THE INFLUENCE OF PRIVATE COLLEGES ON APPALACHIAN IDENTITY:
A DESCRIPTIVE CASE STUDY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to describe the role private colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity using a descriptive case study method of inquiry. Private colleges have served a vital role in Appalachia in that they have allowed many students in the region the opportunity to attain a college degree. Consequently, these institutions have afforded students in the Appalachian region the chance for a higher quality of life than many of their parents or grandparents (Lloyd, 1969; Neal, 1983; Searles, 1995). However, these same colleges have also served as interveners in Appalachia, and thus been involved in the formation of the region's identity with both positive and negative consequences (Ashworth, 1913; McNeil, 1995; Whisnant, 1994). This study explored Grant College's impact on Appalachian identity by seeking an emic characterization of the institution's role in the region from faculty, staff and students, and the institution's public proclamations. Additionally, this research provided insights into the historic and evolving role of private colleges in the Appalachian region as well as the influence of higher education on regional identity. The findings of this study indicated that Grant College is not engaged in systematic cultural intervention in Appalachia; however, this study does not conclude this is necessarily the case at other institutions in the region. Further exploration of this topic might yield different findings and expand upon the research produced in this study.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to Lois A. and James R. Bryant, my aunt and uncle. They have been two of the best teachers one could ever have. I have learned the importance of faith, family, hard work and perseverance from them. I am also grateful for their encouragement and guidance.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Historically, private colleges have served a vital purpose in Appalachia in that they have given many students in the region the opportunity to earn a college degree. Consequently, local students are able to achieve a higher quality of life than many of their parents or grandparents (Lloyd, 1969; Neal, 1983; Searles, 1995). However, faculty and staff members at these colleges have served not only as educators, but also as interveners in Appalachia. As such, they have been involved in the transformation of the region's identity (Ashworth, 1913; McNeil, 1995; Whisnant, 1994). This case study has explored the current influence of private colleges on Appalachian identity.

Statement of the Problem

Appalachia is the term often used to describe the region of the United States where part of the Appalachian mountain chain is located. The Appalachian mountain range covers more than 2,500 miles of the eastern United States from Alabama northeast into Nova Scotia, Canada, and thus from a purely geographical perspective the region is rather expansive (Emblidge, 1996).

However, there are also several other conceptualizations of Appalachia that delimit the expansiveness of a geographical definition. These include socioeconomic comparison with urbanized America, population demographics, and the dominance of one industry, coal mining (1983, Peoples Appalachian Research Collective). The lack of a diverse economy, as well as a host of factors including the lack of level terrain for agriculture and geographical isolation have created chronic economic and population

woes for the region as inhabitants migrate to more prosperous areas to pursue better opportunities. While the Appalachian mountain chain is the dominant characteristic of the area, the prevalence of bituminous and anthracite coal mining also delimit Appalachia from other parts of the United States; although bituminous coal mining occurs in other regions of America, almost all of the nation's anthracite mining occurs in Appalachia.

The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) framed the most commonly accepted definition of Appalachia as a 200,000 square mile region that follows the spine of the Appalachian Mountains from southern New York to northern Mississippi. The region includes all of West Virginia and parts of 12 other states including Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia (ARC, 2006).

Identity Construction

Describing identity is no small task. Castells (1997) has referred to identity as a "people's source of meaning and experience" (p. 6). Woodward (1997) has characterized identity as what "gives us an idea of who we are and of how we relate to others and to the world in which we live" (p. 1). Consequently, the defining characteristics that make one different from others is one way to conceptualize identity.

The mix that makes up identity can include nationality, ethnicity, social class, community, gender and sexuality (Woodward, 1997). As Castells (1997) has noted, the concept of identity differs from that of roles such as parent, church member and athlete in that identity is often related to cultural attributes while roles are generally associated with structural norms.

Castells (1997) has argued that identity is constructed in three ways: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity. Legitimizing identity is the notion that identity is constructed by the dominant institutions in society such as colleges and universities, places of worship and industry all of which are types of communities. One of the best known examples of this is the Church of Latter Day Saints (LDS), more commonly known as the Mormon faith or church. The Mormon faith has an impact on identity construction through church-sponsored mission trips and institutions such as Brigham Young University (BYU) (Stark, 2005). Stark believes students attending BYU who have participated in a two-year mission trip are "far more self-assured, polished, mature, and above all, confident" than their peers (p. 130). BYU is one among many higher education institutions founded by churches to train ministers and advance a prescribed set of ideals and values. Similarly, the Presbyterian Church founded several colleges in Appalachia to carry out its mission (Blair & Walker, 1994). According to Castells' concept of legitimizing identity, higher education has the potential to legitimize a region's identity by its very presence. The question this study largely explored is whether a private institution of higher education continues to do so in Appalachia.

According to Castells (1997), resistance identity refers to identity construction as the byproduct of devaluation (Castells, 1997). In this instance, an opposing identity is produced as an extension of resistance to the dominant institutions, individuals or groups. For example, a third party political organization such as Ralph Nader's Green Party and its support of Nader in the 2000 national presidential election represents a form of identity construction. Within Appalachia, an environmental and social justice

organization such as Mountain Justice Summer, formed to combat the devastation of the region's landscape by dominant institutions such as the coal and timber industries, is an example of resistance identity. In addition, some colleges and universities in the region engage in the creation of resistance identity by offering or sponsoring courses, programs or organizations that educate students about environmental deprivation and combat dominant institutions that participate in mountaintop removal or surface mining. Fostering resistance identity has the potential to alter the identity of a region.

Although it is not always the case, resistance identity can give birth to project identity. Project identity involves the transformation of an existing identity that affords an individual or group a new position in society. Castells (1997) has used a commune as an example of resistance identity that produces project identity in the form of a religious fundamentalist movement (p. 357). In Appalachia, private colleges engaged in project identity creation, because they were often formed for the betterment of the region and its inhabitants by providing a Christian education that would afford graduates a higher quality of life, as defined by the institution's decision makers (Lloyd, 1969).

Although Castells' argument for the three constructs of identity offers the most complete study, it is not the first to argue that legitimizing identity is connected to dominant institutions in society. It is very similar to Whisnant's (1983) model of systematic cultural intervention. Whisnant conceptualized systematic cultural intervention as "the process by which someone or some institution consciously and programmatically takes action within a culture with the intent of affecting it in some specific way deemed desirable by the intervener" (p. 13).

Private higher education in Appalachia began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an extension of protestant Christianity. It was based on a variation of charity rooted in the concept of noblesse oblige, the notion that nobility obligates one to engage in helping those who are less fortunate, sometimes with naïve disregard for the identity of the less fortunate or with deliberate lack of respect and even the desire to obliterate an identity (Whisnant, 1994). What happened to the Cherokees, the Native Americans who have resided in Southern Appalachia longer than any other group, exemplifies this phenomenon (Finger, 1995). These interventions, whether noble or sinister, often resulted in the destruction of cultural identity (Whisnant, 1994). Thus, the moral imperative can become a systematic cultural intervention. In fact, Appalachian Studies scholars have often promoted this notion with their arguments for the existence of a single collective identity in the region that dominant institutions must respond to when constructing a framework for regional improvement (Frost, 1995; Jones, 1983; Semple, 1995). The problem with perpetuating a collective identity of Appalachian people is that these characterizations are often stereotypical, incomplete or inaccurate taxonomies.

Appalachian Identity and Essentialism

Essentialism refers to the idea that there is one set of characteristics or stereotypes that define a group's identity and remain constant over time (Woodward, 1997). Early portraits of the identity of people living in Appalachia subscribed to the essentialist formula. For example, in 1935, Arnold Toynbee, a British historian and scholar, referred to Appalachian inhabitants as:

"no better than barbarians. They are the American counterparts of the latter-day

White barbarians of the Old World: the Rifis and Kabyles and Tuareg, the

Albanians and Caucasians, the Kurds and the Pathans and the Hairy Ainu (as cited

in Higgs & Manning, 1988).

He added:

The Appalchian 'Mountain People" of Appalachia are ci-devant heirs of the

Western Civilization who have relapsed into barbarism under the depressing

effect of a challenge which has been inordinately severe; and their neo-barbarism

is derived from two sources.

Toynbee illustrated the propensity of early Appalachian and history scholars to

generalize characterizations of the people who inhabit the region, and thus create

misperceptions of Appalachian identity.

More recent scholarship has perpetuated similar misperceptions and

generalizations. Loyal Jones (1983) has offered evidence of the essentialist notion of a

distinct Appalachian identity bounded, or delimited, and representative of all the region's

inhabitants. Jones provided a list of commonalities he perceived to be the dominant

values or characteristics of Appalachian people, including religion, individualism, self-

reliance, neighborliness, hospitality, family solidarity, personalism, love of place,

modesty, being one's self, sense of beauty, sense of humor and patriotism (p. 125).

Shapiro has outlined the hegemony of Appalachian identity by local color writers,

sociologists and geologists (1983). This hegemony has perpetuated several

misconceptions. First, Shapiro romanticized Appalachia and the people of the region as

protectors of "that quintessentially American way of life which industrialism and

urbanism were destroying" (p. 75). In this capacity, the region's inhabitants were pioneers living on one of the last true frontiers and averse to change or societal advancement. Secondly, he cast the region's culture and geography as "an anomaly in an otherwise unified and homogenous nation" (p. 74). Thirdly, Shapiro viewed Appalachian people as a direct link to a bygone era and stereotyped them as heroic, self-reliant, hard working, committed, prone to feuding, and whiskey loving (pp. 75-76).

Such essentialist portraits of the region have perpetuated at least three misconceptions of Appalachian identity. First, the people of Appalachia or any region can be classified, typed, or organized en masse into a bounded classification or tangible taxonomy. Secondly, the values or characteristics of the Appalachian people are not shared by people living in other regions or nations. Thirdly, there is a common, deliberate way of life in the region that rejected the values, beliefs and practices of mainstream American society. All three misconceptions have informed responses to the region's perceived needs by the dominant institutions in society, including higher education.

Appalachian Identity and Non-essentialism

In contrast to essentialism, non-essentialism holds that identity is not static and recognizes diversity within groups (Woodward, 1997). Contemporary Appalachian Studies scholarship has challenged essentialist characterizations of the region's identity. While the essentialists seek to delimit Appalachian identity within a series of constructs, the non-essentialists consider such efforts futile. Whisnant (1994) has stated, "To ask me (or in fact anyone) to say what Appalachia is really like is roughly equivalent to asking Faulkner or Wolfe what the South was really like: It is both beside the point and

impossible to answer" (p xii). Consequently, non-essentialist Appalachian scholarship has been largely devoted to deconstructing early portraits of the region and scholarship associated with isolating the region's identity.

In addition, non-essentialist Appalachian scholars have frequently employed demographic research to dispel homogenous portraits of Appalachian identity. Scholars such as Anglin (1995), Finger (1995) and Mann (1995) have examined census data and settlement patterns to illustrate not only the presence of underrepresented groups in Appalachia, but the contributions of minorities and women to Appalachian identity. Anglin (1995) used census data to challenge the time-honored assumption that women in Appalachia were relegated to the role of homemaker. She has noted that essentialist scholarship has not accounted for the contributions of women in waged work including mica processing, sewing clothing and manufacturing that enhanced the region's economy.

Finger's (1995) research on the Cherokees living in Appalachia challenged essentialist portraits of an egalitarian, uniform Appalachia. He has drawn on federal census data that presents an alternative composition of population demographics in Appalachia. Finger has depicted an Appalachia that is neither homogenous nor classless, but is hierarchical and tri-racial. He has documented the significant presence of African-Americans, Cherokee Native Americans and whites living in a stratified society. In addition, Finger's research has offered compelling evidence that both whites and Cherokees owned slaves.

Similarly, Mann (1995) relied on census data to examine one county in

Appalachia, Tazewell County, Virginia, to argue that contrary to the findings of essentialist scholarship, the region was populated not only by whites, but included significant numbers of slaves. Furthermore, Mann has illustrated that there were at least four different classes of whites in this one county and that all of these social groups owned slaves. The Appalachia of non-essentialist Appalachian scholars such as Anglin (1995), Finger (1995) and Mann (1995) is much different from the classless, homogenous and bounded Appalachia of Wilson, Jones and other essentialists.

Appalachian Identity and Globalization

Jonathan Friedman's (1992) thesis of identity construction as the product of power and politics provides another way to look at Appalachian identity. He stated, "Identity, here, is decisively a question of empowerment. The people without history in this view are the people who have been prevented from identifying themselves for others" (p. 837). In addition, Friedman argued that since history and identity were intertwined, it was necessary to look only at who has written the history of a group to comprehend the people's hegemony: "Making history is a way of producing identity insofar as it produces a relation between that which supposedly occurred in the past and the present state of affairs…. In this sense, all history including modern historiography is mythology" (p. 837).

An application of Friedman's thesis to identity in Appalachia has several implications. First, colonialism in the region probably retarded internal development of identity. Secondly, colonial forces, such as the dominant institutions in the region including religious and higher education institutions and the coal and timber industries,

have contributed to the de-identification of the people of Appalachia. This de-identification has probably contributed to feelings of isolation, oppression and exploitation in some of the region's inhabitants. Finally, the history of Appalachia was often written by outsiders who knowingly or unknowingly engaged in identity creation by parlaying their perceptions into an essentialist vision of the overall identity and conditions present in the region. Consequently, many popular conceptions of Appalachian identity were essentially fallacies based on historical interpretations and misperceptions. In all three scenarios, the process of identity creation was impeded by etic, hegemonic influences that exerted power over Appalachian people and perpetuated misconceptions of identity.

Thomas Friedman has illustrated what is perhaps best described as contemporary hegemony in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (2000). Friedman has recognized that identity is shaped by individual attitudes, experiences and perspectives; in other words, an individual's contemporary identity is linked to our view of other cultures. He posed the following question that each person must ask as he or she explores his or her own identity and the identity of others: "What would be the lens, the perspective, the organizing system- the superstory- through which I would look at the world, make sense of events, prioritize them, opine upon them and help readers understand them?" (p. 5).

Friedman's quest to answer this question has led him to conclude that he views the world from a global perspective. This perspective seems holistic, noble, and tolerant on the surface. However, this is not the case, as becomes apparent in his description of

globalization as an "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before" (p. 9). Friedman adds that "the driving idea behind globalization is free-market capitalism," and "only those who are constantly looking over their shoulders to see who is creating something new that will destroy them and then staying just one step ahead of them, will survive" (p. 9-11).

This conception of globalization advances the idea that to be a viable person, group, nation, business or institution of higher learning in a global society, being in a perpetual state of reinvention is requisite. The ramifications for identity from this perspective are dire, because de-identification would be the product of a system that rewards detachment from tradition and the past. Unlike the essentialist notion of Appalachian identity outlined by Jones and further delineated by Shapiro, or the mythological identity outlined by Jonathan Friedman, Thomas Friedman has illustrated how global market forces impact and possibly erode identity. By extension, it can be argued that globalization has affected the contemporary role of private higher education in Appalachia in terms of whether these institutions support or threaten the region's identity.

Appalachian Identity and Higher Education

At present, there is not a vast amount of scholarship that explores the influence of higher education in Appalachia on the region's identity. In fact, most of the research related to higher education in Appalachia is devoted to tracing both the origins and philanthropic missions associated with these institutions (Wilson, 1916; Lloyd, 1969; Neal, 1983; Blair & Walker, 1994; Searles, 1995). In addition, these sources have not

provided for an understanding of the contemporary influence of higher education in

Appalachia on various constructs including the economy, identity or educational

attainment levels. Instead, much of the scholarship devoted to higher education in the

region has been honorific and does not rise to the level of objective critical inquiry.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe the current role colleges in Appalachia

play in shaping the region's identity using a case study method of inquiry. Specifically,

this study explored the institution's public proclamations about its role in the region,

faculty and staff members' descriptions of both Appalachia and the college's role in the

region, and the specific means the college uses to promote knowledge about the region.

