grantees competed successfully in other NEA programs and garnered support from other arts funders (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 49).

The Challenge Grant, began in the late 1970s and was meant to assist arts organizations in the pursuit of larger projects such as construction of facilities, development of endowments, or the pursuit of major initiatives. Challenge Grants required a three-to-one match in which grantees could leverage up to one million dollars in NEA funding to acquire private foundation (or other) dollars (Bauerlein, 2009, pp. 44-45).

Simultaneous with the growth of NEA leadership in the arts and an overall growth in arts funding, artists and culture professionals began to form associations. This increased interest in networking was surely spurred in part by the NEA's approach to funding—peer assessments and panels—but these groups took on a life of their own. One example is the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF), formed in 1975. This group of filmmakers, with Appalshop as a member, challenged the primacy of Hollywood and television networks in the filmmaking field. Their goal was to make movies that effected social change rather than those that had commercial value alone. At the time, there was very little support for these types of films (or filmmakers), so they banded together to support each other through knowledge sharing and their combined capacity to obtain equipment discounts and other livelihood assistance such as healthcare insurance (Angell, 2006).

When the NEA proposed to fund filmmakers through its granting process, the American Film Institute (AFI) volunteered to oversee the process. However, the independent filmmakers at AIVF believed that the AFI represented the conservative filmmaking elite of Hollywood. AIVF leaders and members lobbied to have NEA funding for film managed like that of other disciplines, through a peer panel process that

included all types of filmmaking. They argued that no one group should have financial or other control over the field. Their advocacy was effective, and the NEA continued to fund filmmakers through a peer panel process (Angell, 2006).

During his tenure at the NEA (1977-1981), Livingston Biddle tried to address growing contention about the arts and the role of the NEA. To address criticism of its funding review process, Biddle standardized the appointment and membership terms of grant proposal review panelists and conducted periodic audits of their work. More importantly however, Biddle thought:

> The greatest problem for the arts in America was 'the danger of fragmentation.' When special interests come into play, he maintained, 'they can diminish the value of the art, for although art does a great many good things in the world for a great many people, it does them best when it is free. No task is more important now than to keep the arts free—free from their own politicization, free from limiting special interests, free to experiment and explore.' […] While he considered it the Arts Endowment's responsibility to promote experimentation in art, [he believed] it also ha[d] a duty to keep art central to American society (Bauerlein, 2009 p. 63).

His argument attempted to counter growing concern among those in the GOP especially about what the government should or should not finance in the arts and what constituted art that is emblematic of American culture. A growing number of conservative politicians did not think it the government's place to support the arts, particularly arts that they did not appreciate or that challenged dominant American narratives that they espoused. In short, who should have a say in deciding what art to lift up to Americans and why?

Biddle continued the programming begun under Stevens and Hanks. By 1979, the Endowment's Media Arts Program alone was receiving $8 million to fund the American Film Institute, media arts centers, and projects for radio, television, film and video. At the time, artists in the field were experiencing the reality that:

> private funds for media arts centers [had] not been forthcoming in significant amounts [and] the work of the independent artist, which maintains an individual voice in a mass medium overwhelmingly devoted to commercial ends, [was] still a misunderstood and underexploited resource (Bauerlein, 2009, p. 66).

Figure 10 shows budget appropriations for the NEA since its creation. Compared to other periods, 1965-1983 saw significant political support and funding for the organization, particularly under Hanks and President Nixon (NEA, 2019). Other federal initiatives of that time, particularly those created through War on Poverty legislation, also supported the arts and CCD fields. For instance, by 1976, as many as 10,000 artists were working with funding from the Department of Labor's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (Greenblatt, 2017). In contrast, private foundation funding for the arts declined in the 1970s, due in part to the economic recession during that decade. For example, the Ford Foundation reduced its contribution to the arts during that decade from $20 million to $4 million (Stencel, 1978).

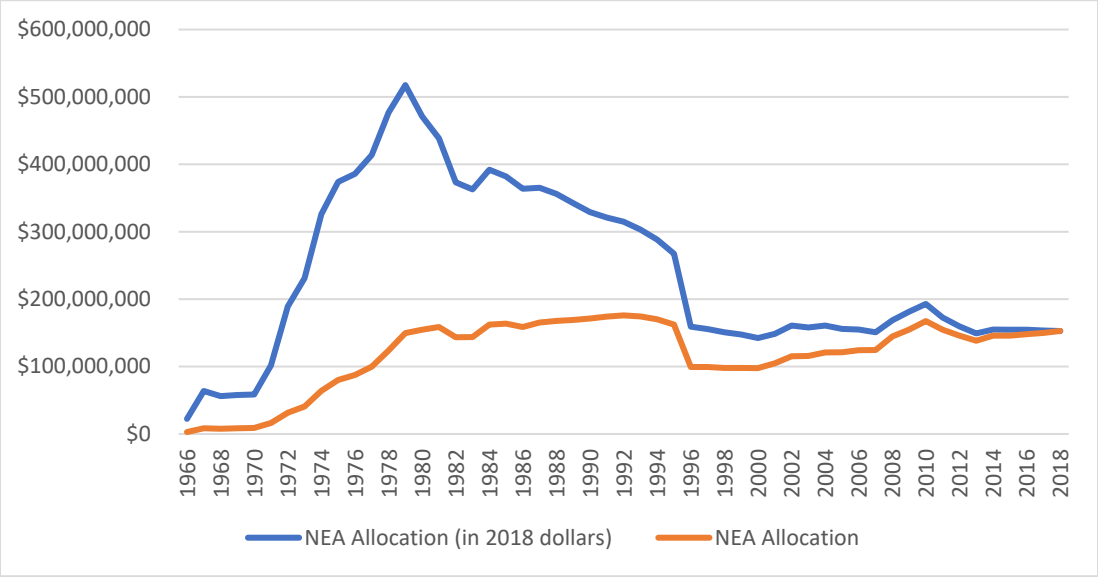


Figure 10. 1965-2018 National Endowment for the Arts budget allocation (NEA, 2019)

Nonetheless, the number of cultural institutions grew exponentially during this time. For example, from 1965-1978:

- The number of professional symphony orchestras in the United States rose from 58 to 125;
- The number of professional opera companies increased from 27 to 68;
- Likewise, the number of resident professional theaters increased from 12 to 66;
- The number of developmental theaters increased from 10 to 150;
- The number of resident professional dance companies rose from 10 to 134; and
- Finally, the number of touring professional dance companies grew from 27 to 190 (Stencel, 1978).

These arts and funding trends signaled strong support, at least more vigorous than in past generations, for art of all kinds, which was embedded in community and assisted residents of communities in thinking about themselves and imagining what they could be. As illustrated by Appalshop's first decade and a half, this period similarly assisted CCD organizations in their formation and exploration of what they wished to be and become and what they wished to undertake as institutions.

Appalshop: The Institutionalization of an Appalachian Counterculture

With the creation of the Appalachian Film Workshop in 1968 through the War on Poverty's Office of Economic Opportunity, Director of the Appalachian Film Workshop, Bill Richardson, welcomed a small group of high school and college-age students from Whitesburg, Kentucky to learn about filmmaking. A 1970 proposal for continued support of the Community Film Workshop program provided summaries of its film-related activities that aimed to encourage more awareness among the people of the region and its stories (Appalshop Archive, Community Film Workshop Council 1970, 1969-73 Box 021008). In contrast to other film workshop descriptions, the Appalachian group

highlighted additional funding from local and regional groups as well as other partnerships to make and show films in its service area.

Appalachian Film Workshop participants were inspired by the idea of sharing their personal stories and the stories of their communities and getting paid to do so. They were looking for alternatives to the career paths that had historically been laid out for them, typically coal mining or white-collar professional. As one former Appalshop employee explained in an interview:

> There was a time, a lot of people were looking for alternatives. There were people pissed off about the [Vietnam] war. And so, it created a kind of a counterculture. And I think for a lot of Appalachian kids, it didn't feel very comfortable out in the... Didn't feel at home so much in the anti-war movement. And it didn't feel at home in the strip mine, you know, whatever mountain kids were going to do to get to the next level. And so, they were looking for alternatives (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Like many of their peers, those in the Appalachian Film Workshop rejected to some extent the social narrative of the 1940s and 1950s—that they should go to college and become doctors, lawyers and other "productive members of society." They saw what was happening to their communities as a result of the changing coal industry and the ensuing outmigration from the region. They also saw and heard the stereotypes on national media about Appalachia, the hillbilly identity associated with them, which *othered* them as not part of America or the American Dream. Social movements of the time spoke to their feeling of exclusion, including the Civil Rights and Women's Movements.

> So, I think Appalshop was really a part of this movement, part of the civil rights movement and Black is beautiful; Chicano power; all those kinds of things that really were showing that hillbillies were beautiful too. And that there was so much in the heritage and culture of this place that was really important and positive unlike the stereotypes, the really common stereotypes. And so, I think

> that has been really important. Appalshop has uplifted the really positive values of the culture and heritage of the region and it continues to do that (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

The first films of the Appalachian Film Workshop explored the identity or identities of the region. For instance, the 25-minute film *Coal Miner: Frank Jackson* (1971) followed Jackson in his daily life, chronicling his hopes and documenting the challenges facing him, his career and family. *In Ya Blood* (1971) was a scripted film about youth in Appalachia deciding what to do after high school. Would they go to work in the coal mines like many of their family members, or would they leave the region and go to a college in Appalachia, such as the University of Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky University, Berea College or West Virginia University? Other films explored the heritage and traditions of the region such as *Catfish Man of the Woods* (1974) about an entrepreneur who collects natural remedies for illness from the Central Appalachian forest, *Nature's Way* (1974) about midwifery in the region, and *Chairmaker* (1975) which chronicled the design and construction of a chair by a professional in Central Appalachia. In an interview with one of the founders of Appalshop, he explained the rationale behind this genre of films.

> We got interested in stuff before coal. What was it like in these mountains before? And it turns out that right at the time we were beginning was about the end of memory of those days. Like my grandfather, my mom's dad, lived about 10 miles from here, a place called Kingdom Come Creek. And so, I would go out and just spend time with my grandfather and talk about the old timers, people he grew up with because when he was young, there wasn't any large coal mining here. And what was it like? How did those people live? What were their days like? Like what time would they get up in the morning? And then, what was their breakfast like? […] We felt like there was a role to play by the young people to reconnect with the culture of the place in which our grandparents and their generation had lived (Personal Interview, Herby Smith 12.18.2018).

The Appalachian Film Workshop partnered with other organizations. One of its first projects supported by external funds was a public service announcement for Morehead State College in Morehead, Kentucky, now a university. For another film, the Appalachian Regional Commission hired the young filmmakers to develop a documentary, *Appalachian Genesis* (1971), meant “to project an understanding of how Appalachia's young people see themselves, the problems they see, their aspirations, and how they feel about Appalachia" (Appalshop Archive, Contract between ARC and AFW, 1970, Box 1970-73).

As the Appalachian Film Workshop neared the end of its OEO funding, the group developed a strategic plan to distribute its films. The goal was to increase income and independence from the New York-based Community Film Workshop. They emphasized mass promotion to regional and national organizations, particularly obtaining television commitments to air their films. Appalachian Film Workshop staff conducted mailings and went to salient conferences, such as the Southern Mountain Convention, to promote their works (Appalshop Archive, Owens 1971, Box 13105 Old Proposals 1976). In his final report to the Community Film Workshop, director Bill Richardson described the different films produced, training opportunities leveraged, and partnerships the initiative had created. Richardson also expressed interest in placing local programming on regional cable networks or even expanding cable access while providing local programming. Finally, he considered how to create and fund their now independent organization, Appalshop. He noted that 90% of the new entity’s potential funders were located in New York (Appalshop Archive, Richardson 1972, 1969-73 Box 021003).

Becoming a Nonprofit

In 1972, Appalshop began to separate itself from the Community Film Workshop program. According to one staff member at the time, the new nonprofit's mission was to provide:

> … mountain people with an opportunity to work in media and increase the information available about the region. The better informed a person is, the more readily he can accept social change. Communications involved will change the way people think and thereby influence the way they act. We believe we are an agent of such change in Appalachia (Appalshop Archive, Newell, Proposal to Episcopal Church Youth Program 1972, Box 1970-73).

As illustrated by its preliminary organizational structure, those working at Appalshop were already considering ways of broadening the organization's activities beyond film, "When we first got the nonprofit status established, it might have been Herby [Smith] that said, 'Well, let's see if anybody else wants to use this'" (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019). Many of these young founders, who were just out of high school or were college-age, also had hopes of developing a strong system of revenue generation through distribution of their products. The new entity was organized into individual projects overseen and joined by a shared administrative core, as depicted in Figure 11 below.

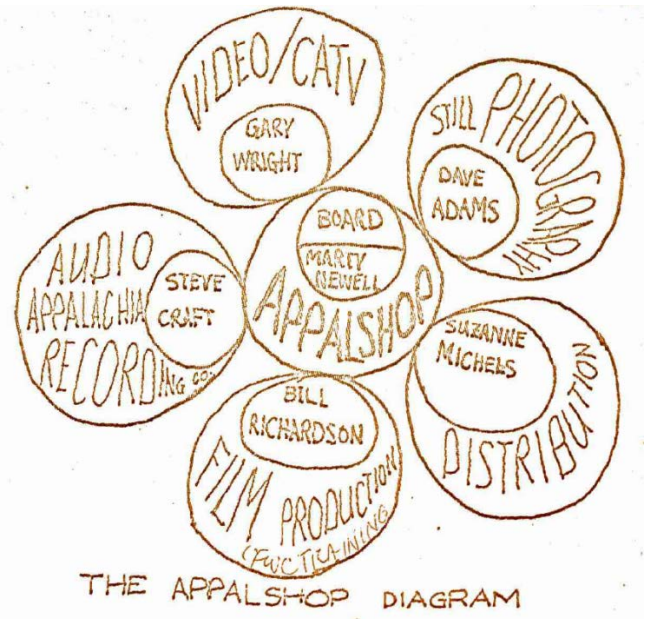


Figure 11. Original Appalshop organizational chart (Appalshop Archive, Richardson 1972, 1969-73 Box 021003)

In the first few years of the new organization, its operations remained relatively informal. The small groups of artists, or "creatives" as a few interviewees described themselves, knew each other and felt little pressure to formalize their organizational structure. In addition, having embraced the creative spirit as their individual and collective driver, the founders of Appalshop did not want a bureaucratic structure to stifle that impulse. Perhaps inspired by democratic populism, cooperative models and other horizontal organizing strategies widely discussed at the time, Appalshop staff chose to rely on a consensus-based approach to organizational governance.

However, as the new arts effort grew and became more reliant on external funding sources for its operations, Appalshop's informal structure and non-hierarchical governance approach became more difficult to sustain. One interviewee remembered a particularly contentious hiring process that prompted the group to realize that consensus-based decision-making did not offer sufficient structure to allow the organization to operate without excessive time devoted to discussion. This was so because the existing

model allowed one person to stall all governance efforts at any time. That fact was critical to the decision by Appalshop's worker-run board to adopt a two-thirds majority rule for choice-making. Another founding staff member referred to the growing pressure from outside organizations and foundations to have a legible, hierarchical governance structure as important as well:

> I think much of the institutional formation stuff starts in 1971, 1972. It is from the moment we decided that we would try to do something other than the training program. It evolved pretty much continuously during the entire time that I was there. There were some changes, some nuanced things going on and particularly with the notion of an executive of some ilk. The co-op stuff in the beginning, the job we had was called coordinator because we weren't going to let there be a director or president or a poohbah or a big cheese. It was, all animals are created equal.
>
> There are changes along the way there in the late 1970s, it is the ... Well we need something which we've got somebody who, some title that folks from the outside can relate to because people would ask, 'Well who's the director?' Throughout most of the first half a dozen years, anybody could show up and be the right person or show up as the head of Appalshop to whoever that audience happened to be. It differed all the time and as we started trying to play with bigger numbers and fit into hierarchical structures it felt like there was the need for somebody we could point to. The proposal would have the project director, but they'd ask for the sign-off of the executive. That's when Dee got hired as president, even though he was not given ... He was given the title without ... The title and the responsibility without the authority, I think (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

Appalshop's staff continued to desire and to experiment with a horizontal governance structure, while also seeking to portray themselves clearly as cogently and effectively organized to outside partners despite their unorthodox structure, particularly funders, who expected an organizational hierarchy. This tension was reflected in ambivalence in management of the organization's activities even after Appalshop created a more ordered organizational structure. An early leader of Appalshop, for example,

remembered first being introduced as: "He's the president. It doesn't mean anything" (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Despite this struggle, reliance on outside funding sources grew at Appalshop. One interviewee noted that most of the nonprofit's employees were funded during the 1970s by the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Like many CCD organizations, Appalshop received significant funding from the NEH and NEA, as well as State Arts Councils that often were themselves supported in part by the NEA. In some respects, the way the NEA and NEH were structured helped to shape how Appalshop was structured. The arts nonprofit organized its projects by discipline, similar to how the Endowment was managing its grant programs (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke interview 2.14.2019).

By 1981, the organization had reached total revenue of almost $680,000 ($1.88 million in 2018 dollars), seventy-five percent of which came from grants and individual contributions. As many as thirty people were on salary, and Appalshop had garnered funding from the NEA, NEH, Kentucky Arts Foundation, the Lilly Foundation, the Daniel J. Bernstein Foundation, and the Public Welfare Foundation, among others. A 1980 letter to the Kentucky Arts Council from Bill Richardson, then former director of the Appalachian Film Workshop, expressed the strain that those at Appalshop were experiencing when trying to access funding for their activities:

> All of us work damn hard to raise money for Appalshop activities. Ten of us must spend half our time raising money. We are forced to do so by the very nature of our National Endowment grants. They are all 50% matching grants and we have to raise the other half. There is no local money in most of these Appalachian counties other than the coal industry. We have tried the coal companies, but they are notorious for their lack of interest in the areas which they exploit. We must rely heavily on the Kentucky Arts Commission and outside foundations where the

> competition is tremendous (Appalshop Archive, Bill Richardson fundraising document to Kentucky Arts Commission 1980, Box 13107 Old Proposals 83-89).

Indeed, a significant challenge facing the rural CCD organization was the lack of local capability to support its efforts. While many urban areas had families, private businesses, and foundations that financially invested in and supported community organizations and arts activities, arts entities located in more rural regions, including Appalachia, often faced the challenge that their region's primary employer corporate executives lived elsewhere. Two large mining companies doing business at this time in Central Appalachia, for example, were headquartered outside of the area. Consolidation Coal was headquartered in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania while Peabody Coal's main offices were in St. Louis, Missouri. Their leaders therefore knew little about the communities where their operations occurred and felt little loyalty to them, quite apart from, and perhaps in addition to, Richardson's comment in the quotation just above. This reality required that Appalshop leaders work continuously to secure public and private funding from outside their home region to support their organization's activities.

Appalshop's Activities

Once Appalshop became an autonomous nonprofit, it transitioned from operating as a training program to becoming a production institution. In the summers of 1972 and 1973, Marty Newell recalled driving around Central Appalachia to record bluegrass concerts for broadcast on regional television stations. The new nonprofit's staff worked with filmmaker Paul Norton and Broadside TV of the tri-cities area—Bristol, Kingsport and Johnson City, Tennessee. With the development of video, Appalshop began making more products for television. In 1979, Appalshop created Headwaters TV:

> When we were doing 20 or 25 shows a year, there were a bunch of them that came from 'there's an event happening. If we go and shoot that we've got something that we can turn into a show that will have a great deal of local interest.' Could be there was a blue grass band playing at the Appalachian Motel in Hyden. If we go shoot that, we'll get a show. That'll be good music. It's one of those where folks in Leslie County are going to go look and see if they see themselves on television. And we got eyeballs.
>
> Then another thing will be, well what issues are hanging fire right now? Whether it is a citizens group battling a hydro dam pump storage station at Brumley Gap and we want to tell that story and be part of their pushing back against the corporation that wants to flood out the town. […] [A]t the end of *Headwaters* shows, we made the ask: 'Send your cards and letters. Feel free to write us.' And we would get suggestions. Some of them were anatomically impossible and that often was the response to the more political or issue driven shows. Others were people saying, 'You know what? You ought to come over here and see my great aunt Airy, she is one of the best storytellers ever.' And sometimes those would work out (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

By 1983, Appalshop film and video productions tended to fit into one of three categories. First, some addressed the day-to-day life and culture of the region. These generally assumed a *cinema verité* documentary style in which filmmakers took advantage of the lighter camera and sound technology that had recently become available to travel to places and events to film residents' life activities:

> [T]he philosophy behind this technique was that the filmmaker actively participates in the film as a subjective observer where necessary; combining observational AND participatory filming in the same breath. Essentially, there is an awareness of the camera that is filming the scene, thus establishing a connection between the cameraman/filmmaker and those being filmed. It can also involve stylized and staged set-ups and the degree of intervention is greater than in direct cinema, with the filmmaker's subjective involvement evoking provocation—something critics point out goes against the whole foundation of documentary as a means to portray uninterrupted truths (Nam, 2015).

Social justice-oriented efforts constituted a second form of filmmaking for the nonprofit. These often dealt with political corruption, environmental degradation and other challenges in the region and also frequently related to the coal industry. Third, and less common, were contracted films, which sometimes fell into the other two categories.

Most of these movies had no voice-over narration. Instead, the narrative arose from those filmed.

While these productions were afoot, Appalshop grew beyond them during this period. By the mid-1970s, filmmakers at the organization welcomed photographers, music producers, writers, theater performers, and more. Many of these individuals were not necessarily trained in these disciplines, but instead evidenced a genuine, organic interest in artistic forms and media as a possible mechanism to lift up the culture of the region. In 1974, Appalshop began publishing *the Mountain Review*. The new magazine melded the organization's photography workshop with writing. Appalshop staff described it as:

> a quarterly journal of articles, fiction, poetry, photography and graphics printed by and for Appalachians. Mountain Writing Workshops are programs which engage young people to research and to write about their heritage. Together they are an endeavor to involve Appalachians from all backgrounds and age groups in cultural awareness and expression (Appalshop Archive, Proposal to APSO Youth Area Program 1975, Box 13105 Old Proposals 1976).

While the *Review* only lasted for eight years due to persistent difficulties attaining adequate funding and loss of personnel, it featured famous writers from the region, including Gurney Norman and Helen Lewis. The magazine's staff gathered writing and photography from children, professional and nonprofessional individuals into one publication portraying the region.

Roadside Theater and June Appal Recordings formed under Appalshop in 1975. These projects were driven largely by passionate individuals with an openness to new ideas and activities. When describing this time, a leader of Appalshop during those years, observed:

> Then Don Baker came up with the idea of Roadside, about a theatre company out of mountain stories. I think he'd worked on the idea at Washington and Lee [Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia] with Dudley [Cocke]. I think that Jack Wright came back from Vietnam. He was interested. He was a musician. He wanted to create a record company that, you know, was an indigenous record company. So, I think the film [project] was a beacon for people to come up with their own ideas. And then we were able to find ways to support it (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Jack Wright started June Appal with the distribution and sale of recordings at a bluegrass music festival in Southwest Virginia, in collaboration with others at Appalshop. Thereafter, the initiative evolved into a record label for artists in the region, one of the only such imprints in Central Appalachia. Meanwhile, as noted, Roadside Theater arose out of a friendship between Don Baker and Dudley Cocke, who were interested in telling stories from the Appalachian region and developing a theater that reflected regional culture. Here is one description of the first years of Roadside Theater by a Roadside employee at the time:

> How we originally developed our theater audience at home in the mountains was helped by grants from the NEA Folk Arts program to do a tent tour of our plays. In the summers of the late 1970s and early 1980s we went up the hollers and out in areas where people lived and found somebody who would let us get electricity from their trailer or little church, then pitched our small, used revival tent, hooked up our homemade lighting system, set up chairs we borrowed from the local Funeral Parlor and performed a free children's show in the afternoon. Then, in the evening, we did one of our main productions like 'Pretty Polly' or 'Red Fox Second Hangin' and charged $2 for adults and $1 for seniors and older children. Babies and little children were free.
>
> And we would get full tents for all the performances. It was a lot of work, but we were young, so it was also a lot of fun. As you know, we talk directly to people in the audience when we perform. There is no fourth wall or orchestra pit, or any other barrier. So, at the tent performances, local dogs would wander into the tent, and the performers would just work them into the show. And sometimes babies would do the same thing. A little child might sit up on the side of the stage for a while, and, of course, people felt free to talk to the performers onstage (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

By 1979, the three new projects were coauthoring grant applications. They explained that through their activities, "Appalshop is maintaining a program of outreach, instruction, training and participatory arts activities in mountain communities throughout Central Appalachia" (Appalshop Archive, Proposal to NEA Expansion Arts Program 1979, Box 13105 Old Proposals 1976). Through various artistic disciplines, they hoped to create space for and encourage Appalachian artists and residents to express themselves and tell stories about their lives.

With the staff and project growth of the 1970s, Appalshop staff decided to buy and renovate an old mill in downtown Whitesburg to serve as a new media center from which they could operate. But when the contractor stopped work due to the 21 percent prime interest rates of the early 1980s and the recession at the time, Appalshop was faced with a challenge:

> When the contractor on the building folded ... I mean, he just disappeared. All his phones were disconnected and mail was being returned and so we had to then figure out ... we got this partially completed building, we've got money to do it and we've got commitments out to do it, but we've paid this guy all along and we ended up then going to the surety. […] Originally the insurance company tried to push back, 'No, you did this wrong or that wrong,' and we ended up enlisting the governor's office and 'hired,' because we didn't really pay him, a pro-bono attorney who was really good at construction law and helped hold the insurance company's feet to the fire (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

> In my mind, it was a big moment for the organization because, you know, we bet it all. […] You know and everybody had to agree not to settle, that we were going after him. […] Going through a process of, you know, creating this building. And it was the time for it. Every night people were drinking, talking about it. I mean we didn't know a lot of shit. So, we would have to keep repeating, talking and strategizing. So, it was day and night and it was real. Very few people had families, you know, had children. So, it was this kind of learning how to be grown up and how to do this stuff. And I think that was, you know, learning how to actually be business people and learning how to do it. And we were all learning

> together, and I think that that was a really important moment—to have this kind of existential crisis, right? (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019)

These comments are emblematic of the views of several of Appalshop's founding generation, those that came to the organization during this 1969-1983 period; one characterized by personal and professional learning and equally, of figuring out how to be an organization.

In preparation for its new media center, Appalshop hired two consultants, Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard, to conduct an analysis of its structure and operations and provide recommendations concerning its planning and programming. In their report, Adams and Goldbard complimented Appalshop on its worker-managed operations, commitment to community service, and efforts to become self-sustainable. They encouraged Appalshop not only to focus on the quality of its products, but also to highlight the unique approach and quality of its production processes when sharing its story with others outside of the organization. As these experts put it, "We think that community arts groups all over the country stand to derive inspiration from the way Appalshop works as much as from the quality of the work it produces" (Appalshop Archive, Adams & Goldbard, 1980). Moving forward, they cautioned against taking the institution's practice and purpose for granted. They noted that the founding generation had obviously spent considerable amounts of time contemplating their work, value and meaning to the larger society, but that newer people coming into the organization would not have that benefit unless it was intentionally pursued as a continuing part of Appalshop's activities (Appalshop Archive, Adams & Goldbard, 1980).

By the end of 1983, Appalshop was settled in its new building in Whitesburg, Kentucky, the same building the nonprofit uses today. By now, Appalshop staff had

distributed the organization's work to museums of modern art across the nation, to the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, and to the Janus Theater in Washington D.C. They had journeyed to Yale University, Temple University, and other locales to offer lectures and seminars about their work. Appalshop's efforts had also received reviews from national publications including, *Newsweek, The Washington Post, The New York Times,* and *The Village Voice,* among others (Appalshop Archive, Appalshop Brochure 1975, Box 13105 Old Proposals 1976).

Partnerships

Earlier in this chapter, I reviewed several of the national, international and regional trends that inspired Appalshop's founders to form a CCD organization offering different arts and media activities. Funding also played a role in shaping the institution's governance structure, at least from an external perspective. Partnerships tended to reinforce those initial understandings of how the organization would pursue its aims and those shared beliefs in turn shaped the institution's development and sustainability.

Locally, Appalshop worked with schools and other nonprofits in the region with similar missions that touched on community-capacity building. They benefited from the support of several religious organizations, including grants from the Catholic and Episcopal Churches and opportunities for Appalshop to use their public spaces free of charge:

> That church engagement is one that was important for a lot of organizations in the region because it was a place to meet when what you were talking about was not going to make it possible to use the courthouse or the school building. It was a way in which you could share your story with the outside world. It was also a way in which they were partners that sort of established that you had the moral high ground because if the ordained were standing with you, then maybe the unwashed might be the answer to everything (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

While working with the churches may have helped Appalshop gain popular acceptance, there were nonetheless those in the region who viewed the organization as part of the counterculture. These individuals interpreted some of the nonprofit's work as a rejection of the way of life in the region. Appalshop filmmaker, Herby Smith, provided an example during his interview:

> I remember there was a neighbor here in this little town of Whitesburg. I delivered a newspaper to this guy. And he was a friend in high school. And then after Appalshop started, we got interested in the traditional songs, traditional way of living. And this friend of mine took me aside and he said 'Herbie, what's going on?' And I said, 'Well, Mr. Morgan we're making films about chair makers and about people who've made a living here in these mountains.' He said, 'Why?' He said, 'We've got to get away from all that. All that old stuff is the problem, and why are you, this smart kid growing up here in this town, spending time with those people? You should be part of the modernization of the place, you know.' And, um, he was a friend of mine. You know we were pals, and I didn't know exactly how to describe it to him because I knew what he was saying. I'd heard enough about, you know, 'Go to college. Be a part of the mainstream economy.' And. And. It's also a time when the Vietnam War was going on and there was a lot of turmoil in the country. You know with Martin Luther King Junior getting assassinated and Robert Kennedy not long afterwards and so forth. So, it was a kind of a tumultuous time in the country and we felt like the most important thing we could do was like stay in these mountains and be a part of the remaking of the homeland. Rather than, like, joining the outmigration (Personal Interview, Herby Smith 12.18.2018).

One interview participant explained that while Appalshop staff wanted to be respected in the communities in which they worked, they did not necessarily care if they were liked. On the other hand, because most of Appalshop's founders were from the region, they had kinship ties across all strata of society. So even while they might be making a film that critiqued coal mining techniques, they would also have family working in the mines. As they saw matters, that was one reason to try to share the story from multiple perspectives.

Meanwhile, Appalshop was building relationships with peer arts and social justice organizations across the country. Appalshop Films partnered with the NEA to serve as the coordinating arm of the Southeast Media Fellowship Program. In this role, the organization "solicited proposals from pretty much the whole southeast and then a peer panel awarded grants to filmmakers" (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019). Through the state arts agencies, Appalshop staffers met their counterparts at many peer organizations, visiting their sites and inviting them to Whitesburg. As Marty Newell recalled in an interview for this study:

> Visiting artists meant a lot to folks who would come through and screen their work. We were one of the stops on the southern circuit that the South Carolina Arts Commission had [developed], in which documentary and dramatic filmmakers from the south would travel around and show their films. Some terrific work came through and folks who were working in a different kind of genre, could push us a bit on that (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

In the theater realm, Roadside co-founded Alternate ROOTS in 1976, an organization, as Dudley Cocke described it, "That was a regional collaboration of artists who were all grassroots-based, concerned about their local life, and concerned with their whole community. They were of, by, and for their community. That was the phrase, 'of, by and for' (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019). In these roles, Appalshop served as both a field leader and a partner, learning from other CCD groups.

Finally, both my review of materials in the Appalshop Archive and my interviews with its staff and leaders highlighted the influential role of scholars, particularly in the first period of Appalshop's existence. During those years, Appalshop's founders were in their twenties and some were still college age. They were present for the rise of Appalachian Studies as a field of research. Thus, as they began to tell their stories and

those of the region, that emerging academic and political lens was ever-present. Mimi Pickering described the time:

> [W]e started learning more about the history of the region and a broader perspective than we would have gotten in high school (and I would never have gotten where I grew up). But you know learning from Helen Lewis and her work in Appalachian Studies and really getting a sense of the coal industry's role in the region. You [came to] know something [better intellectually] that was [otherwise] kind of felt, but there really were a lot of academic works about it. And then, some of us went to the first meeting that turned out to become the Appalachian Studies Association in Berea, which was 1977 I think, something like that (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Interviewees noted that although formal enduring relationships with higher education institutions were not common, ties with individual scholars were very important. Several NEH grants, for instance, required that applicants show how they would inform and advise their work. But even without that agency's pressure to include scholars, many still visited and many more were actively sought out by Appalshop staff:

> Those were important scholars that weren't working, that had been part of our education, but were more public sector scholars. And they had huge influence on Appalshop. I believe that probably people don't realize now because they were teaching us what not to do, what would not be accepted by scholars. […] In my experience, the most important scholar to come to Appalshop, the most influential, was Archie Green. Archie was an eminent labor historian musicologist. He was at the Smithsonian as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and his advice was, 'you know, don't show up like a bunch of redneck drunks. Actually, take this seriously. And he was critical in getting the Hazel Dickens movie made. He was critical. He was part of the history team. He called himself a radical syndicalist (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

In describing one of the founders of Appalachian Studies, Helen Lewis, another Shop member said:

> There were generally individuals. That connection ... Not many institutional connections in my time, but there were connections with individuals, Helen Lewis at Clinch Valley College [now the University of Virginia at Wise] was pivotal.

> Getting to know Helen and her influence over the evolution of the film work just cannot be overstated…. No way to stress how much she meant and has meant and continues to mean to what anybody telling stories in this region ought to be paying attention to. She is pivotal (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

Several Appalshop members saw their partnerships with scholars as beneficial opportunities that could improve the quality of their work and hopefully help to connect the nonprofit to new artists and other academics over time as well. Colleges and universities were also a market for Appalshop films, June Appal recordings and Roadside Theater productions. One of the biggest supporters and customers of Appalshop films in the first two decades of the nonprofit's existence were university and college libraries both in and outside the region, particularly their media librarians. Appalshop films and Roadside staff visited campuses to present to Appalachian Studies, American History and other humanities classes. Their work informed young scholars and contributed to a growing scholarship addressing Appalachia generally and the arts of the region, more particularly.

Individual Actors and Skills

In thinking back to the key actors of the time, most interview participants could not think of any staffer who was *not* in some way influential to the organization. As one interviewee explained, "there are lots of those folks that we were giving credit to all along the way because it is not expensive to give credit. And so, I would be hard put not just to talk for the next 30 minutes and just rattle off names" (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019). With a horizontal structure and culture that encouraged individual agency and experimentation, most of those interviewed for this analysis claimed that everyone could in some ways influence the activities and trajectory of the organization during its early years. When describing this culture, one person from Appalshop's

founding generation attributed it to the Appalachian Film Workshop's first Director, Bill Richardson.