For purposes of this study, Appalachia has been delineated in accordance with the

ARC definition as a 200,000 square mile region that follows the spine of the Appalachian

Mountains from southern New York to northern Mississippi. The region includes all of

West Virginia and parts of 12 other states including Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky,

Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina,

Tennessee and Virginia (ARC, 2006). In addition, the institution selected for this case

study has been referred to as Grant College to protect the identity of the college and

participants.

Research Questions

Specifically, this study was designed to address the following research questions:

1. How does Grant College portray its role in Appalachia in public

proclamations?

2. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the institution's role in the Appalachian region?

3. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the Appalachian region?

4. How does Grant College promote knowledge about the Appalachian region?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it provided qualitative data not currently available in the canon of Appalachian scholarship for various constituencies. Furthermore, this systematic inquiry highlighted the nature of the relationship between identity in Appalachia and the region's dominant institutions. In doing so, this research provided insight into the historic and evolving role of higher education in the region as well as the influence of colleges and universities on Appalachian identity. These insights foster a greater understanding of how programs of study, out of classroom experiences and experiential learning can affect identity in the Appalachian region. In so doing, they benefit faculty and staff at these schools as they consider curricular and co-curricular initiatives and desired outcomes.

The results of this study are beneficial to Appalachian Studies scholars and students because they have provided novel qualitative data currently regarding the nature of the relationship between higher education and identity in Appalachia. In addition, this research has provided Appalachian Studies scholars and students new data that focuses on current the current direction of higher education in Appalachia.

This study also has significance for future research. The results provide data for

analyzing how institutional offerings, both curricular and co-curricular, affect cultural identity in regions other than Appalachia; future research might replicate the methodology of this study, but focus on a different geographical region. Consequently, inhabitants of areas other than Appalachia could also benefit from this study as might faculty, staff and students at such colleges and universities. Such studies could also contribute to the research base related to assessing dominant institutions in society, including colleges and universities, on identity construction.

Finally, the results of this study also have implications for policymakers, including governing board members, higher education coordinating agencies, senior level administrators, governors and legislators because they can help foster a greater appreciation of how decisions related to institutional policies, goals and priorities impact identity in Appalachia. For example, a state coordinating agency might benefit from this study's implications on higher education's role in shaping identity when considering curricular proposals at public institutions that are designed to foster certain outcomes, including economic development. In this instance, the decision of whether or not to approve a given curricular program might be influenced by the initiative's impact on regional identity.

Delimitations of the Study

The first delimitation of the study concerns the sample. The size of the sample was limited to one of the 36 member institutions of the Appalachian College Association (ACA). Consequently, in keeping with the case study method of inquiry, the results may not be transferable to all ACA member institutions.

Another delimitation stems from the classification of the institution selected. The sample contains only a single four-year college, and thus excludes several two-year colleges in the region. As a result, two-year ACA institutions might not find the results of this research as beneficial as baccalaureate granting institutions.

Finally, the participants selected for this study fall into three categories: faculty, professional staff and students. Alumni were not asked to share their perceptions of the role private colleges in Appalachia have played in shaping the region's identity. Additionally, community leaders were not contacted. This study only included current faculty, staff and students at the sample institution.

<div align="center">Organization of the Study</div>

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 includes the introduction, purpose of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and delimitations of the study. Chapter 2 contains a review of the literature related to the study. Chapter 3 identifies the methodology for collecting and analyzing the data. Chapter 4 presents the results and Chapter 5 a summary of key findings, implications for future research and practice, and limitations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents an overview of literature that highlights scholarship related

to identity and Appalachia. The literature includes an overview of race, ethnicity, culture

and identity, as well as essentialist and non-essentialist conceptualizations of

Appalachian identity. In addition, literature that documents the origins and role of private

higher education in the region is included in this section.

Identity and Appalachia

Race, Ethnicity, Culture and Identity

The concept of identity is often misunderstood or confused with race, ethnicity

and culture. While race, ethnicity, culture and identity are interconnected, the terms are

not synonymous and, therefore, are worthy of delineation; however, reaching a consensus

on the definitions of each term has proved to be elusive. Race is generally associated with

the physical characteristics that make one person different from others. These include

skin color, facial features, hair type, and so forth, and race is therefore often

conceptualized in biological terms. Cornell and Hartman (1998) have articulated race as

a "human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue or perceived common

physical characteristics that are held to be inherent" (p. 24). Schilling (1998) has

contended that race has no basis in science, but is both a social and cultural creation often

used to demarcate human beings.

Conceptualizations of ethnicity are, however, more complex than definitions of

race, simply because more variables are factored into the equation. Weber referred to

ethnicity as the collective experience of "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (as cited in Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Similarly, Schermerhorn (1978) contended that ethnicity was the byproduct of a group of people who share a common ancestry, shared past historical experiences and a concern for one or more symbolic experiences that help bound their commonality (as cited in Cornell & Hartmann, 1998).

Culture, like ethnicity, is a multifaceted concept. Culture refers to learned behavioral standards that are not acquired through biological inheritance, but often through language (Haviland, 1990). Haviland stated that "culture consists of the abstract values, beliefs, and perceptions of the world that lie behind people's behavior and that their behavior reflects (p. 29).

Identity is yet another construct related to race, ethnicity and culture that may be employed to distinguish one from others; however, identity is a term often defined more holistically than race, ethnicity, or culture. Woodward (1997) has noted that identity provides for one's place in the world and serves as the unifying force between an individual and society. Furthermore, identity is a function of various factors including nationality, ethnicity, social class, community, gender, and sexuality that may or may not generate conflicting or contradictory identities.

Appalachian Identity

As is the case with conceptualizations of race, ethnicity and identity, there is little consensus on what qualifies as Appalachian identity. Early scholarship attempted to

bound the identity of the region's inhabitants through taxonomies that perpetuated

stereotypes and generalizations. Woodward (1997) has classified this brand of

scholarship as essentialist. Bucholtz (2003) has defined essentialism as "the position that

the attributes and behavior of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by

reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group"

(p. 400). Contemporary Appalachian Studies scholarship has focused more on the

diversity of identities within the region, and, in doing so, has attempted to deconstruct the

historical fallacies associated with previous research. Woodward has classified

scholarship that seeks to document the contributions of all peoples in the region as

opposed to the dominant groups as non-essentialist.

Essentialist conceptualizations of Appalachian identity.

William Frost, president of Berea College from 1892-1920, wrote an essay in

1899 entitled, *Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains* in which he has

offered essentialist commentary about Appalachians and expanded upon the role of

higher education in the region (in McNeil, 1995). Frost believed that nature had retarded

the advancement of the region primarily by impeding communication with others.

However, his analysis of the region was less caustic and tempered by a pragmatism not

found in other essentialist writing.

Frost believed in the transformative power of education to help alleviate the

deficiencies found within Appalachia. As a result of the inability to communicate with

others, Appalachian Americans lived in conditions reminiscent of the colonial times.

These conditions included antiquated means of transportation and commerce, large

families and very little money. Furthermore, the prevalent occupations of famer, miller, cobbler and blacksmith harkened back to a bygone period.

Frost also noted the personal qualities that characterized Appalachian residents. He found them to have a "somewhat rude and repellant" (pp. 98-99) presence and to be very individualistic, a characteristic that not only prohibited them from joining causes, but also encouraged them to support feudal leaders. They also displayed a "love of home and kindred" (pp. 101-102), a quality Frost believed to be responsible for violent behavior including homicide by a perverted sense of honor. In addition, he noted a propensity for Appalachians, and others living in isolation, to display hospitality to strangers to obtain news from the outside world and as a form of charity.

Frost devoted a section of his essay to religion in Appalachia because he saw it as crucial to understanding the region's plight and inadequacies. He contended that religion, like everything else in Appalachia, had been retarded. He noted that ministers were not educated, a departure from protestant tradition. This lack of formal seminary training for clergy produced a fatalistic worldview that caused one to have a positive outlook on personal misfortune. Frost also believed religious fatalism lay at the heart of the belated countenance of Appalachian inhabitants marked by shyness, hypersensitivity, pride, insecurity and listlessness. He stated, "They are but feebly struggling with destiny" (p. 104).

Frost's account of Appalachia, a region he perceived as "a ward of the nation," (p. 106) served as a call to action in the form of intervention through education. He stated, "the question of the method by which these contemporary ancestors of ours are to be put

in step with the world is an educational one" (p. 106).

While Frost proposed cultural intervention through expanding educational opportunities, he displayed sensitivity somewhat uncommon for his time when compared to the writing of others. Although he advocated for industrial education in forestry, agriculture and other fundamentals including personal hygiene, history and conflict resolution designed to increase Appalachians' quality of life, he does not want to obliterate the region's identity. Frost believes "we should not try to make them conform to the regulation type of Americans; they should be encouraged to retain all that is characteristic and wholesome in their present life" (p. 106). In summary, he believed the purpose of education in Appalachia "should be to make them able to help themselves" (p. 106).

Like Frost, Ellen Semple (1901) has also offered essentialist commentary in her essay, *The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study in Anthropogeography*, though with less sensitivity than the more enlightened Frost. Semple, a native of Kentucky, was a cultural geographer and her perspective of Appalachia is rooted in environmental determinism. Consequently, she argued that Appalachian identity was characterized by isolation and poverty which has been framed by the region's topography.

Semple (1901) argued that Appalachia was reminiscent of pioneer days primarily because of the geographical constraints that prohibit civilization. Furthermore, she stated that the region's inhabitants had two avenues through which to see civilization: following mountain streams to headwaters via lumber rafts or being sent to prison for moonshining

or committing homicide as a result of a feud.

The byproduct of the geographical isolation and lack of civilization in Appalachia, according to Semple, was arrested development. She cites several examples of endemic behavior patterns to illustrate her claim that the development of the region's inhabitants was static. For example, intermarriage was extremely common and produced a clannish, feudal society. In addition, she portrayed Appalachians as self-reliant, fiercely independent, disdainful of the law and prone to violent behavior.

Semple (1901) also made distinct generalizations of Appalachian men and women although she did contend that "none of the race are stalwart and healthy" (p. 152). She perceived women pitiable and comparable only to "the lowest peasantry of Europe" (p. 151). Women usually had bare feet, wore tattered clothing and displayed gross ignorance.

Appalachian men, according to Semple (1901), were shiftless due primarily to drinking copious amounts of moonshine. She also believed the region's men had very little intellectual curiosity with the exception of politics. Finally, Semple contended that Appalachian men were very passionate. More specifically, she stated, "He never forgets either a slight or a kindness. He is a good lover and a good hater; his emotions are strong, his passions few but irresistible…" (p. 165).

More recently, Loyal Jones (1983) has drawn on and expanded the essentialist conceptualization of Appalachian identity. He argued that immigrants settled in the region because they were seeking freedom and solitude. This quest has created an unique identity bounded by 10 specific constructs that serve as defining characteristics of Appalachian identity. These constructs are:

1. Religion in the form of Christianity, which has provided a coping mechanism for the hardships many Appalachians have encountered, even though many social reformers believe religion and fatalism have impeded progress in the region. As Jones has noted, "there are few Appalachian atheists because Appalachians need God" (p. 190).

2. Individualism, self-reliance and pride, all of which are values Appalachians hold dear and are factors that explain why the early settlers sought the remote mountains of Appalachia and why their descendants have remained there. Paradoxically, these values have made Appalachians more reliant on others, because while this self-imposed isolation initially provided greater freedom and autonomy, it also left the region behind, forcing many to become dependent on some variety of public assistance.

3. Concern for the general welfare of others, which manifests itself in a propensity to display neighborliness and hospitality that tempers the fierce independence of Appalachians and was born out of necessity, because survival on the frontier was predicated on mutual assistance.

4. A deep commitment to family that extends to cousins and distant relatives and provides a kinship that comforts and supports Appalachians. As Jones has stated, "blood is very thick in Appalachia (1983, p. 171).

5. Personalism and relating well to others, which are highly valued by Appalachians, and consequently, conflict is something to be avoided when possible because of its adverse effects on personal relationships. These

characteristics are also evidenced in the lack of racial prejudice toward African-Americans by Appalachians in comparison to residents of the Deep South.

6. A love of home or place, which is a direct link to one's family and the influences associated with one's formative years.

7. Modesty as a manifestation of egalitarianism, which is also prevalent, because Appalachians are often counseled not to rise above their upbringing and to practice humility. As Jones has remarked, "My feeling is that we mountaineers have a pretty realistic view of ourselves (1983, p. 172).

8. A love of beauty, which is expressed in various forms of art including handmade furniture, quilts, musical instruments such as dulcimers and fiddles and folk music. In many instances, these expressions of beauty are functional creations born out of necessity.

9. A sense of humor, which like religion, may also serve as a coping mechanism for adversity. As Jones has noted, "Our humor is tied up in our concept of man and the human condition. We see humor in man's pretensions to power and perfection and in his inevitable failures" (1983, p. 172).

10. Patriotism, which is evidenced by Appalachia's long history of military service that dates back to the Revolutionary War and includes the Civil War when West Virginia seceded from Virginia and many counties in other Appalachian states also supported the Union as well as World Wars I and II. As Jones has stated, "It is a much noted fact that draft quotas in Appalachia have often been filled by volunteers (1983, p. 172).

Essentialist scholarship has also perpetuated the notion that the Scots-Irish settled in Appalachia where their descendants continue to live. Therefore, historically, no ethnic or other cultural identity group has been as closely associated with the Appalachian region as the Scots-Irish (Blethen & Wood, 1997). Although non-essentialist scholarship has questioned this generalization, the Scots-Irish have played a significant role in the construction of identity in Appalachia, even though the term is a misnomer of sorts. The Scots-Irish, sometimes referred to as the Scotch-Irish or Ulster-Scots, are not the offspring of unions between people of Scots and Irish heritage. Instead, this identity group was constructed as a result of what Blethen and Wood (1997) have referred to as "cultural fusion" (p. 1).

According to Blethen and Wood (1997), cultural fusion is a common occurrence in migration history. In the case of the Scots-Irish, this process began in the "late Middle Ages, when Scots from the Western Islands settled in Counties Antrim and Down in the eastern part of Ulster, the northernmost province of Ireland" (Blethen & Wood, 1997, p. 1). The cultural fusion process continued into the seventeenth century when even more Scots migrated to Ulster from the Scottish Lowlands. During this emigration, the Scots were joined by large numbers of the English from northwestern England, the majority of whom spoke English and were Presbyterians.

The prospect of better opportunities in Ulster drew the Scots and English to Ireland (Allen, 1994). However, in the eighteenth century, conditions in Ulster worsened for the Scots-Irish; a population explosion, the lack of land, religious turmoil and a weakeconomy forced them to seek new prospects and America provided that opportunity

(Blethen & Wood, 1983). The migration to America occurred primarily from the early 18th century to the middle of the 19th century (roughly 1720-1840) (Blethen & Wood, 1983).

Having entered the United States primarily through ports in Philadelphia and Newcastle, the majority of the Scots-Irish settled in Pennsylvania, but eventually migrated south and settled in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia (Fischer, 1989). According to Blethen (1992), "the Shenandoah Valley became a staging area for migration into the Southern Appalachians" (p. 20). Virginia counties such as Rockbridge and Augusta had become so densely populated by 1750 that many Scots-Irish immigrants moved south into Tennessee and North Carolina.

Although essentialist scholars (Frost, 1899; Semple, 1901; Jones, 1983) have provided useful insights on characteristics of settlers from northern European cultures, especially the Scots-Irish, they ignore the influence of other, non-northern European cultures on the identity of the region. This is a significant oversight, because these other populations have contributed to the rich and complex fabric of Appalachian identity. Furthermore, until recently, Appalachian scholarship has not challenged Jones' notion that Appalachians did not discriminate against non-northern European cultures as much as people in other regions did.