> One of the most important things that established a way of working in Appalshop was Bill Richardson. He hadn't had a lot of experiences as a film maker, but when he came in, he was really good about sharing the glory and letting... You know funders would come in and he would say, you know, 'This is our director of film production.' You know he would give people titles so these snot-nosed 20-year-olds would be given the praise and agency. They would be lifted up. And so that gave, even though we were a non-hierarchical organization, there was a sense of titles and responsibility and jobs that began to almost take over by default because people got these—were told, you know, said that they were these things. And so, it was a kind of organic way of growing into these roles (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Emphasizing the creative authority of art and media, as well as the experimentation innate in learning new technology, Bill Richardson allowed Appalachian Film Workshop participants and later Appalshop staff space to exercise their political agency.

As such, Appalshop personnel, including Elizabeth Barrett, Herby Smith, Marty Newell and Mimi Pickering enjoyed the freedom and responsibility to produce an array of differently focused films concerning the Appalachian region. Wendy Ewald could envision and execute an elementary school program in which students could take pictures of their lives and publish a book of those photographs called, *Portraits and Dreams* (1979). Don Baker and Dudley Cocke could form a theater troupe, and with the help of ensemble members, including Donna Porterfield, travel not only around Central Appalachia, but to other cities across the U.S. (including off Broadway) to share stories about Appalachian culture and history. These are examples of just a few people and activities that helped in its formative years to build the history and present-day institution of Appalshop.

According to most of those interviewed, part of what made these individuals flourish and effective in this organization was their passion, flexibility and willingness to learn by doing.

> I mean, I also think that that's the formula—it's actually taking kids and putting them in a position of responsibility and not telling them they're doing everything wrong but letting them figure it out even when they are screwing up. And some of those screw ups are very costly now, very hard to do. You knew you could lose it all in a way then and you wouldn't… The stakes weren't quite as high as they are in a situation—you know—probably now (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Indeed, most of those interviewed, even those who were active only in later periods of Appalshop's evolution, described the flexibility and openness necessary for the small CCD organization to sustain itself in rural Appalachia,

> At my time, I would want them ... no matter where the accident of their birth had happened, that they come to Appalshop with a respect for the region and the points of view that are going to be within that region, even those that are somewhat repugnant, but to come willing to take that, warts and all, and to withhold judgment, but also to be willing to pitch in on whatever level you wanted to be engaged with Appalshop, but not to have a preconceived notion of this is the role I have to play, this is what I have to do, but [instead], let me figure out how to work into this. That flexibility, adaptability [was necessary], because I don't recall times in which there were very many hard and fast job descriptions that worked (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

None interviewed claimed that the way Appalshop approached its mission, or particularly the challenges it faced, constituted *best practices*. In fact, during the first few decades of Appalshop, several interlocutors suggested that the organization was a financial mess. According to one Appalshop staff member,

> somebody came in 1981 and said it's like we had an extra $30-40 thousand dollars of cash on hand because we paid our bills so slowly. That was a part of, you know, a cushion we kept there. We did a lot of things like that. You know you couldn't do that now, but we found some advantages in the system that kept us going (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Appalshop members were willing to take risks and make mistakes with an eye toward success.

Understanding the importance of national presence and personal connections also helped individuals and the larger organization gain an international reputation and standing that is still strong today. In Appalshop's very early years, for instance, Herby Smith interned at the NEA to gain better insight into how federal funding worked. NEA staff visited Appalshop in Whitesburg several times during this period to witness the organization's work first-hand. A 1976 letter to Appalshop from an NEA staff member who had recently visited Whitesburg said, "My visit to Appalshop fulfilled a dream I've had for several years. [...] You have supporters all over" (78 Film Workshops, Box 021003, p. 26). Jack Wright, founder of the organization's June Appal Records, also developed a strong relationship with NEA staff members. One interviewee described Wright as:

> […] a strange cat. He was always so friendly. People loved him. No matter what he did in the world people always forgave him. And so, he created a bunch of relationships, but the one that was pretty important was with the Expansion Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

The Expansion Arts Program provided several large grants to Appalshop's Roadside Theater, June Appal and other projects until 1996 when the NEA restructured and eliminated the program. Herby Smith and others visited the Ford Foundation and kept up correspondence with that philanthropy's program officers to keep an eye on their funding trends and possible future grant opportunities. Indeed, those relationships served as steppingstones for future funding. Ford, for instance, funded several Appalshop projects during the ensuing years.

Those ties were more than transactional—funder and fund recipient exchanging or receiving money. Actors at Appalshop's staff viewed partnerships with peer organizations, scholars, and others as opportunities mutually to learn, grow and possibly collaborate in the future. In the case of completing the Appalshop building, for example, they went to the Kentucky governor for help for fear of alienating state and national funders. Marty Newell explained:

> If in 1982, the building project had gone kerplunk and we had alienated all of those funders and of course, the word would have been out in the community, in the funding community that we couldn't deliver, that's it. […] I mean, the money wasn't coming from within Kentucky, but you know, there's some ARC money in it, and the state had to sign off on that. There's Economic Development Administration money, and the state signed off on that, and helped with it. So, we had allies in state government who ended up then helping us bring pressure to bear on the insurance company, which needed a license to operate within the state. And the state of Kentucky issued that license. And so, we ended up playing hardball with them [the insurance company] and they decided that, you know, whatever it was, a couple of hundred thousand dollars, that that was a better deal than packing up their tent [in the entire state] (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

In another example, several Appalshop staff reached out to Al Smith who had just become federal co-chair of the Appalachian Regional Commission. They had known Smith through the Kentucky Arts Council and therefore invited him to Whitesburg to learn more about Appalshop. His visit was an effort to open a line of communication about future possibilities for Appalshop and the ARC to collaborate and help further each other's missions.

Institutional Logics

As illustrated above, the institutional logic undergirding Appalshop's development and activities during its first fourteen years was informed by the changing culture of the time and reinforced by individuals working within the organization as well

as external partners, who valued those norms. While there was very little in the way of regulative logics, save fulfilling funding obligations and some external pressure to create a hierarchical reporting and management structure, the normative and cultural-cognitive logics of the time drove the lion's share of Appalshop's structuration.

One of the most dominant normative logics of that arts nonprofit and its members during this formative phase was the understanding that the Appalachian region and its population were more than the stereotypes too often adopted by national media. Those who participated in the Appalachian Film Workshop and those who helped to establish Appalshop acknowledged and wanted to highlight the variety of voices in the region. They wanted to explore and make known the complexity of the Appalachian lived experience. Describing this value, Herby Smith said, "We had this idea that we had a role to play in correcting the [nation's] images of Appalachia. Mountain people: who are we, what we're about?" (Personal Interview, Herby Smith 12.18.2018). Another founding member of Appalshop and Roadside Theater elaborated on this idea:

> We had a responsibility to our families, to our communities to say, 'Our stories are important. Our lives are important. We're as smart as anybody in this country. We just don't happen to have the resources some other places have.' I think people at Appalshop always understood that. We were united in that. That's why we were working together—we saw something bigger or more important than the obstacles in the road (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

With the postmodern arts culture of the time and the presence and successes of different democratic movements, the individuals comprising Appalshop felt empowered to create space for those in Appalachia to be authors of their own identities and to seek to refute national stereotypes. There was a hope and optimism that they could contest these national narratives successfully both within and outside the region.

In some cases, this value became even more countercultural or aggressive, particularly when incorporating social justice perspectives. In a proposal to the Appalachian People's Service Organization, the youth funding arm of the Episcopal Diocese in Eastern Kentucky and Southwest Virginia, Appalshop staff requested funding to support production of a documentary film concerning the 1976 Scotia Mine explosion. The film's screenwriter described the major objective of the effort this way:

> Our people need to wake up and stop being used like pieces of a chess game. They deserve better than that. We are tired of being slaves to the coal companies, and having ourselves placed second, with coal ranking first above the people themselves. Maybe through our film the Appalachian people will realize their own worth as human beings, and begin to demand the respect which is due them as human beings (Appalshop Archive, Proposal to the Appalachian People's Service Organization for the Scotia Mine Explosion Film 1977, 1969-73 Box 021010).

The film was funded and is now in the Appalshop Archive.

The counterculture narrative within the organization also played a distinct role within Appalshop and in shaping its staff members' identities. In some respects, the entity's evolving understanding of itself was formed out of the drive for alternatives, to blaze new paths or narratives contrary to already existing ones. As such, Appalshop's emerging core narrative critiqued national stereotypes about the region and their embrace of the purported "backwardness" or otherness of Appalachian culture and its history. The arts organization's stance likewise constituted a refusal to align with the coal companies and the existing and accepted moral and social hierarchies of the region.

That rejection bespoke a continuing unwillingness to accept identity formation within a dichotomous, black-and-white, framework. Yet, rebuffing others claims and narratives, carried with it the risk of not acknowledging even the small nuggets of reality

that might exist within them. Thus, denying national media portrayals of Appalachian families with dirty kids playing outside amidst trash strewn properties could translate into a refusal to accept the state of poverty in the region. Similarly, a desire not to align oneself with coal corporations and the traditional power brokers of the region could be perceived as a rejection of all those associated with that social structure. And rebuffing the area's social system also carried the risk of appearing to reject the people residing within it or a complete "othering" of that social system *and* its people.

Yet, unlike many counterculture groups, including some in the CCD field, Appalshop staff members saw their role as being part of and "with" their region. As they saw matters, they were not only dedicated *to* their place, but they were also *of* their place (whether that was a native or adopted identity). Consequently, they could not be so countercultural that they rejected those from the region.

> Well, you know I give a lot of credit to Bill Richardson and the way he started things. With the first group of filmmakers, sort of kids hanging around Appalshop, he just asked them what stories they wanted to tell and what interested them around the region or whatever. And so, they came up with those and kind of did them. And they were pretty simple, kind of portraits some of them. But really great films like Ben Zickafoose who as a college student, did the film *Coal Miner: Frank Jackson,* which was filmed at a place where I think his dad or his uncle worked. And he got college credit for that. But there was an early criticism by some at the *Mountain Eagle* [regional newspaper] and some folks at the Highlander School [peer institution] like, 'why isn't Appalshop doing a film about strip mining? You know, we need films about fighting strip mining.' And I think Bill was really good and smart because he was like 'that's not where these kids are coming from. You know that's not what... That's not what the story is they want to tell at this point. And they should be able to express themselves and their story' (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Kinship ties played a very key role in helping staffers address this tension. While not all Appalshop staff were born and raised in the region, many were. Roadside Artistic Director, Dudley Cocke explained:

> Don, being from here, and so many of the people at Appalshop being from here, there was a natural respect for the people here: a respect for their neighbors, their kin, all the people here. People were oriented that way, whether they were making a play or making a film or making a music recording. It was really a celebration, if you will, of local life (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

Marty Newell provided an example of the tension between the incumbent actors (mainstream culture, coal companies, and others with power in the region) and their challengers (those from the counterculture):

> In one of the strip-mining films, there was a guy ... he was the Director of the Kentucky Department of Natural Resources, which oversaw strip mining enforcement at that time. He said, 'You know, the coal industry's attitude is either you're 100% for us or you're 100% against us and no gray.' And I think that we [Appalshop] pretty much always saw gray. And that could put you on the outs with both the ends of the spectrum but, you know, being able to see gray meant that we could talk to everybody. That's how we got into some places because Herby could say, 'Yeah, my dad's a foreman at Southeast Coal,' or I could say, 'Yeah, my dad works for Bill Blair over on Breeding's Creek.' It was a, 'Well, you can't be 100% against us because we've got the right kinship connections' (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

Being from the area but applying a CCD lens, Appalshop's staff were able to be both part of and apart from their culture and communities. While they often played the part of challenger, their kinship ties and empathy toward native residents, or at least those that accepted prevailing politics, norms and values, often set them in the middle of the spectrum. Perhaps necessarily, this approach occasionally left them at odds with others situated at the two extremes.

This dedication to place and community also entailed the development of narratives about how the region was connected to the larger country and world. First, this was a narrative about identity—what defined Appalachians relative to other American regions? Paradoxically, this framing could lend itself to stereotypes and *othering* identities. Second, how was the region connected economically and culturally to the rest of the country? While Appalshop explored the history of its home area, its staff also tended to emphasize the region's inextricable economic and social connections to other parts of the U.S. Herby Smith referred to the connectedness that the arts nonprofit's staff saw between Appalachia and the rest of the nation and world. For example, he observed that when talking to Ford Foundation representatives, Appalshop's staffers had explained how the region's coal mines supported the car industry in the Midwest. As he put this point, "In other words, not only were we a part of the tragedy of American economic forces, we were also a part of what was functioning in the country" (Personal Interview, Herby Smith 12.18.2018).

Finally, as already illustrated in the archival quotations from Bill Richardson and in the descriptions offered by several other Appalshop professionals, the nonprofit also emphasized the role of individuals as authors and creators. As such, the organization had embraced and institutionalized a cultural-cognitive logic that celebrated creative, entrepreneurial individuals open to experimentation and learning by doing. Part of this was reinforced by the framing of the original Workshop's work. The Workshop had provided its students some of the newest media technology for their use as they learned how to make films through trial and error. Similarly, as already noted, the development and institutionalization of the organization depended a lot on its leaders and staff learning

by doing. Individual staff members took on different roles in the organization where and when needed. Appalshop's early narrative emphasized empowerment, agency, and responsibility. One additional aspect of this cultural-cognitive logic arose from Appalshop's celebration of its home region's stories—a sense that those undertaking this work were pioneers whose (necessary) ingenuity and independence mirrored those once found on the nation's frontier.

Even in a proposal to the Ford Foundation in 1976 aimed at obtaining money to build the organization's Core [administrative] marketing capacity, much of the funding requested was to be directed toward building the individual capacity of filmmakers and those engaged in other projects to market their work themselves. The proposal described the importance of personal connections to successful marketing.

> Another resource available at many levels are the filmmakers. Being 'local people' and experts on the subjects of their films, they are uniquely able to help design fliers, study guides, posters and [to] help evaluate the educational approach for use of their films. The filmmakers should expand the program of personally showing the films and conducting workshops. This personal approach gets the greatest involvement from audiences and easily leads discussion into the mainline concepts of the films; awareness of Appalachian culture and its struggle for survival (Appalshop Archive, Ford Foundation Proposal 1976, Box 13105 Old Proposals 1976).

Thus, early on in the institution's evolution, Appalshop members saw the importance of providing space to individuals to exercise their personal agency and to pursue their work in different capacities. But this component also entailed valuing and providing opportunities for individuals to engage with partners to develop relationships with audiences, communities, other organizations, funding agencies, and more. This notion of connectivity with those in the region, nation and beyond was a deliberate emphasis that became engrained in the nonprofit's mode of operating and cultural-cognitive logic.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter has shown how Appalshop was formed as an institution in the CCD field during its first 14 years of existence. It is evident that the nonprofit operated in a variety of fields as it sought to establish itself, all of which influenced and enabled its work in one way or another. For instance, the social trope associated with advancements in technology, one manifestation of the ubiquitous modernity narrative that sees science and technology as the answer to the world's problems and source of humankind's development, existed and still exists in several different fields in which Appalshop engages. Technological advancements have connected Appalachia in new ways with the rest of the country, bringing some "development," but also hazardous results such as normalized, derogatory stereotypes about Appalachians as well as life-threatening, environmental degradation through new coal-mining machinery. In contradistinction, however, advancements in technology also have provided Applashop's staff ways and means by which to contest stereotypical narratives and highlight the employment and ecological effects of the coal industry's new and especially destructive mining methods.

The national political field of the 1940s and 1950s, including narratives of the 'American Dream' and the advent of the Cold War, generated popular skepticism concerning the status of democracy in the United States, paving the way for the social movements of the era. Many of those I interviewed indicated the Civil Rights Movement and other countercultural movements had served as key influences in their choice to work at Appalshop and in the character of the work subsequently produced there. The national arts field of the 1960s and 1970s reflected democratic ideologies of the time that were

themselves nested within the modern and postmodern art movements. As described earlier, the national arts field made space for CCD organizations to grow and thrive in the U.S. during this period. Through the NEA, NEH and War on Poverty and later, CETA initiatives, the federal government offered a largely sympathetic institutional governing structure to support the field's growth. This process was eased further by the emerging fact that more people than ever from all socio-economic backgrounds now had the time and resources following World War II to visit museums, see performances, and to participate in other arts activities. Moreover, the growing respect for arts produced at the grassroots level during this period lent itself to the development of the CCD field and organizations such as Appalshop.

The enabling context and fields proximate to the Kentucky nonprofit created space for the exercise of political agency by its staffers and by the organization as a whole. The enabling power of federal government programming and of counterculture movements fostered opportunities for those at the Appalachian Film Workshop to imagine alternatives to the dominant regional narratives about what they should do with their lives beyond the accepted courses available —coal mines locally or white collar, college-educated workforce members, if one relocated. In short. the actors within Appalshop adopted and contested portions of certain narratives to form the organization known today. The decisions made by key Appalshop actors, such as Bill Richardson, early on also created a precedent that suggested to its staff that it was okay to adopt and contest institutional logics from proximate fields.

By at least partly embracing a countercultural frame and challenging dominant narratives, Appalshop staff deliberately sought to pursue a balancing act—being at once

challengers to the many difficult realities of Appalachia, including its continuing poverty, while nonetheless retaining social legitimacy by acknowledging that those realities necessarily touched and shaped the lives of all those residing in the region. Appalshop's staff saw itself as attempting to lift up the region's history and culture in opposition to mainstream narratives and technological trends without at the same time idealizing that history and culture. This abiding tension shaped the nonprofit's early work and also continued to challenge its actors and those with whom they worked for many decades thereafter.

Finally, the shared desire of the CCD entity's initial employees to amplify the voices of native Appalachians and to showcase the different aspects of life in the mountains—beautiful, complicated and ugly alike—created a foundation for the institutional logic of the organization. Appalshop's founding narrative highlighted a need for an institutional structure that encouraged individual agency. The organization's staff made an effort to "practice what they preached" by developing a governance structure that allowed for all voices involved in its initiatives to be heard. Although this cooperative model did not align with what funders and other partners expected from the nonprofit, that structure did enable individuals within the organization to pursue their creative impulses. Appalshop's staff embraced openness, flexibility and experimentation during these years, which allowed for the development of projects outside its original film/media beginnings. These choices and the skillsets required to enact them helped to creating a thriving institution.

Chapter 5

Institutional Growth (1984-2000)

The 1980s and 1990s at Appalshop were marked by a considerable expansion in the organization's activities, staff, and annual revenue. According to a 1997 proposal to the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, Appalshop's staff had more than doubled and its annual budget had increased by as much as 400 percent since it had moved into its new building in 1983 (Appalshop Archive, Box 13595 13627 96-97 1 of 2). Appalshop's film education effort, grounded in its original mission to train youth, officially became a project, the Appalachian Media Institute. In addition, Appalshop increased its efforts to reach audiences within and beyond the region. With new projects such as *Seedtime on the Cumberland* and the *American Festival Project*, Appalshop sought vigorously to encourage cultural exchange regionally, nationally and internationally. The formation of WMMT-FM community radio provided a new vehicle through which to tell stories about the region and connect with new, local audiences. In the late 1980s, Appalshop obtained several NEA Challenge Grants to raise money for a Production and Education Endowment, which allowed those within the organization access to seed funding for new project development. This chapter offers a summary of the changing national and regional environment of the time, and how its interplay with Appalshop affected the organization and the CCD field more generally.

Environmental Context

The War on Poverty and other Appalachian development programs in the 1960s and 1970s had helped some communities in the region. The Appalachian Development Highway System, funded through the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC),

provided unprecedented access to the area. This new infrastructure allowed residents easier and less time-consuming routes to large national store chains, healthcare, education and employment opportunities. Other than manufacturing, most of the job growth during this period in Appalachia occurred in retail, healthcare and education, primarily located in a few locations. However, this development also left many towns not on the new highway system grappling with empty local store fronts and declining numbers of residents. A 1994 study by the University of Kentucky Appalachian Center, for example, documented how Eastern Kentucky had fallen behind the rest of that commonwealth in the 1980s, particularly in the most rural pockets of that mountainous region:

> […] twenty-nine of the thirty poorest counties in Kentucky were in eastern Kentucky, and thirty-eight of the forty-nine ARC counties in the commonwealth were officially listed as distressed. Between 1980 and 1990, per capita income in Appalachian Kentucky declined from 67 to 60 percent of the national average, and almost one in three citizens of the region lived below the nationally established poverty level (Eller, 2008, pp. 213-214).

This reality was also pronounced in Appalshop's home in eastern Kentucky, Letcher County and its surrounding area. While the difference in poverty rates between the Appalshop region and U.S. fell from 24.5 to 9.9 percentage points between 1970 and 1980, that disparity grew once more to 15.5 percentage points by 1990 and remained at 13.8 percentage points in 2000. Overall, poverty levels in the region since 1980 have cycled between 22 and 29 percent, always at least ten percentage points higher than the national poverty rate (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970-2017).

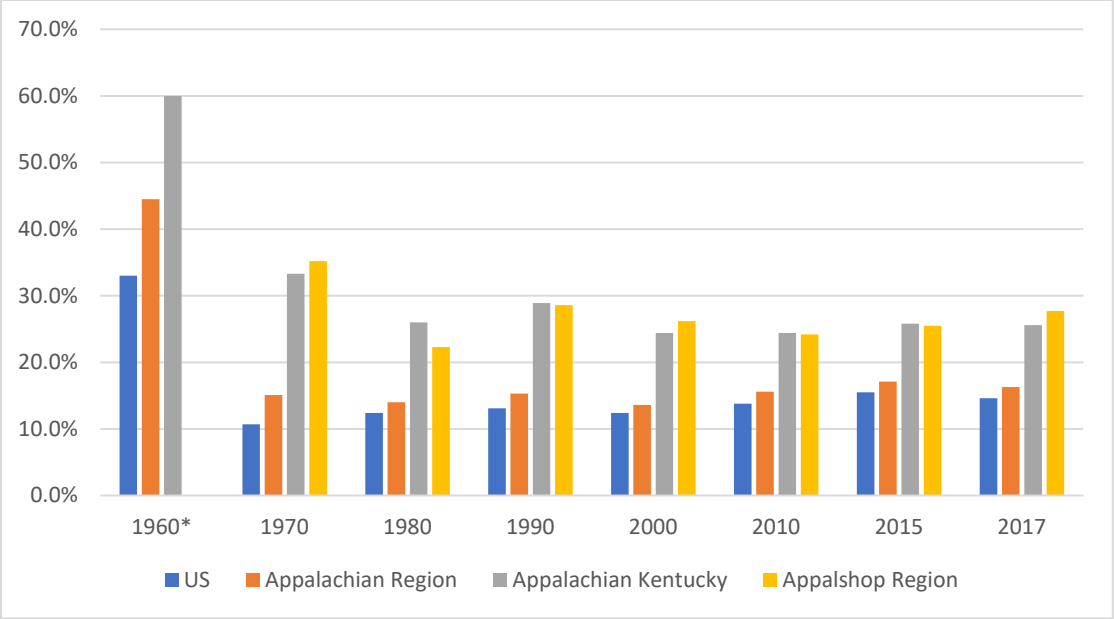


Figure 12. 1960-2017 Poverty rate (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970-2017; *Ziliak, 2012)

Part of these changes in the poverty rate of the Appalshop region may have been due to national economic trends coupled with shifting approaches to development. Stagflation in the 1970s and the seeming failure of Keynesian approaches to economic stability created space for those with a neoliberal perspective on governance to begin to take power. Harvey (2005) describes this change:

> What all of these various state forms had in common was an acceptance that the state should focus on full employment, economic growth, and the welfare of its citizens, and that state power should be freely deployed, alongside of or, if necessary, intervening in or even substituting for market processes to achieve these ends. Fiscal and monetary policies usually dubbed 'Keynesian' were widely deployed to dampen business cycles and to ensure reasonably full employment. A 'class compromise' between capital and labour was generally advocated as the key guarantor of domestic peace and tranquility […] This form of political-economic organization is now usually referred to as 'embedded liberalism' to signal how market processes and entrepreneurial and corporate activities were surrounded by a web of social and political constraints and a regulatory environment that sometimes restrained, but in other instances, led the way in economic and industrial strategy […] The neoliberal project is to disembed capital from these constraints (pp. 10-11).

Paul Volcker, for instance, became head of the U.S. Federal reserve in 1979, dramatically changing monetary policy in the United States in favor of the neoliberal view (Harvey, 2005).

The 1980s began with a double-dip recession in 1980 and 1982. This difficult period was followed by lackluster economic growth and hyperinflation (Lawrence, 2018). By 1983, President Reagan had implemented budget cuts in federal job training, food stamp, and technical assistance programs. As part of a shifting GOP ideology to reduce government "dependence," a manifestation of neoliberal ideology, the congressional House Appropriations Committee cut the ARC's budget by more than 50 percent and mandated that the agency contribute no more than 50 percent of the cost of any one project. Indeed, many conservative politicians argued that the War on Poverty had failed to reach its goal. They noted that many communities, including many in Appalachia (as well as elsewhere in the U.S.), still had people living in poverty. Accordingly, they contended, these initiatives should be eliminated. This argument hit Appalachia particularly hard. As Elizabeth Catte (2018) has observed:

> The nation began to see [Appalachian residents] as individuals who had absorbed an unprecedented amount of federal aid and done nothing with it except continue to be poor. Hillbillies had wasted taxpayer money, a cardinal sin that placed them in the ranks of the undeserving poor, an often racialized category that nevertheless has always welcomed white individuals thought to be, as Caudill once said, the 'dregs' of society (p. 84).

As such, many of the budgets for programs founded during the Great Society era, such as the ARC, were reduced or eliminated. As for the ARC, with its capacity cut so dramatically, that agency focused on completing the region's planned highway system and encouraging infrastructure projects in the region's most impoverished

communities—principally those in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia (Eller, 2008).

The 1990s began with another recession and the first Gulf War. Although the mid-to-late-1990s saw significant economic growth, the national narrative had an underlying sense "that the very best times […] might have passed" (Lawrence, 2018). This sense of loss was certainly felt by many in Appalachia and in the CCD field. Meanwhile, many public organizations, including the ARC, influenced by the now prevailing neoliberal view of governance, developed programming to encourage local entrepreneurship, job training, and development of high-tech industry clusters in Appalachia. Private foundations such as the Ford Foundation, helped with these initiatives, which ironically followed similar institutional logics promoted during the supposed failed War on Poverty—individual capacity building so that individuals could lift themselves out of poverty—however, these newer programs were funded by "partnerships" and were aimed at self-sufficiency so as to eliminate any public need for support and as soon as possible. They also did not address any challenges in traditional social structures or development patterns (Eller, 2008).

A major contributing factor to the increasing economic disparity between Appalachia and the nation during these years was the changing coal industry in the region. Continued mechanization, growing use of natural gas and other energy forms, the passage of the federal Clean Air Act in 1970, and growing demand for surface-mined coal (often mountain-top removal mining) and less metallurgical coal, which had long been used in the steel industry, affected Appalachian mine jobs. Between 1982 and 1996, eastern Kentucky saw its mining jobs decline from 35,000 to 15,000 (Eller, 2008, p. 225).

Meanwhile, like other U.S. industries, the energy industry experienced a number of corporate consolidations. Larger coal corporations enjoyed a competitive advantage with their ability to adopt new technologies. Smaller coal companies were either unable or unwilling to purchase the new machinery and were eventually bought out or closed as a result. Many of the larger coal corporations were also nonunion. Bell (2016) has described how the entry of larger nonunion corporations into southern West Virginia's communities in the early 1980s contributed to lower levels of trust in those towns and counties as layoffs and reductions in pay and benefits affected residents' way of life.

By the 1990s, these large corporations found a loophole in the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977 that allowed them to sidestep the restoration of land requirement contained in that statute by claiming their techniques were creating more flat, developable land, which many perceived as better for land re-use (Bell, 2016; Eller, 2008). The coal industry now turned vigorously to mountain top removal as a means of accessing the now in-demand forms of coal more easily than could occur with deep wall mining and justified its choice as resulting in level land for future economic development. Meanwhile, both the Reagan and Clinton administrations cut the budget of the federal Office of Surface Mining, the organization charged with enforcing the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act and ensuring that coal companies were exercising due diligence with respect to community protection. By 2000, the Office's inspection and enforcement staff had been reduced by one-third from its early 1980s level (Eller, 2008, p. 252). A 2005 impact study by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency estimated that mountain top removal activities and reduced oversight between 1985 and 2001 had resulted in 724 miles of buried streams in Appalachia (Bell, 2016).

During this time, local and regional governments were also turning to neoliberal economic development strategies to help the region "catch up." They formed economic development commissions, took advantage of the leveled land to construct industrial pad sites and offered tax incentives and low-wage workers in efforts to attract manufacturing branch plants to the region. By the 1990s, almost every county in Central Appalachia had an industrial park. In 1994, the Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation (KHIC), a nonprofit created during the War on Poverty, received $40 million from the Clinton Administration rural empowerment zone (EZ) program to create jobs in poor communities. The money went to infrastructure, downtown improvements, job training and a venture capital fund for loans to industry. KHIC claimed the EZ program brought major economic benefits to the region, but critics noted that most of the jobs created were low-wage, dangerous, and/or went to migrant workers (Eller, 2008, pp. 228-232). By the end of the century, most of the manufacturing plants that had come to the region in the 1980s and 1990s left for other countries with cheaper labor. Moreover, a declining population and absentee land ownership had lowered tax revenues and therefore contributed to the ongoing decline of publicly provided infrastructure and services in many communities and these trends together with more attractive labor costs elsewhere persuaded new industries not to locate in the region (Eller, 2008).

The physical hardships of the manufacturing and coal industries, the effects of environmental degradation and pervasive unemployment in Appalachia also contributed to falling morale among residents. With increased access to prescription drugs, specifically narcotics, including Oxycontin (released in 1996) and Vicodin (released in the U.S. in 2013), resulting both from a willingness among some professional providers

to prescribe them for a variety of ailments and to a vigorous black market, Appalachia experienced a growing drug addiction epidemic. Many older residents, for instance, suffered from chronic pain from their prior employment and a variety of diseases, owing to difficulties in accessing health care and relative poverty, and many of their doctors liberally prescribed them pain killers. Many young people in the region lacked hope for their personal futures and for those of their communities as well. Consequently, many turned to illegal prescription drugs to escape (Eller, 2008, p. 242).

These struggles shed light on different narratives of development for the region. On one end of the spectrum were advocates for industrialization, searching for progress through stronger connections with mainstream society and national markets. The growth of neoliberalism across the globe reinforced such normative and cultural-cognitive logics underpinned by a belief in the preeminence of free-market capitalism. On the other end of the spectrum were those who "sought to sustain a more communal way of life that valued stability, security, and independence" (Eller, 2008, p. 243). While several in this group may have sympathized with Marxist ideology and/or supported the role of the federal government intervening strongly in the region's economy, the true differentiator was a belief that local communities could reject national commodities and modernization and embrace a different lifestyle found in their own culture, history, and community strengths. Eller (2008) has described these struggles and their ties to the region's cultural heritage:

> Mountain people had always felt a sense of separateness from mainstream society that reinforced their passion for freedom and independence. This pride in things local and familiar was more than just a defense reaction to outside stereotypes, for it fueled a cooperative community spirit that allowed families to survive during hard times. It also provided a pretext, though, to resist change, and eventually it was utilized by mountain elites to maintain long established political dynasties

> […] The good old boys who still dominated much of Appalachian economic, cultural, and political life at the end of the twentieth century disdained criticism, innovation, and wider participation in civic life just as much as those who had controlled the political system on behalf of outside corporate interests decades earlier. They continued to use patronage, fear, and prejudice to maintain privilege and power in their modern little kingdoms (pp. 244-245).

Thus, this desire to embrace a different identity and lifestyle different than the prevailing forms of development was coopted by those seeking power and otherwise pressing for neoliberal goals. For example, these leaders embraced certain forms of tourism—e.g. ecotourism and heritage tourism—and argued they would benefit the area by leveraging the regional culture and environment for the betterment of the economy. Those embracing asset-based development in the community economic development field also sought to commodify regional culture, heritage and resources as ways of reaching a neoliberal vision of successful development.

The growth in educational attainment and democratic narratives in the 1960s and 1970s, however, had encouraged a new generation of cultural and political leaders who were more willing to challenge the existing political-economic structure. They pushed for improvements related to the environment (pollution abatement and clean-up), health care (improved access and quality) and cultural heritage (a celebration of the traditional music and arts of the region). Carroll Smith, for example, a former coal miner in Letcher County, entered politics and helped to develop door-to-door recycling in that jurisdiction (Eller, 2008). The 1990s also brought programs aimed at increasing democratic participation among women, youth and minorities. For its part, the ARC also added civic capacity to its list of regional goals (Eller, 2008).

In 1999, President Clinton visited the Appalachian region, specifically Hazard, Kentucky, located just 32 miles and one county away from Appalshop's home. He described the need for more government support and industry growth in the region:

> 'If we, with the most prosperous economy of our lifetimes, cannot make a commitment to improve the economy of poor areas,' he said before departing for Lexington, 'we will have failed to meet a moral obligation, and we also will have failed to make the most of America's promise.' People in the crowd were enthusiastic and polite as they 'sat on the hot streets of Hazard […] drinking bottled water and wearing Old Navy,' but most had heard these promises before. The town, of course, had changed—it now boasted a new regional hospital, a fine community college, a Wal-Mart shopping center, dozens of retail outlets, and even several modern housing developments (Eller, 2008, p. 220).

The President's speech reflected the tension between dominant development narratives, or institutional logics, of the time and today. These include differing perspectives on the role of government and the private sector in community development, economic growth versus broader conceptions of development, and what to do, if anything, to address deep and growing economic disparities between the residents of rural and urban communities.

The Rise of Neoliberalism and Challenges to the Nascent Community Cultural Development Field

The 1980s and 1990s were decades of growth for many in the arts field, but they were also a time of growing contention and uncertainty about the role of government vis-à-vis the arts. Public support, democratic movements and other trends of the 1960s and 1970s had fostered a community cultural development field that continued to grow in these two decades. A coordinated arts funding effort comprised of government agencies, foundations and corporations continued to support different arts endeavors from the visual arts and architecture to folk arts and cultural awareness (Lawrence, 2018). Trends in the arts world included:

- From 1982 to 1992, the attendance rate at art museums and galleries rose almost five percentage points.
- Audiences for opera, classical music, and jazz on radio increased by 49 percent, 60 percent, and 71 percent, respectively.
- Most attendees and participants in the arts were aging, i.e. “graying of the arts”
- In 1990, local arts councils numbered around 3,000, with 600 employing full-time staff.
- Performing arts attendance from 1965 to 1988 rose from nine to 24 million for symphony orchestra concerts, three to 18 million for opera, and one to 15 million for nonprofit professional theater
- Private sector giving for the arts, humanities, and culture grew from $44 million in 1965 to $7.5 billion in 1989. Foundation support for the arts grew by 33% in the 1980s and 115% in the 1990s. Private contributions to arts organizations grew by 9% in the 1980s and 93% in the 1990s. These rates of giving did not necessarily keep pace with increases in corporate earnings and overall increases in giving. For instance, all foundation giving in the 1980s increased by 44% compared to a 33% rise for the arts.
- Foundation funding in the 1980s and 1990s tended to focus on the performing arts and museums. For instance, roughly two-thirds of foundation funding in the 1980s went to these two types of arts organizations (Bauerlein, 2008, pp. 101-102; Lawrence, 2018).