Non-essentialist conceptualizations of Appalachian identity.
Recent Appalachian Studies scholarship has employed demographical research to challenge essentialist notions of the region's identity. This research has examined

settlement and migration patterns to gain a better understanding of just who the region's inhabitants actually are from an historical and contemporary perspective. It not only offers empirical evidence that runs counter to the wealth of essentialist research on Appalachia pervasive for most of the twentieth century, but allows students of the region to gain a better appreciation for the contributions of underrepresented groups whose voice has been squelched until fairly recently. Furthermore, research on settlement and migration patterns has dispelled some of the myths perpetuated by romantic treatments of Appalachia in which slavery and castes were portrayed as being non-existent.

In *Diversity in the Antebellum Appalachian South: Four Farm Communities in Tazewell County, Virginia*, Mann (1995) has dispelled romanticized notions of Appalachia as classless and non-slave holding. In addition, his settlement pattern study of the four communities of Tazewell County, known as the Cove, Baptist Valley, Abb's Valley, and Burkes Garden illustrated the difficulty of making generalizations about who inhabited Appalachia. For example, census figures from both 1850 and 1860 indicate that all four communities had slaves. Furthermore, the community in which the wealthy generally settled, the Cove, had a disproportionately larger number of slaves. In fact, in 1850 the number of slaves in the Cove was greater than in the other three communities combined, and was equal to the other three areas combined in 1860. This information provides evidence of the non-egalitarian social structure of at least one county in Appalachia by clearly illustrating the existence of multiple classes including "elite, yeoman, tenants and slaves" (p. 156).

Like Mann (1995), Finger (1995) has used settlement patterns to provide evidence

of class and ethnic diversity in Appalachia by exploring different microcosms (Tazewell County and the Cherokee tribe) within the region. His analysis of Native American settlement patterns has documented the white majority's influence on Cherokee identity: "By the 1820s most tribal members no longer lived in well-defined villages but as nuclear families scattered along creek and river valleys in log cabins very much like those of nearby whites" (p. 26). Finger has contrasted this pattern with that of the Cherokee elites who were comprised of "acculturated mixed-bloods and a few full-bloods" and "lived in large frame or stone homes comparable to those of their most prosperous white neighbors" (p. 26). In addition, both tribal members and Cherokee elites were slaveholders: "By 1835 tribal members owned more than 1,500 slaves, with a disproportionate number belonging to elites" (p. 26). This evidence dispels the romantic myth of Appalachia as a classless society that served as a melting pot for oppressed peoples. Class distinctions existed within the white majority and the Native American minority, and slavery was plentiful in the region, as Finger's research indicates.

Anglin (1995) has used settlement pattern data taken largely from census studies to challenge popular misconceptions of the role of women in pre-Civil War Appalachia. Her research supports two primary conclusions. First, women were treated disparately from men as evidenced by how they were accounted for in census data. For instance, prior to the 1880 census, only the heads of households were recorded by name and women were counted either as daughter or wife.

Beginning with the 1880 census, the role of women who were not heads of households were recorded as "keeping house," if they were married, and "at home," if an

unmarried daughter, while male teenagers and men "were routinely listed as farmers or farm laborers and often titled to the personal and real estate of the household" (Anglin, 1995, p. 189). Also, just 25% of the farmsteads that were headed by women were recorded accurately as being so. In exposing this practice, Anglin has used settlement patterns to illustrate the de-identification of women in Appalachia.

Anglin (1995) also found that some women were listed as heads of households, and thus were the primary earners or providers for their families. In the North Carolina communities of Burnsville, Bakersville, and Ledger, "roughly 22% of the farmsteads listed as headed by women" in 1861(p. 191). In addition, the farmsteads headed by women varied significantly. Therefore, 124 women owned farms in their own right. These numbers reinforce the folly of generalizing any segment of Appalachian identity, because there is no set pattern of settlement.

Anglin's use of census data has provided an excellent example of how data pertaining to settlement can be used to lift up the voice of a vital identity group, and in this instance to better understand the identity of Appalachia. She has concluded, "…with the proviso that we recognize census data as a set of normative assertions about gender formulated from the vantage point of those in authority, we can profitably use this material as a starting point for investigations of women's lives" (p. 190).

In *Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia: Myths, Realities, and Ambiguities*, Inscoe (1995) has written that "Appalachian character has been as prone to as much myth, stereotype, contradiction, and confusion as has the matter of race relations and racial attitudes among mountaineers" (p. 104). Inscoe's research has

not only dispelled the "perceived racial and ethnic homogeneity" of Appalachia and the notion that few African-Americans lived in the region, but has also cited several examples of racist behaviors and attitudes.

Inscoe has demonstrated there were substantial numbers of African-Americans living in the region. In fact, there were 175,000 in 1860 and 274,000 by the end of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, racism was evident as every county of Appalachia contained slaves at one time or another. Inscoe has attributed the misconception that slavery was consciously rejected in the region to the stereotype of rugged individualism and the presence of fewer slaves in comparison to the rest of the south.

Using the banjo to illustrate how the contributions of non-Northern European groups have been neglected or credited to the white majority, Conway (2001) has pointed out that although "the banjo still sounds throughout Appalachia and has become an emblem for white mountain folk…. blacks actually brought the banjo with them from Africa in the 1740s or earlier" (p. 27). African-Americans influenced not only traditional and bluegrass music in Appalachia by introducing this musical instrument, but also the ways it is played. Conway (2001) has argued that "historical data supports the likelihood that blacks in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were the initial transmitters of the downstroking style" of banjo playing common in the region (p. 27).

Dunaway (2001) has also challenged conventional assumptions about the African-American experience in Appalachia by tracing how the white majority treated African-Americans during the agribusiness peak of the antebellum south. In doing so, she has highlighted the complicity of the white Appalachian majority in the slave trade and their

involvement in the piecemeal destruction of many African-American nuclear families. Four slave-trading routes in Appalachia, referred to by Dunaway as the "Upper South" (pp. 117-119) made possible "interstate sales" and "interregional transfers" of 40% of slaves in the region to the Deep South to work in cotton farming (p. 117). Dunaway has quoted Amelia Jones, a former Eastern Kentucky slave, to show how slave masters de-identified African-Americans, "'You all belong to me and if you don't like it, I'll put you in my pocket,' meaning of course that he would sell that slave and put the money in his pocket" (p. 116).

Focusing on the Monocan Nation and miners in Appalachia, Cook (2000) has drawn on a comparative analysis of colonization in the Appalachian region to trace the adaptive responses of two disparate groups to adversity, Native Americans and mining communities. Cook's research has not only expanded the knowledge of diverse peoples in Appalachia, but has also shown how at least one group of Native Americans was able to create a thriving cultural identity in spite of colonialism. Cook has noted that the Monocans have been more successful in combating colonialism than some coal miners because "they distinguished themselves from all other people through a process of ethnogenesis" (p. 259).

Unlike the research of essentialist scholars, the work of non-essentialist scholars has provided a more holistic portrait of Appalachia by highlighting the presence, contributions, role and adaptive responses of non-northern Europeans in the region. Its contribution to a more complete understanding of Appalachia and the pluralistic identity of the region has undermined for many generations the popular, essentialist

characterizations that shaped perceptions of this subsection of America. Cook (2000)

summarized the value of non-essentialist Appalachian scholarship as follows:

> The tendency to cast Appalachia as a homogeneous region is a social
>
> construction, both internal and external. Internally, the founders of Appalachian
>
> studies and of regional political movements have posited the notion of regional
>
> homogeneity in order to effect a degree of political solidarity. However, I believe
>
> that emphasizing the region's diversity may prove more effective in bolstering
>
> efficacy. (p. 283)

Higher Education in Appalachia

Just as essentialist scholarship was devoted to stereotyping Appalachians,

previous scholarship on higher education in Appalachia has largely been devoted to

recording the altruistic genesis of colleges and universities in an impoverished region

(Wilson, 1916; Lloyd, 1969; Neal, 1983; Blair & Walker, 1994; Searles, 1995). The work

of Neal (1983), Blair and Walker (1994) and Searles (1995) exemplifies this type of

scholarship with its focus on providing a comprehensive history of a given institution as

opposed to an objective analysis of how the institution has influenced the region's

identity.

As non-essentialist scholarship has shown, this identity is more complex than

previously thought or has been represented in the literature on higher education in

Appalachia.Satterwhite (2008) noted that contemporary essentialist notions of

Appalachia have been shaped by a yearning for an idealistic environment free from the

problems found in contemporary society, and the dominant scholarship and popular

narratives about the region. More specifically, she argued, in part, that stereotypical perceptions of Appalachia as "cozy," "sweet and relaxing," "folksy" and "not of this century" grew out of scholarship and books similar to the works of Neal (1983), Blair and Walker (1994), and Searles (1995) (Satterwhite, 2008, pp. 10-11).

Neal (1983) has traced the evolution of Lees-McRae College, located in the western North Carolina town of Banner Elk, from its founding by Edgar Tufts, a Presbyterian minister, as the Elizabeth McRae Institute in 1900 to its present configuration as an institution of higher learning. The college developed as an outgrowth of the Presbyterian Church that had become established in the area during the latter part of the 19th century. In 1895, the Concord Presbytery sent Reverend Tufts to Banner Elk to establish a Presbyterian Church. He returned in 1897 where he served as pastor of the church and lived until his death in 1923.

Reverend Tufts decided the education of students in the community needed supplementing and in 1899 began offering additional instruction in his study (Neal, 1983). Elizabeth McRae Institute was borne from this informal group to provide primary and secondary education for the girls. Reverend Tufts named the institute after Mrs. Elizabeth McRae, who lived in Maxton, N.C. and had been sent to Banner Elk by the Presbyterian Church. She was characterized as a "dedicated church worker, teacher and home missionary" and as a "promoter of women's place in church and community service" (p. 29). The name of the institute was modified in 1903 to Lees-McRae Institute to include the name of Mrs. S.P. Lees, a contributor to the school.

Reverend Tufts raised money to build a boarding school that would serve girls,

and, as a result, a wooden dormitory that accommodated 12 students and two teachers opened in 1900 (Neal, 1983). Boys were allowed to attend the institute as day students only. A few years later, a boy's boarding division was started in nearby Plumbtree, North Carolina. In 1907, the boys and girls divisions of Lees-McRae Institute were chartered by the state, and in 1927 the boys division was moved to Banner Elk after the buildings in Plumbtree were lost in a fire. This event marks the beginning of Lees-McRae as a co-educational institution.

The purpose of Lees-McRae Institute was "to bring in reach of as many girls and boys as possible in the mountains, the same privileges of a Christian education that millions are enjoying in other places and thereby swell the anthem of 'Glory to God in the Highest; On Earth Peace and Good Will Toward Men'" (Neal, p. 30). Furthermore, the motto for Lees-McRae chosen by Tufts is "'In the Mountains, Of the Mountains, For the Mountains'" (Neal, p. 32). Tufts recognized that many of the institute's students would not go on to postsecondary education, and thus sought to offer a comprehensive education in literature (including Biblical studies), music (primarily the piano and organ), art and industrial education (housekeeping, sewing and bread making).

Neal's (1983) historical overview of Lees-McRae College has also documented the elimination of the high school department, accreditation approval and transformation into a co-educational junior college; the name of the institute was formally changed to Lees-McRae College in 1931. Although Neal's account has traced the Presbyterian heritage of the institution, and the altruistic intentions of both church and school, nevertheless she has not provided an objective analysis of either's influence on the

region's identity.

Maryville College in the eastern Tennessee community of Maryville is another institution of higher education with Presbyterian roots. Blair and Walker (1994) have written an historical account of the establishment of Maryville College that also reveals much about the influence of private, liberal arts colleges affiliated with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in Appalachia.

Having sought and gained approval from the Presbytery Union of Dandridge, Tennessee in 1819, Dr. Isaac Anderson, a Presbyterian minister of Scots-Irish heritage from Virginia founded the Southern and Western Theological Seminary, in Maryville to train Presbyterian ministers for service in the Appalachian region, then known as the Southwest Territory (Blair & Walker, 1994). Modeled on the Princeton and Andover Theological Seminaries, it offered courses in Greek, Hebrew, and sermon preparation and delivery. Southern and Western Theological Seminary became Maryville College in 1842.

Blair and Walker (1994) have noted the college's involvement in social issues, but do not fully explore the effects on the region's identity. For example, Dr. Anderson opposed slavery pointing out that "'slavery is a great moral, social and political evil'" (as quoted in Blair & Walker, p. 39). He and other members of the campus community were openly supportive of the abolition movement, even though the Synod of Tennessee framed the slavery and abolition issue as one best left to the government: "'…that slaveholding not being mentioned in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, discussion and management of slavery, as political institution, should be left to the state'"

(as quoted in Blair & Walker, p. 40). In fact, Dr. Anderson and, by extension, Maryville College were instrumental in East Tennessee's support of the Union in the Civil War. Anderson referred to the Union as '"the only safeguard these states have against anarchy and civil discord. The Union is the hope of the world and promises under God to break down civil and religious tyranny'" (as quoted in Blair & Walker, 1994, p. 40).

Committed to being an inclusive community from its inception, Maryville College educated African-Americans even during the era of slavery. In 1868, the governing board made the college's policy of inclusion explicit: '"no person having the requisite moral and literary qualifications shall be excluded by reason of race or color'" (as quoted in Blair & Walker, 1994, p. 101). The college remained integrated until federal legislation forced a cessation of this policy. The college became integrated again after the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954.

Blair and Walker's (1994) overview of Maryville College has provided the reader with evidence of the hegemonic influence of private, higher education on Appalachia; the college was founded to train Presbyterian ministers who would in turn spread Christianity in the region. From the information Blair and Walker supply, it is possible to see how Maryville College has intervened in the politics of identity construction. It helped to provide the impetus to make eastern Tennessee pro-union in the Civil War. The college also opened its doors to African-Americans until forbidden to by federal law. Both these actions can be construed as having an impact on the region's identity, even if Blair and Walker have not explicitly noted this.

In contrast to Neal (1983) and Blair and Walker (1994), Searles (1995) has

devoted a portion of his account of the evolution of Alice Lloyd College in Pippa Passes, Kentucky to a discussion of the institution's influence on Appalachia. In his pursuit of this goal, he seeks to "include all the evidence, to avoid taking sides" (p. 18) or to pre-determine whether or not Alice Lloyd College has supported or threatened the region's identity. Consequently, Searles' history of Alice Lloyd College includes examples of both altruism and exploitation.

Alice Lloyd, the college's founder, was a journalist from Boston who moved to Ivis in Eastern Kentucky in 1915 to teach and help improve social conditions in rural Appalachia (Searles, 1995). While living in Ivis, she founded a community center comprised of a school, library, service club, clinic and a demonstration farm. In 1917, Lloyd moved to Caney Creek where she purchased 50 acres from Abisha and Mary Johnson and began a school that would become Caney Junior College in 1923.

According to Searles (1995), Lloyd's primary goal for the college was to nurture leaders from among those already residing in the region who would remain in Appalachia after graduation. Furthermore, her vision of higher education included providing access to all, regardless of income, as long as students participated in a mandatory work program. The mission of the college was expounded upon in the 1935-36 College Handbook: "'Objective: The training of selected mountaineers as professional men and women, for efficient and consecrated leadership in the Southern Highlands'" (as quoted in Searles, p. 76).

In his effort to discover the influence of Alice Lloyd College on the region, Searles (1995) documented the sometimes questionable practices and beliefs held by

Lloyd. For example, Lloyd was a proponent of eugenics. She lamented to the President of Berea College that intermarriage in Appalachia had reduced the stock to '"blind fits"' (as quoted in Searles, p. 87). Consequently, she implemented measures to delay marriage, because she hoped that after students were educated they might be more inclined to marry someone from outside the region, and thus improve their stock. In addition, Lloyd's methods of fundraising for the college often provided fodder for her critics. She employed negative Appalachian stereotypes of ignorance, rampant inbreeding and extreme poverty to raise capital for the college which created a lot of ill-will not only from members of the community, but other educators and benevolent workers.