Frank Hodsoll, Chair of the NEA under President Reagan, commented on the changing dynamics of certain arts disciplines in 1982. For example, he noted the rising cost of the arts. Large business conglomerates at the time were acquiring film companies and publishing houses, making independent films and publications more difficult to produce and bring to audiences. Although there was growth in museum attendance and especially in popular support for blockbuster exhibits at museums, many arts organizations were producing fewer independent or adventurous performance and art pieces (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 78).

By the 1980s and 1990s, cohorts of artists and cultural workers were discussing their work, although still not using “community cultural development” terminology or anything similar to describe their efforts. Nevertheless, they joined together across

communities and countries, and began to publish material about their work. In his book, *Art and Upheaval,* William Cleveland documented the cultural and artistic works of six different communities across the world that reflected lively creativity during this time and into the 2000s. Each case—Belfast, Northern Ireland, Cambodia, South Africa, Watts USA, Australia, and Serbia—demonstrated a diverse, robust grouping of community members' and their refusal to succumb to adversity in their determined efforts to tell their stories (Cleveland, 2008).

Associations of artists and cultural workers were also celebrating growth and successes. For example, the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF) successfully lobbied for the creation of the Independent Television Service (ITVS) in 1988, which became part of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and thereafter funded shows appearing on PBS such as *Point of View, Frontline* and *American Masters*. The Executive Director of AIVF from 1980 to 1991 explained:

> We started to get some traction, which was remarkable because we were in the thick of the Reagan cutbacks. We were able to position ourselves not as liberal producers who needed money, but as an alternative to a public TV landscape that was increasingly seen as elitist. We represented something more diverse and locally driven (Angell, 2006).

Culture War

During the 1980s and into the 1990s, the NEA and NEH (and subsequently those individuals and entities those federal agencies funded) suffered from growing criticism from politicians, artists and especially from conservatives. For instance, a 1979 editorial in the *Washington Post* commented:

> The charge that a 'closed circle' of acquaintanceship runs the [Arts] Endowment through overlapping appointments to panels and committees is a serious one, and one both the Arts and Humanities [Endowments] have been guilty of for a long time. Besides the obvious wrong of creating situations where friends make grants

> to friends, or friends of friends, there is also the patently unhealthy set-up in which stale ideas recycle like so much dead air (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 81).

In 1984, Mario Biaggi (D-NY) and others, including the then-associate U.S. attorney of New York, Rudolph Giuliani, complained that the Metropolitan Opera in New York had received money from the NEA to do a rendition of Verdi's *Rigoletto* staged in New York's Little Italy, which they argued was demeaning to Italian-Americans. House Representative Tom DeLay (R-TX) and Representative Leader Dick Armey (R-TX), both leaders of the Republican Revolution in the 1990s and consequently House Majority Leaders, argued that the NEA's funding of two poets, whose works they described as "pornography," meant that the agency had violated its mandate. These critics blamed NEA awards panelists, saying that how the organization's panels were constructed, with review of proposals by peer artists, was tantamount to cronyism (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 79). Meanwhile, the construction of Richard Serra's contentious *Tilted Arc* at the Federal Plaza in Manhattan prompted a still more vigorous conversations about the role of the arts in society.

By 1989, what is now known as the Culture War was underway in earnest, with political uproar about two artists, in particular, who were indirectly supported by the NEA, Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe. Both had works of art in different traveling exhibits that were partially financed by the NEA. Serrano's *Piss Christ* with a crucifix floating in yellow liquid and Mapplethorpe's photographs of people in sexual positions exacerbated the already present political outcries from the GOP and conservatives concerning the questions of what constituted art and what the government should finance. In response to these complaints, the then deputy chairman of the NEA, Hugh Southern, attempted to clarify that the Endowment had not directly funded either of

these artists, but instead had supported only the organizations that had coordinated the exhibits. He contended that the NEA supported the right of grantee organizations to "select, on artistic criteria, their artist-recipients and present their work, even though sometimes the work may be deemed controversial and offensive to some individuals" (Bauerlein, 2008 citing Hugh Southern on April 25, 1989, p. 91).

In reaction to the two controversies, the Senate Appropriation Committee shifted $400,000 from the endowment's Visual Arts program to its Folk Arts and Expansion Arts programs, an action which benefited Appalshop and its peers in the early 1990s. With this funding, the NEA expanded its definition of underserved communities to include rural areas, in an effort to develop the artistic and administrative capacities of rural arts organizations. The Senate Appropriations Committee also put a five-year NEA funding ban on the two organizations that had coordinated the two explosive exhibits from receiving NEA funding for five years (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 94).

Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) also added a controversial addendum to the Senate appropriations bill for the NEA, prohibiting it from funding obscene or indecent art. He defined obscene art as works that include "sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value" (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 94). His definition also included work that denigrated religious and nonreligious groups, including those based on race, creed, sex, handicap, age, or national origin. In response, then NEA Chairman John Frohmayer added the obscenity clause into the terms and conditions governing all NEA grants.

Frohmayer's decision resulted in the agency receiving criticism from artists and conservative elected leaders alike. Several artists did not claim their grants during this period. In 1992, the entire NEA Visual Arts panel of evaluators resigned to protest the Helms clause, resulting in no fellowships being awarded to sculptors that year. In addition, four artists, who were not recommended for awards in 1990 as a result of their "outrageous" work, sued the NEA. They won their lawsuit in the District Court and Court of Appeals in 1993. However, the Supreme Court later overturned those decisions, reasoning that the non-obscenity requirement did not necessarily interfere with First Amendment rights and was not so vague as to interfere with Fifth Amendment rights (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 128).

The Rise of Neoliberalism and its Impact on the Arts

Since the Reagan administration, the NEA and NEH have periodically faced potential elimination due to a growing number of conservative politicians' skepticism concerning the appropriateness of government participation in arts and humanities funding. Indeed, this turn is emblematic of the rise of neoliberalism in the country since Reagan. Those in the Republican Party as well as self-proclaimed libertarians have contested the need for democratic governance and called for more market-oriented approaches to political-economic organization. In short, in this view, the capitalist system should govern; the government does not need to govern save for international relations and the country's military defense. Harvey (2005) identifies two underlying rationales for the support of neoliberalism:

> We can, therefore, interpret neoliberalization either as a *utopian* (emphasis in the original here and below) project to realize a theoretical design for the reorganization of international capitalism or as a *political* project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic

> elites. In what follows I shall argue that the second of these objectives has in practice dominated. Neoliberalization has not been very effective in revitalizing global capital accumulation, but it has succeeded remarkably well in restoring, or in some instances (as in Russia and China) creating, the power of an economic elite (p. 19).

Through this lens, GOP politicians, particularly, have questioned why the government should even have a role in art and culture; arguing that the market alone (and as such, the elite) should decide what cultural practices and artifacts should survive the test of time.

In 1982, with the prodding of President Ronald Reagan, Congress reduced the NEA appropriation by ten percent. With growing controversy during and after the Culture War, those who espoused market-driven approaches to the arts gained power in the federal government. While the NEA and NEH had been leaders in expanding the arts and humanities fields, both in funding and in encouraging peer collaboration and production, their support for these groups was soon in jeopardy.

Under the leadership of Republican Newt Gingrich, the 1995 House of Representatives threatened to eliminate the NEA altogether. By 1996, the endowment's budget had been reduced by 39 percent, from $162 million to $99 million. This reduction was so grave that Jane Alexander, Chairperson of the NEA from 1993 to 1997, was forced to let more than 89 employees go, while eleven others chose to retire. The agency reduced its Granting programs from 17 discipline-based areas to four funding divisions: Heritage and Preservation, Education and Access, Creation and Presentation and Planning and Stabilization. This new structure ignored disciplinary differences. Multi-disciplinary organizations such as Appalshop, which had relied on different disciplinary grants, were relegated to one grant proposal per year. This placed enormous stress on the nonprofit:

> Overnight in 1996-97, Roadside went from NEA support of $167,000.00 to $0, because new NEA requirements stated that each organization could only submit one proposal. Prior to that, because Appalshop was discipline based, filmmakers submitted proposals while WMMT Radio received CPB funding. We were getting money all the way around, as we should have been. We're located in one of the economically poorest regions in the U.S. We were doing a huge amount of high-quality work with less funding than larger, urban-based organizations. In the day, we would have told you, 'There are going to be Appalshop's all over this country.' You know what I mean? There was that kind of positive take on things. It was gone overnight. And because the private foundations followed the lead of the NEA, foundation contributions changed as well. In 1998 (I think) the NEA allowed more than one proposal to come from a single organization if the division had a separate advisory board or governing board. Now, Roadside can go in and WMMT can go in, but only one proposal can come from the rest of Appalshop (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

The NEA restructuring was justified as an effort to encourage cross-fertilization among disciplines, more rigorous competition and thereby greater aesthetic excellence (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 120). However, its reorganization, and more importantly its budget cuts, harmed many arts entities that could not obtain the funding they had attained from NEA from other sources. As a general proposition, this was unfortunately truer of small rural arts entities than of their urban counterparts.

New congressional mandates accompanied the NEA budget changes. First, Congress eliminated the agency's ability to provide grants to individuals and to organizations for the purpose of sub-granting. It also forbade the NEA from providing funds for the operation of arts organizations. In addition, the federal arts institution now could only allocate 15 percent of its overall budget to any one state, and its National Council on the Arts (the NEA's advisory group) was reduced from 26 to 14 private members with an additional six members from Congress. Finally, the agency was given

authority to accept private funding, property and services, as well as to allocate up to 40 percent of its funding to state arts agencies (in lieu of the previous 35 percent cap).

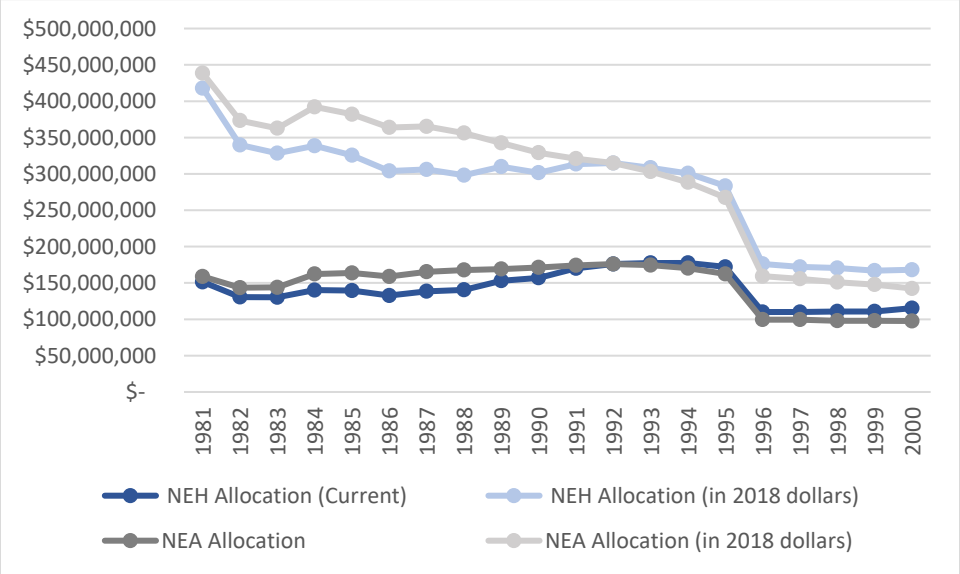


Figure 13. 1981-2000 NEA and NEH funding (NEA, 2018; NEH, 2018)

In 1997, House Speaker Gingrich and his supporters once again attempted to eliminate the NEA and NEH. Support for the endowments by the Clinton Administration and in the Senate, however, ensured that they survived, although with smaller budgets and a direction to reconsider their missions. Between 1995 and 1997, the number of annual awards granted by the NEA dropped from 4,000 to 1,100.

In addition to budget cuts to federal arts organizations in the 1980s and 1990s, the rise of neoliberalism affected the field in other ways. Many in the arts and the notion of countercultural action itself became more commercialized. Independent film provides an example. That form of art making transitioned from being small-scale, non-commercial filmmaking to privately funded, "Indiewood," that became "synonymous with interesting and ambitious—but nonetheless mainstream work" (Angell, 2006). Advances in digital technology and falling costs for the same also meant that associations such as AIVF no

longer needed to provide seminars on equipment use and discounts for its purchase (Angell, 2006).

When Bill Ivey, former administrator of the Country Music Hall of Fame, became Chairman of the NEA in 1998, he was faced with the reality of a much-reduced budget and a mandate to revise the mission of the agency. However, he embraced community cultural development values, explaining,

> Today, art is no longer confined to paintings in museums—or dances, plays and symphonies in concert halls and theaters […] It's in large cities and in the smallest, most remote towns. Besides anchoring communities, growing the economy, and increasing jobs, the arts give communities a sense of identity, shared pride, sound design that affects how we live, and a way to communicate across cultural boundaries (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 132).

With a background in folklore and ethnomusicology, Ivey wished to place an even greater emphasis on diversity. This included providing support to a theater group for a play about African American performer Paul Robeson, a Hispanic performing arts series, a country music program in Nashville, folk art instruction in Nevada, and Alaskan native authors and storytellers (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 128). He also launched the program, ArtsREACH, which funded projects in states identified as "underrepresented" in the agency's grant count. By 1999, grantmaking to 20 targeted states had increased by 350 percent (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 130). Before he stepped down from the Chair position in 2001, Ivey proposed a "Cultural Bill of Rights" for Americans, comprised of:

- Heritage: The right to fully explore America's artistic traditions that define us as families, communities, ethnicities, and regions.
- A Creative Life: The right to learn the processes and traditions of art, and the right to create art.
- Artists and Their Work: The right to engage the work and knowledge of a healthy community of creative artists.

- Performances, Exhibitions, and Programs: The right to be able to choose among a broad range of experiences and services provided by a well-supported community of cultural organizations.
- Art and Diplomacy: The right to have the rich diversity of our nation's creative life made available to people outside of the United States.
- Understanding Quality: The right to engage and share in art that embodies overarching values and ideas that have lasted through the centuries.

While never officially adopted by the federal government, these aspirations continue to guide many involved in the CCD field today.

With significant cuts to NEA and NEH funding, nonprofit arts groups began, of necessity, to rely more heavily on state government and private support (a key goal of the GOP). For example, twenty percent of Appalshop's annual revenue on average had previously come from the national government (Appalshop Audits). In this new environment, however, the organization developed initiatives to solicit funding from private foundations to make up that difference. Although state arts budgets also suffered from the NEA cuts, the thriving economy in the latter half of the 1990s allowed state arts agency budgets to be three percent higher than at the start of the decade (accounting for inflation). Meanwhile, private funders through individual, corporate and foundation giving made up the difference. Private giving allowed for grants to individuals and increased regranting programs, and also permitted a growing focus on smaller arts organizations that sought to build connections between the arts and communities (Lawrence, 2018).

However, these private sources did not have the breadth of scope that the NEA had encompassed when fully funded. They also followed the NEA's lead by transitioning from discipline-based forms of funding to more issue-based funding programs. A handful of Appalshop staff, including Dudley Cocke of Roadside and Dee Davis of the

Appalshop Film Union, noticed too that funders were beginning to offer support based on social impact and outcomes rather than discipline, long-form films or grassroots productions. These trends left many arts organizations in the CCD field struggling by 2000 (Cocke, 2011). Maybe the hardest hit were minority arts and culture organizations. For example, of the 46 most influential African American theaters founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s, none performed a season of at least four plays in 1992. Moreover, about 87 percent of African American theaters founded in the 1960s had closed by the mid-1990s (Hays, 1994; Devos Institute, 2015).

Near the end of the 1990s, many social scientists and arts practitioners alike were seeing the strain that neoliberalism and changing social habits had placed on the country's democracy. Putnam (2001), for instance, documented the decline in people's engagement in civil society activities such as clubs, sport teams, and volunteer groups. He argued that the decreased participation had led to lower trust in neighbors and in society, as well as lower capacity to act on and develop one's democratic values. In 1996, the Ford Foundation, Americans for the Arts and several other arts organizations partnered to investigate how the arts help people to engage in civic dialogue, in some respects as a way to address the downward trend in civic participation. The resulting 1999 document, *Animating Democracy: The Artistic Imagination as a Force in Civic Dialogue*, explained:

> American artists and cultural institutions have long engaged civic issues through a wide spectrum of activity. At one end of the spectrum, topical art articulates or comments on social issues; at the other end, artists and cultural institutions use the arts to engage people in action to effect change. But more recently, a vital midrange of activity has begun to emerge at the center of the spectrum. This body of work—the focus of this study—is stimulated by the belief that art offers a fresh approach to engaging people in civic issues. In this work, referred to here as 'arts-

> based civic dialogue,' art consciously incorporates civic dialogue as part of an aesthetic strategy […] By reorienting toward achieving impact in such areas as community development, cultural identity, and social change, some cultural institutions and artists laid a groundwork for exploring arts-based civic dialogue activity. Community-based arts organizations and theaters operating close to their communities proved well positioned philosophically to engage in arts-based civic dialogue activity and to provide models for others (Bacon, 1999).

To some extent, this trend—the growing examination of the arts as an incubator of civic dialogue—aligned well with what the CCD field's professionals had already been practicing for several decades. However, this articulation also supported the trend to fund arts activities within a framework of social issues and on the basis of their capacity to effect specific social impacts.

Appalshop: Growth of the Institution

In 1984, Appalshop operated five projects: Appalshop Films, June Appal Recordings, Roadside Theater, Mountain Photography/Review and Headwaters Television. Appalshop had 50 staff members, including part-time and full-time, paid and unpaid individuals. Total salary expenses at that time were approximately $300,000, or $800,000 in 2018 dollars. In a 1985 proposal to the NEA Expansion Arts program, Appalshop described its governance structure and operations:

> The Appalshop Board is composed of 24 employees who have at least one year of experience with the organization. The full Board meets quarterly to review the corporation's affairs, and day to day operations are delegated to the project directors in concert with the President. A community advisory board composed of three Appalshop staff and seven community members is asked to make recommendations on Appalshop Center policy and program. Over ninety percent of the staff are native to the region and have been involved in their work and trained as part of Appalshop's ongoing professional development. Thirty full-time and twenty part-time staff participate in producing Appalshop's work. The staff is composed of filmmakers, photographers, writers, actors, musicians, storytellers, and administrators. Appalshop's work is produced for an audience of all ages throughout the region as well as a national network of distributors, sponsors, and institutions who desire to share Appalshop's work with a national audience. By

> speaking intimately of Appalachia, Appalshop hopes [also] to speak to what is immediate in other people's lives (Appalshop Archive, NEA Expansion Arts Proposal, Bays 1985, Box 13108 1 of 2).

The organization continued to grow from 1985 through 2000. Reflecting on that time, many who were at Appalshop during its formative period and continued as staffers into this second period described those years as a time of professionalization of the nonprofit's work, staff and structure. When describing Appalshop's efforts during these two periods of its existence, particularly that of the film project, a current staff member commented in an interview for this study:

> I think of it in terms of the 1980s, and in a way it's a simplification of the phases of Appalshop, but I think of the 1980s as being another phase. The professionalization of the work really, I think, takes place [then]. To me in the 1970s, the filmmakers were kind of honing their craft, and they were growing up. They'd started out as teenagers and now they were becoming young adults with families. And their work was becoming a little more complex […] When you gain a greater understanding of the craft, I think it frees you up to ... You're able to imagine more complicated work and expressing yourself in more complicated ways (Personal Interview, Caroline Rubens 2.15.2019).

While Appalshop's staff still embraced the learning-by-doing attitude of its first period, the structuration of the institution during this second phase of its evolution—including the firming up of its operating and management logics, the identification of its principal actors, the creation of its internal governance arrangement, and the recognition of its primary partner fields—allowed those individuals to hone their skills and to explore how Appalshop could grow in the future.

Appalshop's Activities

Appalshop Films and Headwaters Television formed Appalshop's Film Union in the 1980s under the artistic direction of Dee Davis. Several interviewees saw this period (1984-2000) as the production height of Appalshop's filmmaking:

> A thriving time for Appalshop filmmaking was when Headwaters was going strong because that was an outlet for people to show their work. And that got out awards and recognition. And so, to me, that was a real strong time for that as a regular mechanism for generating work. But you know those were half-hour shows. Everybody didn't want to make a half hour video. Some of them wanted to make longer films (Personal Interview, Caron Atlas 2.17.2019).

In 1987 alone, more than 6,000 people attended screenings of Appalshop's films and videos at its headquarters. These productions were also distributed regionally, nationally and internationally to more than 105,000 colleges, schools, museums, churches, libraries, community groups, festivals and conferences. Appalshop filmmakers also presented their work on three Arts America tours in Indonesia and Malaysia, in India, and to audiences in Kuwait and Zambia as well (Appalshop Archive, Proposal to the Virginia Commission for the Arts, Oliver 1987, Box 13106 Old Proposals 1 of 2).

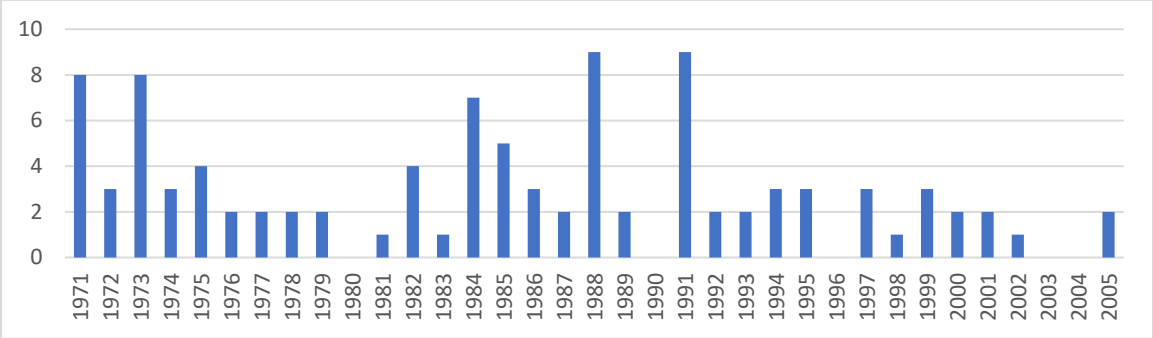


Figure 14. Number of Appalshop films and videos produced by year (Appalshop Archive)

These films continued to vary in content but they all maintained a subject as author/narrator stance (i.e. no voice of God narration). In the late 1970s to mid-1980s, Appalshop Films had not only founded Headwaters Television, but also had begun a seven-part series on the history of Appalachia. Probably the organization's most ambitious project to-date, the History Project garnered significant funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, involved extensive partnerships with scholars, and also demanded internal interproject collaboration. The first film, *Strangers and Kin*,

"very pointedly looked at Appalachian stereotypes. If the idea previously was to counter them [stereotypes] simply by exposing the area to people through the eyes of thoughtful young people who lived here, now it was more intentional" (Personal Interview, Caroline Rubens 2.15.2019). *Strangers and Kin* filmed historical reenactments by Roadside Theater and addressed clips of national media. The film was completed in 1984 and received high marks and recommendations for continued funding from the NEH. However, the agency was then under new leadership that wanted to take its funding in a different direction. Appalshop received almost $66,000 from the NEH in 1981, most being for its History project. After 1984, however, Appalshop received no funding from the NEH until a decade later (Appalshop Archive, Annual Audits). Nor was Appalshop Films able to complete the seven-part series.

Despite this disappointment, Appalshop Films and Headwaters TV continued to make films about Appalachia, highlighting the region's culture, history and challenges. These ranged from the 1985 documentary, *Sunny Side of Life*, about the legendary bluegrass group, the Carter Family, to more unusual films such as Andrew Garrison's *One-Ring Circus* (1987), which chronicled the Jules and Beck Circus as it traveled through eastern Kentucky in the mid-1980s. One current Appalshop member reflected back on this period, highlighting some of the key works and changes of the time:

> In the 1990s, filmmakers like Liz Barrett and Herby Smith, for example, continued to pursue their interests in representation, culminating for Liz Barrett by that time in *Stranger With A Camera*, which is another milestone work. And Herby Smith with *The Ralph Stanley Story*, both made in 2000. Because by that time, this long-form shooting in film had become more expensive, whereas I think video production [had] more agility, because videotapes were less expensive than buying film stock (Personal Interview, Caroline Rubens 2.15.2019).

Changing technology at the time certainly influenced filmmaking production at Appalshop. Video became a cheaper medium in which to produce work, while funding sources for long-form films became more difficult to obtain. While technological changes and the popularity of "independent" film during this period made film production easier in some sense, public funding to pay the salaries of those who created noncommercial films became scarce.

Meanwhile, Appalshop filmmakers were able to acquire funding for the production and distribution of social justice films that informed relevant communities and the broader public about critical issues. In 1985, Anne Lewis made a film about Mabel Parker Hardison, an African-American woman from the region and her experience with regional labor strikes. Mimi Pickering created films about individuals who dedicated their lives to social justice in Appalachia, for instance, Sarah Ogan Gunning and Hazel Dickens, during this same period.

As noted above, in 1988, Appalshop worked with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth to encourage the state's voters to pass an amendment to the Broad Form Deed in Kentucky, which would require coal, oil and other companies with mineral rights to land to consult surface landowners before mining beneath their property. Appalshop produced the documentary, *On Our Own Land* that year, which explored this issue and the challenges of the broad form deed for those who lived in its region. The documentary was broadcast statewide on Kentucky's public television station, KET, just prior to the referendum, helping to sway the vote toward approval.

The 1991 film, *Chemical Valley*, drew a direct connection between the 1984 toxic gas leak at a Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India—one of the worst industrial accidents

in history—and concerns about the Union Carbide plant in Institute, West Virginia. The film illustrated the tensions between those who were concerned about worker livelihoods and those who were concerned about plant safety and who feared for their lives. Appalshop staff worked with community groups and unions who were dealing with toxic facilities in their neighborhoods as they developed *Chemical Valley*. The film was broadcast on PBS's highly regarded and nationally syndicated *Point of View* (POV) program.

The success of these films and the growing trend among funders that favored projects that could show social impacts helped those at Appalshop interested in this area launch the Community Media Initiative (CMI) in 1995. CMI was an effort to partner media with organizing groups to seek policy change locally and regionally. Appalshop staff worked with interested individuals from communities and other organizations to produce and train them in media in ways meant to inform and effect change. One of the projects early successes was its partnership with Kentuckians for the Commonwealth and other social justice organizations to address economic justice issues in Kentucky, which were highly relevant to the national welfare reform effort that was taking place at the time. The consortium of nonprofits held forums across Kentucky to discuss economic justice issues, including the importance of access to higher education and of temporary financial assistance from the federal government (known as TANF-Temporary Assistance for Needy Families-the new national welfare assistance program initiated under President Clinton). Appalshop recorded these discussions:

> It was really great testimony from all different kinds of women of how important this was for them—getting a degree and then being able to better support their families et cetera. And we made a short tape, then gave a copy to all the legislators, and also played it in the rotunda. You know, looped it. […] And

> ultimately, they did decide to let college count as your work requirement. So that was a victory there (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Growth was evident elsewhere in Appalshop as well, and there seemed to be an intentional effort among the nonprofit's different projects to be more engaged in the region. The still new building—known as Appalshop Center or the building project—at the beginning of this period in Appalshop's history offered a place for the organization's staff to welcome people from the community, host arts and culture events, and otherwise to present its efforts to the public. With Headwaters TV, Appalshop Films regularly produced videos about people and issues from Central Appalachia. Roadside Theatre continued to tour the region, presenting plays and talking with neighbors.

In 1985 and1986, Appalshop launched WMMT-FM radio and the Seedtime on the Cumberland Festival respectively, both of which actively engaged individuals and organizations in the surrounding region. For example, a 1986 proposal to the NEA Folk Arts program, described the activity happening with respect to the Appalshop Center and Seedtime on the Cumberland:

> During the past three years, Appalshop has been providing folk arts programming for the people of the Central Appalachians where none before existed. Building on our past success, Appalshop's 1986-87 folk arts programming will include: 3 exhibits featuring regional folk art—Carl McKenzie's woodcarvings, Minnie Black's Gourd art, and an Appalshop exhibit 'Folk Art as Yard Art in Eastern Kentucky;' 2 film showings—Blain Dunlap's 'Hammer McGee' and 'Uncle Dave Macon' and Steven Roszell's 'Writing in Water,' including discussions led by area folklorists Richard Blanstein and Charles Wolde; 'SEEDTIME ON THE CUMBERLAND,' a one-day festival paying tribute to three folk artists – I.D. Stamper, Uncle Charlie Osborne, and Nimrod Workman, including film showings and performances by musicians; 2 Gospel sings; and co-sponsorship of Family Folk Keew at the Hindman Settlement School. Debra Bays, Appalshop's staff folklorist, will coordinate all folk arts programming. The Building Program staff will work with her on promotion and production of the events (Appalshop Archive, NEA Folk Arts proposal 1986, Box 13108 1 of 2).

WMMT-FM played music and created public affairs programming about issues in the region. In many respects, the new radio extended Appalshop's regular outreach to the Central Appalachian community started with Headwaters TV, eventually taking its place when the latter closed in 1996. When describing Headwaters, Marty Newell said:

> It was great to get to do that, to get to know that you're reaching a lot more people. Folks would stop me and talk to me about the show that ran Tuesday night and you'd get feedback on that. It became a common occurrence. [...] So we're getting much broader distribution. And then the radio station is the next logical extension, for which we get to control the means of distribution. Which now is a concept completely antithetical to the digital age where everybody controls the means of distribution. But 40 years ago, it was a big deal to be able to imagine that we might be able to decide what is on and when it is on (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

For some who later became part of Appalshop, the radio station also was their first exposure to the organization. As radio disc jockeys, Appalshop volunteers could explore their own musical and programmatic interests. During those years, WMMT-FM provided programming for those who liked reggae, punk, hip-hop, old time and bluegrass, in addition to offerings that discussed issues relevant to the region.

In 1987, Appalshop began the Appalachian Media Institute (AMI) project. AMI went back to the roots of the organization and served as a youth leadership development program that encouraged appreciation of the region's culture and lived experience, while facilitating skills development in film and other arts and media:

> I think what had happened was, by that point, we did not have any media training program although most of us that were in the Film Union had learned filmmaking here. And so, we thought that we should continue that. We should give another group of young folks and other generations an opportunity to learn media making like we had. And I think Dee came up with the idea. Maybe Dee and Jeff Hawkins came up with the initial idea and then sold it to the Film Union and we were like, 'yeah, we should do this.' And so, it started pretty small. Jeff Hawkins was the first director and it was just a summer program. He just worked in the summer.

> And then, as we could get more support for it, [it] became more of a full-time staff and year-round program (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Many area youth completed this program to become key figures at Appalshop and other organizations in the region and elsewhere.

Even as Appalshop was becoming more entrenched in its local environment and identity, it was also expanding its geographic reach. The Film Union was creating movies that not only reached out to other parts of the United States to tell the stories of the region, but that also connected the Appalachian story to other parts of the world, whether it was via common history or shared struggles. Roadside Theater was also expanding its reach. At the end of the 1980s, Roadside hired national booking managers to schedule its work in communities outside of Kentucky and Virginia. These tours helped the company to subsidize its local and regional work. With the support of the NEA's ArtsLink program in 1993, Roadside Theater also traveled to the Czech Republic (Czechia), in addition to traveling to international theater festivals in London, Sweden and Denmark.

In 1988, Appalshop leveraged the relationships and activities of Roadside and others in the organization to create the American Festival Project. The Festival Project was a nationwide initiative led by Appalshop and its theater partners, including The Traveling Jewish Theater, Junebug Productions, Pregones Theater, Urban Bushwomen, Conjunto Bands from San Antonio, and others. Staff member of Roadside and participant in the American Festival Project, Donna Porterfield described the work when interviewed for this project:

> We did long-term residencies together in different places in the country that were supported by local folk who were creating plays from their own history and culture. We never tried to speak for each other. We just did our own work. People in our audiences were low-and middle-income folk. There were some people from

> higher income levels, but not many (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2018).

Marty Newell, part of the founding generation of Appalshop, described this shift to a more national perspective in an interview for this study:

> I think the biggest change is when it [Appalshop] stops being a regional organization dealing with universals, but strictly through a regional lens and probably where that really comes through is the emergence of the American Festival Project. [...] We had always had kindred spirits. […] There was always swapping back and forth and doing those exchanges, but there was not the kind of co-programming and co-creating that the American Festival Project kind of kicks off. The lens is much bigger than how we see the world from Appalachia. It is how people see the world around them and Appalshop, these days, is a cultural institution rooted in a region and in the culture, but it is looking at the world through a much broader lens (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

This national scope and presence brought new opportunities for funding and partnerships, but it also reinforced the sense of connectivity that Appalshop staff members saw between their roots in the Appalachian region and the rest of the world—what was going well in society, but also what the challenges were.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, the NEH and NEA, in partnership with a number of private foundations, issued challenge grants to support arts and humanities nonprofits wishing to develop large scale projects, including organizational sustainability efforts. To maintain its operations and obtain seed funding to initiate new activities, Appalshop began to raise funds for an endowment. By 1989, Appalshop had raised almost $500,000 (or $1 million in 2018 dollars), and that total continued to grow through 2000.

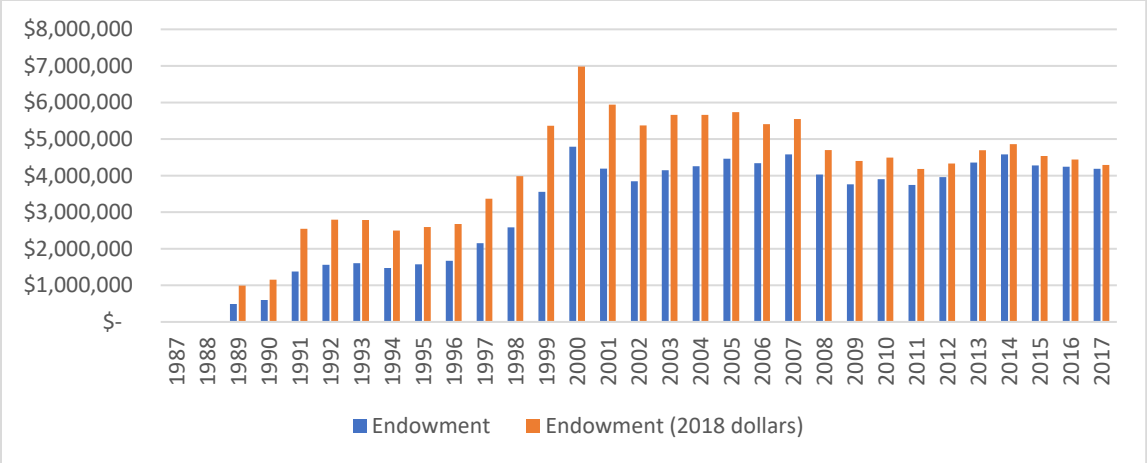


Figure 15. Appalshop endowment account

Creation of the endowment brought greater outside pressure to change Appalshop's institutional structure. To ensure transparency and satisfy donor demands, the nonprofit created a separate endowment trustees committee comprised of external partners to oversee and manage the funds. One of Appalshop's Core administrators, Steven Kinley, explained in his interview for this analysis:

> And so, you have got this fifty thousand dollars a year to be used for productions. And now, someone has to decide for whose production that is going to be. How do you make that decision? Who makes that decision? And then, is that an issue that the whole board has to talk about? That did not seem like a good idea at the time. And so, you form an endowment committee. But who gets represented on the endowment committee? Who gets to vote on proposals that come into the committee from the different projects? And I think the process [that] ultimately got established was good. I mean it was thoughtful. We tried to consider all the possibilities and pitfalls. It was not perfect, but it worked (Personal Interview, Steven Kinley 2.14.2019).