Searles (1995) concluded his work by noting the accomplishments of the well-intentioned founder of Alice Lloyd College: "the college stands as living proof that the men and women who went off to do good at the turn of the century did do good. We do not have to apologize for their work, nor denigrate it. We must accept it for what it truly was: an expression of faith that the world could be made a better place" (p. 162). Searles apparently did not want to leave the impression that the tactics of Lloyd might have had a negative influence on Appalachian identity, although certainly they painted a negative picture for the outside world.

Neal (1983), Blair and Walker (1994), and Searles (1995) have all documented the establishment of private higher education institutions in the region. Although only Searles deliberately attempted to identify the influence of an institution of higher learning on Appalachian identity, it is possible to extrapolate this influence from the historical overviews of Neal and Blair and Walker. Overall, these institutions, thanks to the good

intentions of their founders, have succeeded in their respective historical missions that emphasized improving the lives of those who live in the region.

Conclusion

The review of literature has provided an overview of race, ethnicity and identity, essentialist and non-essentialist conceptualizations of Appalachian identity, and previous scholarship related to higher education's presence in the region. The contrast between essentialist and non-essentialist scholarship has highlighted the numerous ethnicities that have gone into creating this identity, while the research on three institutions of higher learning has suggested the impact of such schools on this identity. This literature has also revealed a need for research that focuses on providing an objective analysis of the current role colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity. Therefore, this study has sought to contribute to the existing research by offering new information on the role of higher education in shaping the ever-evolving Appalachian identity.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to describe the current role colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity using a case study method of inquiry. In particular, this study explored Grant College's (designation to preserve anonymity) public proclamations about its role in the region, faculty and staff members' descriptions of both Appalachia and the college's role in the region, and the specific means by which the college promotes knowledge about the region. The following research questions were developed to elicit qualitative data related to the influence of private colleges on Appalachian identity:

1. How does Grant College portray its role in Appalachia in public proclamations?

2. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the institution's role in the Appalachian region?

3. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the Appalachian region?

4. How does Grant College promote knowledge about the Appalachian region?

This chapter provides a detailed outline of the qualitative methodology and case tradition of inquiry used to describe the involvement of faculty and staff at private higher education institutions in shaping identity in Appalachia. Additionally, this chapter includes descriptions of the specific components of the methodology: sample selection, instrumentation, authenticity and trustworthiness, data collection and data analysis.

Overview of the Methodology

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is especially useful in helping to explain social phenomena and consists of several forms of research, including naturalistic inquiry, interpretive research, field study, participant observation inductive research and ethnography (Merriam, 1998). Similarly, qualitative research seeks to enhance the understanding of a phenomenon by providing a greater appreciation of its uniqueness and complexity (Stake, 1995). Creswell (1994) has referred to qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting" (pp. 1-2).

Merriam (1998) has contended that qualitative research may be further delineated by five characteristics (pp. 6-8):

1. Qualitative researchers hold that reality is the byproduct of interaction between individuals and their environments, and in their research, they seek to understand the meaning of this reality from the participants' perspective.

2. Data collection and analysis are conducted in person using a human instrument, the researcher, as opposed to inanimate instruments including survey research.

3. With the exception of studies that rely solely on document analyses, qualitative research includes fieldwork to collect information from participants.

4. While quantitative research is based on deductive reasoning, qualitative research relies on inductive reasoning to explain a phenomenon.

5. The results of qualitative research are presented using a rich description that includes multiple sources of information such as interview transcripts, document analyses, videotaped excerpts, and so forth to present a more holistic account that focuses on process, meaning and understanding.

Case study tradition of inquiry.

Merriam (1998) has defined case study research as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit" (p. 27). Creswell (1998) has characterized this method of inquiry as "an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (p. 61). Yin (2003) has added that "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). Finally, Stake (1995) has summarized by pointing out that a case study should capture "the complexity of a single case" (p. xi).

The characteristics of case study research further delineate this qualitative tradition of inquiry. Merriam (1998) has stated, "If the phenomenon you are interested in studying is not intrinsically bounded, it is not a case" (p. 27). In other words, the single most important defining characteristic of this tradition is the object of the study or the case, which must be delimited to conform to the prerequisites for case study research.

Additionally, according to Merriam (1998), case study research should also be particularistic, descriptive and heuristic. A particularistic study focuses on a particular

situation, event program or phenomenon. A case study should be descriptive in its treatment of the situation, event, program or phenomenon being explored to exact the thick, holistic description inherent in qualitative research. Finally, a heuristic study enlightens the reader about the situation, event, program or phenomenon being studied.

Finally, the researcher has three types of case studies from which to choose, with the intent of the study guiding the choice. As Merriam (1998) has explained, a descriptive case study "presents a detailed account of the phenomenon under study" (p. 38). Additionally, descriptive case studies are especially beneficial when little research exists about a particular phenomenon. The results of this type of case study can provide a conceptual framework for future researchers to use to develop a hypothesis or theory.

As is the case with descriptive case studies, interpretive case studies include a thick, rich description of the phenomenon being studied; however, as Merriam (1998) has pointed out, interpretive case studies are more concerned with developing conceptual frameworks or challenging existing theory. She has noted that the "level of abstraction and conceptualization in interpretive case studies may range from suggesting relationships among variables to constructing theory" (p. 39). In summary, interpretive case studies, also referred to as analytical case studies, differ from descriptive case studies in their level of complexity of design, depth and theoretical orientation.

Evaluative case studies describe, explain and offer judgments related to specific programs or events (Merriam, 1998). Consequently, Guba and Lincoln (1981) have contended that this form of case study is the best form of reporting when evaluating a program (as cited in Merriam). Evaluative case studies are also generally devoid of

educational jargon, and thus more accessible to non-researchers. Finally, while the objective of descriptive case studies is to produce a detailed account of a phenomenon or event and that of interpretive case studies is to generate a conceptual framework or challenge an existing theory, the objective of an evaluative case study is to weigh information to produce judgments.

Rationale for Descriptive Case Study Methodology

Since this study has explored how a single case, faculty and staff at a private college in Appalachia, delineate, support or threaten the phenomenon of identity construction, a descriptive case study method of inquiry was employed. There were additional reasons for using a descriptive case study approach in this particular study. A case study methodology is recommended when the researcher uses "how" and "why" research questions as is the case with this study (Merriam, 1998; Linn 2003). Descriptive case studies are also used when the researcher is concerned with the process related to a particular phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). In this instance, providing an account of the process by which identity is created in Appalachia is central to the study. Finally, a descriptive case study is advisable when the very uniqueness of this particular research tradition provides information about a phenomenon that would otherwise not be available using other methods of inquiry (Merriam, 1998); this study attempts to discover information about Appalachian identity currently unavailable in the research base on Appalachian identity by using a descriptive case study methodology.

Sample Selection

The decision to use one case for this exploration of the current influence of

private colleges on Appalachian identity was guided by Creswell's (1998) argument that the "more cases an individual studies, the greater the lack of depth in any single case" (p. 63). In other words, the inclusion of more than one case dilutes the overall analysis of a study since generalizability in not paramount in qualitative research. The case presented in this study has used three samples to provide in-depth results.

The first sample consisted of an organization, a private college in Appalachia. The second sample, a human resource sample, was made up of faculty, staff and students at the college. The third sample included documents, relevant publications and media that address the institution's role in the Appalachian region.

Organization Sample

The college chosen for the organization sample met two criteria. First, it is a member of the Appalachian Colleges Association (ACA), a group comprised of 36 private institutions in the Appalachian region, as defined by the association (ACA, 2007). Historically, many of these insitutitions have played an interventionist role in Appalachia as evidenced by ACA member, Alice Lloyd College's, current mission statement:

> The mission of Alice Lloyd College is to educate mountain people for positions of leadership and service to the Appalachian region by:

> Making an Alice Lloyd College education available to qualified mountain students regardless of their financial situation;
> Offering a high quality academic program, emphasizing the liberal arts;
> Promoting the work ethic through a self-help Student Work Program in which all full-time students participate;

Providing an atmosphere in which Christian values are maintained, encouraging
high personal standards, and the development of character;

Serving the community and region through appropriate outreach programs which
utilize mountain people helping mountain people;

Assisting deserving students in obtaining advanced study beyond their program at
Alice Lloyd;

Producing leaders for Appalachia who possess high moral and ethical values, an
attitude of self-reliance, and a sense of service to others (Alice Lloyd College
website 2008).

ACA member institutions fall into three classifications: four-year baccalaureate colleges,
two-year community colleges, and two-year technical colleges. The four-year ACA
institution used in this case study was chosen because it was founded more than 150
years ago, and, therefore, has a history in the region that lends itself to a thorough
examination of how private colleges influence Appalachian identity. To protect the
identity of the participants, the college is referred to as Grant College throughout the
study.

Secondly, Grant College is located in the Appalachian region as defined by the
Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). The ARC definition includes all of West
Virginia and parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York,
North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia (ARC
website 2007).

Grant College's origins have been traced back to the early nineteenth century

when it was founded by the Presbyterian Church. There is ample evidence of the College's interventionist leanings. For example, one of the early presidents of Grant College wrote a popular history of the region that also propagated a collective identity and the need for systematic cultural intervention (1914). In the book, he referred to the "southern mountaineers" as belated brethren, who were "behind the times," and missing "the twentieth century train" (p. 43). He further stated:

> To use another metaphor, they form a submerged class-- not submerged by the waves of advancing civilization, for these waves have rolled up against the rocky bulwarks and fallen back in spray upon the lowlands; but submerged in sylvan solitudes and seclusion; and sometimes buried in backwoodsman idleness and illiteracy.
>
> The problem is simply this: How are we to bring these belated and submerged blood brothers of ours, our own kith and kin, out into the completer enjoyment of twentieth century civilization and Christianity? (p. 43)

Today, the College has maintained its historical ties to the Presbyterian Church, USA. It has a current enrollment between 1,000 and 1,500 students from more than 30 states and several foreign countries. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has classified it as a Baccalaureate College - Arts and Sciences by the (Carnegie Classification, 2007). Furthermore, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the National Association of Schools of Music has accredited Grant College. Students at the college can choose from more than 30 majors and several minors, including Appalachian Studies. The College participates in NCAA athletics at the

Division III level. In addition to the varsity level sports teams, club sports and intramural sports are also available to students.

Human Resource Sample

The second sample in this study consisted of faculty, staff and students at Grant College. The president of Grant College reviewed the research proposal for this study and agreed to the institution's participation; therefore, after a thorough examination of the college's organizational structure was conducted, a list of faculty and staff members from whom relevant data could be elicited in semi-structured interviews was developed. The faculty and staff members included in the human resource sample were then sent a research proposal, via electronic mail, outlining the purpose of this study and seeking voluntary participation. Students were invited to participate through electronic invitations. All participants were asked to sign an Informed Consent Form prior to the interviews and focus groups (See Appendix A for a copy of the Informed Consent Form).

Participants were recruited from various divisions at the college. Faculty and staff representatives from academic affairs, student affairs, enrollment and development were contacted. Representatives from the academic affairs division were important participants in this study because of their knowledge of how the curriculum could influence identity in Appalachia. Five faculty members who have served at the college for various lengths of time and are employed in different academic areas were selected. Student affairs staff members were also needed to provide for an exploration of how the co-curriculum of the institution has influenced the region's identity. Accordingly, four student affairs staff were selected to participate in this study. Additional staff members in the resource

development and enrollment divisions were selected to provide feedback relevant to the college's influence on the region's identity.

Fifteen students participated to help provide data on how the college influences the region's identity through the undergraduate experience to include curricular and co-curricular offerings. Additionally, students were included to explore the portrait of Appalachia being advanced by the college, as well as their understanding of the institution's role in the region. These students represented different academic classes, programs of study and ethnicities.

Document Sample

The final sample in this study included relevant documents. The Office of Admissions at Grant College as well as other departments supplied institutional literature. This literature included view books, catalogs, and recruiting pamphlets and was used to elicit information related to the college's influence on identity in Appalachia. All documents obtained for this study met Merriam's (1998) criteria for inclusion in qualitative research because they contained information or insights deemed relevant for this study and were acquired in a systematic and practical manner. For example, the college catalog contained summary information pertaining to the institution's mission, as well as curricular and co-curricular offerings.

<div align="center">Instrumentation</div>

This study relied on two techniques to investigate the influence of private colleges on identity in Appalachia. First, a document analysis of institutional literature and media was conducted to mine for public proclamations about the college's role in Appalachia as

well as its characterization of the region. A document analysis summary form and matrix were created to summarize information gleaned from each document. The summary form includes the following sections: citation, purpose of the document, and implications for research project. A copy of the document analysis summary form appears in Appendix B. The matrix serves as a compilation of document analysis summary forms. Included on the matrix are the following sections: name of the document, author(s)/date, type (brochure, pamphlet, catalog, etc.), implications for research study, and major themes. A copy of the document analysis matrix can be found in Appendix C.

Secondly, a protocol was developed for interviews and focus groups with faculty, staff and students. The protocol was designed to elicit information about the nature of the college's role in the region and how this role might impact identity in Appalachia. Semi-structured interviews consisted of questions that were designed to be flexible and sometimes contained a combination of structured questions and a list of open-ended issues or concerns to be explored without questions being developed in advance (Merriam, 1998). This is a useful technique, because, as Merriam (1998) has noted, structured questions "allow the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (p. 74). Focus group interviews, as described by Crewsell (1998) are similar to semi-structured interviews and are also used when the interaction among similar participants is likely to produce the best data and time is limited (Creswell, 1998).

The protocol employed in semi-structured and focus group interviews contained an overview of the purpose for the interviews and open-ended questions designed to elicit

information about the influence of private colleges on Appalachian identity. Specifically, the questions probed faculty, staff and students for characterizations of both Appalachia and the college's role in the region, as well as the means that the college used to promote knowledge about the region. In summary, the interview protocol was developed to discover information related to the college's influence on Appalachian identity. Appendix D contains a copy of the interview protocol.

<div align="center">Accuracy of the Data</div>

It is important to remember that a study should not only accurately measure that which is being studied, but also interpret logically the meaning of those measurements (Stake, 1995). Consequently, qualitative researchers, including Merriam (1998), Creswell (1994, 1998, & 2003) and Stake (1995), use, somewhat interchangeably, terms such as authenticity and trustworthiness, and validity and reliability to address both propositions.

Authenticity & Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba developed the concepts of authenticity and trustworthiness that are used to establish the credibility of a study (as cited in Creswell, 1998). Stainback and Stainback have defined authenticity in the context of qualitative research as a balanced presentation that includes all perspectives, values, and beliefs (as cited in Mertens & McLaughlin, 1995). Authenticity also measures whether the researcher has been fair in presenting a certain view.

According to Lincoln and Guba, trustworthiness relates to the transferability of a qualitative study (as cited in Mertens & McLaughlin, 1995). Mertens and McLaughlin (1995) have placed the burden of transferability on the reader; readers must assume

responsibility for determining how applicable the research site is to their own context or environment. In summary, trustworthiness is concerned with the degree to which the findings of a study are applicable in other contexts or with other respondents.

Validity & Reliability

Validity is a bifurcated concept that addresses issues of quality and transferability. Merriam (1998) has contended the internal validity of a qualitative study is not a function of whether the findings can be replicated, but whether the findings are true to the data collected. Furthermore, Merriam (1998) has stated that the following three questions should be used to gauge the authenticity of qualitative research. First, are the findings congruent with reality? Secondly, do the findings capture what is really contained in the data? And thirdly, are the researchers truly observing what they believe they are observing?

Merriam (1998) has explained external validity as the degree to which the results of a study can be applied or transferred. Qualitative research is generally not concerned with external validity since the focus is on an in-depth description of a particular program, event or phenomenon as opposed to what may be true of an aggregate. Consequently, generalizability is usually an assumed limitation of this tradition except when mixed methods or multi-case studies are conducted (Merriam, 1998).

Reliability is the concept used to describe the extent to which the findings of a study can be replicated (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, reliability addresses the question of whether or not the same results would occur if a study was repeated. Since human behavior is not static and qualitative research assumes there is not a single reality,

reliability in the conventional sense is deemed impossible when using this method of inquiry. Consequently, qualitative researchers focus more on the dependability and consistency of findings in a study.