Kinley spoke directly about outside partners' concerns about biases and conflicts of interest in decision-making, accusations that frequently plagued Appalshop with its worker-run board. Because of these issues, Appalshop would call on a handful of local and national partners semi-annually to review proposals eligible for endowment funding and provide recommendations. Similar to the NEA peer panels, these individuals would

consider the artistic merits of proposals, the impacts likely to arise from them and how this "new" activity would support the organization's mission.

By 2000, the Appalshop board had grown to 45 members. Salaries had gone from $300,000 ($800K in 2018 dollars) at the beginning of the period to $1 million, or $1.46 million in 2018 dollars, by 2000. During the 1990s and into the early 2000s, a new generation of staff came to work at Appalshop. For one staff member who started at WMMT-FM, but worked in other projects as time passed, being employed by an organization with many different disciplinary projects was an opportunity for creativity:

> For me, personally, it meant that I always had something to learn and someone to learn from. So, I started with the radio station. I had technical training in radio, as I came from a broadcasting background. But I learned a little more about broadcasting, but a lot more about community relations and was able to, you know, shadow Anne Lewis and learn about filmmaking that way. And shadow Buck Maggard and learn about the history of labor organizing, among other things. Shadow Rich Kirby, learn about the history of traditional music. Shadow Herbie Smith and learn about the history of watersheds and about 16-millimeter film. Shadow Elizabeth Barrett and learn about the history of portrayals of mountain people. I could keep going on and on and on. But the idea of having that multidisciplinary group meant, for me anyway, that there was constantly opportunity to learn things and to explore new methods and to explore new, creative media. And—and-- that was incredibly valuable. And I think also it means that the organization has more impact externally as well. And, to some degree, has more flexibility [built into it too] when you are working on soft funding the more angles you can approach a funder from, the more likely you are to get that funding (Personal Interview, Tom Hansell 2.18.2019).

Through this new generation of Appalshop members, the organization continued its tradition of learning by doing as well as fostering the potentiality of other artists. Chapter 6 discusses this new generation of Appalshop staff in greater detail and argues that they brought new ideas and skills to the organization despite the declining revenue that characterized that period.

Partnerships

Appalshop's partnerships paralleled its growth during the 1984-2000 period. A former Development Director of Appalshop, Caron Atlas explained:

> There was a leadership role that Appalshop played nationally with networks and really having significant leadership in those networks and so affecting the field overall as a result. And a lot of those networks are not around anymore but, at that time, this was another reason I think this was a real growth time for Appalshop not just in money but in reach. […] I remember that there was a study being done of Appalachia that the ARC was doing. And they had committees. You know they had an education committee, an environment committee, a cultural committee. And we explicitly said we need to get on all the committees. […] I always think about that because it was so smart you know as a way to have a voice and be at the table. And so, I would say that Appalshop made a very proactive effort to be at tables with its values and its point of view. And when there weren't tables that would best represent those, Appalshop created the table. (Personal Interview, Caron Atlas 2.17.2019).

Networks of arts, culture and media organizations began to form in the 1970s and grew in the 1980s, and Appalshop attempted to play a role in each. Roadside Theater began the American Festival Project along with Junebug Productions and other colleagues across the United States, which included a cohort of diverse community-based and social justice focused artists and community partners. Several of those in Appalshop's Film Union—comprised initially of Appalshop Films and Headwaters, but which soon came to include the Community Media Initiative and Appalachia Media Institute—were members and occasionally played leadership roles in the National Alliance for Media Arts Centers (NAMAC) and the Association of Independent Video and Film Makers (AIVF).

As noted above, Appalshop was a strong partner in AIVF when the organization successfully lobbied to begin funding of independent television programming (ITVS). With funding and encouragement from the NEA, Appalshop worked with other media

arts centers in the southeastern United States and the Ohio Valley. The nonprofit formed a southern circuit and hosted touring media artists. As such, Appalshop was able to host some of the best-known independent filmmakers and experimental video artists active at the time.

Partnerships varied based on the scope of each project. WMMT-FM, for instance, focused locally. Tom Hansell began work at the radio station in 1990. In his interview, he described the reach of WMMT's local partnerships at that time:

> We were constantly—and again, we were focused much more on the local and regional partners—but we were constantly working with local organizations. Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, obviously, is a historic partner that continues to be a partner. But at that point there were groups working on education reform, local school boards, groups working on solid waste issues trying to get a recycling center started. […] And then other more kinds of culturally based partners. You know, people that were doing music festivals. People that had small record labels that we were working with. It was a real broad range of partners, but it was very local at WMMT (Personal Interview, Tom Hansell 2.18.2019).

This engagement with local and regional partners began to change Appalshop's role and status in the region. Where before, some at Appalshop relished the counterculture, outcast reputation that had typified it in the early 1970s, the work of this period began to create a different community standing, and one that garnered local support.

One Appalshop leader at this time attributed this shift to the first time that Appalshop hosted the National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC) national conference in Whitesburg in 1984. The community did not have enough hotel rooms for more than 250 guests, and so Appalshop staff began to ask neighbors and community members for support to house guests from across the nation. The interviewee explained:

> We would never ask anybody in town for any help, and that change is like, all of a sudden, that is a huge transaction. Once you ask them for help, and they give you it. It's like, there's a rule in politics that I think that I've learned: it's like if you

> want to have a friend, ask him to do you a favor. Don't think about what you're doing for him. Ask him to do you a favor because once he has undertaken that transaction, then he has a stake in you. And this is why what happened is that we started asking all these people to do favors for us. And asked people to put up these weird film makers in their homes and to create, you know, I remember people who came into the building saying; it's like you know the head of the American Film Institute and all these funders and the head of the National Endowment for the Arts or the acting head, and they were saying stuff like, 'I haven't had white bread since I was a child' (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

In another example of the nonprofit's growing reach during this period, one Appalshop employee reflected on a conversation with the local postmaster. According to that individual, the size of the Whitesburg post office at the time was due at least in part to the sheer number of packages that Appalshop received and shipped in a given week. Without that business, the office's size and staff would have been smaller (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams, 2.19.2019).

Meanwhile, as Appalshop's social justice work increased, so did its partnerships. Among Appalshop's most frequently cited collaborators in interviews and in archival documents were Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC), Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED) and State Organizing for Community Empowerment (SOCM). As noted above, Appalachian Studies departments in higher education institutions also tended to align and partner with these groups, creating a network of informed scholars and activists that would annually meet at the Appalachian Studies Conference.

Appalshop staff also sought to leverage media partners in this work. In the case of the effort to secure changes in the Broad Form Deed legislation in 1988, Kentucky Education Television (KET) had planned to broadcast Appalshop's film, *On Our Own*

Land. However, the station received pressure not to broadcast the effort from coal companies and those in political power who supported those firms. Appalshop and its social justice partners began to reach out to newspapers across the region and nationally, e.g. *The New York Times*. In the weeks and months leading up to the referendum, Appalshop staffers wrote as many as 20 different op-eds calling on interested parties to pressure KET to broadcast the show. KET eventually aired the documentary, while also giving the coal companies a half an hour afterwards to present their side of the story. Appalshop's partnerships with social justice and media organizations made that success possible.

The arts nonprofit continued to work with higher education faculty and institutions too, both as collaborators and as markets for its products. Many of those interviewed expressed how working with higher education scholars not only supported their applications for funding, but also brought different, sometime broader perspectives to the production process. One former staffer who worked across several projects, including Appalshop Films, noted in an interview for this effort that the work produced had synergies with the research process:

> The thoughtfulness of the ideas that you were developing as a filmmaker as you're going and interviewing people is really a form of primary research, right? You're interviewing people, you're developing the project. And Appalshop films have never been the kind of project where you write a script ahead of time and then you go make the film (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

Relationships with scholars and university faculty supported such efforts and brought more depth to them.

Appalshop staff worked with faculty from the University of Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky University, New York University, and other higher education institutions.

Scholars such as Judi Jennings, a women's historian and former executive director of the Kentucky Foundation for Women, became deeply involved in Appalshop. For example, Jennings led the development of Appalshop's endowment, but also often served as a consultant on film and project activities in the organization. In another instance, a former Appalshop employee described the strong relationship that developed between Elizabeth Barrett, an Appalshop Film founder, and George Stoney, a faculty member at NYU and an elder statesman of socially-conscious documentary-making. He advised and supported her in her filmmaking efforts, including the award-winning *Stranger with a Camera*, and she regularly guest-lectured in his classes at NYU (Personal Interview, Caron Atlas paraphrase 2.19.2019).

Institutionally, Appalshop also enjoyed some champions in higher education during this period. The Appalshop Film Union reached out regularly to universities' media librarians with new material. These individuals would buy the nonprofit's films and publicize them with faculty, who would then screen the films in their classes. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the success of Appalshop Film distribution hinged on strong relationships with universities' media librarians. As media technology became more reliant on video and distribution formats moved from 16-millimeter film to VHS video tape for educational use, the relationship between Appalshop Films and higher education institutions also changed. With the proliferation of videotape, universities no longer required media librarians and instead incorporated their VHS collections into their larger holdings, which could be overseen by other existing staff. As a result, Appalshop went from "dealing with 300 media librarians [to] 30,000 professors to market its films" (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Roadside Theater's interaction with higher education institutions also shifted during this period. While Roadside Theater staff often visited and lectured in classes and collaborated with faculty, they occasionally also conducted residencies at higher education institutions for much longer periods of time. Dudley Cocke provided an example:

> I guess the first really high mark of that association occurred in the years, 1992-4 when we were in residency at Cornell University. We did not relocate there, but rather came and went as the teaching and projects required. At Cornell we were championed by Bruce Levitt, chair of the theater department, and Cornell's president, Frank Rhodes, who believed that a respect for local life and multiculturalism was a key to a more just and peaceful world. Rhodes started putting money into that idea and using his influence to get the university to back the kind of work we were doing. Our residency over this three or four-year period fit his leadership mandate. The more our work became part of the Cornell theater department, the more it became apparent that faculty members would have to be retrained because their training had not been in community-based theater. They'd come up in conservatory training. As we got deeper into it and started teaching more courses there, a need for a training paradigm shift started to become apparent. But the president became ill and with the departure of his leadership, the department naturally reverted into what everybody had previously been trained for (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

Cocke and others noted the difficulty of working with higher education institutions at times, particularly when that relationship was forced, such as with certain grant awards. Several Appalshop staff members suggested in interviews with me that the ultimate interests and goals of the two parties did not always align, which made collaboration challenging. Indeed, the partnerships (of all types) that interview participants found most successful were those in which like-minded actors came together and took the time to build a strong coalition.

Overall, however, partnerships with local entities, higher education, social justice and peer arts and media groups helped Appalshop staff to stretch the entity's resources, to hone its creative work and to stay aware of the issues and topics that they could address

in their work. One former Appalshop member portrayed the overall results of these partnerships in a very positive light in their interview, suggesting that they increased the organization's agency and standing within different fields of activity (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019). Meanwhile, others I interviewed noted the leadership role and influence that Appalshop developed on a national scale through these partnerships (Personal Interviews with Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019, Marty Newell 1.22.2019, Caron Atlas 2.17.2019, and Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019).

Individual Actors and Skills

Partnerships also helped to connect Appalshop with talented individuals that brought new artistic depth and resonance to the nonprofit's work. Among many new talented Appalshop members were Anne Lewis and Caron Atlas. Anne Lewis became Director of Headwaters TV in the early 1980s and continued in that capacity through 1996. One Appalshop founder described Anne Lewis:

> I mean they were all good: Liz, Mimi, a lot of good makers who continued to do it. But I think that Anne transformed the way we were producing work. Just the amount that she got, the amount of good stuff. And she came out of a kind of... She studied with Marcel Ophul. She worked in network news. She came not from the School of Trial and Error, but she came with these other experiences and so it was kind of hybrid vigor; you know, both our sense of authenticity and localism and her [standing and excellence]. She had been [Associate Director of the Academy Award winning documentary] Harlan County USA (1975) and an editor [with Ophuls and others] and that, I think, that was transformative (Personal Interview, Marty Newell 1.22.2019).

Lewis' passion and experience led Headwaters to reduce the number of videos it produced annually, from 25 to less than 12, but she increased the quality of those products. In lieu of filming a local concert for example, Lewis' films might instead explore a local issue or offer a biography of a regional residents' life.

Caron Atlas came to Appalshop in 1986 to serve as its Development Director, bringing with her experiences from working with other CCD organizations, including the Dance Theater Workshop and Pregones Theater in New York. In the late 1980s and 1990s, she founded and ran the American Festival Project, helping to coordinate Appalshop partners across the country to do so:

> When she came in, she was doing things that we didn't even think there were programs for. We didn't understand, you know. So, she was bringing dancers from Siberia in to collaborate with local artists or a conjunto—who knew that anybody would ever want an accordion concert? You know what I mean? It's like she understood the synergy of bringing these different artists together for collaboration, which were more than just having somebody from out of town come and perform but to have them engaged with the community and have different artists collaborate in creating different kinds of moments. And she really knew more about how that worked—as a presenter who worked at Dance Theater Workshop—than we did (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

Atlas brought a different perspective concerning how Appalshop and communities in Appalachia could relate to and interact with entities located elsewhere. She was part of what could be called the forming community cultural development field of the time and brought that perspective to the broader organization, reinforcing a lot of the work that Roadside Theater already did within its project.

In addition to the capacities brought by new talent to Appalshop, the organization's members and partners saw the ability to grasp community cultural aesthetics and to convey grassroots authenticity as necessary for their work:

> There were certainly similar aesthetic values occurring in places where we have worked over long periods of time, like in Zuni, New Mexico or the South Bronx. The specific traditions vary, but the aesthetic is formulated and driven by the idea that cultural authority resides in and among the people, not just in a relatively small group of artists. In Roadside's case, the ensemble members performing, writing, directing and designing the productions didn't go to art school to learn their craft. Their training was by the community—the traditional storytellers, the traditional musicians, the preachers. Roadside viewed all of that community

> resource as its unique, Appalachian dramatic inheritance. With such riches at our fingertips, we weren't attracted to, or distracted by, more generic national training programs. Of course, at the same time, we learned everything we could from them when our paths crossed (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

Without the values and skills required to work within and among community members, to help them hone their capabilities, this type of work would not have been possible. Those who were successful at Appalshop possessed those skills and shared a desire to reflect lived experience; their own and others, in their work.

A related capacity, and necessity, as it happened, was Appalshop staffers' ability to network and create ties outside of localities. As already illustrated in the partnerships section, Appalshop grew and thrived in many ways due to the collaborations its staff was able to create and sustain over time. While many individuals at Appalshop excelled at working with partners nationally and internationally—being in a remote location with very few local resources necessitated this sort of activity—many interview participants offered Dudley Cocke as a good example of an actor in Appalshop who facilitated many relationships. One interview participant explained:

> Dudley has a wonderful ability to think in the long term and also very expansively. He also was interested in fundraising to create that kind of vision. And so, he has always had a lot of contacts and a willingness to be involved personally. He knew people in Washington and New York. And he went up there and talked to people. That would help fundraising a lot. That is what it is about a lot of the time, just knowing people (Personal Interview, Steven Kinley 2.14.2019).

Similarly, many Appalshop members invested their time in traveling to visit partners, participate on governing boards and network with funders, peers and other communities that shared similar interests. These actions were strategic, but as stated before, they also were rooted in relationships that helped to inspire and add quality to the

process and product of Appalshop's work and the lives of its staff members. Moreover, they helped to disseminate the normative ideals and logics important to Appalshop.

The specific role of leader, or any individual leader of the organization was still a contentious question during this period, however. While Appalshop was an organization of strong, skilled individuals who often actively pursued their project interests and led in that sense, the role of organizational director or leader remained difficult to fill. Most individuals who were brought into that position only stayed for two or three years. Indeed, the post often remained vacant with the nonprofit's financial or development directors serving in that role when necessary. As one Appalshop director explained:

> I could point to 20 different structures we have had for how to decide what artistic projects to fund. They've all involved multiple people except from one era. And it was the era when Dee Davis was the artistic director of Appalshop […] Dee Davis was the only exception to the rule I mentioned. Dee had editorial authority that was the first and only person given editorial authority over Appalshop content. Since him, it hasn't happened, and before him it didn't happen. And while he was there, he was very controversial. So, if you mentioned Dee Davis to 5 people, you would hear 5 totally different things. I don't care about it, one way or the other. My view is that there were two outcomes. One is that that position generated a ton of hostility as you can imagine. And two, it also was the height of our production in terms of numbers. It was the height of our fundraising for artistic projects. It was the heart. It was the height of our hits in artistic output (Personal Interview, Oliver Holmes 1.22.2019).

Dee Davis had little sense of authority as the president or head of Appalshop. However, as artistic director of Appalshop Films, he assumed a larger role in a sense when he stepped down as Appalshop's president, worked to form the Appalshop Film Union and became its artistic director. In eleven of the eighteen interviews I conducted, participants mentioned Dee Davis as one of the strongest personalities and leaders of the organization. They described him as having vision and understanding of Appalshop's practical needs and opportunities. Nevertheless, it was also evident in many of these

discussions that his leadership role may have occasionally challenged the institutional logics of the organization in that it was perceived as a threat to the individual agency that many of the organization's principals prized.

Institutional Logics

Appalshop started with very few regulatory logics, or explicit rules on which actors in a field typically rely. By 1987 when the Appalachian Media Institute project was formed, the nonprofit's governance structure was such that more regulatory logics were in place. In the 1970s, beginning a project entailed an individual having informal conversations with others at Appalshop and beyond and garnering funds to pursue the effort. One member of the Film Union at the time described how Headwaters TV was launched in 1979 in an interview with me:

> I remember when we went to D.C. to talk to Bess Lomax Hawes, who is Alan Lomax's sister. She was running what became the Folk Arts program at the National Endowment for the Arts. We went to talk to her. So, we came with the idea and agreed to create a TV series on a local station, which was Headwaters. So that was in 1979. I think in 1991 or 1992, I am not sure if I would have had the same authority to go create, just go negotiate with the Endowment and create a whole new program, get the money and then come back. And you know when I came back here, everybody was so happy. It was Marty and Herby and me. And we came back and you know everybody said, 'why not?' But we didn't have to ask for permission. We could kind of go out and create these things, you know. And, I think that organizations have these responsibilities and sometimes people abuse them. And so, then you create different bureaucracies. So, I think in some ways, certainly by 2000, it was much more regimented, and you would have to get permission earlier in the process. I am not sure that's a bad thing. It is part of growing up, as my dad would say (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

By the late 1980s, there was still an emphasis on individual agency and actors' ability to pursue project viability at the nonprofit, but there were also governance structures in place that the actor(s) had to consult first before proceeding. With Appalachian Media Institute (AMI), a former partner and staff member at Appalshop, Jeff Hopkins, came up

with the idea to have a youth leadership development program, similar to the original purpose of the Appalachian Film Workshop. With the help of Dee Davis and others in the organization, he consulted first with Appalshop's Film Union, comprised of Appalshop Films and Headwaters, and then sought the approval of the Appalshop Board. Many in my interviews attributed this process to the "professionalization" of Appalshop and the "maturation" of its members.

Appalshop continued during this period to hold tightly to its mission and the normative logics that helped to establish the organization: the importance of sharing and amplifying Appalachian voices, and sharing those stories to effect social change. However, as the organization grew and its projects matured, the different culture-cognitive logics inherent in the disparate disciplines represented in the organization became more prominent. One of the distinguishing factors was the geographic scope of specific projects and the lines of accountability that fact entailed to external geographic partners. Another was the different funding sources of the projects, the level of support available and how the granting institutions framed the goals and purposes of their support. Finally, the nature of the disciplines themselves, their pacing, and their approach to their work varied significantly.

Appalshop increased its presence in the region with the growth of projects that had regular, direct connections to individuals and organizations within it, such as WMMT-FM, AMI and the Seedtime on the Cumberland festival. The organization was no longer connected with its neighbors just by the telling of regional stories, presentation of those narratives and the kinship ties that connected the people working there. Neighbors began to see and feel the direct benefits of the nonprofit's presence and

standing. In many respects, such as the way in which the funding streams for these initiatives were framed, these new projects were service-oriented and often required constant attention and tasks to move forward, particularly in the case of WMMT-FM. They became the projects for which Appalshop was most known in Central Appalachia, when residents were aware that they were part of the nonprofit's activities. This recognition brought a level of responsibility to the area that was present before, but perhaps now became more apparent.

But Appalshop also included Roadside Theater and the American Festival Project. While Roadside's plays arose from Appalachian stories and the troupe surely toured the region, they also had a broader scope of work—residencies in other communities, higher education institutions and peer organizations. They were accountable to those groups as much as to those in their home-region of Appalachia. That is not to say that other projects did not have a national and international scope. WMMT-FM, for instance, played music and stories from around the world. In many cases they interviewed those in the communities where Roadside worked. However, due to the art mediums, the levels and types of engagement varied tremendously. As such, the normative logic of how Appalachia related to the nation and other communities across the world manifested in different ways. In distinguishing some of the logics that separated Roadside and WMMT-FM, one interviewee said:

> The focus that Roadside has on partnering with researchers and higher education and people who write about the work. And I think that would be pretty different from coming into WMMT--where you're […] keeping the thing on the air all the time […] You're doing the fund drive twice a year or more, and you're writing maybe new segments or doing a piece, specific pieces. But the sort of meta of understanding maybe would not have been as conveyed (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

The nature of Roadside Theater's and the American Festival Project's work was slower, in part because it depended on relationship building throughout the process of production. The company's efforts also tended to be more deliberative. Its principals had adopted a residency style in which the arts group went into a community and spent time there. Each actor involved in a Roadside Theater residency project had a goal sheet. Those included the Theater's goal(s) for the residency, the community's aims for the residency, how those related, how they diverged, and so on. The medium of radio and the urgency created by the imperative of keeping a station going 24 hours a day and seven days a week highlights a stark contrast in how the two projects operated. In many respects, Roadside Theater and the allied members of the American Festival Project also had a stronger connection to academia than Appalshop as a whole did, and they often adopted scholarly terminology to describe their work; for example, Roadside Theater developed and shared its *methodology* for working with communities. These distinctions, however, are not to say that each project did not play a key role in providing fresh perspectives to the communities they served and which reflected the nonprofit's broad reach. While Roadside traveled to work in places like the Czech Republic, WMMT-FM played international music that was "scarcely heard on U.S. airwaves anywhere" (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

Meanwhile, Appalshop Films, the nonprofit's original project, evidenced another approach to the organization's mission. Similar to its sister media projects, WMMT-FM and June Appal Recordings, Appalshop Films and Headwaters TV focused on the production of material about the region. These efforts frequently focused on social justice concerns and benefitted from changing funding trends that now demanded impact and

outcome-based measures to justify projects. The film and video making process was less interactive than Roadside's methodology for creating community-based plays and/or social change. However, Appalshop's filmmakers were very deliberate about understanding their own voices and how those related to each film's story and the voices showcased in that narrative. As one interview participant explained:

> As a young person coming into the Film Union, there were clear values about the importance of individual, regular people's lives and experiences and telling those stories and . … as a filmmaker clarifying your social justice perspective or point of view. So, I would say those [are] pretty implicit, but I'd say that was what came up from various conversations and people looking at my work and talking to me about how to do it, or talking about their own work and whether—what pieces, you know, what clips should be in, or how to piece—how to structure a person's story in a way that presents their perspectives (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

Film and video production at Appalshop also had local, regional, national and international connections. Like Roadside Theater, but to a lesser extent in terms of the time spent at any one place, filmmakers would travel to other locales to show their movies and lecture. Occasionally, they would create films connecting other communities' challenges with the Appalachian experience. But film, as with theater, spanned the spectrum of local and global that Appalshop encompassed. Caron Atlas described this continuum in her interview:

> I think it has always been part of it. I think that Appalshop is both super hyper-local, but it has also always been regionally focused. And I think it really felt like it was important for a rural voice to be in a national conversation. So, I think part of it was Appalshop and part of it was the individuals. You know that you had people working at Appalshop who were true leaders of the field. And so, you know it happened to be an incredibly rich gathering of people (Personal Interview, Caron Atlas 2.17.2019).

Because Appalshop Films was Appalshop's first project, the initiative and those who were a part of it (particularly the founding generation) served as what New

Institutionalists would term “incumbent” actors in the organization. In other words, film was in a place of power despite the frequent contention among its staff members that Appalshop was not a hierarchy. In one-third of the interviews I conducted participants discussed the importance of production as part of the Appalshop identity, referring primarily to the film unit as they did so. This power dynamic was even stronger when the Film Union was formed during this second period (1984-2000). By the end of this phase of Appalshop’s evolution the Film Union, or coalition, comprised Appalshop Films, Headwaters TV, AMI, and the Community Media Initiative (CMI).

Nevertheless, changing funding availability, technology and media trends (i.e. external shocks) converged to challenge the Film Union’s primary status. As with the “old guard” at the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF), many at Appalshop were not comfortable with going to commercial forms of funding due to the commodification and accountability implications of that shift. Because noncommercial funding streams—public and foundation funding primarily—dedicated more funds to museums and performing arts groups (Lawrence 2018), the nonprofit’s Roadside Theater and American Festival Projects, which could claim impacts across a broader geographic foot print, were able to apply their skills in grant writing to expand the number and reach of their efforts. To some extent, this financial strength could be perceived as a challenge to the existing power structure at Appalshop. Meanwhile, other, smaller projects struggled to match their revenues with their spending.

When the neoliberal right began to take control of Congress and cut the NEA and NEH budget under the GOP in the mid-1990s, Appalshop perceived the threat to its budget and began petitioning private foundations more actively for funds. By 1997, the

arts nonprofit was doing a prodigious amount of work for an organization with a revenue stream that had averaged $2.3 million for the previous five years. While income continued to increase for the remainder of this second period, that rise occurred largely due to grant funds that had already been acquired.

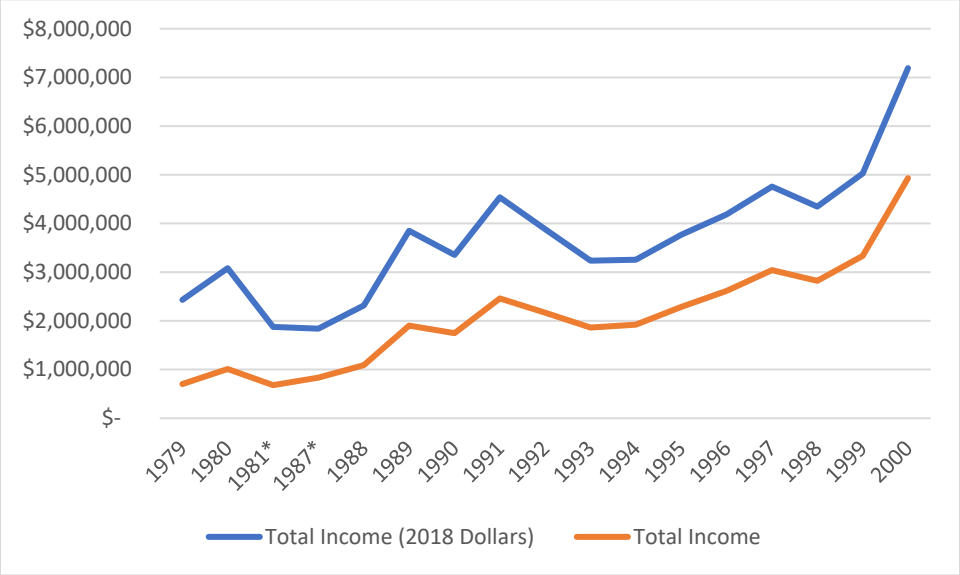


Figure 16. 1979-2000 Appalshop income *Note that 1982-1986 are missing (Appalshop Archive, Annual Audits)

The financial pressure that arose due to changes in cognate external fields as this period of Appalshop's life ended, placed added strain on the already present internal tensions in the organization. Nonetheless, the 1980s and 1990s overall were decades of growth and prosperity for Appalshop. By 1997, the organization was still operating under the same governance structure it had at the end of its first period in 1983. The worker-owned and managed board included about 24 members at the start of this period and rose to 45 by the mid-1990s. Many interview participants who worked at the nonprofit during this time described being very frustrated with that governance structure; these individuals indicated that they spent more time trying to steward the institution and manage its many issues than doing the work they loved during those years. Many also argued Appalshop

suffered from duplication of efforts and, as a result, the outcomes of many activities were not as effective as they might otherwise have been. The organization's governance structure was also allowing for less than constructive behavior among some Appalshop members. As one staff member put it in their interview for this study:

> We have an organization of dissenters, of odd balls, alternative people. They're proud of that. They do not necessarily create a system that helps you deal with dissent. Right? We have a system that rewards dissent, rewards audacity. But sometimes the line between audacity and bad behavior is pretty thin. And so, oftentimes, just like the system where one person can veto what the organization wants to go forward, there's also... Most of the levels of bureaucracy, most of the changes, in my opinion, were ways around usually one person's behavior or two people's bad behavior. It is like instead of sitting down or telling that person to take a hike, creating a whole new system to accommodate. […] It was always a challenge at Appalshop to hang on to the [institution's founding] principles and to deal with behavioral issues. And you have to also understand that a group of artists are always going to be a little […] edgy. They're not always going to be happy. They're not always going to be happy with each other. They are going to have to deal with break ups. And they are going to have to deal with somebody who voted against this or somebody who said this at a meeting, and it is going to stick in their craw (Personal Interview, Oscar Bellamy 1.8.2019).

In some respects, its loose, informal structure allowed Appalshop to flourish during its first twenty years. However, some interview participants noted that this informality or lack of structure allowed individuals to behave disrespectfully on occasion in the name of their projects, and to do so with relative impunity. Meanwhile these incidents occurred as the question of whether certain initiatives were covering their own costs became more salient in a changing funder/funding environment.

Breaking these challenges down, one could see that the loose, horizontal governance that Appalshop employed allowed for independence and a sense of agency among its members—a strong normative logic in the organization that fostered creative work. Yet this relative autonomy placed a great deal of responsibility on each individual

and likewise assumed similar know-how for each. Not everyone had the skills to do everything required of them in this organizational structure however. Not only did an individual have to know how to plan, program and fundraise for their project, they also needed to understand the governance and management of the entire organization to support its functioning as a member of its board.

While some projects had more than one person involved who could share responsibility for at least its basic requirements, others were essentially one-person efforts that either were supported by larger projects (e.g. AMI and CMI) or left completely to fend for themselves (e.g. Appalshop Center programming). Even if they were multi-person projects, however, some initiatives did not meet their income requirements. Nevertheless, there were few institutional safeguards in place to support and help correct such project management failures. There was no one who consistently played a managerial/executive role in the larger organization. So, management challenges such as project shortfalls became instead governing board challenges as those affected aired their grievances.

With so many challenges and personalities in the room, the time spent in board meetings took a toll. Some of those who had been with Appalshop for most of its existence were worn out by the day-to-day exigencies of board governance/management. Some who were newer to the organization did not always have the contextual understanding or know-how to address the issues they were asked to consider. Appalshop's cultural-cognitive logic assumed a small organization with a loose organizational umbrella comprised of many nested smaller initiatives. At their best, and

ideally, those projects complemented each other and even collaborated. They served as opportunities to learn from each other, find new opportunities, and grow.

However, in fact, Appalshop had become a larger organization in its home locale and a significant player in the evolving community cultural development field. It now had many lines of accountability spanning geographies, disciplines and dozens of funders. At its worst, this culture allowed for too little accountability for single project failures. Instead, this leadership arrangement demanded that Appalshop as a whole assume responsibility in such cases, for which, in practice, staff members might or might not assume liability until too late. A loose, informal structure in which a worker-owned board was expected to manage as well as oversee the organization did not seem to be working by the end of this period.

Appalshop contracted to work with Adams and Goldbard to consider some of these challenges during the summer of 1998. Their final report offered suggestions concerning how to address these issues. First, they suggested that Appalshop create a smaller executive board to oversee day-to-day management of the nonprofit, while the larger board would meet twice a year to oversee larger governance issues. In discussing this new structure, Appalshop's staff considered the option of adding board members with no affiliation to their organization for three reasons: 1) funder requirements, 2) networking and connections and 3) disinterested perspectives and help. Adams and Goldbard advised that if Appalshop were to have external board members, its staff should be clear with them about their role, whether it would, in effect, simply require a token contribution to assuage funders or would, instead, require substantial commitment. If the latter, the consultants urged current staff to ensure that new Board members be provided

the material and knowledge to contribute substantively to the organization's governance (Appalshop Archive, Adams & Goldbard, 1998).

Second, Adams and Goldbard addressed the workload, skills and accountability required of Appalshop staffers in their various projects. Adams and Goldbard suggested greater collaboration and exchange among Appalshop members so that individuals could work to support each other's weaknesses. The consultants also emphasized the need to formalize staff on-boarding and relationships; for instance, by creating structured mentor-mentee relationships for new employees, written statements of responsibility among collaborating colleagues, including advisory groups and cultivating stronger ties to Appalshop's administrative office and directors to develop stronger lines of authority and accountability (Appalshop Archive, Adams & Goldbard, 1998). By 2000, Appalshop had created an executive board to lessen the management requirements expected of the larger board, but the informal and loosely coupled character among its projects continued to constitute the dominant and defining ethos of the organization.

Conclusion

To examine this period of Appalshop through the lens of new institutionalism, one must observe the components making up the fields in which the nonprofit operated during this time. These included the proximate fields influencing or influenced by the case field, the hegemonic narratives of that field and related others, and the role of individuals and their skills in disseminating and contesting the narratives and institutional logics they confronted. Appalshop flourished as the CCD field of which it was a part grew. The organization professionalized and grew disciplinarily, financially and in personnel. Likewise, with support from institutions such as the NEA and NEH as well as

several national philanthropies, the CCD field grew in the number of organizations it contained, people its organizations employed, and professional membership groups that its entities helped to coordinate and support. Appalshop and other organizations in the Community Cultural Development field continued to maintain their founding institutional logics that embraced democratic voice, culture and the space to encourage the exercise of political agency and thereby heighten the potential for social change.

Like other organizations in its field, Appalshop was affected by narratives and forces arising both internally and externally. Changes in power relations in the national political field, i.e. the rise of neoliberalism and a more radical GOP facilitated the deregulation of the coal industry and expansion of mountaintop removal methods of mining, which constituted a new and environmentally detrimental turn for the region. Appalshop members unanimously agreed that this new form of mining constituted a major threat to Central Appalachia's way of life and future. In 1996 and 1997, both the NEA and NEH experienced significant budget cuts at the behest of a radicalized Republican-controlled House of Representatives whose leaders would have eliminated the two agencies if they could have done so, perceiving them as a waste of public funds for efforts that properly should remain the province of private action alone. These budget reductions and the dominance of a neoliberal public philosophy and the changes they spawned in how NEA and NEH allocated funds, significantly hindered Appalshop's ability to obtain national government funding to pursue its work. Finally, as a means of justifying arts funding in an environment of increased scrutiny and continuing unalloyed criticism by some, federal and private funders began to favor programs that could

demonstrate clear and direct social impacts. In an interesting twist, this approach tended to support the pursuits of those in Appalshop focusing strongly on social justice issues.

The long-time internal governance tensions at Appalshop were exacerbated by the philosophic and funding turn at the national level. Within the nonprofit, and perhaps the larger CCD field in general, the different disciplines had long tended to approach their CCD mission in alternate ways. Some evidenced a different geographic scope, such as WMMT-FM and AMI, which largely provided services to the Appalachian region while others, including the American Festival Project, worked nationally across many communities. These efforts also had different funding sources and levels of accessible support available to them as well.

Moreover, rooted in different disciplines, the organization's projects each approached their work from different frames and emphasized unlike, although often complementary, values. Roadside Theater emphasized methodical relationship building to explore mutual interests and challenges. Appalshop Films and Headwaters TV focused on authentically representing the different voices they presented in their work. WMMT-FM, with its continuous production schedule, regularly explored different music and topics meant to inform and enrich its listeners' lives. All accomplished something different and significant for the organization. However, this time of stress had highlighted the fact that the substantive differences among the projects were accompanied by different levels of power and different priorities as well. The Film Union, which represented the founding discipline of the organization and had produced a prolific and highly regarded movie collection, enjoyed power as, in effect, the founding father of the organization. WMMT-FM had power in its ability to reach and serve the nonprofit's

region in a way that the other projects would never be able to do. Roadside Theater and the American Festival Project had power in their financial and programmatic success as national-scale projects. Staff of those projects—knowing their work and the importance of their efforts—could and did represent their projects as members of the Appalshop board, but could they represent the interests of the entire organization? That task, by default, proved challenging for Appalshop and that challenge only grew with changes in the nonprofit's funding environment.

External pressure from funders, internal tensions among the institutional logics of its various projects and practical challenges finally forced Appalshop staff to rethink their governance structure. Entities in the funding field tended to want external parties on the governance board, an idea that clashed with Appalshop's founding ideal of a worker-managed institution. In addition, the organizational logic of autonomy and independence among the actors in the nonprofit to stimulate and afford space for creative action came into conflict with the practical challenge of having a governing board spending inordinate amounts of time making management decisions whose efforts were hampered in any case by unavoidable conflicts of interest among its members. As a result, for better or worse, Appalshop staff began to adopt more mainstream approaches to institutional governance by welcoming external partners to the board and creating an executive board to make management decisions after 1998. But, notably, these did not include the creation of a clear and accountable leadership structure for internal day-to-day management of the institution.

Finally, new institutionalist scholars, Fligstein and McAdams, have suggested that to assess the actions and skills of individual actors within a field, analysts should ask how

those agents effected and attempted to effect changes or shifts in institutional logics within and outside their specific field. In the case of Appalshop, as in CCD more generally, Appalshop staff continued to look for ways to connect with peers and others in their field, often becoming leaders within it. They tirelessly traveled, sat on boards and NEA panels, ensured that their organization had a seat at the proverbial table, whichever table that might be in a shifting environment. If there was no table, they worked to create one (e.g. Roadside Theater's work to help develop the arts organization, Alternate ROOTS). Their participation in regional and national groups, collaborations with peers and engagement with funders facilitated their ability to ensure that the voices of rural Appalachia and others they represented were heard.

Through their networks, the nonprofit's staff also encountered and welcomed new members with fresh skills and ideas for production and activities. That is, they continued the tradition of mentorship and experimentation begun with the Appalachian Film Workshop in 1969 to support a new generation of Appalshop staff. In so doing, they passed on the institutional logics that underpinned the organization and the closely allied CCD field.

Chapter 6

Institutional Contraction (2001-2014)

As noted above, both the NEA and NEH budgets were cut in the late 1990s and by the early 2000s, private foundation funding was also strained. This period resulted in significant cuts to Appalshop's organizational budget and staff. By 2014, the nonprofit had endured a reduction in personnel from 33 staff members at its peak to 10 individuals (Appalshop Archive, Pickering 2014, 2014 KAC Shopwide proposal). As a result, total organization salaries dropped from $1 million in 2000 ($1.46 million in 2018 dollars) to $595,000 in 2014 ($631,000 in 2018 dollars). Indeed, the organization's salary budget in 2014 in constant dollars was comparable to that line item in 1987 (Appalshop Archive, Annual Audits). Appalshop's leaders reorganized the entity's board several times during these years by increasing the number of its members from outside the organization, both community and national representatives, and by changing its total membership. At various points, the board recommended more cross-disciplinary (cross-project) work, diversifying funding sources including non-arts funding, and developing the leadership capabilities of a new generation of personnel. In response, Appalshop staff sought to expand the entity's revenue portfolio through crowdfunding (e.g. IndieGoGo) and other sources (e.g. Friends of Appalshop).

The nonprofit's total number of projects during this period declined overall, while a few newer initiatives proved very successful and demonstrated the potential "stickiness" of fresh approaches to telling the Appalachian story. For example, WMMT-FM's radio program, *Holler to the Hood*, launched during these years, explored connections between Appalachia and urban life. *Holler* also generated other programs,

including *Hip Hop from the Hilltop/Calls from Home*, which connected prison inmates in the region with their families across the U.S. The documentary, *Up the Ridge*, produced during this time, critically examined the criminal justice system and policy in the region, and the play *A Thousand Kites* explored that system's effects on communities. In addition, Appalshop officially created an archive to preserve its work as well as any artifacts and work donated to the organization

Environmental Context

Two recessions marked the 2001-2014 period in the U.S. In 2001, the dot-com bubble burst, a casualty of overvalued and failing software companies. The September 11 attacks of that year on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. diminished consumer confidence in the future and slowed the nation's economic recovery from the 2001 recession. The attacks also led to the decision by the U.S. government and several of its allies to invade Afghanistan and Iraq under the banner of a newly declared War on Terror. That choice in turn spurred a change in national priorities and funding patterns. Then, in 2006, the housing market crashed, creating a domino effect that very nearly led to the collapse of the entire financial system in the United States and beyond in 2008. The 2008-2009 Great Recession was the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression and highlighted the relative fragility of an increasingly connected and deregulated capital market. Many of the hardest hit and slowest to recover communities in the United States were in rural and middle America, including the Appalachian region.

The socioeconomic trends of the 1990s continued into the 2000s. Educational attainment continued to grow in Appalachia during those years, but at a slower rate than

was occurring in the rest of the nation. Likewise, unemployment and poverty rates were higher in Appalachia than the national average, by at least three and thirteen percentage points respectively. Young workers continued to leave the region to find work. While a small cohort of neo-Appalachians came to the region in an effort to get "back to the earth" and experience rural life and culture, the population in the Appalshop service area continued its steady decline to 340,100 in 2000 and 325,600 by 2010. The region's population peaked in 1950 (479,900 people) and its 2010 total represented a 32 percent decline during the six decades since its apogee (U.S. Census). As Figure 17 illustrates, population density had also declined to less than the national average by 2000.

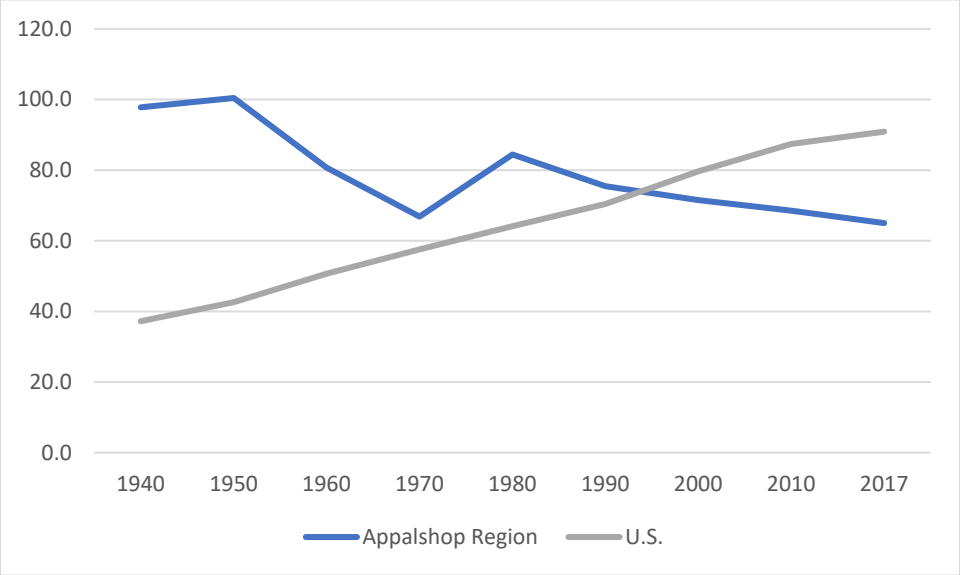


Figure 17. Population density per square mile (U.S. Census)

The period of 2001-2014 was also marked by growing national interest in Appalachian culture. Eco-and heritage-tourism became popular activities for urban tourists and constituted an addition to the regional economy (Eller, 2008). Tourism mostly generated low-wage jobs, but it also resulted in some added income for artisans in the area it occurred. This growing interest also supported environmental efforts to check

coal companies' mountaintop removal operations. In 2007, activists protested at a Bank of America location in Asheville, North Carolina against that company's investments in Massey Energy and Arch Coal, two of the largest surface mining companies in the region (Eller, 2008, pp. 258-259). Protesters' stance against the companies' contribution to global warming and destruction of land illustrated a growing interest in preserving the natural environment and homes of the region. As Eller (2008) has argued:

> No longer was Appalachia defined primarily by poverty and cultural backwardness; the region now had become a symbol of the larger dilemma of people's relationship to the land and responsibilities to each other. Appalachians and neo-Appalachians alike increasingly acknowledged that the quality of life in the mountains was inexorably tied to the use of the land and that Appalachia's problems were both systemic and universal. The Appalachian experience reflected the social, environmental, and cultural consequences of unrestrained growth, and it echoed the voices of powerless people struggling to survive in a changing world. Saving Appalachia now meant confronting the larger structures of global injustice as well as challenging local power brokers, corporate greed, and government apathy (p. 259).

Coal companies increasingly encountered growing resentment concerning their mining practices. Meanwhile, major industries in the region, including coal and manufacturing, continued to decline or relocate outside the region during the 2000s and 2010s. While the coal industry still offered higher wages relative to other occupations in Central Appalachia, those employed by such companies were now a fast dwindling minority. Coal-related jobs made up only 12 percent of total employment in the Appalshop region by 2001 and comprised just seven percent in 2014 (EMSI, 2019). As Figure 18 suggests, by the close of this period (2014), the region could no longer be described as a mono-economy driven by the coal industry. With declining reliance on coal across the nation and negative environmental and health impacts related to mountaintop removal becoming ever more visible in the region, public protests of coal

industry practices became more pronounced in the 2000s. These grassroots efforts surely contributed to the deterioration of the coal industry's image during this period. Activists helped to support litigation against companies, aggressively sought permitting delays for new mountaintop removal sites, and also called for strict enforcement of coal-truck weight limits that had often been ignored by companies in the past (Bonskowski, 2004).

By 2003, this turn had occasioned a response by the coal companies still operating in the region and as a group they launched efforts to garner political support. For

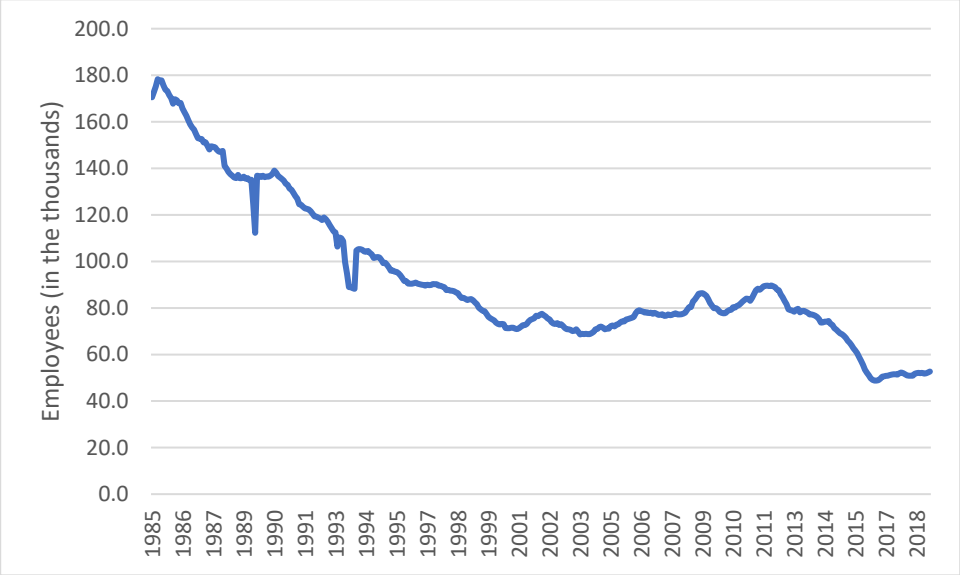


Figure 18. National number of employees in the coal industry (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

example, they formed the fake grassroots organization, Friends of Coal, in an effort to reframe the narrative concerning the environmental impacts of their mountain top removal mining and their continued decline as significant employers. The industry sought to convince Appalachians and their elected leaders that coal was still a vital and necessary part of the Appalachian economy. To do so, they set out vigorously to embed "coal" in the region's ongoing identity. They pressed their claims through television, radio and print media ads and by peddling a variety of paraphernalia, including hats and

bumper stickers, as well as by offering sponsorships, scholarships and promoting education about the industry in schools. The coal industry's commercials, particularly, appropriated symbols of Appalachian identity, such as the rugged outdoorsman, to convey the image of coal as a distinct part of the area's culture and one that was necessary for its continued vigor (Bell, 2016). The industry's marketing campaign simultaneously argued that environmental activists were waging a "War on Coal" and thus, a war on Appalachian identity, heritage and culture.

Defining the Community Cultural Development Field Despite Limited Structural Support

During the 2001-2014 period, those within the CCD field began to define the institutional logics, players and boundaries of the field more clearly, resulting in the structuration of the field (e.g. Cleveland, 2008; Goldbard, 2006; Graves, 2005; Leonard & Kilkelly, 2006; Martin, 2015; Stephenson & Tate, 2015; Woodson & Underiner, 2018). CCD and the arts field more broadly grew in the number of people and organizations active within it during this period. While some networks dissolved, particularly in the independent film discipline, others continued, and new groups were formed. For instance, the Animating Democracy initiative was created as a result of a 1999 report by Americans for the Arts, which examined the activities of arts and culture in creating space for civic dialogue in cases across the United States. The initiative began as a four-year program that provided grants to 36 cultural organizations across the nation to "experiment with or deepen existing approaches to arts-and humanities-based civic dialogue," and continued with other programs meant to encourage a national dialogue on the arts, civic engagement and other social issues of interest to the arts community

(Animating Democracy, 2019). This type of work in the arts aligned with discussion among democratic theorists and civil society practitioners to encourage and expand citizen participation in government and everyday life (Boyte, 2005; Briggs, 2008; Cornwall, 2011; Fung, 2004; Levine, 2013; Sirianni, 2009).

Through different programs—arts and civic dialogue, arts education, cultural presentations, and more—individual participation in the arts grew. More college freshman reported that they took four years of art-related courses in high school, and larger numbers than previously majored in an arts discipline during these years. Although a 2002-2012 study of public participation in the arts conducted by the NEA described a generational shift away from traditional arts activities and institutions such as museums and the theater (NEA, 2015), other researchers found that arts participation was growing, but in different realms. For example, more individuals were becoming producers of music, photography, ceramics and graphic design to name only a few art forms (Kushner & Cohen, 2009).

Smaller, community-based and culturally-specific arts organizations often drove that growth. According to the 2012 National Arts Index published by Americans for the Arts, “the number of these organizations has grown faster than the rate of growth for all nonprofit arts organizations and even faster than the rate of the minority population in the U.S” (Kushner & Cohen, 2012, p. 57). Technology also played a role in how citizens engaged with different art forms. During this period, for example, more than half of the nation’s (recorded) music stores disappeared in favor of digital media downloads. Citizens may not have been going to the opera or buying opera recordings as compact

discs as often, but they were surely streaming recordings of those, and of productions of them as well (Kushner & Cohen, 2016). As Kushner and Cohen (2012) have explained:

> The data underscore the observations of many that consumers are seeking a more personal engagement in their arts experiences, embracing the delivery of arts and music through technology, and seeking more diverse cultural experiences. Thus, the public is not walking away from the arts, but they are walking away from some traditional models of [its] delivery (p. 8).

At the same time, the United States was becoming more ethnically diverse during these years and this shift appeared to respond to that changing reality.

These and other data encouraged many to change their expectation for the arts in terms of the technology used to engage potential users and patrons, the diversity of arts and culture work and "the ways the arts need to speak to the challenges of poverty, educational disparities, and other factors" (Lawrence, 2018, p. 13). Yet, the funding trends of this time still demonstrated similar patterns to those begun in the 1980s: "museums and the performing arts accounted for a majority of grant dollars, and a substantial share of funding was concentrated among a small number of major arts and cultural institutions" (Lawrence, 2018, p. 12).

As with the rest of the nation, the attacks of September 11, 2001 affected the arts community in several ways. In New York City, several arts organizations and collections were physically damaged by the attacks. The ensuing dip in tourism and audience attendance along with heightened security protections lowered revenues and increased costs for many arts organizations that hosted groups or relied on ticket sales. These trends financially challenged New York and D.C. arts organizations, especially, in the months following the attacks. The arts nationally were also affected, not only by the emotional repercussions of the events, but also financially by the redirection of a share of public and

private funding toward recovery and to the newly launched war efforts (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 138).

Private and foundation funding for the arts suffered comparatively between 2001 and 2014. While private contributions rose by ten percent for the arts, such support for all sectors increased during the period by fourteen percent. Similarly, foundation funding to arts entities during these years declined three percent after inflation. For both funding sources, however, these reductions were particularly challenging during the Great Recession, with a 20 percent decrease in support from private funders and a 12 percent decline from foundations (Lawrence, 2018, p. 9). As illustrated in Figure 19, of those organizations listed as members of the top one hundred foundation arts funders in 2000, only 45 percent remained in that group by 2014 (Lawrence 2018, p. 11). Furthermore, the age of foundations correlated with their tendency to fund the arts: fully 91 percent of such philanthropies founded before the 1950s gave to the arts and 80 percent of those founded in the 1990s offered arts funding, but only 63 percent of such institutions created after 2000 now dedicate funding to the arts (Lawrence, 2018, p. 11).

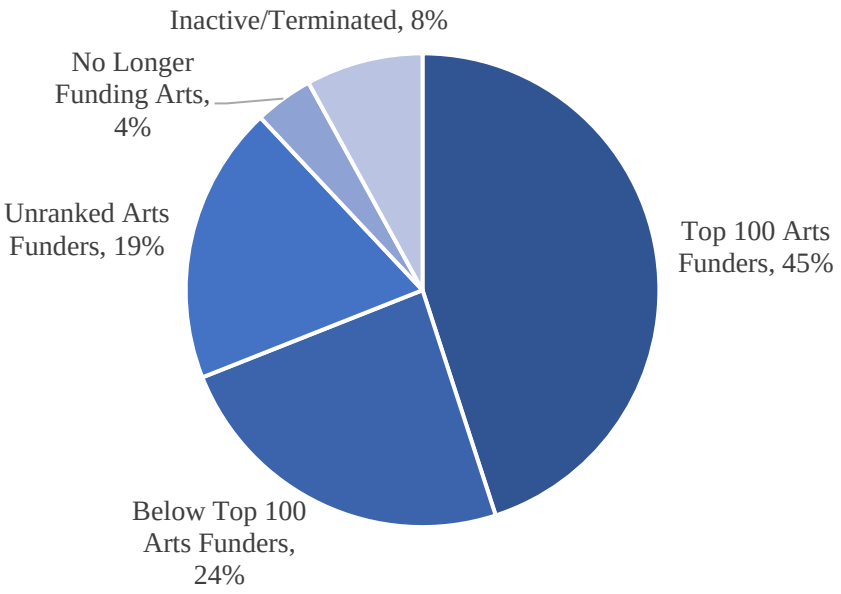


Figure 19. Status of year 2000's top 100 foundation arts funders in year 2014 (Lawrence, 2018, p. 11)

One reason for this decline in private and foundation funding, besides the economic recessions of the time and decreased interest in traditional arts organizations in general, was perhaps the challenge of quantifying the impact of the arts, as was also a challenge for philanthropic support for other parts of the political economy under the aegis of neoliberal thinking during this period. The leaders of many of the younger foundations were avid about demonstrating how their funds promoted social causes and that they make that cause-and-effect story very clear, with statistics if possible. For these executives, the argument that "Arts for Arts sake," was essential for society was insufficient to merit support (Kushner & Cohen, 2009; Lawrence, 2018). This emphasis on demonstrating social impact also implied a deepened focus on project-specific funding and reduced funds dedicated to helping organizations maintain their administrative operations.

To make the case for the arts in this changing environment, organizations supporting the sub-sector took action. Americans for the Arts, for example, developed the National Arts Index, comprised of 81 indicators, to follow trends in the arts including financial flows, industry capacity, arts participation and the arts subsector compared to other nonprofit subsectors (e.g. health, social services or education) (Kushner & Cohen, 2009, 2012 and 2016). In another instance of such an effort, the NEA partnered with the Appalachian Regional Commission in 2012, "to demonstrate the positive economic impact that the arts can have on local communities. More than 300 artists and arts administrators shared information [at a national conference/showcase] about model programs and best practices" (Bauerlein, 2008, pp. 143-144).

Federal and state funding also shifted in notable ways during this 2001-2014 period. Funding to state arts agencies fell dramatically during these years, by approximately 43 percent after inflation. In consequence, and since Kentucky was one of the many states that instituted such reductions, two of Appalshop's long-time funders, Kentucky Arts Council and Kentucky Education Television scaled back their support for the nonprofit's documentary productions. As one former staff member from the second generation of Appalshop staff (those who served between 1990 and 2010) explained:

> I remember when Appalshop used to get significant grants from Kentucky Educational Television. It was called the Kentucky Fund for Independent Productions and it came through the state government. And I remember that it had shrunk and shrunk and shrunk and eventually got cut [completely] somewhere around 2008 or so. And that was really seed money that the filmmakers could use to get films started. And you'd need usually to have a fundraising sample in order to then take it to external funders and get more money. And when that seed money went away, there was still a little bit of seed money from the endowment, but that KET money really made a difference in how much time filmmakers could put into that kind of work (Personal Interview, Tom Hansell 2.18.2019).

Federal funding to the arts overall also declined during these years (Kushner & Cohen, 2012). However, national funding for the NEA actually increased during this period, even if not to the level that it had attained in the 1980s and early 1990s (Lawrence, 2018). At the beginning of the 2000s, the NEA was still suffering from previous cuts to its budget. By 2008, however, the agency had gained renewed support from Republicans and Democrats alike.

When he became NEA Chair in 2002, Dana Gioia, a highly regarded American poet, deliberately set out to improve the agency's relationship with Congress. He established bringing "the best in the arts and arts education to the broadest audience possible" as the NEA's highest priority (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 148). To help realize this aim, Gioia targeted some Endowment funding toward different initiatives that would allow for more geographic spread and larger impact. These efforts drew on the strength of local organizations and built partnerships across the country:

- *Shakespeare in America*, which gave NEA funding to theater groups to tour the U.S. and perform productions in schools, for adult audiences and at military bases.
- *Operation Homecoming: Writing the Wartime Experience*, which hired writers and poets to work with those in the military and their families to write about their experiences.
- *NEA Jazz Masters Initiative*, which increased the number of jazz fellowships and touring capacity of jazz bands.
- *American Masterpieces*, which provided funds to touring exhibitions, concerts, dance performances and broadcasts of "great American art."
- *The Big Read*, which attempted to address the significant decline in youth and young adult readers by helping participating communities promote one book that citizens would read and discuss. (Bauerlein, 2008, pp. 150-159).

Most of these programs were accompanied by efforts to distribute related educational material to classrooms across the country to buttress arts education and enrich students' lives.

Previously, most NEA funding had been broadly dispersed to local arts organization programs, but that approach decreased the salience of the larger impact that NEA support was having on the arts in the entire U.S. These new initiatives made the Endowment's impact more apparent (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 150). As a result, politicians who had previously called for the organization's termination now began to applaud its efforts (Bauerlein, 2008, p. 160). As Figure 20 illustrates, the NEA's budget subsequently grew from a low of $97.6 million in 2000 to $167.5 million in 2010 (Lawrence, 2016; NEA, 2018).

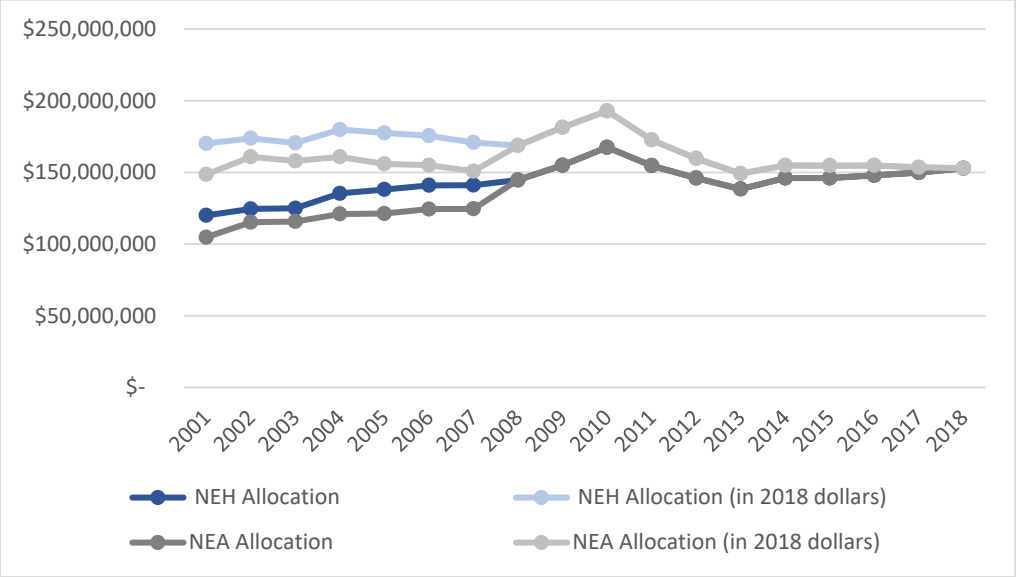


Figure 20. 2001-2018 NEA and NEH funding (NEA 2018; NEH 2018)

Another reason that the NEA gradually regained bipartisan support in Congress could, paradoxically, also be a result of the September 11 attacks and the subsequent War on Terror. Like the Cold War, a key component of the War on Terror was defending American identity and culture, which often was popularly translated into determining what was and was not American. As the arts and cultural arms of the federal government, both the NEA and NEH were well positioned to disseminate narratives about United States culture.

While these initiatives were lauded by elected officials on both sides of the aisle, one critique of this approach was whether the NEA, for the most part, had acquiesced to criticisms about what it funded by dedicating much of its funding to accepted, mainstream definitions of "great art." That is, the agency now disproportionately funded art that fell squarely within the realm of western European heritage. Somewhat paradoxically, although these programs likely reached more people than earlier efforts had, the material that reached this broader audience may not have been as democratically representative as previous funding had been.

With the arts receiving a smaller share of national funding overall, many questioned the sustainability of many such organizations. Indeed, during 2001-2014, the percentage of arts entities operating with a deficit ranged from 36 percent in 2007 to 45 percent in 2009. By 2013, 42 percent of arts organizations were still not generating a surplus or breaking even, highlighting the slow recovery of the sub-sector following the Great Recession (Kushner & Cohen, 2016).

Appalshop: Challenging the Institutional Logics of the Organization

Like many CCD nonprofits during this 2001-2014 period, Appalshop struggled with public and philanthropic funding cutbacks and the changing national landscape that had spawned them. Figure 21 shows that after 2000, Appalshop's annual income fell and did not rise above three million dollars, basically the same income it had received during

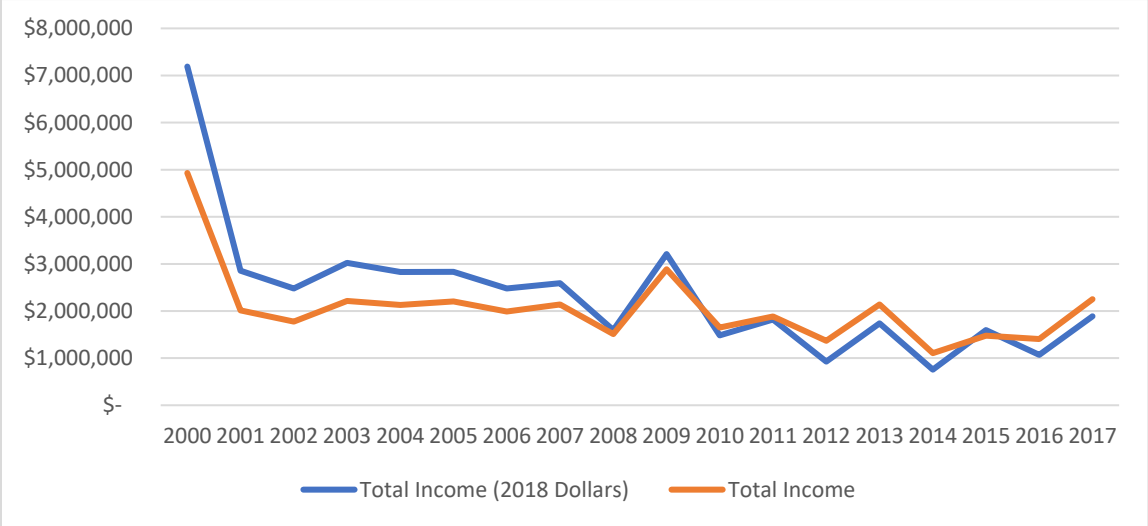


Figure 21. 2000-2017 Appalshop income (Appalshop Archive, Annual Audits)

the 1980s. Figure 22 demonstrates that the organization began drawing down its endowment to make up for the spending difference, an unsustainable option, particularly

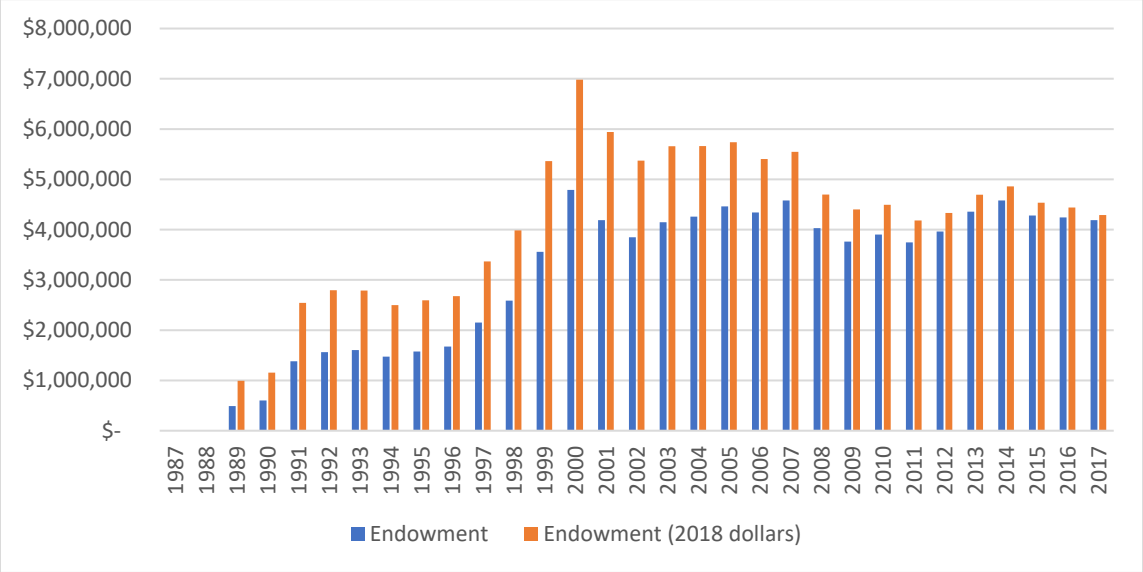


Figure 22. 1987-2017 Size of Appalshop endowment (Appalshop Archive, Annual Audits)

once the 2008 recession hit. Many of the longstanding projects at Appalshop faced the imperative of financial and programmatic restructuring, and their managers had to address that fact as both project and governing board members. As one former Appalshop member explained:

> Those financial restructurings are very hard, I know. I mean I was on the board at one point when Roadside made some very hard decisions that were very difficult for the organization to handle [dissolving their ensemble]. But they had to be done because they didn't have the funding and it just was necessary. But it was hard to grapple with, and the structure of the board at that time when everybody was a stakeholder on the board made it doubly hard, right? Because you had individual people who are stakeholders making decisions about their salary or their longtime peers' salaries. And the radio station I know has had structural troubles over time, and there was a time when all of the radio station staff decided to take a pay cut as a group. And that's a really hard thing to see (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

Appalshop's Activities

During this period, as the above quotation suggested, Roadside Theater effectively disbanded as a major national touring company because of the NEA's termination of its arts presenting program (the Expansion Arts initiative). Both Roadside Theater and the American Festival Project no longer had access to the touring support they had enjoyed in the 1980s and 1990s. By 2010, as Dudley Cocke explained:

> We're trying to figure out how do we address this? There's now no funding for Roadside Theater to make a play unless we can argue how making the play is going to address a critical issue like poverty or mass incarceration. And we also have to increasingly turn our energy to arguing for a more inclusive national arts policy, because the idea of every community having its own arts organizations is being replaced by the old idea of only a few national arts institutions. This, of course, mirrors the Reagan administration's trickle-down economic model (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

The American Festival Project ceased operations all together. Meanwhile, Appalshop's radio station, WMMT-FM, which had always struggled financially, was now faced with even higher levels of annual debt.

Appalshop also drastically reduced its film production during this period. Before this turndown, the organization had produced an average of at least three films a year. That average dropped to about two films every three years after 2000. For those staff members still producing films, those activities often became side projects while the bulk of their time was dedicated to paid projects and fundraising. As one second generation interview participant explained:

> I would actually argue [that] up until the very early 2000s, maybe 2002 or 2005, Appalshop was putting out a couple of independent films every year. A couple of independent documentaries that were broadcast and shown at theaters and film festivals. And there were a couple of retrospectives at the Museum of Modern Art during that period too. And what you saw with the shift of funding—and I would argue to some degree a shift in interest of people there but I think you can't underestimate the shift of funding—less documentary film production and more

> media kind of in service to larger issues like the criminal justice system (Personal Interview, Tom Hansell 2.18.2019).