Measures Taken to Ensure Accuracy of the Data

In qualitative research, the issues of authenticity, trustworthiness, validity (both internal and external) and reliability are addressed by employing five established techniques: purposeful sampling, a pilot study, researcher's journal, member checks, and triangulation. This study of the influence of private colleges, and in particular, the selected college, on Appalachian identity has used all five of these. A description follows of how each was used.

Purposeful sampling.

Merriam (1998) has described purposeful sampling, or purposive sampling, as a type of non-probability sampling that is "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 61). Creswell (1998) has pointed out the importance of selecting respondents who have diverse perspectives on the problem, process, or event being explored. More recently, Creswell (2003) has provided an all-encompassing definition of purposeful sampling as the intentional selection of sites, participants, documents and visual materials that best address the problem and research questions of a study. Purposeful sampling was used to obtain all three human resource samples for this descriptive study.

Pilot study.

Stake (1995) contended that a pilot study that allows the researcher to test the interview questions should always be conducted in case study research. Therefore, a private college that is a member of the ACA, but was not the college selected for the study was used to test the instrument. Interviews were conducted with faculty and staff members at the selected institution.

As a result of this pilot study, the instrument was amended for the actual case study based on participant feedback and journal notations regarding the interviews. An additional question designed to help establish rapport with interview participants was added to the beginning of the interview protocol. Also, a question asking participants to elaborate on the distinguishing features of the college was deemed unhelpful and removed from the protocol. Finally, five separate questions were developed to replace one multi-tiered query asking respondents to elaborate on five separate topics.

Researcher's journal.

Merriam (1998) has described the researcher's journal or memo as a central component of the research process and especially helpful when moving from rudimentary analysis to a more intensive analysis based on interviews and documents. The researcher, therefore, maintained a journal throughout the data collection and analyses stages to further lend credibility to the study and offer a reflexive account of the research process. This journal was arranged by date and included three categories of notations or memos. The first category consisted of an audit trail that included a detailed description of the steps taken. The second category was made up of method memos and included the

researcher's decisions as well as brief justifications for themes. The third category consisted of the researcher's analytic memos or hunches.

Member checks.

Member checks involve collecting data and making analyses, interpretations, and conclusions that are brought back to the source for verification of the account (Creswell, 1998). In this study, member checks provided research participants an opportunity to validate the information gathered in interviews. The researcher used electronic mail to send transcripts of interviews to the participants who were then asked for feedback regarding their credibility. One staff member replied to the electronic mail with clarifications and supplemental information related to the statements he made during one interview. Also, one student replied with a correction on the transcript of the focus group in which she participated.

Triangulation.

Triangulation refers to the collection of data through multiple sources, such as interviews, observations, and document analysis (Creswell, 1994). In this study, triangulation was applied to interviews since statements were included in the results only if reinforced by three or more participants. Additionally, triangulation was used in the document analysis, because information represented in two or more documents was required for inclusion in the results section. Finally, data collected from interviews were triangulated with documents when possible, and thus information collected from interviews was in some instances further substantiated by document analyses.

Data Collection Procedures

Approval to conduct the study from the Institutional Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects at the researcher's home institution was obtained. A copy of the Institutional Review Board's approval letter can be found in Appendix E. Shortly thereafter, a research timeline was developed and the data collection process began.

The research timeline detailed the specific dates of research efforts at Grant College. Data were collected at the sample institution during the month of January 2008. The goal of the researcher was to spend the requisite amount of time on the campus of Grant College to collect relevant documents and conduct interviews on the institution's role in the formation of Appalachian identity. Consequently, several interviews were arranged through a gatekeeper by electronic mail or telephone prior to campus visitations.

Data Analysis Procedures

Creswell (1998) has stated that the methods of data analysis used in case study research should include a thick, rich description, themes, and assertions that collectively form an intensive analysis of a case. Stake (1995) described data analysis in case study research as a method of providing meaning to both first impressions and final compilations. He further explained that the process by which meaning is assigned involves "the direct interpretation of the individual instance and through aggregation of instances until something can be said about them as a class" (p. 74). According to Merriam (1998), the goal of data analysis in case study research is to communicate to the reader a deep understanding of the case; the researcher needs to first organize the data collected and consider which data analysis tools will best convey a deep understanding of

the phenomenon being studied. The specific steps in this process include descriptive accounts, category construction, and theory or assertion building (Merriam, 1998). The types of data analysis used in this study included descriptive coding, the assignment of themes, and the interpretation of the themes resulting in assertions.

Descriptive Coding

The first level of data analysis, descriptive coding, is largely an intuitive, albeit systematic process that is informed by the purpose of the study (Merriam, 1998). The first step in this process, open coding, occurs when the researcher segments the collected information and assigns descriptive labels that become the basis for the development of categories (Creswell, 1998). After the open codes are grouped and categorized, axial coding, the process used to identify connections between categories begins (Creswell, 1998). More specifically, this element of coding consists of identifying a central category related to a phenomenon, as well as categories of conditions that influence the phenomenon, the byproducts of the phenomenon and the effects or outcomes of this byproduct. In this study, descriptive coding was used to identify potential themes that emerged from the data collected. Interview transcripts were reviewed on multiple occasions as were the notes from the document analysis forms. Subsequently, all transcripts and document analyses were coded to facilitate the identification of themes.

Themes

According to Merriam (1998), to generate themes and, in some instances, theory, the researcher needs to use the constant comparative method. This method requires the researcher to compare data constantly to find connections between data segments from

which to generate themes, and, occasionally, theory. In this study, the constant

comparative method of analysis was used to develop themes. More specifically, interview

transcripts, document analysis forms and the researcher's journal were frequently

compared to mine for themes.

Assertions

The process by which inferences, models, assertions or theories are developed is

the third and final level of data analysis in qualitative research (Merriam, 1998). While

categories are used to describe the data and generate themes, they also interpret data and

become the findings. Assertions or theories go beyond this stage and are developed only

after "categories and their properties are reduced and refined and then linked together"

(Merriam, 1998). Furthermore, assertions are declarative statements based on the

categories and themes discovered in the findings.

Conclusion

In summary, this study was designed to elicit conceptualizations from faculty,

staff and students at a private college in Appalachia about the role this institution plays in

shaping the region's identity using a case study method of inquiry. This chapter included

an overview of the methods, sample selection, instrumentation, accuracy of the data, data

collection procedures, and data analysis procedures employed in this study. The

descriptive case study methodology described in this chapter is sufficient to yield

qualitative data and analysis of the research questions posed in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This study explored the current role colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity using a case study method of inquiry. In doing so, this study focused on Grant College's (designation to preserve anonymity) public proclamations about its role in the region, faculty and staff members' descriptions of Appalachia and the college's role in the region, and the specific means by which the college promotes knowledge about the region.

This chapter includes an overview of the participants, documents analyzed and key findings. Tables 1-3 summarize information about faculty, staff and student participants. In some instances, public proclamations supplement participant quotations in the illustration of themes. Table 4 provides a summary of the documents employed in this study.

The findings, presented in narrative by theme, were developed from multiple sources of data, including semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document analyses. The themes are arranged in the order by which each emerged in the descriptive coding process of data analysis. Table 5 connects the themes with the research questions used in this study.

Overview of Research Participants

Thirty research participants (5 faculty members, 10 staff members, and 15 students) volunteered for this study. Semi-structured interviews were held with all 15 faculty and staff members during the course of three days. The 15 students participated in

Table 1

Characteristics of Faculty & Staff Member Participants (N =15)

Faculty (N = 5):

Department	Gender	Years Employed at the College
Education	Male	16-20
Humanities	Male	11-15
Humanities	Male	0-5
Social Sciences	Female	6-10
Social Sciences	Female	21 or more

Staff (N = 10):

Department	Gender	Years Employed at the College
Enrollment	Female	6-10
Development	Male	0-5
Development	Male	6-10
Enrollment	Male	11-15
Academic Programs	Female	0-5
Academic Programs	Female	6-10
Student Services	Female	11-15
Student Services	Female	16-20
Student Services	Male	11-15
Student Services	Male	0-5

Table 2

Characteristics of Student Participants (N =15)

Academic Division	Gender	Class
Natural Sciences	Female	Freshman
Natual Sciences	Female	Sophomore
Natural Sciences	Female	Junior
Social Sciences	Female	Senior
Social Sciences	Male	Junior
Humanities & Education	Female	Senior
Social Sciences	Female	Sophomore
Humanities	Male	Senior
Humanities & Education	Female	Senior
Social Sciences	Female	Freshman
Humanities	Female	Junior
Social Sciences	Male	Junior
Social Sciences	Female	Freshman
Humanities/Social Sciences	Female	Freshman
Humanities	Male	Freshman

Table 3

Documents Reviewed

Source Description

Grant College 2006-2008 Catalog

2007-2008 Grant College Student Handbook

Grant College 2007-08 Viewbook

Grant College: The Founding Story

Grant College Campus Guide

Grant College Faith & Learning Statement

Grant College Clubs & Organizations Flyer

Grant College Life's Work Brochure

Grant College Winter 2006 Alumni Magazine

Grant College Website

Table 4

Relationship Between Themes & Research Questions

Theme	Corresponding Research Question(s)
A region in transition	3. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the Appalachian region?
Qualified essentialism	3. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the Appalachian region?
Collaboration over intervention	2. How do faculty and staff members at Grant College describe the institution's role in the Appalachian region?
A holistic perspective of Appalachia	1. How does Grant College portray its role in Appalachia in public proclamations? 4. How does Grant College promote knowledge about the Appalachian region?

3 focus groups held on 2 days.

<div align="center">Overview of Documents Analyzed</div>

Ten documents, or media sources including the college's website, were analyzed. All of the documents chosen had one or more of the following audiences: faculty, staff, students, alumni, or prospective students. Consequently, each document had potential implications for this study and was analyzed for data pertaining to the first research question that asked how the college portrayed its role in the region in public proclamations.

The documents do not portray an institution with a regional mission located in Appalachia. The mission is included in the *Grant College 2006-2008 Catalog*, as well as several other publications: "[Grant College] prepares students for lives of citizenship and leadership as we challenge each one to search for truth, grow in wisdom, work for justice and dedicate a life of creativity and service to the peoples of the world" (p.2). In fact, there is no instance of the word Appalachia, the college being located in the Appalachian region, or having a regional mission in any of the public proclamations reviewed in this study.

The prevailing themes found across the documents reviewed for this study included leadership, service to others, and the values orientation of the college. None of these themes are unique to Grant College or colleges and universities located in Appalachia. For example, the Grant College Viewbook noted that the College encourages students to stretch their minds and spirits while respecting the beliefs of others. A matrix that provides a summary of the document analysis including a complete listing of the

themes that emerged through this technique is provided in Appendix C. Documents are cited in the overview of findings when applicable to the themes or assertions discussed.

Overview of the Findings

Themes

From the data collected for this study, four major themes emerged on the influence of private colleges in Appalachia on the region's identity: a region in transition, qualified essentialism, collaboration over intervention, and a holistic perspective of Appalachia. These four themes served as informed responses to the study's research questions (see page 13).

The first theme, a region in transition, related to the third question in which faculty and staff members were asked to describe the area in which the college is located. This theme identified both the area where Grant College is located and the region's identity as in transition. The second theme, qualified essentialism, also related to this question. This theme identified essentialist and non-essentialist attitudes of the faculty members. Faculty and staff members were generally able to bound the region's identity in keeping with essentialist portraits of Appalachia, but recognized their characterization might also apply to other people and areas, therefore supporting a non-essentialist position. This confluence of opposing positions is thematically referred to as qualified essentialism. The third theme, collaboration over intervention, stemmed from the second question that asked faculty and staff members to reflect on the role of Grant College in the region. This theme emerged from the interviews with faculty and staff and highlighted the college's commitment to regional collaboration as opposed to

intervention, a change from the college's original mission that emphasized systematic cultural intervention. Finally, the fourth theme, a holistic perspective of Appalachia, related to the first question that asked how the college portrays its role in Appalachia in public proclamations, and the fourth question that asked how the college promotes knowledge about the Appalachian region. This theme emerged from the data gathered from public proclamations, the curriculum and co-curriculum and indicated the college supports a global mission that encourages students, through courses of study and experiential learning, to understand Appalachia as it relates to the rest of the world, thereby fostering a holistic perspective of the region.

The following sections examine each of the themes in greater detail. Pseudonyms are used to preserve the anonymity of the participants. Transcriptions of interviews and focus groups provide faculty, staff and student quotations.

A region in transition.

The part of Appalachia in which the college is located is undergoing fundamental change. This theme resulted from faculty and staff responses to the third research question that asked faculty and staff to describe the Appalachian region. Research participants were asked to expand upon their perception of the region and those who inhabit the area (see Appendix D for a copy of the Interview Protocol).

Several faculty and staff members remarked on how the region is becoming more socioeconomically and geographically diverse as individuals with higher income from different parts of the country move to the area. One faculty member cited the development of gated communities and retirement villages as evidence of this change in

population demographics. Chris, a student affairs administrator, concurs: "I think we're having more and more affluent folks moving here. It seems like we're getting a lot of people that are moving in from other parts of the country where maybe the housing market was more expensive." This change is due in part to an influx of wealthy retirees moving to the area as well as economic development.

Faculty and staff also noted the region's transition has influenced identity. Dr. Halbrook, a faculty member, stated that the area was "beginning to lose its distinctiveness as a region of Appalachia" due to the expansion of industry and emergence of retirement communities. Dr. Lindsey, a professor, believed the German terms gemeinschaft (community) and gesellschaft (society) provided the best way to understand the area's transition. He described the community based focus of gemeinschaft: "Everybody knows everybody. There's a sort of old traditional hierarchy. Things are done through a series of relationships." In contrast, he characterized gesellschaft as detached and having more of an urban feel. He summarized the conflict inherent in the transition from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft:

> This is an area of transition between gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, where I think a lot of the local political struggles reflect the transition where it used to be not all that long ago that everybody knew everybody. There was (sic) the same family names, the small group of family names where everybody knew everybody and that's been changing as a lot more people have moved in from other parts of the country…and increasingly there is a sense of anxiety I think among a lot of the older inhabitants of the area. Nobody knows everybody anymore. People are

rude, you get that, you hear these complaints, so I think it is a community in

transition.

Dr. Lyndsey believes the transition from gemenschaft to gesellschaft has both positive

and negative consequences:

It's becoming more of a cosmopolitan place, which as a newcomer myself, there's

(sic) some positives to it. There are better restaurants, there's better

nightlife…it's becoming a more diverse place, but I can certainly sympathize

with some people who think things are changing not always for the better. There's

more traffic.

A staff member employed in admissions believed the region's transition and growth have

had a positive influence as well: "I think the appreciation for different cultures and the

fine arts is very much growing."

   Qualified essentialism.

   This study draws on the concept of qualified essentialism, the second theme to

emerge from the data, because of the mixed responses of faculty and staff at the College

of Appalachia that reflect both essentialist and non-essentialist attitudes. As was the

instance with the first theme, the qualified essentialism theme materialized from the third

research question dealing with faculty and staff perceptions of Appalachia.

   Essentialism refers to Appalachian Studies scholarship that attempts to bound the

attributes or behavior of the region's inhabitants with generalizations or taxonomies that

may promote a stereotypical identity (Buchholz, 2003). Faculty and staff members'

association of specific defining characteristics with Appalachia reflected the essentialist

point of view as Table 5 shows. However, several faculty and staff members also recognized that many of these specific characteristics are pervasive in other regions and people, thereby evoking non-essentialist attitudes. More specifically, the conceptualization of faculty and staff members at Grant College can be understood best as qualified essentialism because it advanced a bounded Appalachian identity, but also recognized the applicability of this taxonomy to others. Dr. Lincoln, a history professor, offered comments about Appalachia that are supportive of the concept of qualified essentialism:

> I don't know how different Appalachia is from the rest of the world or from many other parts of the world, but I do think that it has been created as one [region] amongst many areas of relevant deprivation in this country and so from a sociological point of view the deprived areas are more and more exploited. I see the world becoming more and more have's and have not's and sometimes that is justified by some of the stereotypes that folks from outside the region have of the region.

In other words, issues such as socioeconomic stratification, social injustice and exploitation are ubiquitous and fuel stereotypes beyond Appalachia.

Much like Loyal Jones (1983), who developed a list of 10 attributes he associated with Appalachian identity, faculty and staff members at Grant College bounded the region's identity around 7 constructs. Each construct was developed from statements reinforced by three or more participants and summarized the perceptions faculty and staff members at Grant College had regarding Appalachian identity.

Table 5

Faculty & Staff Descriptions of Appalachia

Characteristic	Number of Responses
1. Conservative	15
2. Racially homogeneous	9
3. Independent minded, self-reliant & proud	7
4. Family-oriented	4
5. Strong connection to home & place	6
6. Friendly & hospitable	6
7. Hardworking	4

1. The people in the region were generally conservative and especially so with respect to politics, religion and social issues. All 15 of the faculty and staff participants described the region as politically conservative and identified the dominant political party affiliation as Republican. Dr. Lindsey noted the historical connection between Appalachia and the Republican party: "It's Southern Appalachia…traditionally, extremely Republican mostly because of the Civil War Union loyalties more than ideology, although it is conservative, but not any more conservative than other parts of the South." Dr. Mullen, a sociology professor, pointed out that most faculty members did not subscribe to the region's dominant political ideology: "I would say fairly conservative politics, Republican, and in that way, especially if you are looking at the faculty here, we don't tend to fit real well and that's kind of an interesting relationship."

Several faculty and staff members spoke about the conservative nature of religion in the area and its influence. Nancy, a student affairs administrator, stated the region was "conservative in terms of religion" and "we are in the belt buckle of the Bible Belt…and that affects everything we do." Similarly, Anita, who works in residence life, stated, "they are very conservative people" and "I think churches play a large role in the lives of people here and influence a lot of the decision making, politically and all sorts of decisions." Dr. Johnson remarked that most people in the region subscribed to "a Christian, Protestant faith" that was "a really important part of their identity in every way; how they raise their children, how they vote, how they feel about education and political issues." Finally,

Rachel, a staff member working in international education noted that one's

religious ideology in that region was part of one's public persona while in many

other regions it is part of one's private persona.

Several research participants described the region as conservative on

social issues. For example, Dr. Johnson stated that the region was "pretty

socially conservative in terms of social issues like race, gender, and sexual

orientation." Rachel offered similar reflections on the area's social conservatism:

"I associate the people, a lot of the people here, as being a lot more close-minded

in terms of not necessarily being open to difference and to new people and new

things…they are pretty structured in their view of the world."

2. The region was racially homogeneous. Nine of the faculty and staff participants

noted that although there were some African-American, Latino and Japanese

residents, the area was predominantly Caucasian. Dr. Lindsey commented on the

 lack of ethnic diversity: "It is quite homogeneous. There are very few African-

Americans and Latinos in the area as a whole." Dr. Mullen concurred with this

account, but noted an influx of Latinos into the area:

> It's pretty white, but…even that is changing because of immigration of
>
> [Latinos]. They are dramatic in the last few years and that's probably
>
> true in a lot of places, but…the percentage of African-Americans is pretty
>
> low, 3 or 4%, but [Latinos] are coming in.

Finally, Dr. Halbrook also believed the region to be racially homogenous, but

added that the influx of Latinos was due to unmet needs in the workforce:

We still have a very small African-American population and very small

[Latino] population. The [Latino] population is growing much faster than

the African-American population and there's industry and so forth that

are attracting these folks.

3. The region's inhabitants were independent minded, self-reliant & proud. Seven

of the faculty and staff participants identified these characteristics in the region's

population. Dr. Mullen noted these qualities:

I would say the people here are fairly typical of the Appalachian

people…that the people who have been here…for a period of

time…families that are well established and rural in nature, independent

people, self-sufficient, not necessarily well educated….

Dr. Mullen believed this independence and self-sufficiency found in the people of

the region to be representative of Appalachia. Sarah, a staff member working in

academic support services, highlighted independence as a characteristic of

Appalachians:

I feel there is some spirit of independence here, which…we read and find

that's traditional in the mountain areas. You had to be fairly independent

to live here because it's a hard landscape in a lot of areas to make a living,

but I think that independent spirit is still here even in families that are

living in urban or suburban areas.

Nancy offered a similar description of the independence many participants

associated with the region's inhabitants and also pointed out the advantages and

disadvantages of this quality:

> …people are fiercely independent. That's why they came over the
> mountains and they tend not to honor corporate, governmental mandates,
> and so just because the government says or an institution says education is
> a good thing, the good folks [in the region] tend to be fiercely independent
> and not necessarily buy into that. So, that is an admirable quality. It's
> who gave us people like Davy Crockett and Sam Houston, but it also
> means moving social values forward has been difficult.

> John, a staff member working in resource development, focused on

individual pride. He stated:

> I also think you make things look better on the outside than they actually
> are on the inside, and it could be a generational thing, maybe just a
> regional thing, but I know you keep a smile on your face, you keep
> your issues quiet and just be nice….

In other words, pride was an extension of independence and self-reliance.

4. The people in the region were family-oriented. Dr. Johnson, one of the four
participants who noted this characteristic, summarized it simply: "Family seems
to be a really important concept and value for people." Sarah also believed
devotion to family to be a defining characteristic of people in Appalachia that
provided for one's place in the world: "Family is important and another part of
that sense of place." However, this strong obligation or duty to family produced a
myopic worldview according to one student affairs administrator. Nancy stated,

"…the people here are concerned about their families, their own. They are not concerned so much about the common good."

5. The people in the region had a strong connection to home and place. Six faculty and staff participants noted this characteristic and added that, consequently, not many residents chose to move to other parts of the country. John stated, "… [the area] is not as transient as Charlotte, Atlanta or a metropolitan area. These are people who are more homegrown, and I think that's characteristic of the Appalachian area." Sarah noted the connection to both the sublime forces of nature and local customs that influenced the decision of many to remain in the area:

> People that are natives to this region…are tied to the area and the land and the beauty and the culture. …I know many generations in this area and very few of their family [members] choose to leave. I can't think of more than a couple of large extended families who have chosen to live away from here.

Dr. Johnson remarked that the strong connection to home and place was evident among students from the region as well:

> …a lot of our students are very interested in going back to where they came from…I don't see a lot of students who can't wait to move to some other state or some other part of the country...they feel that they belong here.

Finally, Dr. Lindsey noted the role ancestral ties played in the establishment

of strong connections to home and place:

> I think there is a strong attachment to the land…it's partly in an
> environmental sense, but also because people's families have been
> connected to the land for hundreds of years. It's almost an ancestral
> connection to the land where certain families have lived and they take
> a lot of pride in that because historically they have been there a long time.
> There has not been a lot of in and out migration here relative to other parts
> of the country until very recently.

6. The people were noted for being friendly and hospitable. Six faculty and staff
participants highlighted these characteristics. Dr. Lindsey, a former resident of a
major metropolitan area in the eastern United States, described the people in the
region as being "extremely friendly" and "hospitable." In addition, he
commented that his neighbors "have been unbelievably friendly." Heather,
an admissions staff member, described the people in the region as "very friendly,
very helpful…always willing to go the extra mile and help those in need."
Similarly, Rachel stated that "it's a region where people are extremely friendly
and it's a community that cares about its community members…and I don't see
that everywhere." Finally, John remarked that "friendly is a characteristic [of the
people in the region]. We'll talk to people but tend to be thought of as simple
minded…taking care of one another."

7. People were very industrious and hardworking. These characteristics were
noted by four faculty and staff participants, including Chris, a student affairs staff

member. Chris implied these traits might be the result of a Protestant work ethic: "I think most people in the area are Christian…and I would say for the most part they are honest and hardworking and trying to take care of their family." John also described the people in the area as hardworking and willing to engage in "nitty gritty work, the hands on, hard, get yourself dirty work" he believed characteristic of those in the region. Finally, Jackson, an enrollment staff member, stated that "hard work and honesty are all that they know and expect."

Collaboration over intervention.

The third theme that emerged from the interviews with faculty and staff participants highlighted the change in the role of Grant College from systematic cultural intervention to collaboration with local residents, governmental officials and business leaders. This theme stemmed from the second research question that asked faculty and staff to expand upon the role of Grant College in the region.

In this role, the college wanted to form partnerships and make its resources available to external constituencies when requested to assist in community defined and driven projects as opposed to prescribing an agenda based on an emic diagnosis of the region's shortcomings. However, because this position has not always been the college's philosophical operating assumption, there remains some internal debate regarding the institution's role in the region. Michael, a senior level administrator working in development, remarked: "There's always that question. Is the college more of a mirror to a region [in] which it resides or is it a light that changes the region, that shines on the region and uncovers things and encourages exploration about those things?" He

continued, "And I would like to think that we are more of a light and more a change agent, but I feel sure if I was really honest about it we're probably as much of a mirror as anything else." Likewise, Chris offered further evidence that the college is not concerned with cultural intervention:

> I don't think you'll hear around [Grant College] a strong discussion of our Appalachian roots and our responsibility for promoting that. It's not something that we really talk about. I don't think you will find it in our policy or mission statements or anything like that…I don't know that there's anything explicitly said that we try to improve maybe this region more than other parts of the country.

Nancy supported this notion while clarifying the current mission of the college: "I really don't think there's a value here that we are going to make this place [Appalachia] better…we see growing leaders as our central core that is our mission statement."

Several interview participants cited two examples that illustrated the college's emphasis on collaboration over intervention in Appalachia. First, the college has established a new Center for Strong Communities that fosters partnerships between the institution and region with a special focus on justice and caring for others. The goal of the center is to "bring together scholars, nonprofits, businesses, government agencies, religious groups, and a wide range of community leaders to achieve commonly-held goals, such as quality education, healthy neighborhoods, inclusive communities, clean environments and robust civic engagement" (Grant College website, 2008). Dr. Johnson, a faculty member, articulated the community based research component of the Center for

Strong Communities:

> I think their notion of community based research is a really good idea to get
> people involved in research…specifically Appalachian research related to the
> Appalachian region and having a two-way equal process where the community
> and college can form a process and help collect data and help interpret
> data…instead of… a more traditional…kind of method where the researcher
> would go in and tell the community what it is they ought to be doing now and all
> the information and knowledge rests with the college people and the community
> are just recipients of that…students learn the value of every person in the process
> and everyone has something to contribute and that you can't go in as a researcher
> and impose your thinking and your interpretation on others.

Nancy also noted the collaborative nature at the heart of the center's mission: "…external
agencies are defining what type of help [they need] as opposed to the institution."
Michael summarized the role of the center:

> What we do…is really work with local communities on whatever issues they are
> dealing with and what we try to do is not from any internal standpoint come and
> say well, here's what we should be doing, here's how you solve this problem. It is
> really to go in and help facilitate answers that they come up with.

Another initiative that illustrates the college's focus on collaboration over
intervention in Appalachia is the new Civic Arts Center currently under construction. The
new facility for the arts will foster a greater connection to the region, in part because it
will be managed by the college and two local governments, both of which have

contributed financially as has the state. Nancy noted the unique approach being

undertaken with the project:

> We are in the process of putting together a really historic and unique project
>
> with the two cities here in the county for a Civic Arts Center that will have shared
>
> governance and programming…there's been much more cooperation among those
>
> entities in the county than I think was the case for decades.

Even Marty, a current student, lauded the benefits to the region this collaborative project

is intended to bring: "…community members can bring their groups and have concerts

and plays and art exhibits…local artists…and I think it's going to be a really awesome

example to the community when it gets built." In this process of redefining itself as a

regional collaborator, Grant College has generated excitement and enthusiastic support

from faculty, staff and students.

A holistic perspective of Appalachia.

The fourth theme, drawn from the data gathered from public proclamations, the

curriculum and co-curriculum, highlighted the opportunities the students at Grant College

have to develop a holistic perspective of Appalachia. A unique general curriculum

encourages them to explore the individual, the environment and the American community

in their freshman year. The college also offers a minor in Appalachian Studies.

Furthermore, students can choose from numerous co-curricular and experiential learning

opportunities in the area. This programmatic array allows students to develop a self-

directed understanding of Appalachian identity instead of having to accept an

institutionally defined characterization. Rebecca, a current student, summarizes this

approach:

> …their [faculty and staff] main thing is to educate us not just about the region…I feel like they work it in, but they are trying in only four years to get you to understand yourself, your community, the world, and how you view all of those things…And I would say they definitely open doors for you to explore that, but I wouldn't say they hold your hand and make you understand this community. You really can't without sacrificing something else…I feel like they are here to help you if you want, but I don't think it's the main goal of my professors for me to understand the Appalachian community.

Rebecca's assertion is partially supported by the differences found between students' and faculty and staff members' conceptualizations of Appalachia as Table 6 shows. While students agreed with four of the seven characteristics of Appalachia noted by faculty and staff members, they only identified a total of six, including two not cited by professors or administrators.

Within the general curriculum, three related first-year seminars (College of Appalachia 2006-2008 Catalog) foster a holistic perspective of Appalachia. The first seminar, taken during the fall semester, is titled, "Perspectives on the Individual." This course promotes introspection regarding one's identity, academic and personal skills, and sense of vocation and wellness.

Freshmen take the second seminar, "Perspectives on the Environment," during the January term. It encourages students to explore the impact of humans on the local environment, Southern Appalachia, in the development of their culture. This course is

Table 6

Student Descriptions of Appalachia

Characteristic	Also Cited by Faculty & Staff
1. Conservative	X
2. Racially homogeneous	X
3. Strong connection to home & place	X
4. Friendly & hospitable	X
5. Resistant to change	
6. Love of nature	

both classroom and field based, and students are challenged to consider the meaning of

environmental stewardship while using the local region as a case study. Chris, a student

affairs staff member, explained the focus of this course:

> The environmental freshmen seminar course that all freshmen are required to take
>
> on the environment talks about the environment through the Appalachian region.
>
> Some of the sections will go and visit the Museum of Appalachia as part of
>
> understanding the history of this region and the environmental impact we're
>
> having now and what environmental impact the settlers had.
>
> Freshmen take the third seminar, "Perspectives on the American Community," in

the spring semester. The emphasis of this course is on civic engagement and factors that

influence community, including diversity. Sarah, a staff member working in academic

support services, spoke about the importance of identity in the first-year seminars:

"Identity is a big piece of the freshman seminar series so certainly we talk about

Appalachian identity and culture and what that means." Rachel, a staff member working

in international education, offered similar comments:

> I know that our general studies curriculum has a goal for students to get a
>
> perspective on themselves as an individual and then have a perspective on the
>
> community…both of these classes have students looking at their identity in
>
> relation to their community.

Rebecca commented on the freshmen seminar series from a student perspective: "I think

the professors focus on making you understand your individual identity and when you do

that, you can learn how to relate to the region and how the region relates to you." Finally,

Dr. Lincoln remarked that many faculty members include regional history in classes when possible:

> I'm tremendously interested in the area…so there's probably no course that I don't talk a little bit about Appalachian history…I'm doing a world history course this spring and one of the assignments is going to be that you have to write history about Appalachia not from within and not from its position in the American South or in the United States, but history from a world perspective. What global forces have shaped the region?

These remarks highlight the importance of teaching students to recognize the connection between the region and the rest of the world, especially now that modern technology makes that connection real and immediate.

Since developing a holistic perspective includes understanding what makes the region unique, the college offers a minor in Appalachian Studies that consists of 15 credit hours (Grant College 2006-2008 Catalog). This interdisciplinary program of study is comprised of sociology, history, religion and biology courses. In addition, the Appalachian Studies coordinator and relevant academic division chairperson has the option of approving special topics or practicum courses for the minor. Sarah, a staff member working in academic support services, stated the goal of the minor in Appalachian Studies: "…we try to focus on ways to preserve our region…I think it's our intention not to threaten the region." Dr. Mullen added that the minor does not just focus on the part of Appalachia where the college is located, but "the larger scale region…the whole Appalachian region."