Appalshop's Film Union also struggled due to the departure of Dee Davis when he left to form another nonprofit, the Center for Rural Strategies. Of those interviewed that were present at the time, five described Davis' significant role in the Film Union:

> There was a lot of turmoil around that. He had played a very strong leadership role in the organization, particularly in the Film Union. I think there were people who were sad to see him go and I think also kind of questioning... He was a heavy hitter as a fundraiser. And so, there was a kind of a sense of unease around, you know, what's going to happen to all these relationships with these funders? And how will that work? (Personal Interview, Olivia Nottoway 2.9.2019)

Similarly, when other Appalshop members left to take other positions due to funding pressures, their loss occasioned holes in the organization, resulting from the creativity, passion, artistry and other skills they took with them as they exited. Because the nonprofit allowed its staffers so much individual agency, an entire project might disappear with the departure of one or two people. By the end of the period, the Film Union had essentially dissolved due to an insufficient number of people working on film and video production.

In addition, shifts in funding patterns resulted in a greater focus on issue-oriented and cross-project work. For instance, a big programmatic shift in Appalshop Films occurred away from making full-length films and videos to making shorter pieces that addressed specific issues or that could serve as public service productions. The nonprofit's Community Media Initiative developed capacity to make these types of pieces and its staff worked with other groups to train them in using media for popular advocacy.

Meanwhile, while Appalshop had always played a role in community and economic change efforts through its cultural development work, the politics surrounding

the industry's "War on Coal" marketing campaign necessitated a more explicit narrative concerning economic development. In 2010, for example, the Appalshop Community Media Initiative and WMMT-FM began to produce the show *Making Connections News*, in which the showrunners developed pieces about how to diversify local economies. The station also began to highlight stories of people in the region who had identified economic alternatives that appeared to be succeeding to some degree. The goal was helping residents "imagine what is possible before they can work for something that is possible" (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019). Because of the coal industry's well-funded ads, however, many of the region's citizens continued to believe that coal was their future despite historical data and industry economic forecasts suggesting otherwise.

Roadside Theater's plays also became more issue-based. Instead of a touring ensemble, the company's new work took the form of community residencies addressing specific social topics. Roadside's then Managing Director, Donna Porterfield, worked with a women's shelter to develop *Voices from the Battlefront*, a play addressing domestic violence, for example. Another play she authored, *A Thousand Kites*, which concerned prison incarceration of a parent and its multiple impacts on families, was read in several communities by relatives of prisoners. These productions did not necessarily take the form of formally produced plays, but instead often were readings by community members, followed by story circle discussions. As one Roadside interviewee elaborated:

> They didn't take as much money to produce, and they weren't toured nationally. Community people often read the parts. When we did *A Thousand Kites* residency or performance, we'd be invited into a community that had people who read the parts. We staged them into the play. Because the readers were families of prisoners and ex-prisoners, the performances were powerful. These folks knew what they were talking about; they knew these stories personally. There is power

> in that kind of performance. Sometimes they added some of their own content (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

Roadside's *A Thousand Kites* evolved from work at WMMT-FM and Appalshop Films, which were developing a film on national incarceration policy, *Up the Ridge* (2006). In 2002, WMMT-FM had created a show, *Holler to the Hood*, which had attracted the attention of inmates in nearby prisons and their families. At one point, a person called in to the station during the program asking if they could give a shout out to their family member in prison who listened to the show. That call resulted in *Calls from Home* in which incarcerated persons could write letters that were read to their families on air. Similarly, relatives could call in to the show and send a message to a family member in prison. According to one Roadside Theater member, because of the momentum and enthusiasm that the WMMT-FM and Appalshop Films' projects created, those in the region asked for a play on the topic, one that could be interactive and help to parse the issues linked to incarceration in real time (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.4.2019).

This collaboration among projects concerning one topic, "was kind of a departure in some ways," according to one former Appalshop employee at WMMT-FM and Appalshop Films:

> I mean, it was sort of melding a lot of the different aspects of the organizations that were using film, radio and theater, all of which were kind of separate divisions per se. But, you know, different disciplines that didn't always overlap (Personal Interview, Olivia Nottoway 2.9.2019).

Despite this collaborative success, the nonprofit's staff recognized the challenges that accompanied this new program model. Appalshop Films, Roadside Theater and other projects could not make as many long-form productions exploring different aspects of

Appalachian culture as they once had, efforts that had been at the heart of the organization from its inception.

Not all existing projects experienced such dire cutbacks. Because arts education funding was still a significant emphasis within the shrinking pot of money available for CCD organizations in the U.S., projects such as the Appalachian Media Institute (AMI) were still able to operate and grow. In fact, the basic institutional structure of AMI took shape during this 2001-2014 period. In the early 2000s, Maureen Mullinax began to develop a day-to-day curriculum, which others, including Natasha Watts, continued to refine through the 2000s. The framework of their curriculum is still used today. AMI continued the spirit of Appalshop. One former employee who first came to the nonprofit through that program described her experience:

> [AMI's equipment] was the very first nonlinear editing system to come out. The leaders of the group at that time didn't know how to work it. So, this younger guy and I immediately figured out how to work the system. I had really struggled in school. I'd really never felt smart. I had a learning disability. And there they were just like, 'Well, take this really expensive piece of equipment. Figure it out.' […] And so, we were cutting titles and figuring out all these things, and they were just dropping thousands of dollars-worth of equipment in our hands and being like, 'You're responsible. You can do this.' […] What Appalshop [staff] saw in me was someone who was young, capable, could put energy in, and was smart (Personal Interview, Marion Fairfield 2.22.2019).

AMI was also marked during this period by a change in the demographic composition of its student body. Appalshop now focused on bringing in a mix of students, not just those at the top of their class, but also those who might be struggling in school and those who had become entangled with the juvenile justice system. The organization's leaders perceived the importance of offering the Institute experience to all kinds of individuals. For example, one AMI student was struggling in school and had acquired a police record. She started the summer program with a juvenile justice system

ankle monitor. By the next summer, she was discussing college plans with Appalshop staff, a turn those individuals did not expect.

Also, during this period, AMI received funding from the State Department to offer programs and exchanges across the country and the world. Project staff, along with many in Appalshop Films, went to such places as Marks (MS), Charlotte (NC), Mathis (TX), and different cities in Indonesia. Appalshop staff conducted trainings on how to shoot video, and the students created short films about their communities that Appalshop could share with the other program participants.

Using additional arts education funding and motivated by the regional trend to embrace traditional Appalachian music and culture, Appalshop also launched a Traditional Music Program (TMP) in 2001. Like the Seedtime on the Cumberland Festival, this initiative offered participants opportunities to hear and learn more about Old Time and Bluegrass music from seasoned musicians. TMP provided jam sessions, concerts, storytelling, radio broadcasts and workshops with master musicians. As part of TMP, the *Pic and Bow* after-school program teaches students how to play Appalachian old time and bluegrass instruments such as the guitar, fiddle, banjo and mandolin.

Finally, as noted above, Appalshop established its Archive in 2003. The idea for the library first arose in the early 1990s when the nonprofit received a photo collection featuring families from the region and photographs of daily life in the area by a local photographer, William R. “Pictureman” Mullins. Elizabeth Barrett from Appalshop Films and others in the organization saw this gift as an opportunity not only to preserve Mullins’ work, but also to serve as a regional archive that could preserve the artifacts and history of central Appalachia and Appalshop’s own history as well. Barrett continued to

collect artifacts, such as photos, and raised funds to hire consultants to plan for the organizational archive. By 2003, Appalshop had developed a sufficient collection and garnered enough expertise to open the Archive officially to the broader public.

Partnerships

Appalshop's partners also were affected by the challenges of the two recessions, America's involvement in two long-lived wars and the resulting changes in national and state funding patterns and priorities. Many of the nonprofit's peer groups such as the National Association of Media Arts Centers (NAMAC), Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF) and the American Festival Project became relatively inactive or shut down completely during this period. Many regional social justice organizations continued to operate and partner with Appalshop, but they too now did so at a reduced capacity. Local partnering through AMI and WMMT-FM and such programs as Traditional Music, maintained Appalshop's presence in the region. However, area residents did not always associate those offerings with the arts nonprofit. In fact, hostility arose to Appalshop amongst some citizens and groups in the region that opposed the nonprofit's clear stance against the coal industry's dangerous practices. Indeed, many of these individuals saw the local organization as a participant in the industry's much marketed "War on Coal."

Meanwhile, those in Appalshop, Roadside Theater's principals in particular, recognized that until national art and cultural policy changed, Appalshop was going to be "stuck in this box, this closed system" (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019), meaning it was relegated to only certain types of work and only had access to limited funding for even those efforts. As a result, Roadside staff and its partners spent time arguing and debating for a different kind of policy "to keep this tradition of democratic

populism alive in practice, as well as in people's memories of what is possible" (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019). Appalshop worked with organizations such as Animating Democracy, Imagining America, and Arts & Democracy. Former Appalshop staff member, Caron Atlas, helped to form the Arts & Democracy Project, a nonprofit that:

> …puts arts and culture on agendas where it hasn't been before, connects artists, cultural organizers, and activists who wouldn't otherwise know each other, and creates the connective tissue and generative environment needed for cross sector collaboration to succeed (Arts & Democracy, 2019).

Despite financial struggles in many higher education institutions during these years, arts and humanities departments formed Imagining America in 1999 to encourage higher education institutions' roles in civic engagement and partnerships. Appalshop's partnership with these entities kept the organization in the national discussion about arts, culture and democracy.

Individual Actors and Skills

Meanwhile, as described briefly in the previous chapter, a new generation of staff arrived at Appalshop between 1990 and 2010. These individuals included, but were not limited to Amelia Kirby, Tom Hansel, Justine Richardson, Suzanne Sable, Rebecca Dowdy, Maureen Mullinax, Greg Howard, Robert Gipe and Natasha Watts. Many staff members worked across multiple projects including radio, film, and AMI. One current staff member described this generation of staff members this way:

> My feeling is that they really allowed the institution to be very relevant and contemporary in that [late 1990s-2000s] era. They were young at the time and learning from the founding generation. And again, most of these things had already existed. Most of our main programs and projects [already existed]. But I think there was just a lot of work that was created in the late 1990s-early 2000s, period. […] And I feel like that creative burst from that crew of people [helped Appalshop overall]. They were smart, they were energized, they were ready to go.

> A lot of the founders had maybe burned out on their fundraising a little bit by this time. Among these folks, though, there was new energy, like 'We can do this! I want to create a film! I want to...' Justine Richardson was here as part of that, and I think that, for me, they were like the cool 30-year-olds […] I think their perspective was different than that of the founding generation. [It] was bringing a lot of important analysis to what was happening to the region that now was not just based in coal mining. And they valued all the cultural and traditional stuff that the founders did too and thought that voice and agency was really important. So, their work was very value aligned, but this group brought some new lenses and perspectives (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

Appalshop acquired an additional building across the street from their main location in 2001. With the new 'Boone Building,' the second generation of Appalshop staff encouraged area youth at the time to form Youth Bored, a group dedicated to alternative music and art in eastern Kentucky. Young people would meet in the Boone building and host different punk bands from the region and nationally. Beginning in the late 1990s, Youth Bored organized the punk portion of the Seedtime on the Cumberland festival

Many in the second generation developed new activities. Amelia Kirby and Nick Szuberla, for example, were passionate about critiquing current incarceration policy. They therefore led most of Appalshop's activities related to this concern, including filming *Up the Ridge,* and broadcasting *Holler to the Hood* and *Calls from Home*. When *A Thousand Kites* grew into an opportunity to create dialogue across communities about incarceration, Nick Szuberla pushed that effort forward, eventually broadening the approach and creating another nonprofit, Working Narratives, to sustain it. Meanwhile, Maureen Mullinax and Natasha Watts worked at AMI and reshaped that project as outlined above. Robert Gipe, Tom Hansell and Justine Richardson developed various films and supported projects across the organization, offering unique perspectives as they did so. Robert Gipe, for instance, began experimenting with Claymation in AMI, and he

was one of the first at Appalshop to illustrate how the burgeoning “placemaking” movement, an approach to planning, design and management of public spaces, aligned with what Appalshop had been doing for decades, opening up new possibilities for the organization moving forward.

However, by the end of this 2001-2014 period, all but one of this second generation of Appalshop staffers had left the organization. As with Dee Davis and others, the loss of these individuals was challenging for an entity that relied so heavily on personal agency to create and drive different projects. In retrospect, it seems clear that to some extent, the departure of this generation may have been linked to frustration with the organization’s structure and culture. Although the nonprofit offered a democratic, horizontal governance structure, power hierarchies did exist that were difficult to grasp without historical knowledge, making understanding the daily operating dynamics of Appalshop difficult for newcomers. There was also no onboarding process to make sure new hires understood the culture and processes of the organization, which was particularly challenging when staff were expected to join the governing board after their first year at Appalshop. One staffer explained, “I think [there was also] a little bit of wrestling with the founders around like, ‘What's the culture of the organization? What's the way we do things?’ And so, you know, literally none of them are here anymore” (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

But the main reason for many of the second generation of Appalshop staff leaving was not necessarily frustration with the organization’s culture or operations. Instead, many actively sought opportunities elsewhere because they needed a larger and more dependable salary to support their families. In some cases, the spouse or significant other

of the Appalshop staff member was unable to find meaningful work in the nonprofit's rural location. In other cases, it was just the right time to move on to continue to grow personally and professionally. Whatever the mix of reasons for the exodus, the loss of this Appalshop generation nevertheless signaled the need to do a better job encouraging and retaining future staff.

Institutional Logics

Despite the many exogenous environmental challenges that arose during this time, Appalshop's staff maintained many of the institutional logics that had long driven the organization. *Holler to the Hood* was an example of balancing existing normative logics with external pressures and local accountability. While several Appalshop staff created and produced *Holler to the Hood* in their free time, it was not an official WMMT-FM production. Moreover, despite its popularity among inmates, Virginia Department of Corrections leaders from the region's four prisons believed this show undermined their power and authority. Some also questioned whether those in prison deserved such a service. According to one Appalshop staffer at the time, WMMT-FM had heard that the prison guards tried to stop inmates from listening to the show (Personal Interview, Jordan Park 2.15.2019).

In one instance, the Virginia Department of Corrections (D.O.C.) accused the show of passing along coded messages through inmate letters and family shout outs. They threatened to reach out to the FCC and shut down the entire radio station. An Appalshop member at the time explained:

> So obviously that was a huge crisis. The station really stuck to its guns and values—because *Holler to the Hood* was just a show on the station and we were not part of the WMMT organizational structure [i.e. not produced through WMMT-FM funding]. But as a radio station, the values are to have the show on

> the air. It would have been very easy for them to be like ‘look, you all got to go. We can't have this threat or this risk.’ But they really saw the kind of underlying issues at hand around state censorship and sort of state oppression.
>
> We were [eventually] able to work it out, I think in part because—I am sure that you've encountered in all of your research that sort of a whole big insider/outsider dynamic around where you are from and what kind of, who are you coming into community and doing this work? You know I am from there and specifically from Wise County. So, I was able to work with the guy at the prison who was trying to get us shut down, to say what can we do to change this so this doesn't happen? We're just trying to not explicitly be like ‘I am just a good Christian girl trying to do a nice thing for the needy.’ [And instead,] you know kind of drawing on those values and being like ‘you know, I'm from here. I'm not some person coming in to try to cause trouble’ (Personal Interview, Olivia Nottoway 2.9.2019).

Appalshop and the Virginia D.O.C. eventually came to a compromise in which that agency allowed *Holler to the Hood* staff to produce the show by recording calls ahead of time so they could be screened. This episode illustrated Appalshop’s continued ability to challenge the status quo in its region while still maintaining its identity as a local organization, continuing a long tradition of balancing allegiances.

However, the external challenges facing the arts organization at this time also exacerbated many of its internal struggles, as explored in previous chapters. Because funding patterns and priorities had changed and Appalshop’s budget was strained, there were growing tensions among staff members between holding on to very strict normative logics—those related to individual agency, artistic and political vision—and developing strategies that would reassure donors and grantors about the nonprofit’s financial accountability and sustainability. These strains were often manifest in disputes among the principals of the various projects. Some interviewees attributed it to varying access to resources among those initiatives:

> I mean aspects of it worked well creatively and I think it was generative because of a lot of the ways that fundraising worked at Appalshop. There is a certain amount of territoriality and people have different fundraising styles and they have different levels of access. So, I think that there can be some tension around that for sure (Personal Interview, Olivia Nottoway 2.9.2019).

Thus, if one project did not have as much success raising funds as others, or was in debt, but it played what many staffers thought to be a strong, important role in fulfilling the organization's mission, what should be done? Meanwhile, when other efforts had more success with funding, but might not contribute as much to the overall mission in the view of some staff; how could those efforts help to support other projects, or should they assist at all? One Appalshop director provided an example of this long-lived concern or friction:

> We have a radio station that struggles to be profitable. It has a great number of listeners who also are elderly and location based. And we happen to serve a location that doesn't have a lot of philanthropic dollars. But the loyalty to our radio station is probably the highest brand recognition [of any entity] among the people that participate [listeners]. So, if you like film and you like Appalshop's films, you may rate Appalshop's film an 8 out of 10. If you like radio and Appalshop's radio [programming], you probably rate Appalshop's station a 10 out of 10. The people that like it, love it. We also can't reach that set of people through any other of our artistic media. They tend to be conservative like most radio listeners are. And so, it's just an entirely different audience. So the question that continually arises for us on this project, which can't meet its expenses—is this an investment? Is this a subsidy? Or, are we just throwing money away? And those questions come up all the time (Personal Interview, Oliver Holmes 1.22.2019).

Others with whom I spoke attributed the entity's financial struggles to how projects were structured. In some instances, initiatives provided a process of personnel training for new employees, making sure the staff had training wheels before they were fully autonomous in their project(s). In other instances, new staff were put into positions with little acculturation, but were allowed to make mistakes. As one Appalshop employee

put it “the pessimistic way of looking at this is that you're given enough rope to hang yourself from. The optimistic way is it's not like you're fired quickly for messing up” (Personal Interview, Troy Hodges 2.27.2019).

These challenges inevitably raised the issue of institutional culture and governance structure. As the organization operated, it tended really to act as many small entities under one umbrella. Hence, the relative autonomy granted to projects. Many feared the institutional rigidity of hierarchical structures that they had seen operating in other organizations. That possibility was concerning for many staff because a strong share of Appalshop’s successes throughout its history had arisen from an openness to experimentation and imaginative exploration. Individual autonomy and creativity had helped the organization to thrive and adapt. However, many staffers during this period expressed growing concern that a continuing lack of institutional structure and leadership would not help Appalshop adapt to the realities it now confronted in its environment, particularly when different projects were running in the red and there were no mechanisms to hold their principals accountable for that fact. Some staff worried those faltering efforts could fail and cause the entire organization to collapse:

> Appalshop, they've always fought the structure, so then when you want to get the structure it is even harder to—like the structure for retirement, the structure for bringing new people in and the flow of work and new ideas and changing things […] They are all about change if you look at this pattern. Like, there's projects popping up everywhere. If I walked in today and said, ‘This is an idea that I got,’ we would have that conversation and they would be on board. But I think an agreed upon *governance* has never really existed, maybe, in the way that there is an agreed upon governance at [an] R1 [university] institution, there is an agreed upon governance at the hospice for which I worked, at the community college for which I worked, at the K-12 at which I worked. And so, I don't know that everyone has agreed upon a structure for everything […] But I think the beauty of that is anything can be born. And that change part—the true word of changing up things—it is a magical thing at Appalshop. It is also a complicated thing because that they let anything be changed at any time also complicates trying to have a

> structure that helps you stay stable and move forward (Personal Interview, Marion Fairfield 2.22.2019).

Although the arts organization's ability to change allowed for project and funding flexibility, constant modifications also meant that few practices and processes were institutionalized at Appalshop. Thus, when challenges occurred, the staff-governed board formed an ad hoc committee to tackle the "problem" in the short-term. But once the issue had been addressed, the committee dissolved, and the organization returned to the status quo. There was no process or leadership to make sure the problem did not happen again. The result was what one staff member characterized as human nature:

> Human nature is both ecstatically wonderful and absolutely horrible. Every single one of us is capable of great kindness and horrible meanness. If I think that I am not prone to that, I am a fool. Meanness takes love out of the world and kindness puts love into the world. It is not complicated. It plays out no matter what we are doing, and it plays out at Appalshop. From my point of view, structure and solid management really matter—board structure, management structure—really matter. We're not going to all like each other, but we have to be able to work together. And I have to say about Appalshop, any time we had money to work together on an artistic project, no problem. Everybody got along great; everybody made good work. We could disagree over this or that or the other, but not a big deal. Not always the case when it came to managerial or board matters. There could be the gang up, behind the back, under the table kinds of things that happen everywhere. Sometimes there were big problems that got made bigger and that could not be reasonably solved because there was nobody in charge who could call it or who could just fire somebody when they were totally out of line (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019).

Such was the case with one of the directors of Appalshop during this time. The organization's staff-run governing Board had brought in a new executive director. However, when that individual was not as effective as the Board would have liked, many started to question how they could fire the person. Others thought they had not given the individual a sufficient opportunity to prove their mettle. These tensions raised other

issues and soon Appalshop staff faced a dilemma. Eventually, the staff-governed board did let the director go. As one AMI staff member reflected on this episode:

> That sort of problem echoed in my entire time at Appalshop, from the time I was an intern until the time I left. You know, people not getting along, people fighting, people against other people, people feeling disrespected, people feeling not heard, having too much leeway, and then having no repercussions for that leeway (Personal Interview, Marion Fairfield 2.22.2019).

In a sense, and paradoxically, the lack of institutional structure had led to a rigid organizational culture. Despite the fact that the organization's logics allowed for individual agency and emphasized co-governance, there was little leadership or initiative actually to govern. Several of the nonprofit's staff members believed that they did not have the ability to provide stewardship and create change in the organization, or that they were not heard when they voiced concerns. In some cases, too, some staff from the second generation perceived themselves as powerless in the face of an unspoken sense of ownership emanating from some members of the founding generation. In other cases, the different project principals who carried the power and clout in the nonprofit simply clashed.

By the end of the 2001-2014 period, Appalshop's staff was struggling with what their organization's future might look like and what steps it should take. Its role as an arts and media production center was now significantly diminished with fewer films, plays and other art forms being developed. While WMMT-FM was still producing media, it was also grappling with debt. The scope of Appalshop's previous work had also been challenged by the organization's changing funding environment. Many of its partners were struggling too, so that the national and global network in which the nonprofit had often played a lead role was now weaker than prior to this period. More, the organization

had lost many of its staff who had worked on a more national scale and with them went the activities for which they had been responsible. Many who wanted to work nationally had departed in order to be able to do such work. Former staffers Dee Davis, Marty Newell and Tim Marema formed the Center for Rural Strategies. Nick Szuberla took what remained of the *A Thousand Kites* project and helped to form Working Narratives. It was unclear in interviews whether these individuals' decisions to operate these organizations separately from Appalshop were due to differences concerning the perceived scope of these projects, personality issues or some combination of these and other reasons.

Confronting changing personnel, programs and a marked decline in their overall scope of work, Appalshop's remaining staff ended this period with questions concerning their organization's identity. One interview participant who worked at AMI and now works in the Appalshop Core described the end of this period:

> I think when I started in 2010, there... The staff was pretty small and there were a lot of questions about what Appalshop wanted to be. I remember we sat down and talked one time about: 'Does Appalshop just want basically to be a living archive?' 'Like have a radio station, have our archive, host groups, talk about the region, talk about the history, talk about what's happening and maybe do some youth training but not take a very active community development role?' (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

Conclusion

New Institutionalism can often encourage analysts to lean toward a structuralist explanation for why things are the way they are in organizations. Appalshop's case is no exception. The national and global events of the first decade of the 2000s, shaped the nation's widely accepted narrative or public philosophy and in turn recast federal government priorities. That is, the powerful neoliberal frame that took hold nationally in

the 1980s and 1990s continued to structure the conditions and assumptions on which public and private funders of the CCD field operated. The NEA changed its approach to and orientation to arts for all, thereby in some respects, and paradoxically, narrowing its definition of the arts to projects that would be less politically charged and that were largely rooted in the western European tradition. Funders emphasized issue-based projects with clear impact metrics, instrumentalizing the arts to fit a well-defined role—as a tool to encourage economic development.

The effects of these changes in its broader environment for the CCD field were immense, with many longstanding organizations closing, others operating at a diminished capacity, and some newer entities forming, but with little hope for growth and securing sustainable operations. Many of the vibrant regional and national networks of organizations in which Appalshop had long participated and in which it had also sometimes played a leadership role, were damaged, which resulted in the nonprofit becoming more isolated than before. This separation was compounded when political movements, such as the Tea Party and the War on Coal particularly, polarized discourse in the Appalachian region and nationally. With less access to cognate organizations and proximate fields, Appalshop's influence and ability to learn and grow was diminished.

As this period closed, Appalshop was operating at the same level as it had before its major growth period (1984-2000), and the funding it now received was often strictly tied to a single social issue or activity. While this new trajectory worked well for some in the organization with interests in arts education and social justice issues, particularly if specific equity concerns were in vogue, the traditionally broader work of Appalshop suffered. The financial stress also exacerbated already present leadership and

governance-related tensions in the organization. Practical financial challenges and a governance structure that held struggling projects accountable continued to clash with some Appalshop members' vision of individual agency and with other normative logics that supported the relative autonomy of projects and their staffs.

The role of actors and their exercise of agency nonetheless still played a significant part in this narrative during these years. Part of the dilemma described above centered on each individual's ability to oversee/lead a project and to participate in the governance of the organization at the same time, without the two roles influencing one another. This conflict of interest would prove difficult for anyone, but the way in which individuals in the organization dealt with this challenge influenced Appalshop throughout this period and the years that would follow. For some, that meant leaving the organization to start new nonprofits that specifically addressed rural-urban policy concerns and working within and challenging community and policy narratives through dialogue.

Although many of Appalshop's external networks were not as vibrant as they once were, a new generation of staff nevertheless brought new passion and perspectives to the work of the organization during these years. The nonprofit's staff continued to search for opportunities to network, influence and be influenced by proximate fields. With the increasing dominance of neoliberalism in local, state and national politics, those in the arts and CCD fields noted the challenges to democratic values and the social cohesion of the country that that public philosophic frame had wrought.

Appalshop staff also continued to advocate for the normative logics they had embraced for the entirety of the nonprofit's existence: individual agency and voice, free and broad artistic and political expression, as well as an abiding concern for the well-

being of the residents of the Appalachian region. When they faced challenges such as with funding or with complaints from Virginia's Department of Corrections, staffers sought to identify solutions that stayed true to those values. Even as individuals left the organization, they brought the values and institutional learning they had experienced with them to other institutions. All those interviewed, who had left the nonprofit, agreed that working at Appalshop had left a positive, lasting mark on them in terms of their personal development and on the values that they sought to embody and realize in their professional roles as well.

As noted above, Appalshop faced a crossroads at the end of this period concerning how it might function and the scope with which it would operate in the future. Nonetheless, many in the organization also saw the changing dynamics of their region—the decline of coal and struggling populations—as opportunities for future work. They wanted the nonprofit to play an increased role in community development efforts to effect change in the Central Appalachian region.

Chapter 7

Institutional Change (2015-present)

While at least formally staying true to its storytelling mission, Appalshop has gone to a nine-member board, expanded its project scope and increased its staff by roughly 20 percent (to about 20 members) since 2015. Appalshop has taken steps in recent years to articulate better its cultural work as community economic development work, illustrating how the arts can support the region's economy. For example, it has received several placemaking grants to facilitate the development of a Letcher County Culture Hub comprised of different community organizations. Similarly, WMMT-FM has built on its community partnerships to create public health programming, and other projects in the organization have focused on regional concerns including alternative energy, childcare services and small business development.

Environmental Context

The coal industry continued to shrink during the 2015-2018 period, losing about a quarter of its employment by 2018 in the Appalshop region and the two states of Kentucky and Virginia. In fact, by 2018, coal employment in the Appalshop region comprised approximately 5,000 of 88,800 total employees in the region, or 5.6 percent of total employment.[1] However, the few who were employed by the coal industry were paid significantly higher wages than their counterparts in the restaurant, grocery and hospitality industries, which now offered 19.4 percent of employment. In 2018, the

[1] Total employment includes all employees counted in the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) and non-QCEW Bureau of Labor Statistics counts. It does not include the self-employed and extended proprietors.

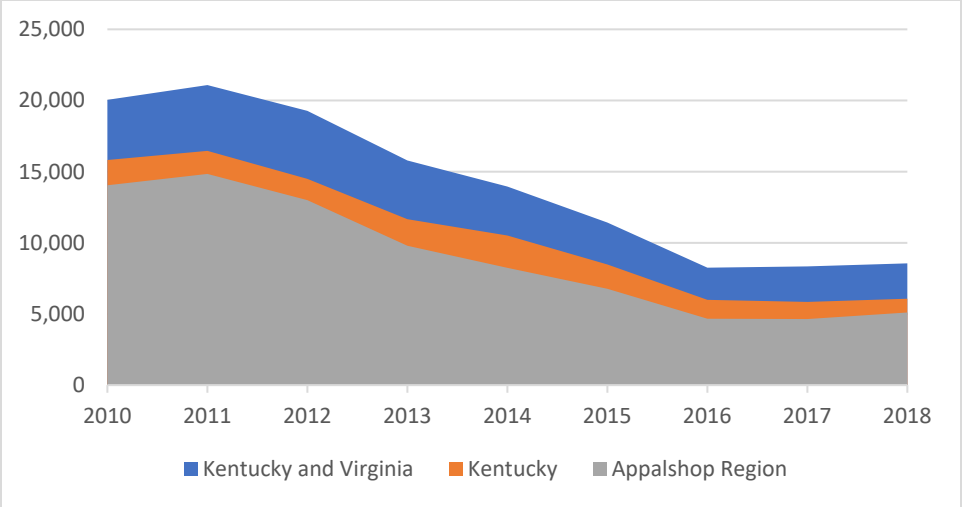


Figure 23. Coal employment in the Appalshop region (EMSI, 2019)[1]

average coal industry wage in the Appalshop region was approximately $90,000 while average industry wages for restaurants, grocery and hospitality industries ranged between $16,000 and $24,000 (EMSI, 2019). Other major employers in the area during this time were government, including, especially, public schools and health care. While facilities such as call centers and electronic shopping/mail order houses, hospitals and outpatient clinics and childcare services exhibited job growth during this period, overall employment declined by 5 percent or by more than 4,550 positions (EMSI, 2019).

Some local government leaders and residents in Appalachia saw opportunities for employment through the prison industry, which is still growing in America. Rural and inner-city America are linked through poverty, federal disinvestment since the Cold War and now the penal system. The U.S. justice system incarcerates almost one in three African Americans and one in six Hispanic Americans, often from inner city neighborhoods, and takes them to economically-depressed, rural America to serve their sentences in facilities located in those areas (Thorpe, 2014). Thorpe, a scholar of the impacts of such institutions on surrounding communities, has contended that:

> Prison siting may help sustain economically vulnerable, rural areas by furnishing jobs, revenue and crucial wealth transfers. However, research suggests that they fail to grow the economy or improve the quality of life, instead reinforcing cycles of poverty and dependence (2014, p. 25).

The Appalshop region alone has two federal and two state prisons, but these have failed to reverse the tide of economic decline in that area.

Other scholars and media analysts have drawn parallels between the 2010s and the 1960s and 1970s. They have dubbed the rise of social movements against coal industry practices during the current period (including, Black Lives Matter, Occupy Wall Street, Me Too and other initiatives) successors to the social movements for environmentally safe mining and fair labor practices of the mid-twentieth century (Bell, 2016; Catte, 2018; Clayton, 2018; Kramer, 2012). However, Bell (2016) has painted a different picture of how the two periods compare:

> Although the recent high-profile protest activities taking place in the coalfields are quite reminiscent of the direct actions initiated by local people involved in the anti-strip-mining movement of the 1960s and the 1970s, much has changed since that first attempt to protect the Appalachian region from surface mining. The earlier movement emerged during an era defined by social activism. Not only were wildcat strikes rampant throughout the coalfields during that time period, but the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement, and the Antiwar Movement were part of the social fabric of the United States. Thus, the militant actions that local coalfield residents initiated to try to end surface mining in Appalachia in the 1960s and the 1970s should be considered within the context of the period. With Central Appalachia largely de-unionized, and with a more subdued current political culture across the nation, high-profile protest activities may seem somewhat shocking and foreign to local coalfield residents today (p. 255).

Bell's argument highlights the considerably different socio-political context existing today. According to Harvey (2005), by the Nixon Presidency, most could safely say that Keynesian monetary policy was dominant nationally and internationally. By the

Clinton Era and through today, however, neoliberalism has become the prevailing narrative governing federal fiscal policy, monetary policy and most people's understanding of governance and community and regional development. Neoliberalism has helped to limit social movement activity, at least partially due to the large power imbalance between capital and labor existing today, which, ironically, its tenets helped to create.

For Appalachia, which now has few unions to speak for and coordinate labor, that fact has meant a coal industry being able to construct and market in an unfettered way, an ideology about coal being the backbone of the region's cultural identity. It has meant that local elites, who benefited from the maintenance of the status quo, could stifle other community members' willingness to speak out against social and ecological injustices. In addition, despite the fact that the environmental justice movement was created by local coalfield residents, it has meant that those in power could take advantage of the influx of non-local people to the movement to highlight a supposed "insider-outsider" dichotomy that has worked to "challenge the collective identity of the movement so that many no longer perceive[d] it as a 'local' struggle" (Bell, 2016, pp. 250-252).

However, some parallels do exist between today and the 1960s, especially the character of media coverage of Appalachia. With the rise of the Tea Party and Donald Trump's election to the presidency some years later, national attention has turned toward the plight of poor white Americans once again—or that population group that many Americans assume ensured Trump's election into office. Similar to the 1960s and 1970s, reporters traveled to Appalachia before and after the 2016 national election to understand

the lives and thoughts of the "Appalachian Hillbilly." As native Appalachian Elizabeth Catte (2018) has written:

> Pundits explained our socio-economic realities to one another under the guise of educating a presumed audience of coastal elites whom, they argued, had become hardened to the plight of the forgotten American […] The voices of Appalachians as experts on their own condition are largely absent in the standard 'Trump Country' think piece. The emotional politics of this genre cast Appalachians as a mournful and dysfunctional 'other' who represent the darkest failures of the American Dream while seeking to prescribe how we—the presumed audience of indifferent elites—should feel about their collective fate […] Poverty pictures allowed comfortable white Americans to consume the difference embedded in the image while believing they were engaging critically with pressing social issues. In 1964, this attention complemented the War on Poverty's logic and design (p. 23 and p. 82).

Catte has argued that the accounts and photographs of rural America and othering that occurred in the mid-to-late 20th century are reappearing today. One current Appalshop employee concurred with Catte's claim, reflecting on the national narrative since 2016:

> I think there's a feeling of like, 'We need to change rural people's minds. We need to change their voting behavior' and not what is happening there and why is it the way it is. And what are people actually asking for? And so, it feels like we need to do something for four years so that they turn blue again instead of long-term exchange and understanding (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

Indeed, it was much easier to paint the Appalachian region and middle America as Trump Country instead of delving into the social and cultural diversity present in these regions. For instance, a number of Appalachians voted for Bernie Sanders in the Democratic Primary and claim that they would have voted for him rather than Trump in the general election if he had been the Democratic nominee. As another example, more people identify themselves as African-American in Appalachia than Scots-Irish, despite the stereotype that individuals from the region are overwhelmingly Scots-Irish.

Moreover, one of the highest concentrations of self-proclaimed transgendered teenagers in the country reside in West Virginia (Catte, 2018). While many in Appalachia did vote for Trump, many middle-and upper-class white people in the urban U.S. also voted for him. The diversity present within the Appalachian region is not acknowledged in most of the media coverage today, leaving many Appalachians discouraged and resentful of these misleading portrayals and those that accept them as fact. This narrative is just one example of the many divisive claims worsening regional, social and political divisions across the country today.

The rise of social media and internet technology has exacerbated political divisions across the U.S. Many people are coming to terms with the fact that, while most hoped the internet would have a democratizing effect on our society, the algorithms at play in search engines, social media and online advertising have lent themselves instead to the worst, reductionist tendencies of humanity. The ones and zeros and if-then logic of computer algorithms unintentionally reinforce and build upon already existing prejudices and bigotry in our society, and they prompt Americans to segregate themselves from those who look different from them or express different views. The results have been jarring, as Robert Elliot Smith (2019) has argued:

> In 2015, *The Guardian* reported that Google algorithms tagged images of black people as '#animals,' '#apes' and '#gorillas'. They also reported that Google image searches for 'unprofessional hair' predominately returned pictures of black women. Another report revealed that Google's algorithms showed high-paying job ads to men more often than to women. Then, the Observer revealed that Google's auto-suggestion algorithm completed the searches 'are women …' and 'are Jews …' with the word 'evil,' and that clicking on these suggestions returned pages of affirmative answers to those questions. Similarly, when Microsoft released a Twitter bot (AI algorithm) called 'Tay' in 2016, it had to be shut down rapidly after just 24 hours of operation, because it had learned to say, 'I fucking hate feminists and they should all die,' 'Hitler was right I hate the Jews' and

> ‘WE’RE GOING TO BUILD A WALL, AND MEXICO IS GOING TO PAY FOR IT’ (pp. x-xi, emphasis in the original).

Social media and internet technology have helped to amplify the voice of the loudest few and siloed citizens from those they perceive to be different. A December 2018 edition of *Politico Magazine* explored this new version of the nation’s Culture War, in which many Americans are performing their political identities through the merchandise they purchase, the media to which they listen and the activities in which they engage. Virtually any topic on which citizens and politicians alike could once attain compromise has now become divisive; from national infrastructure to public education (Heuser et al., 2018). These social and political fissures, coupled with a dominant neoliberal narrative that has put most power in elite hands, have made challenging incumbent actors of different social and political fields (as described in new institutionalist theory) even more difficult than it was in the mid-1900s.

Sectarianism, Placemaking and Community Cultural Development

The growing sectarian divisions and identity politics in the United States have made the notion of community cultural development a distinct challenge to achieve, even if that strategy offers a unique opportunity to bridge divides. Indeed, community-based arts processes, such as theater and mural making, when approached in a democratic and participatory manner, have been shown to help bridge social and political divides by creating space to allow for participants to reflect on their own ontological and epistemic assumptions and values that divide them from others (Kirakosyan & Stephenson, 2019). Table 6 illustrates the core principles underpinning the community cultural development

field (Goldbard, 2006). However, how might those who practice community cultural development avoid these sectarian divides themselves?

Table 6. Community cultural development institutional logics and their alignment with Appalshop

Goldbard CCD Definition	Appalshop as a CCD Organization
Community indicates the participatory nature of the activity. Culture and arts activities are deeply embedded in community. They are produced from and for the community, with the process of production sometimes taking prominence as opposed to the final product.	One of the founding principles of Appalshop is to have its work reflect and come from the community in which it was made. For the most part, this arises from the different voices found in the Appalachian region. But even when the organization works with communities outside of Appalachia, its staff emphasize ensuring work that is by, of and for the community with which it is partnering.
Cultural includes an array of many cultural activities (not just the arts). Activities in the CCD field take many forms and are not limited to certain traditions, cultures, or groups. At its best, CCD is therefore very democratic in character.	Appalshop's activities manifest culture in many forms such as film, theater, radio, music, etc. From interviews, it also became evident that Appalshop staff are very cognizant of the multiple voices present in every community. Staff conscientiously try to remain inclusive of the various organizational forms and voices in the communities in which they work.
Development "suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambitious conscientization and empowerment." These cultural activities reach individuals both through reason and emotion. This element alludes to the emancipatory potential of art to help individuals think outside the everyday and imagine alternative ways of moving forward for shared action.	Because Appalshop strongly values voice and agential possibilities within communities, they seek to design their work so that it resonates with the residents of those places. The nonprofit's staff aim to elicit as many perspectives as possible, so as to create space for listening, reflection, dialogue and possibly, shared action.

As argued in the previous chapter, neoliberalism has diminished the role of arts and culture organizations in development. One could also argue that the growing popularity of Creative Placemaking represents an instrumentalization of art and culture. The dominance of neoliberalism has prompted arts organizations to adjust the language they use to match the new neoliberal paradigm. According to Markusen and Gadwa (2010):

> In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private places, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired (p. 3).

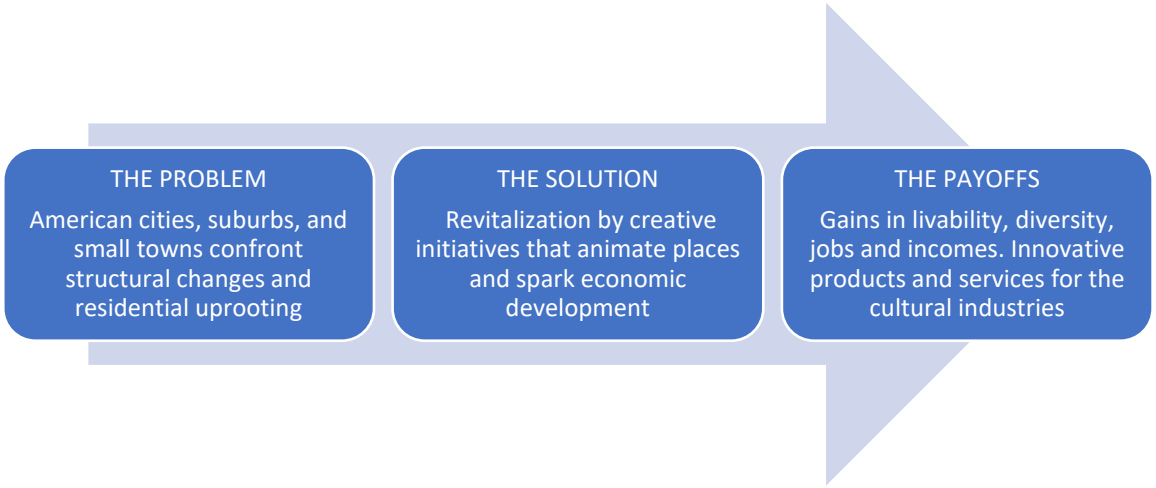


Figure 24. Creative placemaking summary (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 3)

Creative placemaking originated from the urban design and urban and regional planning fields. In the 1960s, urban planner William H. White and urban writer and activist Jane Jacobs highlighted the importance of public spaces designed for people and the effects on communities and their social well-being. The term placemaking became more prevalent in the 1970s, and even more popular in the 1990s and 2000s, when

scholars observed weakening democratic and social ties in the U.S. Creative placemaking was coined in 2010 by Markusen and Gadwa in their NEA-published white paper (2010).

While federal and private funding for the arts have remained relatively steady during the past five years, agencies such as the NEA and major philanthropies, such as the Ford Foundation, have increased their financial support of creative placemaking initiatives. This approach to the arts and development clearly values arts and culture for their instrumental role in contributing to economic development. Nonetheless, community cultural development's main impetus is not economic development, even when economic development could result from such efforts. However, creative placemaking can fall within the realm of community cultural development if the initiative is driven by residents and if it serves as a platform for those individuals to reimagine themselves and their community. For instance, local artists and community members might organize a pop-up arts festival along a downtown street to encourage residents actively to reimagine how that street could serve as a public gathering space. In this respect, creative placemaking funding can provide CCD organizations opportunities broader than one-off or single projects. The focus on community collaboration, capacity building and the imagining process could, conceptually, at least, if done well, take point in creative placemaking efforts. By 2015, this framing also aligned community cultural development more closely with the urban and regional planning field than it had been historically.

Appalshop: Exploring Alternatives to CCD

Just before the 2015-2018 period under discussion, Appalshop staff had been engaged in questioning the nonprofit's identity, roles and functions. Many of its

production-related CCD activities such as film, music and theater production had declined markedly in the previous decade. Given the fall off in those core activities and the funding challenges at the time, the remaining members of Appalshop's staff had actively been exploring what their next steps should be. One current staff member described the transition from this point of deep questioning to when she interviewed in January 2019:

> [A]bout 8ish years ago, we decided Appalshop doesn't want to just be a living archive. It wanted to get more sustainable. The underpinnings of the organization needed to be secured. We needed to get this ship back in full force. And by the end of that ten-year period, which, just gives us a couple more years, I think maybe we'll have some brand-new makerspace. We've been talking about an incubator. There's just so many ideas of what can happen. I don't know what it will be. But it'll be interesting. I feel like it'll be a little bit in the like 1980s, 1990s time, where stuff is happening. And again, it's not that we're not doing stuff right now. But I do feel like we're in the end of a decade of, 'How do we repair some of the stuff that's just been weathered for 40 some years?' (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

This fourth period of Appalshop has been characterized by growth. Between 2014 and 2017, for example, total salaries grew 29 percent. Nevertheless, that development is different from that of past decades. External forces and changes in internal actors and culture have fostered different approaches to governance and to the organization's mission.

Appalshop's Activities

Production-related activities, other than radio related efforts, have remained lower in recent years than in the first two periods of Appalshop's existence. The nonprofit's radio station continues to thrive with a variety of music shows and social content. However, many of the long-time volunteer radio DJs, such as Jim Webb's "Wiley Quixote," have passed away or retired, opening space for new community programs. On

the one hand, WMMT-FM staff have had the added burden of filling the slots of shows that had existed for more than a decade or more; on the other hand, this shift has provided them with an opportunity to go out into the community and solicit new partners to volunteer as DJs and create shows. In addition to its own programming, Appalshop has supported programs by partners:

> So, some of those groups are newer shows [such as] the CANE Commercial Kitchen in Whitesburg that Valerie Horn and Angie Hatton are producing—and I'm working with them on that. We have a new show also from the Pike County Extension Office. They have an arts division and Emily Nelson, who works there, has been producing a show called 'Arts Across Pike.' From the Hindman Settlement School, Nicole Musgrave produces a show that someone who retired from Hindman had produced for a long time. The new show is 'Now and Then.' The old show was called 'Kids' Radio.' The Luthier Shop in downtown Hindman […] hosts an open mic and jam session that they record on air once a month called 'Not Knott Downtown.' There are some folks in Hazard working on producing a new show about housing access in that community and in eastern Kentucky and the struggles people face to find affordable housing. And then with AMI, we've done workshops together with the communications class at the Letcher County High School and with a group of young people from Martin County, Kentucky, who are doing an oral history project there. Yeah, those are some of the more regular ones (Personal Interview, Sonya Harrington 2.21.2019).

WMMT-FM has also continued shows begun in previous years, such as *Making Connections News* through its partnership with Appalshop's Community Media Initiative, which explores opportunities and challenges associated with the realization of a bright Appalachian future. *Holler to the Hood* became *Hip Hop from the Hilltop/Calls from Homes*, and it is broadcast on Monday evenings beginning at 7:00 pm.

Appalshop also has pursued many more cross-project programs during the 2015-present period than it had during previous decades. Probably the most discussed in interviews was the Letcher County Culture Hub, which is now an Appalshop project, but many staff expressed the hope in their interviews that it will become an autonomous

nonprofit organization in the coming years. Taking advantage of new creative placemaking funding from the NEA, staff from Roadside, Appalshop Films, the Archive and the Core wrote a grant for the program, *Performing Our Future*. The initiative was meant to support community centers and organizations in the area financially to host creative placemaking programming that brought Letcher County residents together. Roadside assumed responsibility to work with this group of institutions to create the play, *Future of Letcher County*. Culture Hub became a coalition of different community organizations seeking together to imagine the work they could collectively accomplish to make their area a better place to live. Culture Hub partners include an array of nonprofits, government entities and for-profit companies with socially minded missions. Partners include several community centers across Letcher County; membership associations such as the Kings Creek Volunteer Fire Department, the Whitesburg Retail Association and Letcher County Cycling Club; socially conscious nonprofits such as Community Agriculture and Nutritional Enterprises (CANE), Homes Inc. and Revive Our Lower Letcher (ROLL); arts organizations and cooperatives such as EpiCentre Arts and Mountain Tech Media; and government supported organizations, such as the Letcher County Recreation Center and Public Library.

Performing Our Future has also sought to expand Culture Hub work geographically to communities across the United States, including West Baltimore in Maryland, Uniontown in Alabama, and Milwaukee and Sauk Counties in Wisconsin that are facing similar difficult economic and social conditions. Performing Our Future and Culture Hub represent a fresh Appalshop effort to integrate community cultural development and economic development. As explained on Culture Hub's website:

> The Culture Hub became the first major test of Community Cultural and Economic Development (CCED): a new synthesis between Appalshop's Community Cultural Development methodology, through which residents find pride and hope through community-based storytelling and arts, and Economic Empowerment & Global Learning Project's (EEGLP) economic development methodology, through which residents discover latent assets in their communities and transform them into community wealth. In less than two years, with support from Appalshop, IA, and EEGLP, the Culture Hub has grown to 20 organizations, from volunteer fire departments producing solar energy to citizens collaborating with government to build county-wide broadband internet. The Culture Hub's credo: We own what we make (Appalshop 2017).

As such, Performing Our Future and Culture Hub represent the most explicit reframing of Appalshop's work in its history.

Staffers at Appalshop continued to explore opportunities to do more community-based work during the 2015-2018 period. The arts nonprofit began working with local partners to invest in more solar energy as a part of the Letcher County Culture Hub initiative. Several Culture Hub partners and Appalshop bought solar paneling to save and create energy for the county. WMMT-FM worked with Culture Hub and Appalshop partners to produce radio programming. Meanwhile in 2017, AMI created a new program, *All Access EKY (Eastern Kentucky)*, in collaboration with the Kentucky Health Justice Network and Power to Decide. *All Access EKY* works with young women to create media stories that "explore the sexual and reproductive health experiences, concerns and needs of [all] women in Appalachian Kentucky" (All Access EKY). With this program and others that engage the community in mind, AMI and others at Appalshop converted the Boone Building across the street from Appalshop's main location into a youth and community center called the Boone Youth Drop-In & Safe Space. Recently, they have also purchased 3D printing equipment for use in the building with an eye to training youth and other community members in that new technology.

When asked about other projects and the potential for mission drift (or goal displacement), one staff member who came to Appalshop during this period provided another example of the possible future work of the organization:

> The downtown dry cleaner is a brownfield. We have the skills, the talent on our staff that if we work to get it for a certain price, we could get funding to redevelop it. And then, we want to rent it out for use as a daycare facility at low cost. We would cut out their rent fees, so they could lower their fees for participants, and [we would] then have office space for another company. So why? Why do that? Because we can. Is it mission creep? No. Maybe. Yes. That's a bigger question and I can answer that deeply, but the expansion into new work is because we can do it and because it's necessary […] so the first answer to mission creep is because we can and have the ability and we're in a small town and we all have to kind of work together to get things done. And so then as to the why, the why does that fall within our mission to do that? Because we believe that a peopled area is a precursor for us to accomplish our mission. And the place that we live actually faces the legitimate potential challenge that it is de-peopled, that it is unpopulated. Every trend that we see in U.S. Census, sees people moving from rural into urban areas. (Personal Interview, Oliver Holmes 1.22.2019).

Many of those I interviewed reflected on the changing regional environment and status of Appalshop within it. They argued that, unlike many of their urban CCD counterparts, there are far fewer resources available to support the community and economic development of their region. They saw it as their duty to diversify their offerings as a way of better supporting the area they serve. They perceived a need for Appalshop to play a community economic development role and to provide direct, traditionally-defined social services to residents.

Partnerships

As illustrated in the section above, Appalshop has continued to deepen its partnerships with local individuals and groups. With the decline of coal and manufacturing, the region has experienced a changing power dynamic. Appalshop, which was and is still seen by some as a hippy, alternative organization, has remained while

many other industries and regional power brokers have left. In some respects, these shifts have led Appalshop to become an incumbent actor in its region. One staff member who grew up in the area described this change:

> I feel like the biggest shift that has happened with our local population is that we've been here so long. I don't think there's a feeling anymore that Appalshop is going to go away, and so it can just be dismissed. I feel like now it's like 'OK. We've been here 50 years.' Even the people that hated Appalshop in the first 10 years, now understand that it's like preserved some history, played an important role and brought a lot of attention to the area. So even if they don't like us, they're like 'Well there's just one thing I like. Well my grandkid did a program, and that was good.' You know that our community has a lot of diverse opinions of this organization. I think you'd be really unhealthy if everyone in the community was like, 'Appalshop's amazing,' and that's all they said. Right? (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

Because of its many activities, local community members may know and like Appalshop for one of its projects but dislike it for another initiative. Nevertheless, people are aware that Appalshop is still present and active in the area.

The nonprofit's staff members are working to maintain their national networks as well. Through Performing Our Future, they have been able to connect with communities that have dealt with similar economic and social challenges to those besetting their home region. They are also working with economics faculty from higher education Institutions, whose influence one interviewee described as follows:

> I would just say that I think they influenced our understanding of how much arts and culture really is central to a variety of economic opportunity. And we knew that before. But I think to work with economists just gave us another lever and deeper understanding of how much (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

However, at least two interviewees also described the defunding of higher education during these past several years, particularly Appalachian Studies centers, which has made

it more difficult for faculty to play the partnership role they once did with Appalshop. The changing nature of Appalshop's work may also be contributing to this change.

Finally, with the 2016 election and renewed interest in rural America, Appalshop is now positioned to be a critical "voice of rural America." For instance, in an NEA conference just after the election, two Appalshop staff talked with national organizations interested in becoming more involved in "working with rural America." The nonprofit has since started to work with PolicyLink, a "research and action institute" that seeks to address challenges to equitable economies, healthy communities of opportunity and a just society (http://www.policylink.org). While these partnerships have offered a great opportunity, one Appalshop employee explained his concern about Appalshop coming to serve as a rural token within these larger discussions; in other words, Appalshop serving as the supposed voice of rural America in national dialogues (Personal Interview, Troy Hodges 2.27.2019). In truth, Appalshop has occasionally benefited from being placed in this "token" position, even though its staff attempt to assuage it by being as inclusive as possible and reminding people that is not their role to speak for an entire region. Indeed, tokenism is completely antithetical to Appalshop's mission. Like Elizabeth Catte and others who critique wholistic characterizations of regional residents, many Appalshop staffers do not want their partnerships to be viewed as typical of an entire region. Rather, they still hope to amplify the many different voices of Appalachia.

Individual Actors and Skills

For most of the third generation of Appalshop staff, or those who joined the organization during or after 2010, the nonprofit has always existed. One current staffer working in radio described her first experience with Appalshop:

> I found out about Appalshop when I was in high school. I grew up in southeastern West Virginia and I went to High Rocks, which is a youth leadership program there. And one of the summers during camp, Mimi Pickering came from Appalshop with someone else, I can't remember who it was at this point, and worked with us to make a documentary. And I loved that process, thought I wanted to study documentary filmmaking in college, and was really excited to know about Appalshop at that time (Personal Interview, Sonya Harrington 2.21.2019).

According to several individuals I interviewed, many of this newer generation take Appalshop's existence for granted. For them, it is unimaginable that the institution would not continue to exist. As such, the existential question regarding the nonprofit becomes less about how it might or in what form ought to survive—questions many in the past might have asked about Appalshop—and more about how it can grow and become more sustainable, whatever its guise.

Another difference with this new generation of staff are the skills that they possess. While several are generalists and what some founding generation staff call "creatives," many recent hires are specialists of some sort. Appalshop's newest Executive Director, who joined the nonprofit in 2015, is a lawyer and has been able to address a number of legal issues that Appalshop was facing during his tenure. In addition, several interviewees expressed similar sentiments about his skills as a director:

> I think Alex has gained people's trust to a large extent. I think he was a good pick for Executive Director—the right person when needed. I think he's been a student. He sort of studied the dynamics at Appalshop his first couple of years and struggled with them probably. But [he] has really tried to find ways of defining his authority in healthy ways for the most part. That has helped. And he's tried to use the board as a support system. I think it's been easier for him to do that now with a smaller board structure (Personal Interview, Caroline Rubens 2.15.2019).

The fact that staff are discussing Alex exercising his authority as director represents a distinct shift from previous periods when such was not countenanced or grudgingly permitted and would not likely be raised in conversation as a result.

Another newer employee is Daryl Royce, Appalshop's financial director, who one staff member described as "experienced [in finance], a problem solver, and really smart" (Personal Interview, Donna Porterfield 2.15.2019). Aligning with its trend toward active engagement in community development, Appalshop also hired Marley Greene in 2017, who arrived with a master's degree in Urban and Environment Planning from the University of Virginia. These personnel and others represent an organizational response to a changing environment. In many respects, they signify shifts in the composition of Appalshop's staff and more deeply and de facto in its approach to all the organization undertakes.

However, this adjustment in staff skill sets also raises the question of the future of Appalshop's arts-related community cultural development work. One Appalshop member commented on this tension:

> Like in this particular moment, and in the last few years, I feel like there's been younger people in administrative roles. 'Leading' (Quote unquote). And there's some tension, currently, about, 'Are we ever going to have artistic and cultural workers again?' And, of course, we have them right now, but most of them are older. And, I think, I feel like there has also been a little shift in culture and our national world around jobs where I feel like there's more understanding that trying to figure out how to make a functioning organization in a place like this – that is democratic and is not your normal nonprofit – is also an art project. Or that it is like a design task in and of itself.
>
> And so, I think even the young people like myself or my co-worker Marley or even Alex, our director, we all have a lot of creativity. And we could easily be leading programmatic work. Clearly, I started in programmatic work. I would love to still be doing that, but I feel like there's been a need right now at Appalshop that some other people need to be leading, 'How's the organization going to be in a particular place?' So, I would say that that is a shift. And yet I

> don't necessarily feel like that's going to be what we do for the next 20 years (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

Institutional Logics

Along with the changes in its principal activities and personnel, Appalshop's governance structure has changed. In just the past two years, Appalshop has gone from a large worker-run board to a nine-person board, five of whom are Appalshop staff. As discussed above, Appalshop now also has an Executive Director who has acted in the capacity and with the authority that a typical executive director in any other nonprofit organization might possess; however, this is an unheard-of-turn for Appalshop. Nevertheless, even with the board membership and composition change and an executive director with greater authority than in the past, Appalshop's employees still strive to create a culture of horizontal governance. The employees I interviewed still perceived they had a say in the direction and stewardship of the organization, even though day-to-day management still often appears to be overshadowed by history and individuals.

One example of the horizontal culture that remains is when Appalshop seeks to work with external partners such as PolicyLink. In such instances, project directors and staff still act as the face of the organization, rather than the executive director, who would play that role in most nonprofits.

Many Appalshop staff members are also pushing for more organizational cohesion to tell the story of the entire organization (not just any one project) and to promote a more supportive environment for its employees. For instance, the organization hired a new communications staff member who is working to redo the Appalshop website and connect it with all of the different project websites. Projects such as Roadside, WMMT-FM, AMI, Culture Hub and the Archive all have their own websites,

independent of the Appalshop website. When discussing the nonprofit's most recent strategic planning session, one third generation Appalshop staff member explained:

> I remember within the first year, year and a half [of my time at Appalshop], we went through a strategic planning process. People just actively didn't participate in it. We had a couple days where we were all together as a whole staff. And I remember there were a couple folks that just sat in the back and weren't participating the whole time, which I think was indicative of some of the attitude and the resistance to wanting to move forward in a positive way. I'm not sure exactly how to talk about it. But what I want to say is that, compared to some of the team building or planning that's happened in the last couple years, it is completely different. Even if people are like, 'Oh, this isn't my sort of thing,' everyone was participating and at least trying. […] But it was really nice to see, and it felt good like, 'Okay, we're in this thing together. We've got things to figure out, but we can get there.' That was definitely a big difference (Personal Interview, Jordan Park 2.15.2019).

Several people talked about the distinct shift in Appalshop's culture from a sense of "you're on your own" to one which now actively seeks to be more supportive of staff. As another third generation Appalshop member explained:

> I know that there's talk internally about getting away from talking about projects as so independent and talking about the organization as a whole. But also, I do think there's a long history of the projects being independent and self-governing. So, I'd say there's a constant sort of conversation between those two things happening or something in the building where, like--conversation's not the word I'm looking for. It's like how do we talk about this work as a cohesive whole, make our work and collaborate across projects, and also how do people who are daily doing work that's very different from one another not get to make decisions that they don't necessarily know that much about (Personal Interview, Sonya Harrington 2.21.2019).

The tension between larger organization aspirations and identity and individual projects is still very present, as are the cultural differences among initiatives. When describing the differences among projects, one Appalshop staff member said:

> Yeah, I mean Roadside is probably the most different in a lot of ways at least. I mean I guess you could say Roadside and Archive in two very different ways

> have a kind of academicness about them that CORE, WMMT and AMI don't. You know Roadside will write a lot of policy and write pieces with footnotes and participate in projects involving higher ed in a way that a lot of Appalshop won't. And the Archive has these relationships with all these historians and all these institutions of higher learning. But again, I think even in that, they're different in that Archive is primarily about running and growing and keeping up an institution, namely the archives, and making partnerships for that. Whereas Roadside is really about sort of pushing an idea and a vision more than a physical space thing. And I think that is both a cause and effect of the way that we work. And you know, whereas Roadside and Archive are also run by older folks, I would say CORE, WMMT and AMI have much more of kind of a punky thing going. You have a lot more people that are kind of young, interested in counterculture. I think [there's] less of a, at least explicit, kind of intellectualism and more of a focus on what is the primary community we are building among ourselves and like-minded folks in Whitesburg and surrounding areas (Personal Interview, Troy Hodges 2.27.2019).

Fink also explained how the institutional structure still favors individual projects as opposed to collaboration. Ben Fink said projects collaborate:

> …on discrete things that need to get done because we're just set up so every project does its own strategy. Every project does its own plan. Every project has its own budget. Every project does its own fundraising. Like the idea of building an ongoing, cross-project partnership that looks less like a solar energy installation and more like the Letcher County Culture Hub would require a pretty significant culture shift (Personal Interview, Troy Hodges 2.27.2019).

Still Fink and most whom I interviewed consider the diversity and independence of projects as one of the institutional strengths of Appalshop, and one reason the organization has survived for fifty years.

In addition to governance shifts that have challenged the nonprofit's institutional logics concerning independence and individuality, the nature of funding today and the focus on new program directions has also challenged Appalshop's identity as a community cultural development organization. The creation of art and cultural pieces has always been at the center of the nonprofit's work. In particular, the production of films

has been at the core of Appalshop's identity since its beginning. When one WMMT-FM staff member was in London for a conference, for example, she described meeting people who knew Appalshop's film work:

> Even when I was at this conference in London, the Penal Abolition Conference, I went out to this pub afterwards with a couple of organizers, some of the folks that were volunteering with it from London. And this woman was like, 'You work at Appalshop.' And she just knew all about Appalshop, right? She works with some film and media archives in London and I had an extra day, so I visited those archives. She pulled out these old folders of like Coal Mining Women in the book. And [then] she showed me where they had it back in the archive, like the film canister. I just thought it was beautiful too because it was next to *Paris is Burning*. It was right next to *Paris is Burning*. And it was like *Coal Mining Women* and then [*Paris is Burning*] (Personal Interview, Jordan Park 2.15.2019).

Other than continuous production of radio programming, the mentoring of students to develop work and the occasional play (e.g. *Future of Letcher County*), arts and culture production is now a much less significant part of Appalshop's ongoing efforts. Much of the work of Appalshop today falls into the realm of community economic development. While these activities are admirable and address clear needs, whether they continue to constitute community cultural development is another question.

Undertaking community cultural development work is more challenging today than ever before. Like many CCD organizations, Appalshop has struggled with the nation's and its region's growing political divisions. According to one staff member:

> I think that compared to the 1960s and 1970s, in my mind, having not been alive at that point, I feel like there was maybe – and, I mean again, politically we know it's true. We've seen the maps – that people are more separated and more entrenched in individual beliefs than, I think, people were in the 1970s. And so, again in higher education you've got trenches, and in community groups you have trenches. In the arts world too, you have trenches. You know so it's just, I think, we're always navigating those waters (Personal Interview, Opal Patterson 1.8.2019).

This social fissuring has been challenging in many respects, but particularly so for those who see the democratic nature of their work stemming from the Civil Rights Movements. As former Artistic Director of Roadside, Dudley Cocke explained:

> Ben was recently talking to a class up in Minnesota. He said it was clear that the students had no conception of democratic populism; that when they hear of an organizer, the only thing they think of is the organizer who rallies all like-minded people to speak truth to power. In other words, protest. Well, that's certainly one organizing tradition. But as I said, M.L. King Jr. did not see his own work in that tradition. Though of course he and his organization led mass rallies, but the point for King was always to leave the door open for anybody of good faith, no matter difference of race or class, to join the movement. King, at one point, was keen on the white people who were part of the movement going back to their white communities and organizing there, which meant one likely would be organizing with Ku Klux Klan members. Even a Klan member could become an ally if he could begin to understand how his real self-interest was in forming solidarity with all people who felt they were getting the short end of the stick (Personal Interview, Dudley Cocke 2.14.2019).

When discussing these kinds of democratic and inclusive values, and the current challenge to them, at least three interviewees raised the same example that had occurred at an Appalshop strategic planning session. In that instance, the group was writing a vision statement for the entity's future. Appalshop has had the same mission for several decades now, but its staff had never had a vision statement that addressed the *why* of that mission. During the discussion, the group was considering who they ultimately wished to serve. They were discussing language such as, "for the common humanness of all people," when one staff member raised their hand and asked whether the organization really wanted "all people" written in their vision, or more of a qualifier. They asked whether Appalshop really desired to serve, for example, rich white liberals in Appalachia. According to one interviewee present at the time:

> And so Herby [Smith], then he spoke and he gave one of these perfect, perfect, perfect old wise sage answers. And it was this. He said, 'You know Napoleon got a lot of stuff wrong.' Everybody laughed because they thought that he was just going to say something off the wall. And he said, 'You know he went around Europe chopping the heads off monarchs, talking about freedom for the people, he could have found himself on his own chopping block.' The point was, be careful who you decide your enemy is because you become them. Right? (Personal Interview, Oliver Holmes 1.22.2019).

Ultimately the group agreed that no qualifiers were necessary, that Appalshop would work for all people and would work with any who are willing to work with them. Most of those I interviewed currently at Appalshop referenced the polarization evident in the nation and a few noted that the institution must continuously and deliberately avoid it or, conversely, address it directly, if the organization is to maintain its core institutional values.

Conclusion

This most recent period of Appalshop's lifespan has been marked by change, but also by comparisons to where the organization was at the beginning of its existence in the 1970s (particularly as the nonprofit approaches its 50th anniversary). The United States is once again in social and political turmoil. The media treatment of the region arising from the 2016 election cycle mirrored that of several decades earlier. Today's social movements, such as protests against coal practices, Black Lives Matter and Me Too, echo the environmental protests, Civil Rights Movement and Women's Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, society today is also very different. The underlying narrative dominant in today's political economy, namely neoliberalism, and its close companion, a devotion to changing technologies, have helped to shape the way people interact and perceive their world. The result has often been political and social divisions, fear and lack

of empathy of the "other," created by the onslaught of virtually unfettered globalization and swiftly changing workforce technologies. These same underpinnings have resulted in protest movements that are more contained than their forebearers of the 1960s and 1970s, due to a lack of social camaraderie and cohesion among their members.

When one thinks in terms of the New Institutionalism and different fields, it is clear many of the fields proximate to CCD have been affected by exogenous forces, as demonstrated in this chapter and in Chapter Six. For Appalshop, this has meant fewer national connections or regular exchanges with peers and with actors in other fields. For instance, the ties the nonprofit's staff had developed with higher education, mostly with arts and humanities faculty, have shifted somewhat to the social sciences, and particularly, to economics. Within the neoliberal framework, Appalshop staff have strengthened ties to local partners and has emerged as a significant actor in the region and in many ways a principal service provider in its chosen domains as well. Where the organization was once perceived as the radical challenger, many in Letcher County and surrounding counties now view Appalshop as a cultural staple of their region, even if they esteem the organization for only one or two of its activities.

These exogenous forces have influenced the arts and community cultural development (CCD) as well. Epistemic changes to the rationales driving public and private funding have limited previous CCD work to the arts in service of social issues for the most part. While creative placemaking may appear to have a larger scope, many of the metrics employed to measure the success of such efforts are linked narrowly to economic development or instrumentally to specific urban and regional planning objectives. Taken at face value, creative placemaking can be understood as an approach

to reframing CCD work into a language amenable to the hegemonic neoliberal paradigm. However, this strategy may not allow for the democratic and emancipatory potential of CCD, in which residents drive the direction of the work and are encouraged to reflect on their lives, epistemic and ontological assumptions. In other words, if Appalshop accepts the language of neoliberalism and uses it in its work, at what point can its staff also question that language and the assumptions inherent in it as it works with populations? Does accepting the neoliberal structure of things negate the ability to undertake community cultural development work? In the case of Appalshop, many of its newer activities are admirable and address clear needs for the region, and they are certainly reflective of changing exogenous forces, including shifts in the values and beliefs of many in the society in which the nonprofit now operates. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether all Appalshop activities now can reasonably be said to fall within the realm of community cultural development. The idea of arts for social change does not now appear to be as central to the organization as it once was. This said, that situation could shift with new staff coming on board and assuming alternate funding sources could be located for such work.

During the 2015-2018 period, a new generation of staff members came to work for an Appalshop that had always existed within their lifetimes. In this sense, there is a confidence among these individuals in the institution's legacy and growth. They also brought with them a new set of skills as professionals and those have strengthened the nonprofit's structure and likely improved its sustainability as well. This new generation of staff, in collaboration with the founding generation who are slowly retiring, have effected change in the nonprofit. They have challenged some of the historical institutional

logics of Appalshop, including individuals' independence. Autonomy, sometimes at the expense of institutional health and respect for others, has been a long-time normative logic of the organization, but Appalshop's new generation has challenged that logic by arguing for more institutional cohesion and staff support even if at the cost of less independence for individual actors and projects. They have sought to make the institution more cohesive and effective by reducing its governing board membership to nine members, aligning its projects through activities and marketing and creating more transparent and institutionalized processes so those coming into the organization have a better sense of the nonprofit's structure and culture. This tension between the standing and power accorded to institutional structure and individual projects and how each should be regarded relative to the organization's mission is an evolving balancing act with which Appalshop's staff struggles daily.