Just as the general curriculum and Appalachian Studies minor provide students an opportunity to explore the region's identity, there are many college-sponsored co-curricular and experiential learning opportunities that also aid in this process. Several faculty, staff and students referred to the college's Appalachian Lecture Series, Mountain Challenge Program, Bonner Scholars Program and other volunteer service programs. Each academic year the college sponsors the Appalachian Lecture Series that is designed to promote and preserve the region's heritage. Dr. Halbrook summarized the program: "We have a lecture series and bring in authors and writers from the region to give speeches and presentations that bring attention to the region…[and] help people understand the region." John, a staff member working in development, added similar comments: "We invite writers, people who specialize in various entities that define the characteristics of this region. When these folks come and make presentations, the students are invited to come, as is the greater community." Dr. Lincoln noted that the Appalachian Lecture Series is probably the most high profile event the college sponsors in terms of promoting Appalachia.

Frank, a current undergraduate, commented on the importance of experiential learning as opposed to a strictly classroom based approach to learning about Appalachia, and, in doing so, articulated an important way Grant College advances learning about the region: "I think it's almost like anything else. You really have to experience it to really understand it. You can go to a lecture series and have classes on it, but you are not going to get the experience sitting in a classroom or lecture hall as you are living it." The college's Mountain Challenge Program addresses Frank's concern by

providing opportunities for students to participate in outdoor recreational activities in the

region's wilderness areas (2006-2008 Catalog). Students engage in activities such as

environmental service projects, paddling trips, cycling, climbing and caving. Leah, a

current student, also offered her thoughts on the folly associated with defining

Appalachian identity as well as the value in experiential learning programs like the

Mountain Challenge in helping students better understand the region:

> You can't sit someone down and say this is what Appalachia is. It's not like you
>
> can look it up in the dictionary and figure out what it is. The best [the college] can
>
> do is during the freshmen year take [students] out to see for themselves. We have
>
> Mountain Challenge. I know last year we went to the Museum of Appalachia.

 Grant College is one of 24 campuses nationwide that participates in the Bonner

Scholars program (Grant College website). This program offers

scholarships to students with demonstrated need who agree to volunteer at non-profit

agencies for up to 10 hours per week. Grant College currently has over 50 Bonner

Scholars and selects at least 10 new participants from each entering freshmen class.

Nancy described the learning experience students gain from participation in this program:

> We have over 50 agencies in the area that are benefiting from our kids' volunteer
>
> work. The learning that the students gain about the region from volunteering 8 to
>
> 10 hours a week is huge…it's huge!

Assertions

When combined, the themes of this study suggested one assertion: at least one

college in Appalachia is not engaged in the systematic cultural intervention, also referred

to as strategic essentialism, that affects the identity of a people or its inhabitants.

Historically, educators at colleges and universities have used identity politics to

effectively fashion an image of Appalachia as a unique region with unique needs that

justify intervention (Batteau, 1990). Bucholtz (2003) identified that engaging in this

type of identity politics to advance a social agenda or to redress imbalances in society is

strategic essentialism. At Grant College, there was little evidence of strategic

essentialism.

Batteau (1990) cited three types of strategic essentialism that dominant

institutions in the region, including institutions of higher education, have employed to

advance a social agenda and craft a biased, and often self-serving, Appalachian identity.

The first type presented Appalachia as a region inhabited by our contemporary ancestors

who have been denied the societal advances necessary to escape their primitive lifestyle.

To the contrary, *Grant College 2007-08 Viewbook* refers to the institution's setting as a

"major-league city" with numerous cultural and entertainment venues and a large airport

serviced by seven major airlines. This progressive image of the campus is reinforced by

the college's Campus Guide.

Faculty and staff also portrayed a region that contradicts the notion of Appalachia

as primitive and deficient. Dr. Lindsey commented on the socioeconomic status of the

region:

> This area is I think fairly middle class. [The name of the town in which Grant
>
> College is located] is solidly middle class. There are certainly some pockets of
>
> poverty and there are certainly some pockets of wealth, but it is a pretty middle

class area. Dr. Halbrook concurred and noted that the socioeconomic status "has

risen quite a bit in the area because of people moving in and out. You don't get

the picture of rural Appalachia."

These comments not only speak to common perceptions of the area held by faculty and

staff, but also the means by which the region's identity is changing; the college is not

changing the region's identity, but other factors including migration into and out of the

region. Rachel, a staff member, does not perceive the region as in need of repair either,

but simply "as Southern USA." Likewise, another staff member, Sarah, stated, "I don't

see this area being very different from other places in the South." As illustrated by the

college's public proclamations and interviews with faculty and staff members, Grant

College does not portray the region as socioeconomically or culturally deficient.

The second type of strategic essentialism cited by Batteau (1990) depicted a

region in need of economic development and fundamental changes in infrastructure,

including better roads, to eliminate geographical isolation and cultural deficiencies.

While the college has collaborated with local governments and community based

agencies in the development of both the Center for Strong Communities and Civic Arts

Center, Grant College has not depicted the region as possessing fundamental

geographical or cultural deficiencies requiring intervention. The stated reasons for the

establishment of both entities stem from supporting and preserving the region instead of

systematic cultural intervention. As previously outlined, the Center for Strong

Communities is designed to assist agencies with self-diagnosed problems or issues that

those organizations are requesting the college's help in addressing. Nancy, a staff

member, lauds the collaborative nature of this endeavor: "I think it is probably the most stunning example that we have of what the college should be doing and what it is beginning to do to be a broker of partnerships in the area." John, also a staff member, believed the focus of the Center for Strong Communities to primarily involve bringing people from the community and the college together to lift up the region. Similarly, the Civic Arts Center is a venue for the community designed to celebrate and support the arts, including regional cultural amenities, rather than address a perceived void in the arts. Michael, a staff member, provided an overview of the Civic Arts Center:

> That's [the Civic Arts Center] going to be a facility that really serves the entire region. It's going to have three different performance venues and three different art galleries. It's going to be actually in two buildings joined together by an outdoor art plaza that will be able to have a tent and outdoor art festivals and performances.

Dr. Lindsey described the Civic Arts Center as a community "gathering place" for everybody that celebrates the arts and humanities.

The third type of strategic essentialism represented the Appalachian region as a case study in victimization in which the land and its people were being exploited for selfish gain, often by those living outside the region. None of the college's public proclamations or interviews with faculty and staff produced evidence that Grant College portrays the region as a current victim of exploitation. However, Dr. Lincoln noted that historically the field of Appalachian Studies has had a liberal slant that perpetuates this type of strategic essentialism:

Appalachia was a word that was thought up in the 1960s, and I think it carries a

certain amount of that kind of sixties radical back-to-the-land baggage with it that

I have noticed when my colleagues taught Appalachian history here in the past.

Maybe it's partly because they're professors and professors are often very liberal.

I think part of the whole way of people talking about Appalachia is from a pretty

liberal to left slant on specific things like the environment, corporations, the role

of outside corporations and the role of big powers like the federal government,

and I happen to share those views. But talking about raising consciousness of

Appalachia, I think that the very discipline of Appalachian Studies is a discipline

that should prompt people who live in the region to be a little discontented

because it often spends a lot of time on things that at one or another time folks

have tried to forget or wanted to forget.

While Grant College teaches courses that explore past exploitation of the region, there

was no evidence that students associate Appalachia with victimization. When asked to

describe what they have learned about Appalachia while in college, not

one student used language that reflected a region being exploited. Instead, students often

noted the complexity associated with describing Appalachia as indicated by Beth, a

current student:

I would say it's a historic region in the south and I think you could answer it's

kind of like a way of life. I would also just say it's a really deep part of the south

that's still pretty conservative. I would say it was a mountainous region down

south that has history and poverty is part of that history.

Another student, Mona, depicted the region more in environmental terms: "When I think of Appalachia, I think of moss and ferns, fir trees. That's what I think of. I don't think of backwoods or anything."

This study produced no data to suggest faculty and staff members at Grant College were engaged in promulgating any of these forms of strategic essentialism. In contrast to the strategic essentialist portraits of the region described by Batteau (1990), the key findings from this descriptive case study have suggested faculty and staff members at the sample institution are not actively involved in the politics of identity creation in Appalachia. The absence of explicit language regarding the institution's role in Appalachia in its public proclamations, faculty and staff recognition that the attributes they associate with Appalachians can also be found in people outside the region, the institution's desire to collaborate with stakeholders in the region, and its commitment to providing students with a holistic perspective of Appalachia, as evidenced in its curricular and co-curricular opportunities, all support this assertion.

<center>Conclusion</center>

This descriptive case study was designed to explore the role the College of Appalachia plays in shaping the region's identity. It relied on semi-structured interviews with faculty, staff and students and Grant College's public proclamations to learn more about emic descriptions of Appalachia, the college's role in the region and the specific means by which the college promotes knowledge about the region. This chapter included an overview of the research participants, documents analyzed, and an overview of the findings. The findings included four major themes and one assertion that were illustrated

using quotations from participants and public proclamations, including the college's

catalog and website, when possible. Each of the themes related to one or more

of the four research questions that have guided this study. The themes all supported the

following assertion: Grant College is not engaged in systematic cultural intervention or

strategic essentialism that affects the identity of a people or its inhabitants.

The findings of this study pertained to Grant College only and do not necessarily reflect

the approaches, attitudes or agenda of other institutions of higher education in the region.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This chapter includes six sections: overview, summary of key findings, implications for future practice, implications for future research, limitations and general conclusions. The first section, overview, briefly summarizes the purpose and scope of this study. The second section, summary of key findings, encapsulates the knowledge gained from the data collected in this study. Next, the implications for future practice and research sections provide recommendations derived from this study for those working in higher education in Appalachia or considering a study related to the influence of higher education on the region's identity. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of limitations of this study and concluding remarks.

Overview

The purpose of this study has been to describe the current role colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity using a case study method of inquiry. Using a single representative college, identified as Grant College, this study has explored the institution's public proclamations about its role in the region, presented faculty and staff members' descriptions of both Appalachia and the college's role in the region, and assessed the specific means the college uses to promote knowledge about the region. The results of this study have added to the body of research on identity in Appalachia expanded upon in the literature review.

Summary of Key Findings

The data obtained in this study were acquired using the following research

methods: document analyses of public proclamations, semi-structured interviews with faculty and staff members, and focus groups with students. The findings of this study emerged from the collected data and were based on four research questions (see p. 13). Four themes and one assertion, hereafter referred to as the study's key findings, are summarized below.

A Region in Transition

This first key finding, the region is in transition, resulted from faculty and staff responses to the third research question. The participants frequently described the region as currently undergoing fundamental change that also was impacting the area's identity; however the college was not the source of this change. One example of change they cited was an influx of retirees and other people from outside the region who have a higher socioeconomic status than has traditionally been present in the region. They also identified economic development initiatives that have altered the region's industry as another source of change. According to faculty and staff members, the changes in population demographics and industry have affected regional identity making the area more analogous to the rest of America and less distinctively Appalachian. Evidence cited to support this conclusion included unfamiliar family names, the expansion of dining and nightlife options, augmented cultural opportunities, less hospitality and more traffic. Faculty and staff did not see the institution playing a role in this process other than bringing in people from outside the region and partnering with local governments to create a Civic Arts Center to enrich the region's cultural amenities.

Qualified Essentialism

Like the first key finding, the second key finding, qualified essentialism, stemmed from the third research question. Regarding the region's inhabitants, faculty and staff members bounded the region's identity around specific constructs that evoked essentialist Appalachian scholarship such as that of Loyal Jones (1983). The seven specific traits faculty and staff members generally associated with Appalachians were:

1. Conservative (politically, religiously and socially)

2. Racially homogenous

3. Independent, self-reliant and proud

4. Family-oriented

5. Strong connection to home and place

6. Friendly and hospitable

7. Hardworking

However, some faculty and staff members also recognized these constructs were not necessarily unique to Appalachians and could apply to other people and regions. In so doing, they echoed non-essentialist identity scholarship. Consequently, this study referred to these results as qualified essentialism. In all likelihood, as Appalachia continues to feel the impact of globalization, qualified essentialism will become the standard of future scholarship on the region's identity.

Collaboration Over Intervention

The third key finding, regional collaboration as opposed to intervention, resulted from the second research question that asked faculty and staff members to describe the

role of Grant College in the region. Faculty and staff members believed the

college's current objectives and practices were indicative of a commitment to collaborate

with the community and region's stakeholders. This approach has replaced the past

practice of systematic cultural intervention or prescribing an agenda developed from an

emic analysis of Appalachia's deficiencies. In fact, it represents a departure from the

college's founding principle of intervention and presupposes a more global scope with

regional cooperation replacing cultural hegemony. Evidence of the college's focus on

regional collaboration as opposed to intervention included the creation of the Center for

Strong Communities designed to foster partnerships in the area that focus on justice and

community care. Additionally, a new Civic Arts Center that will serve the region is being

developed on campus with financial assistance and guidance from two local

governments.

A Holistic Perspective of Appalachia

The fourth key finding, a holistic perspective of Appalachia, emerged from the

responses to the first research question, asking how the college represented its role in

Appalachia in public proclamations, and the fourth research question, asking how the

college promoted knowledge about the Appalachian region. The college's public

proclamations, and curricular and co-curricular offerings, did not suggest a local or

regional mission concerned solely with the Appalachian region. To the contrary, these

indicators reflected a global mission that fosters classroom knowledge about Appalachia

in relation to the rest of the world and co-curricular knowledge about the region through

experiential learning. The college's public proclamations contained no explicit language

regarding the institution's role in Appalachia as evidenced by the purpose and mission statements contained in the college catalog. The college's general curriculum required freshmen to take a progression of seminars in which students learned about Appalachia in the context of special topics courses on the individual, environment and American community. Additionally, students desiring more specialized instruction in Appalachian Studies could opt for an interdisciplinary minor. Finally, Grant College offered many co-curricular and experiential learning programs that helped inform students' understanding of the region's identity. These included the Appalachian Lecture Series, Mountain Challenge Program and Bonner Scholars Program.

These four themes contained in the study support one assertion: Grant College is not engaged in systematic cultural intervention, or what Batteau (1990) refers to as strategic essentialism. However, while the findings of this study stongly suggest the institution is not technically engaged in strategic essentialism as defined by Batteau, this does not mean the College has no influence on Appalachia or the area in which it is located. For that matter, it is highly unlikely that any college or university has no influence its surrounding community and that area's identity. The difference from the College's original mission and current focus is the absence of a methodical, interventionist approach to influencing the region.

<div align="center">Implications for Future Practice</div>

The findings generated by this study have implications for higher education in Appalachia. Specifically, the results may be used to inform those working at the region's colleges and universities on ways to avoid systematic cultural intervention while also

celebrating Appalachia. Consequently, officials should consider adopting the following measures to avoid engaging in the politics of identity construction in Appalachia:

1. Higher education officials and governing boards at colleges and universities in Appalachia need to decide if they want to be proactive or reactive in the region. This decision is especially important with regard to how they fulfill the service component of the research, teaching and service foundation associated with most institutions of higher learning. Regardless of the course of action an institution takes, external constituencies should be consulted to avoid systematic cultural intervention in the delivery of service. Collaboration instead of intervention is of paramount importance in providing service to Appalachia.

2. Acknowledge the link between service and identity as the latter influences the former. College and university officials should realize the type and scope of services provided in the region reflect internal conceptualizations of Appalachia's identity and, in turn, influence external conceptualizations. For example, if an institution focused its service efforts in the co-curriculum on illiteracy, it would be reasonable for a prospective student or community member to form the opinion that illiteracy is a defining characteristic of Appalachian identity. This does not mean that Appalachian colleges and universities should avoid addressing societal deficiencies; however, college officials need to develop a greater understanding of the link between service and identity.