Even as Appalshop changes and its staff explores new ways to achieve its mission and endeavors once more to be an institution of "creatives," hanging onto the institutional logics on which it was founded and its roots in community cultural development may be extremely difficult. These institutional logics include a sense of political agency for all, the importance of creating space for the exercise of voice, the ability to make mistakes, trial and error, passion and curiosity and art for social change. Political divisions and identity politics make the work of community cultural development more necessary than ever before, but also much more difficult. The Letcher County Culture Hub, for example, has been able to bring together groups of diverse individuals from across the political and social spectrum. However, it is not clear how far the group has gone in harnessing the emancipatory potential of the arts to question its own assumptions and come to more

meaningful community understanding beyond the acceptance that it is okay to have different views and that economic development for the region is good.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

As a field, community cultural development (CCD) has embraced many institutional logics, or rules and values by which it operates and sometimes takes for granted. These logics include understanding the potential of art and cultural activities to create space for individual and collective imagining and reimagining of communities, for the importance of community-driven processes in achieving social and democratic change and for an emphasis on individual experience and day-to-day life as a means of fostering dialogue and finding commonalities across diverse groups. Indeed, art can provide both a sensory and an emotional experience that may heighten underlying messages and address both the "heart space" (which speaks to Marcuse's description of catharsis) and the "head space" of civic and social issues (Borstel & Korza, 2017).

This study explored the evolution of one organization in the developing CCD field. Appalshop is a nonprofit organization located in Whitesburg, Kentucky, in Central Appalachia. Since its beginnings as an Office of Economic Opportunity funded program in 1969, Appalshop has taken a disciplinarily and strategically broad approach to what is known as community cultural development today. During its life, the nonprofit has housed many different projects, often distinguished by their different disciplines, funding streams and strategic approaches to CCD. For the most part, it has pursued these activities with the goal of imagining and reimagining opportunities for community transformation and social change with the populations it has sought to serve.

Appalshop began as a film education and production entity. Appalshop Films, Headwaters TV, Community Media Initiative and Appalachian Media Institute have

continued that tradition. They have explored the day-to-day life of residents of Appalachia, have advocated for different populations and policies to assist them and have worked with youth and other organizations to help build their agential capacities. Similarly, WMMT-FM and June Appal Recordings have long offered services and advocacy to the region's inhabitants. Meanwhile, Roadside Theater, American Festival Project and Performing Our Future have operated in communities regionally, nationally and internationally. Staff of those projects have worked often with individuals with the idea of encouraging dialogue amongst different community groups foremost in mind. More recently, Appalshop has expanded the technical services component of its organization and focused more explicitly on community economic development through projects such as the Letcher County Culture Hub, solar energy advocacy, reimagining the Boone Building as a youth drop-in center where youth can rent and use media equipment to edit their films, and other potential projects such as using another renovated building as a subsidized childcare center.

This research has examined how Appalshop staff have sought to exercise their agential possibilities as individuals and together as an organization in the evolving CCD field. I examined the ways in which this nonprofit has operated in the midst of different enabling and inhibiting structural forces, how it has sought to assert agency by contesting or circumventing those extant forces and how the ensuing tensions have influenced its approach to social change. To realize my aims, I spent five months studying documents from the Appalshop Archive, reading through its grant, marketing and financial materials. I then conducted interviews with 18 former and current Appalshop employees representing the different generations and projects of the organization from 1969-2018.

Using Fligstein and McAdam's approach to New Institutionalist theory, I analyzed that data and have contended that exploring Appalshop's history might shed light on the study of fields generally, and the structure-agency dynamic within the CCD field more specifically.

While I approached this research chronologically, that is not to say that many of the phenomena I have described are necessarily linear in nature. There is not always a cause and effect relationship between how incidents occurred, or at least not within the data presented in this dissertation. I simply attempted to take very complex systems, in this case, an assortment of fields, and make sense of how they may affect or be affected by a single institution. As one current Appalshop member observed, Appalshop is "an iterative process," constantly shaping and reshaping its activities to address the changing political, social and economic landscape. Another interlocutor reflected on this fact and the effectiveness of the arts organization's approach in sustaining itself.

> Fifty years is a long time and being able to adapt and adjust through difficult situations and still be as relevant today, in terms of what young people, the local community of eastern Kentucky and the broader region are dealing with, is amazing. I mean businesses don't last. Restaurants are, like, 18 months old or something. It's hard to get something going and to keep it going and be so vibrant and relevant. I think [it's] an incredible accomplishment and a testament to the dedication of the people who have been working there over time and also to the structure, the capacity of the structure, to expand and contract and allow the things that are thriving to continue (Personal Interview, Dorothy Adams 2.19.2019).

Like many of its CCD brethren, Appalshop has also had to choose when to adapt to or contest changing social narratives, such as the ever-growing hegemony of neoliberalism.

For this research, I asked what have been the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive narratives that Appalshop has contested or replicated to maintain its legitimacy as an arts organization in Appalachia? To address this question more comprehensively

and within the framework of the New Institutionalism, I asked three subquestions (SQs). The following is a concluding reflection on those questions and their implications for New Institutionalism and for community cultural development.

SQ1: Appalshop as a Community Cultural Development Organization

From the outset of this analysis I have sought to illustrate how Appalshop has evolved to become an exemplar of a community cultural development organization. The following summarizes the nonprofit's alignment with this field:

- COMMUNITY: One of the founding principles of Appalshop is to have its work reflect and come from the community in which it was made.
- CULTURAL: Appalshop's activities manifest culture in many forms such as film, theater, radio, music, etc. From interviews, it was also evident that Appalshop staff are very cognizant of the multiple voices present in every community, and they uniformly aim to amplify those voices in a democratic way.
- DEVELOPMENT: Because Appalshop strongly values voice and agential possibilities within communities, staff members want their work to resonate with the residents of the places they serve and to create space for potential social and democratic change.

Yet, as I have noted, the evolution of the CCD field and Appalshop do not align perfectly. Indeed, the period which I examine in this research, 1969-2018, represents Appalshop's structuration and evolution. During those same years, the contemporary community cultural development field was just forming. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, those active in the nascent field were vigorously working to define its institutional logics, players and boundaries. Beginning in the 1960s and through the mid-1990s, many

of those same people had helped to structure what would become the field, but their efforts were not a deliberate attempt to create the CCD field per se. In retrospect, it is easier to see the path taken to form community cultural development, or whatever other moniker one chooses to describe this field. However, for those who worked to form the field at the time, including many of Appalshop's leaders, I am sure the path was far less clear as they blazed it.

SQ2: Other Fields of Influence on Appalshop

I have highlighted two themes related to how other fields have influenced the operations of Appalshop. First, this study has shown how larger external fields with greater power dynamics can served as enablers and disablers of smaller fields. Second, the interplay or changing dynamics between and among fields helps to illustrate how any given field influences or is influenced by other fields.

Exogenous Factors as Enablers and Disablers

Scholars who have explored Appalachia's history with the arts have shed light on how different external factors influence many different fields and how difficult it is to effect change within those environmental constraints. At the time Appalshop began, the national political field of the 1940s and 1950s, including narratives of the 'American Dream' and the advent of the Cold War, generated popular skepticism concerning the status of democracy in the United States and paved the way for the social movements of the era. Many of those I interviewed indicated that the Civil Rights and other countercultural movements had served as key influences in their choice to join Appalshop and in the character of the work they subsequently produced there. The national arts field of the 1960s and 1970s reflected democratic ideologies of the time that were themselves

nested within the modern and postmodern art movements. Considering these trends and the birth and growth of the NEA and NEH, the War on Poverty and other federal government agencies, an environment emerged for CCD organizations to grow and thrive in the U.S.

However, that political context changed over time. Beginning in the 1980s, a new political mindset, neoliberalism, became ascendant within the federal and state governments and in the culture more generally. Neoliberalism is defined by a political belief in the preeminence of free-market capitalism, a utopian idea that democratic governance is no longer required thanks to the market and its invisible hand working as an ecosystem to keep everything in balance. Many scholars, including David Harvey (2005), have shown this ideology is actually a pretense for supporting capital and power accumulation among the governing elite. This perspective first became prominent within the Republican Party and was pressed by Ronald Reagan, but eventually was adopted by many Democrats too, including President Clinton, by 1992. The repercussions of this new development narrative broadly were institutional logics that assumed that everything may be understood and valued in economic terms. Specifically, this meant cuts to public funding for the arts in favor of nearly complete private sector provision of arts and culture, greater emphasis on nonpolitical or acceptable art largely rooted in the western European tradition, the reframing of arts programs to address specific social or economic topics so the arts could be employed as tools for development and a stress placed on programmatic *impacts*, preferably measured quantitatively.

The rise of neoliberalism tended to mediate other exogenous forces such as the rapid evolution of technology during these years. Technological advancements connected

Appalachia in new ways with the rest of the country, bringing some "development," but also deleterious results, such as normalized, derogatory stereotypes about Appalachians as well as life-threatening, environmental degradation through new coal-mining methods and machinery. Neoliberal politicians, both Republican and Democrat, supported the environmental devastation that coal mining technology caused in Appalachia by deregulating the industry and reducing funding for agencies meant to monitor its negative externalities. Changing internet technology has helped to replicate and distribute neoliberal claims as well as other often divisive narratives centered on racism, sexism and other prejudices. The rise of political sectarianism today is a partial result of this mediated technological environment.

In contrast, changing technology also enabled Appalshop's staff to contest stereotypical narratives and highlight the employment and ecological effects of the coal industry's destructive mining methods. It has empowered Appalshop staff and those with whom they work, especially regional youth, by providing them access to media tools to help express themselves and access to possible audiences and communities separate from their own. As the cost of technology has declined, those at Appalshop and other CCD organizations have benefitted from increased levels of online access to potential audiences, funders and information. But the benefits of that entrée are often contingent on users' levels of knowledge and fluency with relevant technology.

Locally, Appalachia and Appalshop's Central Appalachian region more specifically, have experienced immense socio-economic upheaval. Since the 1950s, Appalachia has experienced a severe population exodus as the coal and manufacturing industries have declined with globalization and technology change. To a lesser extent,

newer residents with appreciation of the region's natural beauty and culture have located in the region. What was once the most lucrative industry in the area, coal, has declined to the point where it provides only 5 percent of total employment. Similarly, many manufacturers have left Appalachia for areas of the world with cheaper labor. Like many parts of the U.S., this region has also seen rising and falling unemployment underpinned by long term population and employment decline, struggling healthcare and public education systems and an opioid and drug epidemic that has claimed many of its residents.

Appalshop has had to adapt for better or worse to these changes. The nonprofit's institutional structure and activities have changed over time to match or at least mimic those required by its funders. The national neoliberal narrative and accompanying changes in the regional context have forced many of Appalshop's principals to reframe their projects. The organization has evolved from one that amplified the voices of Appalachia's residents, in all their diversity, through different arts and media to one that predominantly addresses specific regional challenges through service, development and organizing. This is not to say that the organization does not seek to continue to develop artistic and cultural works meant to effect social change through community-involved processes. However, the necessary funding to undertake this sort of work has become very sparse.

Importance of Interplay Between Fields

One useful conceptual frame that the New Institutionalists have embraced is the notion of a meso-level of analysis, which could be an organization, but can also point to different fields, or relational systems, nested within an entity's larger environment. The meso-level is where the macro-and micro-levels of society may better connect and

interact. Focusing on this level of analysis helps researchers understand the importance of the interplay among different fields, whether they are proximate, interdependent or dependent on one another. In the case of Appalshop, one may investigate the interplay among fields through the nonprofit's partnerships and via the project collaborations that have occurred within it.

With Appalshop, it is evident that the interchange among fields is more robust when larger contextual forces align to enable that possibility. This is to say that larger fields, such as the federal government and the macro-economy may facilitate (though not ordain) growth and collaboration among different smaller fields. During the 1970s and through the mid-1990s, the CCD field flourished and the many organizations within it collaborated on a scale not imagined today. On NEA panels, through membership groups and as grantee partners, artists engaged one another, grew in their capacities and successfully advocated for themselves and for what they perceived would be a better future. Through partnerships within the community cultural development field, Appalshop and similar organizations maintained and reinforced their founding institutional logics that embraced democratic voice and culture. The nonprofit sought to open the space necessary to allow Appalachian residents to exercise political agency and thereby, to capture the potential for social change. They were aided and supported by institutions in proximate fields such as social justice organizations and higher education faculty invested in social justice and democratic theory. In many respects, Appalshop began as an organization at least partially dependent on fields such as Appalachian Studies in higher education. Appalshop staff in the first period (1969-1983) learned from scholars in the growing Appalachian Studies and allied fields.

However, larger fields may also influence how relationships among fields change. As the CCD field has struggled, many of the CCD organizations that once existed and collaborated with Appalshop have shut down or now function at a lower capacity. Many of the funding opportunities that would have brought these groups together are now absent. Likewise, through public funding cuts and a growing need to justify their existence, higher education institutions culturally incentivize faculty to publish works in journals and garner research funding through public and private means, but they do not encourage work that may support partnerships with institutions such as Appalshop or larger social change initiatives (unless they are supported by funding, which is now difficult to justify for such efforts). Faculty livelihoods are increasingly tied to a need to succeed according to current academic standards and those do not now encourage collaborations with the CCD field unless those ties promise an immediate financial or academic gain.

With today's larger exogenous pressures, Appalshop is more proximate today with fields such as urban and regional planning and community economic development than it was in past decades. This shift and the change in the region's socio-economic status has prompted the organization to work more with governments and other nonprofit organizations in Letcher County and a few adjacent jurisdictions. Whereas Appalshop used to be viewed as a challenger to the system within the regional field, many in its service area now view the nonprofit as an incumbent actor. It has garnered power on the basis of the fact that it has existed for the past fifty years, enduring longer than many of its counterparts and longer, arguably, than the once dominant coal industry in the region. New partnerships and proximate fields have encouraged Appalshop's staff to shift toward

seeking to provide more direct services in its region. The organization has increased its technical service delivery related programming by developing such initiatives as *All Access EKY, Traditional Music Program* and 3D modeling workshops.

The interplay among fields within Appalshop is also interesting to note. In some respects, many of the incumbent projects, those with a claim to power within the organization, are separated disciplinarily, strategically and through different hierarchies of institutional logics. In other words, they may embody different approaches to CCD. These differences have complemented and hindered the broader work of Appalshop at various times. For instance, three of the nonprofit's strongest incumbent projects are Appalshop Films, WMMT-FM and Roadside Theater. Appalshop films is in a place of power due to its historical significance in the organization even though film production has waned. In one-third of the interviews I conducted, participants discussed the importance of production as part of the Appalshop identity, referring primarily to the film unit as they did so. This power dynamic was even stronger when the Film Union was formed during the organization's second period (1984-2000).

WMMT-FM is probably most proximate to Appalshop Films because the two projects share a tradition of media production and advocacy. Many Appalshop staff have also worked in both projects. While WMMT-FM has less historical standing in the organization, it reaches a larger number of diverse, regional stakeholders and thus helps to fulfill Appalshop's mission in a unique way. The Appalshop Archive is also proximate to these two projects because of the material it preserves that can be used to support them. Meanwhile, Appalachian Media Institute relates to WMMT-FM and Appalshop Films in its collaborations with youth programming in both film and music. AMI also

holds some historical standing as its activities echo the initial Appalachian Film Workshop programming from which Appalshop grew.

Roadside Theater, often the most successful fundraiser, may be considered the most distant project from the others, partially due to its distinct difference in discipline and approach to CCD, but also because of the project's location. Roadside's office is in Norton, Virginia, not Whitesburg, Kentucky. More, when Roadside Theater is working, those efforts often take place in communities across the U.S. Roadside has a much stronger emphasis on process and shared knowledge creation during the production process and even in the midst of presenting the work it has created than its counterpart projects within Appalshop. Roadside Theater evidences a community organizing aesthetic in its work while many of the media projects emphasize advocacy, service and development.

Considering the fields that have helped to shape Appalshop's projects partially explains the differences and even tensions among them. This form of analysis also highlights one of the organization's greatest strengths. The diversity of its projects has allowed Appalshop to be nimble and adaptive in its work. Those in different projects may identify distinct opportunities to pursue and methods of approaching them. Nonetheless, many of Appalshop's most successful works have arisen from collaborations among projects, for instance *Thousand Kites, Strangers and Kin* and *Culture Hub*. Exogenous forces such as neoliberalism have nevertheless exacerbated organizational tensions and differences among projects as they each have sought to navigate those changes. As the organization has attempted to become more singularly cohesive, those efforts have raised the question of whether it can maintain the agility it has evidenced in the past. Indeed,

historically, Appalshop has operated multiple projects that approached the institution's mission in very different ways, including advocacy and community organizing, service delivery and community economic development and with different geographic scopes.

SQ3: Role of Actors in Perpetuating and Challenging Institutional Logics

Despite the seeming immutability of external forces and fields with which Appalshop and those in the community cultural development field are interdependent, the exercise of agency by individuals and the organization do play a part in paths taken and institutional outcomes. Indeed, the cultural-cognitive logics that help to form what Bourdieu (1977) labeled *habitus* are not developed through passive absorption alone, but also through active reflexivity and choices concerning what organizing narratives to adopt and maintain. When Appalshop began, for example, its leaders deliberately elected to adopt and contest institutional logics from proximate fields. Moreover, the shared desire of Appalshop's initial employees to amplify the voices of Appalachians and to showcase the different aspects of life in the mountains—beautiful, complicated and ugly alike—created a foundation for the culture of the organization. This narrative necessarily supported an institutional structure that encouraged the exercise of individual agency and allowed for all voices involved in the nonprofit's various initiatives to be heard.

Fligstein and McAdam's approach to New Institutionalism incorporates the *Existential Function of the Social*, or the underlying drive animating individual and political agency— the human capacity for, and need to develop shared meaning and identity (2012). Hence, those at Appalshop have contested social narratives, such as stereotypes about the Appalachian Hillbilly, and promoted other accounts that underlie

the organization's own values and cultural-cognitive logics such as democratic agency and the role of the arts in social change. The choices that those in Appalshop have made both for themselves and their organization have helped to shape not only their nonprofit, but also have helped to influence activities and perspectives adopted by actors in other fields.

One of the most effective ways practiced by Appalshop staff of attaining shared meaning and identity was through networking and partnerships. The nonprofit's staff have always sought ways to connect with peers and others in their field, often becoming leaders within it. They have traveled tirelessly and accepted posts on governing boards and NEA panels to ensure that their organization had a seat at the proverbial table, whichever table that might be in a shifting environment. When staff found there was no table and they believed one necessary, they have worked to create one. Their participation in regional and national groups, collaborations with peers and engagement with funders has facilitated their ability to ensure that the voices of rural Appalachia and others they represent are heard. Furthermore, these relationships have helped different partners and actors in cognate fields press for change; for example, the successful funding of independent television (ITVS) and lobbying for the passage of Kentucky's Broad Form Deed legislative amendment in the 1980s. Today, some Appalshop staff are working with partners to change current national policy for the arts that has limited federal funding available for Appalshop and organizations like it

With its history and reputation in helping to form the CCD field as well as a culture that encourages artistic expression and agency, Appalshop has attracted a plethora of skilled individuals since its beginning. Fligstein and McAdam describe skilled actors

this way: “the cognitive, empathetic and communicative abilities of such individuals (leaders) help them to understand people and environments, and to mobilize others effectively in the service of broader conceptions of the world and of themselves” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, p. 17). More particularly, those capacities include:

- A passion and perspective that sees beyond what is directly in front of them to the underlying relationships creating that reality as well as the possibilities for changing it;
- An ability to build and grow partnerships both within and outside the organization, both sharing their vision while acknowledging other’s value and potential despite social, cultural or political differences;
- An ability to tell a story through their work that speaks to a variety of audiences and individuals; and
- A willingness and determination to learn and adapt amidst changing external circumstances.

Appalshop is now engaged in hiring a new generation of staff with different professional backgrounds. Their perspectives, as they are understood through the organization’s normative and cultural-cognitive lens, will undoubtedly help to shape the ways the nonprofit will approach its work in the future.

The institution’s focus on individual agency, however, has not been meant to aggrandize the role of individuals or, indeed, any one organization. In fact, specific actors may be as much a hindrance as assets in a specific circumstance. This said, Appalshop’s emphasis on individual agency and project independence has led to an organizational structure with very few corrective mechanisms for personal or project failure. For many years, every individual who worked at Appalshop was expected to be able to distance themselves from their project—work about which each and every person at the organization was rightly extremely passionate—and help to govern the entire institution. That role and balancing act, always problematic and tension-filled, became less and less

tenable as exogenous cultural, political and economic forces became more obstructive. And, if anything, those strains have only become more challenging today. Appalshop now faces a socio-political environment in which strident political and for some, racial and ethnic, sectarianism have spawned divisions among Americans across communities and the nation. Perversely, this social condition is the exact opposite of the goals of community cultural development.

Implications for the Community Cultural Development Field

As matters evolved, this analysis of the history of Appalshop also found me tracing the formation and evolution of the community cultural development field, in which many of Appalshop's staff became important leaders. This analysis illustrated the precursors, formation and evolution of the field and its players, all of which face similar challenges to those that Appalshop has confronted throughout its existence. Particularly in its most recent period, 2015 to today, Appalshop has had to address very significant changes including, different projects, fewer production projects, a new governance structure (at least on paper) and a major generational change in its staff composition.

However, change in itself is nothing new to Appalshop as its culture was founded on addressing change and the need to ensure sufficiently flexibility to do so with nimbleness. Nonetheless, one wonders if the DNA of the organization is actually changing today away from community cultural development as defined here, or if, instead, the nonprofit is simply expanding its umbrella of activities. Particularly with the ever-present pressure of neoliberal influences encouraging CCD organizations to reframe their activities to address economic claims as their first imperative, does this reframing influence where these organizations fall on the community cultural development

spectrum? Or do the current changes at Appalshop, as a bellwether entity, signal a marked shift in the community cultural development field away from its traditional foci?

Reflecting on New Institutionalism as a Theoretical Framework

The New Institutionalism framework has helped me to account systematically for different components of, or contributors to Appalshop's evolution, from the broader environmental context and different fields of influence to the specific actions of individual actors. Often, when exploring any one organization, it is easy to miss certain elements or get lost in the detail of the larger system. While I do not claim that I have captured all aspects of Appalshop's evolution, I contend that this framework helped me develop a rigorous analysis of that system and a fair-minded and robust account of Appalshop's story.

The principal challenge of New Institutionalism for the analyst or user is well known and lies in the relative amorphousness and scalar quality of the *fields* concept. According to many New Institutional theorists, including Fligstein and McAdam, a field can be an organization, a consortium of organizations or an entire social movement. Keeping analytical track of the boundaries of each field and how fields relate to one another is the equivalent of considering how multiple Russian nesting dolls will somehow fit into not one, but multiple, larger dolls and also overlap on a fourth or fifth dimension of reality. In other words, it is complicated. While I sought to bound my use of the construct somewhat by arguing that fields in this study would be comprised of groups of entities as opposed to any individual organization, I could not get around the thorny question of the relative permeability of different fields as changes occurred within and

across each over time. However, understanding any system using any theory with similar analytical aspirations would be complicated in this same way.

Moreover, my approach led me to question the different levels of analysis present within different organizational theories. With Appalshop being such a complex organization itself, the interplay of fields within different parts of the organization provided a rich context for analysis. Future research might explore how one might blend a New Institutionalist perspective—the meso level of analysis—with a lower level analysis of one or more organizations within larger fields. Such an analysis may provide a richer understanding of the complexity of institutional logics, power structures, and the agency of players within fields.

The larger question might be what this theory yields that other conceptualizations have not. In my view, in many respects, New Institutionalism is an adaptation of Bourdieu's social theory for individuals but applied to the organizational and field level. Thus, if someone were to use this construct in the future, he or she would be wise to be well-versed in Bourdieu's conceptualization in addition to organizational theory. That understanding could well result in more nuance, particularly with respect to the question of agency. Although Fligstein and McAdam have incorporated more robust conceptions of habitus and skilled actors on the organizational level, the relationship between structure and agency still translates into a continuing tension. While that can be the case, another way of viewing this relationship, which I think Bourdieu has characterized well, and which was present in Appalshop's evolution too, is the continuous flow or cycling of narratives through different agents and structures to the point that actors, fields and

narratives are constantly influencing each other and reflecting and co-creating larger exogenous forces within society.

Future Research

As described in my Lessons Learned and Study Limitations section, I narrowed my inquiry to interviews with current and former Appalshop employees only due to limitations of time and the complexity of the organization. However, to understand better the impact of Appalshop on larger fields, one could continue this research by interviewing representatives of the nonprofit's partners and actors in proximate fields. I also wonder how the trends and exogenous forces captured in this dissertation reflect the experiences of other CCD organizations during this same period. As such, future research could include the pursuit of additional case studies or survey work to refine ways of supporting or contesting narratives within fields. Such work could also help to define better the community cultural development spectrum of activities and how those activities have shifted with the increased influence of neoliberalism, the pervasiveness of social media and growing political and social divisions in the population at large.

Related to this topic, is the notion of impact. This concept arose in much of the CCD literature and also as I sifted through archival documents, secondary historical data and interview transcripts. One interviewee explained,

> You know I'm not planning to work here forever. I need to retire before too long. But I think a lot of our strength has been the creative work that we produce, not the people per se, but you know the films and the plays and the music. There is some writing out there about that impact. And then individuals have talked about the influence that seeing an Appalshop film in high school might have had on them or seeing Roadside doing Jack Tales in school. So that kind of impact is really […] in my opinion, that's the most important thing in lots of ways. And so I'm really hopeful that it will continue to be creating artistic work (Personal Interview, Mimi Pickering 2.15.2019)

One opportunity to explore the impact of CCD in a manner that is less aligned with neoliberalism is an ethnographic or comparative case analysis of community cultural development's role in different grassroots social movements within the U.S. or abroad. Another might be to follow the personal journeys of different people whose lives have been affected by such work. In some respects, many of the scholars cited in this dissertation have pursued similar forms of inquiry and would serve as a good foundation for such work.

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Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter

August 22, 2018

Max O. Stephenson, Jr, PhD, MAPA, BA
Virginia Tech Institute for Policy and Governance
201 West Roanoke Street
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Dr. Stephenson:

SUBJECT: IRB EXEMPTION—REGULATORY OPINION
Protocol Title: Appalshop: Exploring the Agential Possibilities of One Organization in the Community Cultural Development Field
Investigator: Max Stephenson, Jr, PhD, MAPA, BA
IRB Number: 18-681

This letter is in response to your request to Western Institutional Review Board (WIRB) for an exemption determination for the above-referenced research project. WIRB's IRB Affairs Department reviewed the exemption criteria under 45 CFR §46.101(b)(2) and 45 CFR 46.101(b)(4):

(b) Unless otherwise required by Department or Agency heads, research activities in which the only involvement of human subjects will be in one or more of the following categories are exempt from this policy:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:

(i) Information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

(4), which states that the following category of research is exempt from the requirements of 45 CFR 46:

"Research, involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects."

We believe that the research fits the above exemption criteria. The interview subjects may be identifiable from their responses, but this research is unlikely to reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation. The organization's archival records to be reviewed were created for non-research purposes prior to the start of this research.

This exemption determination can apply to multiple sites, but it does not apply to any institution that has an institutional policy of requiring an entity other than WIRB (such as an internal IRB) to make exemption determinations. WIRB cannot provide an exemption that overrides the jurisdiction of a local IRB or other institutional mechanism for determining exemptions. You are responsible for ensuring that each site to which this exemption applies can and will accept WIRB's exemption decision.

Please note that any future changes to the project may affect its exempt status, and you may want to contact WIRB about the effect these changes may have on the exemption status before implementing them. WIRB does not impose an expiration date on its IRB exemption determinations.

If you have any questions, or if we can be of further assistance, please contact Sean W. Horkheimer, JD, CIP, at 360-252-2465, or e-mail RegulatoryAffairs@wirb.com.

SWH:dj
B2 & B4-Exemption-Stephenson (08-22-2018)
cc: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech)
Sarah E. Lyon-Hill, Virginia Tech Office of Economic Development
WIRB Accounting
WIRB Work Order #1-1106848-1

Appendix B: IRB Consent Form

RESEARCH SUBJECT CONSENT FORM

Title:	Appalshop: Exploring the Agential Possibilities of One Organization in the Community Cultural Development Field	
Protocol No.:	Virginia Tech IRB 18-681	
Investigator:	Sarah Lyon-Hill 702 University City Blvd Blacksburg, VA 24061	Max O. Stephenson 201 W. Roanoke St Blacksburg, VA 24061
Daytime Phone Number:	419-450-4690	540-231-6775
Email:	sarahlh@vt.edu	mstephen@vt.edu

You are being invited to take part in a research study. A person who takes part in a research study is called a research subject, or research participant.

What should I know about this research?

- Someone will explain this research to you.
- This form sums up that explanation.
- Taking part in this research is voluntary. Whether you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.
- If you don't understand, ask questions.
- Ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this research is to understand better how Appalshop came to be how it is today by examining its 50-year evolution. Like many community cultural development organizations, Appalshop has influenced or been influenced by different social structures and spheres of power. The investigators wish to examine the ways in which Appalshop has sought to assert its agency as an organization by countering those forces, how actors in the organization have gained or maintained power or acted on their own agency in light of those forces, and how those tensions have influenced the organization's overall approach to its mission.
During this study, the student investigator, Sarah Lyon-Hill, will interview and conduct one or more focus groups with past and current Appalshop stakeholders. Participants will include organizational founders, staff, directors, board members, and partners external to Appalshop. About 24 or more subjects will take part in this research. The findings from this study will be used for a dissertation manuscript as well as one or more publications.

How long will I be in this research?

We expect that your taking part in this research will take no more than two hours of your time.

What happens to me if I agree to take part in this research?

We would like you to participate in one sixty-to ninety-minute interview that Sarah Lyon-Hill will record. If you choose to participate, we will ask you about what brought you to Appalshop, your work here, and other details about the organization. The interview may occur over the phone or in-person depending on your availability.

After the interview, Sarah Lyon-Hill will transcribe the recording and share it with you for review for accuracy and to provide any further input or reflections you may wish to share. She may also contact you with follow-up questions.

What are my responsibilities if I take part in this research?

If you take part in this research, you will be responsible for answering the questions posed to you as honestly as you can. Upon receipt of the interview transcript, you will be responsible for reviewing the transcript.

Could being in this research hurt me?

We foresee minimal risk to you arising from your participation in this study. If Sarah Lyon-Hill should ask a question that you feel uncomfortable answering, you may ask that she not record your response, or you may choose not to answer.

Will being in this research benefit me?

We cannot offer you any promise or guarantee of personal benefits as a result of your participation in this study. However, findings from this research project may not only help Appalshop, but also other individuals and organizations doing similar work to Appalshop reflect on the forces influencing their work and devise strategies for more effectively pursuing their social change goals.

What happens to the information collected for this research?

Any information you provide during the interview will be shared between this study's researchers and the Institutional Review Board that reviews the study.
We may publish the results of this research. However, we will keep your name and other identifying information confidential. We will use pseudonyms if we choose to quote or reference you in any way. Due to the nature of this study, however, your input may be identifiable among those working at Appalshop. If at any time during the interview, you make a comment that you do not wish revealed in any way, Sarah Lyon Hill will not record it and will ensure it does not appear in her dissertation or other publications. If you wish your identity to be known, you have the option below to state that you would like us to use your name in any citations or references to you.
Past researchers who have conducted studies concerning Appalshop have shared their interview recordings and transcripts with the Appalshop Archive. With your consent, Sarah Lyon-Hill will also share her recordings and transcript from this interview. If you would like those to remain

confidential, she will remove all identifying information from the interview transcript if possible and consult with you on whether to share it.

Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think this research has hurt you or made you sick, talk to the research team at the phone number listed above on the first page.
This research is being overseen by an Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies. You may talk to them at (800) 562-4789, help@wirb.com if:

- You have questions, concerns, or complaints that are not being answered by the research team.
- You are not getting answers from the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone else about the research.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.

What happens if I agree to be in this research, but I change my mind later?

If you decide you no longer want to participate in this research, you may let the investigators know at any time, either in-person, over the phone, or via email.

Will I be paid for taking part in this research?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered.

☐ Check this box if you consent for your interview recording and transcript to be shared with the Appalshop Archive upon completion of the research project.

☐ Check this box if you prefer that your interview recording and transcript remain confidential. You will determine later whether the Appalshop Archive may have a "clean" version of you interview transcript.

☐ Check this box if you prefer that your identity is known, meaning I will not use a pseudonym if I reference you in my dissertation or other publications.

Your signature documents your consent to take part in this research.

Signature of adult subject capable of consent	Date
Signature of person obtaining consent	Date

Appendix C: IRB Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Interview participants: past and current staff
Estimated time per interview: 1-1.5 hours

Please tell me about yourself and how you came to work at Appalshop.

- Tell me about your background. How did you come to work at Appalshop?
- What positions did you hold, and with which project were you most affiliated?

Let's talk about Appalshop's history…
(provide preliminary organizational timeline)

- I am interested in breaking down Appalshop's history into periods of stability/prosperity and periods of change during which the organization may have had to change its activities, structure, etc.
    - Looking at this preliminary timeline, how does this breakdown match your understanding of Appalshop's history? How does it differ?
    - OR… How would you characterize your time here? From what you have heard or experienced, would you identify any periods of change in the organization?
- During these periods, what kind of changes occurred in the organization/project *(governance, activities, partners, leadership, etc)*? What forces or concerns you think occasioned those shifts? *(internal leadership, external partnerships, larger socioeconomic shifts, etc.)*
    - How did those changes affect Appalshop's mission?
    - In your opinion, what individual or individuals played significant roles in these changes?
        - Why has this person [or these people] been so influential?
        - What values did they embrace and what skills or abilities did/do they have that have facilitate(d) that influence?
    - During these periods, which partnerships were most influential? Could you describe one specific organization, individual, or circumstance that has been most influential? *(funders, higher ed, peer arts organizations/artists, community partners)*
        - What have been the points of contention with these groups as you've worked with them?
- Tell me about an instance when the organization [and project] faced a major challenge.
    - What was the challenge?
    - Who played a part within and outside the organization?
    - In what ways did this instance challenge the status quo of the organization?
    - How was the challenge eventually addressed?

Would you tell me more about your time with [project] specifically?

- How does [project] differ from other projects at Appalshop or from the organization as a whole? How is it similar?
    - How does [project] interact or collaborate with other Appalshop projects? Can you provide an example of a successful collaboration and what made it successful? An unsuccessful collaboration?
    - What have been the benefits and challenges of working within a larger organization, in your view?
- When someone new joins Appalshop [or specific project], what rules and values do you want them to know or embrace during their time here? *(clearly define rules versus values)*
    - Have there been any instances when new folks questioned or challenged those values? If so, how did you and other project members react?
- Please share a story about [specific project], which is emblematic of it as you understand the institution.

Finally…

- In your view, how has Appalshop been successful as an organization?
    - How does the organizational structure of Appalshop—a relatively loose structure of self-governing, arts-based projects—enable or hinder Appalshop's ultimate community development goals for Appalachia in your view?
- How do you see Appalshop evolving in the future?