3. Recognize the region is not static, and thus the scope and delivery of service to Appalachia needs to be revisited on a regular basis. Colleges and university officials in Appalachia should avoid formulating strategies based on an archaic understanding of the region. Instead, careful attention should be paid to external data that reflects the region's needs objectively and empirically. A more complete picture of Appalachia will emerge from data at both the macro and micro levels. Appalachia is diverse and a one size fits all approach will not serve the region well; the needs of Northwest Georgia may vary tremendously from those of Southeast Kentucky.

4. Create an Appalachian Issues Advisory Board or Committee comprised of faculty, staff, students and community members. The purpose of such a diverse committee would be to inform policies, objectives, and both curricular and co-curricular offerings related to Appalachia. Toward this goal, an Appalachian Issues Advisory Board could also conduct routine institutional audits to gauge what students are being taught in the curriculum and co-curriculum about the region to make informed recommendations for improvements as well as new courses or programs. Key questions for such a committee include: What do our institutional policies and objectives say about our role in the region? How do our institutional policies, objectives and curricular and co-curricular programs influence the region? What do we want our students to know about the region? What do we teach our students about the region? Do our courses and programs reflect a multidisciplinary approach

to understanding the region? What new courses or programs would contribute

to a better understanding of the region?

5. Minimize essentialist notions of Appalachian identity by using the region as a

metaphor for global conditions. Characteristics associated with a group of

people such as social conservatism, independence and reliance on self provide

opportunities for comparative cultures studies while also illustrating the folly

of isolating identity constructs for one group. Colonialism in the coal mining

industry in early 20th century can become a metaphor for the vices of

exploitation, brutality and greed that continue today in other parts of the

world.

Implications for Future Research

Since the methodology, a descriptive case study, employed in this research, does

not lend itself to generalizable results, future research into the role higher education plays

in shaping or influencing Appalachian identity might employ a methodology concerned

with transferability. For example, a grounded theory or mixed methods study with a

similar purpose that includes 20-30 research participants from multiple Appalachian

College Association (ACA) member institutions might produce a proposition or theory

that can be generalized to other colleges or universities in Appalachia. Furthermore, the

results of such a study might produce evidence to suggest systematic cultural intervention

is evident at ACA institutions in contrast to what occurred at Grant College.

Since this study precluded public colleges or universities from the sample,

research that includes public colleges or universities in the Appalachian region might

yield different results than a study of private institutions and is worthy of further investigation. Many of the private colleges in the region are church-affiliated and that association has historically influenced the mission of these institutions. Conversely, secular public colleges and universities in Appalachia might have a different set of influences that, in turn, affect the region's identity. For example, a public institution might have political forces such as the state legislature that foster regional intervention over collaboration unlike what has occurred at Grant College.

Similarly, a qualitative or quantitative study that compares the role public and private institutions play in shaping Appalachian identity would add greatly to the research on this topic. The research might suggest similarities or differences in how the two types of institutions alter the region's identity. A public versus private comparative study might also indicate there are relationships among the two provided certain variables are common such as the size of the institution. For example, institutions with fewer than 1,500 students may not engage in strategic essentialism, while institutions with 3,000 students or more might be engaged in systematic cultural intervention.

While this study relied on internal public proclamations and stakeholders, including faculty, staff and students, future research might explore the etic perspective of alumni, community members, and civic and business leaders to gain different insights into the influence of higher education on Appalachian identity. Alumni might be in a better position to reflect on the value of their entire academic career and how that experience has shaped their understanding of Appalachian identity. Community members and civic or business leaders might have a unique perspective of an outsider on the role of

higher education in shaping the region's identity.

While the findings of this study indicated that the College is no longer involved in the systematic cultural intervention of Appalachia, the reasons for this evolution in mission and focus were not explored. Future research could focus on the reasons that Grant College, and possibly other ACA institutions, no longer have an interventionist focus in the region. Specific areas on this topic to investigate further could include whether or not the change in mission has been accidental or intentional and why.

Finally, an in-depth examination of specific curricular and co-curricular offerings might shed light on how particular programs of study and activities outside the classroom influence Appalachian identity. For example, research that explores the content and pedagogy associated with one or more Appalachian Studies minors might suggest an essentialist or non-essentialist bent in such programs of study. Additionally, a study that examines service learning initiatives at colleges and universities in Appalachia might produce evidence that such programs serve as a vehicle from which to exact a prescribed ideal of Appalachian identity.

<center>Limitations</center>

As is the case with any qualitative or quantitative research, this study has limitations that should be addressed. The limitations in this study relate to the sample and document analysis employed in the methodology. While these areas are imperfect, neither compromises significantly the overall merit of this study.

The human resource sample in this study consisted of a diverse group of faculty, staff and students all obtained using purposeful sampling. As expanded upon in Chapter

3, purposeful sampling is a form of non-probability sampling that is developed in a

thoughtful manner that allows the researcher to gain the most that can be learned about

that which is being studied (Merriam, 1998). In this instance, a purposeful sampling plan

for the inclusion of faculty, staff and students was developed after considering the

research questions and a review of the college's organizational structure and catalog.

Consequently, it was logical to interview faculty who taught courses in the Appalachian

Studies minor and professional staff members involved in the delivery of co-curricular

programming in the region. In hindsight it may have also been important to interview

faculty members without direct involvement in the delivery of the curriculum as it relates

to the Appalachian region. Similarly, it may have proven beneficial to also interview

support staff members to gauge their perceptions of the role Grant College plays in

shaping the region's identity. Such respondents may have possessed less bias and

provided more objective insights not provided by others who participated in this study.

For example, a faculty member who is not connected to the Appalachian Studies minor

may have had insights about how the institution addresses issues related to Appalachia in

the curriculum that were not shared by those chosen for this study. Likewise, a support

staff member such as an administrative assistant might have had different perceptions of

how the co-curriculum influences the region.

Another limitation related to the sample includes the organization chosen for this

study. As previously outlined in Chapter 3, the organization sample met two criteria. The

college is one of the 36 private institutions that comprise the Appalachian Colleges

Association (ACA). Also, the organization sample is located in the Appalachian region as

defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). One might argue the area of

Appalachia in which Grant College is located is not an ideal representative of either the

ACA or the ARC's notion of what constitutes Appalachia. Grant College is located in

close proximity to the third largest metropolitan area in the state. This particular

metropolitan area contains the state's land-grant institution and offers many amenities not

found in more rural and less densely populated areas of the United States. Therefore, a

descriptive case study of another ACA institution in a more isolated part of Appalachia

may have yielded very different results; results that one might argue are a more accurate

snapshot of the phenomenon studied in spite of the acknowledgment upfront that

descriptive case studies do not claim to produce generalizable results.

In keeping with safeguards to ensure the accuracy of the qualitative research in

this study, member checks and a document analysis were used to triangulate the data

generated through semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Partly because the first

research question had an explicit connection to the institution's public proclamations, the

only documents examined in this study were those widely available to the general public

such as a college catalog, alumni magazine, and admissions viewbook. There was no

attempt to gain access to the institution's internal documents including course syllabi,

annual reports, or fundraising letters. Internal documents not widely accessible to the

general public may have provided a more complete understanding of the institution's

treatment of Appalachian identity and role in the region. For example, course syllabi may

have substantiated or contradicted comments made in focus groups and interviews

regarding how knowledge about Appalachia is disseminated through the curriculum.

Conclusion

The general focus of higher education in America is on research, teaching and service. While it is unquestionable that society benefits tremendously from this concentration, little attention is given to the unintended consequences of this approach including the influence of higher education on a region's identity. This study offers new research into the influence one subset of higher education, private colleges in Appalachia, has on that region's identity.

By using a descriptive case study methodology, this study revealed how one private college in Appalachia interacts with the region and dispenses knowledge about the part of the United States in which it resides. In turn, higher education practitioners in the region have a reference point to help inform their own institution's interaction with Appalachia. Also, other researchers can use this study to inform more extensive research into the role higher education plays in influencing the region's identity.

It is the hope of the researcher that this study will promote a greater understanding of the potential for regional hegemony over a group's identity while also initiating a larger conversation about the measures that need to be taken by colleges and universities to avoid systematic cultural intervention. Grant College has illustrated that collaboration between a region and higher education institution need not be at the expense of regional identity. Research, teaching, and service can be delivered in a manner to serve a region without stripping it of the qualities that make it distinctive.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent for Participants
in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: "The Influence of Private Colleges on Appalachian Identity: A Descriptive Case Study"
Investigator(s): Brian T. Chisom
I. Purpose of this Research/Project
The purpose of this study is to describe the role private colleges in Appalachia play in shaping the region's identity using a descriptive case study method of inquiry. This study explores the college's impact on Appalachian identity by seeking an insider's characterization of the institution's role in the region from faculty, staff and students, and the institution's public proclamations. This research provides insights into the historic and evolving role of private colleges the Appalachian region as well as the influence of higher education on regional identity. Approximately, 10-12 faculty and staff members will be interviewed for this study.
II. Procedures
The data collection procedures for this study include semi-structured interviews with approximately 10-12 faculty and professional staff members, and a total of 15 students for 3 different focus groups. Participants will vary by gender and age, but will be 18 years or older. Also, participants in all interviews and focus groups will be asked a series of questions using a pre-established interview protocol designed to elicit information about the role of higher education in shaping the region's identity. Each interview should take approximately one hour and will be held on the campus of the institution being studied.
III. Risks
The researcher is unaware of any risks this study poses to faculty, staff or student participants.
IV. Benefits
While no promise or guarantee of benefits have been made to participants in this study, it is the hope of the researcher that the results of this study will provide insights into the historic and evolving role of higher education in the region as well as the influence of colleges and universities on Appalachian identity.
A summary of the study will be provided to senior-level officials at Maryville College for the institution's benefit; however all research participants are welcome to request a summary of the results of this study.
V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality
Anonymity will be maintained for all faculty, staff and student participants in this study. During the transcription of all data collected through interviews and focus groups,

pseudonyms will be assigned for all participants, and thus identifying information will not appear on any transcripts or narrative in the final results of the study.

Audio taping will be used in the data collection process involving semi-structured interviews and focus groups. A professional transcription service will be used to covert the audio taped interviews to a narrative format. The interview transcripts will be stored on the researcher's personal computer, and the audio tapes will be stored at the researcher's home until after the dissertation is successfully defended after which time the tapes will be destroyed.

VI. Compensation

No compensation will be provided for participation in this study; however, a $50 gift card will be offered to a student participant in the focus groups through a random drawing. The gift card will be mailed to the student the day after the focus groups conclude.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

Participants should feel free to withdraw from participation in this study at any time without penalty. Furthermore, participants should feel free to not answer questions they are uncomfortable responding to without penalty.

VIII. Participant's Responsibilities

I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I have the following responsibilities:

To participate in a semi-structured interview or focus group.

IX. Participant's Permission

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent:

Position Title:

_____

Division:

_____

Department:

_____

E-mail Address:

_____

Date: _____
Participant's signature:

_____

Should I have any pertinent questions about this research or its conduct, and research subjects' rights, and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury to the subject, I may contact:

Brian T. Chisom, Investigator; 540.375.4951; chisom@roanoke.edu

Dr. Steven M. Janosik, Faculty Advisor/Dissertation Chair; 540.231.9702; sjanosik@vt.edu

David M. Moore, Asst. Vice President- Research Compliance; 540-231-4991; moored@vt.edu

Appendix B

Document Analysis Summary Form

Name of Document/Date:

Type of Document:

Audience:

Major Theme(s):

Reflects an institutional role in Appalachia:

Appendix C

Document Analysis Matrix

Name of Document/ Date	Type of Document	Primary Audience	Major Themes	Reflects interventionist role in Appalachia
Grant College 2006-2008 Catalog	Booklet	Faculty, staff & students	- Leadership - Service to others - Experiential learning. - Values oriented	No
2007-2008 Grant College Student Handbook	Booklet	Students	- Service to others	No
Grant College 2007-08 Viewbook	Booklet	Prospective Audience	- Service to others	No
Grant College: The Founding Story; 2007	Booklet	Faculty, staff & students	- Service to others	No
Grant College Campus Guide 2007	Brochure	Prospective students	- Service to others - Ideal location	No
Grant College Faith & Learning Statement; 2007	Flyer	Faculty, staff & students	- Protestant heritage - Values oriented	No
Grant College Clubs & Organizations; 2007	Flyer	Students	- Wellness	No
Grant College Life's Works; 2007	Booklet	Prospective students	- Service to others	No
Grant College Alumni Magazine Winter 2006	Magazine	Alumni	- Holistic education - Unique freshmen experience	No
Grant College Website; 2008	Electronic Media	Faculty, staff, students & prospective students	- Leadership - Service to others - Experiential learning - Values oriented - Ideal location	No

Appendix D

Interview Protocol

Overview:

      I am researching the role of private colleges in the Appalachian region and I want to learn about the nature of the college's relationship with the region. I also want to learn how faculty, staff and students understand the region and how they describe the college's role in the region. In summary, I want to know everything I can about what the college does to promote, serve and influence the Appalachian region, and I invite you to give me your views on this topic.

Questions:

1. Are you from this region? [Rapport builder]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Location

2. What brought you to the college? [Rapport builder]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Location
Religious Affiliation
Mission of College

3. How long have you worked at the college? [Rapport builder]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Positions held

4. How do you describe the region in which the college is located? [Research question 3]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Socio-economics
Political
Cultural
Geographical

5. How do you describe the people in the region in which the college is located? [Research question 3]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:

Characteristics
Homogenous/Heterogeneous

6. How do you describe the students who attend the college? [Research question 2]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Socio-economic background
Ethnicity
Motivations for learning
Goals for life/work
Geographically

7. How do you describe the faculty and staff (to include both administrative and non-administrative staff) at the college? [Research question 2]

Potential follow-up questions or talking points:
Motivations for teaching and work
Goals for career
Personal goals

8. What are the specific means by which the college supports the region? [Research questions 2 and 4]

9. What are the specific means by which the college's actions may threaten the region? [Research questions 2 and 4]

10. Are there specific courses or co-curricular programs that foster a greater understanding of the region? [Research question 4]

11. What is the role of faculty and staff in promoting awareness or understanding of the region? [Research question 4]

12. What is the college's role in shaping the identity of the Appalachian region? [Research question 2]

Appendix E

Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

DATE: December 19, 2007

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steven M. Janosik
              Brian Chisom

Approval date: 12/19/2007
Continuing Review Due Date:12/4/2008
Expiration Date: 12/18/2008

FROM: David M. Moore

SUBJECT: **IRB Expedited Approval:** **""The Influence Of Private Colleges On Appalachian Identity: A Descriptive Case Study""** , IRB # 07-640

This memo is regarding the above-mentioned protocol. The proposed research is eligible for expedited review according to the specifications authorized by 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. As Chair of the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board, I have granted approval to the study for a period of 12 months, effective December 19, 2007.

As an investigator of human subjects, your responsibilities include the following:

1.   Report promptly proposed changes in previously approved human subject research activities to the IRB, including changes to your study forms, procedures and investigators, regardless of how minor. The proposed changes must not be initiated without IRB review and approval, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.
2.   Report promptly to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.
3.   Report promptly to the IRB of the study's closing (i.e., data collecting and data analysis complete at Virginia Tech). If the study is to continue past the expiration date (listed above), investigators must submit a request for continuing review prior to the continuing review due date (listed above). It is the researcher's responsibility to obtained re-approval from the IRB before the study's expiration date.
4.   If re-approval is not obtained (unless the study has been reported to the IRB as closed) prior to the expiration date, all activities involving human subjects and data analysis must cease immediately, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.

Important:
If you are conducting **federally funded non-exempt research**, this approval letter must state that the IRB has compared the OSP grant application and IRB application and found the documents to be consistent. Otherwise, this approval letter is invalid for OSP to release funds. Visit our website at

http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/newstudy.htm#OSP for further information.

cc: File