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REDEFINING DEVELOPMENT:
EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN APPALACHIA

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Amanda Lea Fickey

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Michael Samers, Professor of Geography

Lexington, Kentucky

2014

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

REDEFINING DEVELOPMENT:
EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN APPALACHIA

This dissertation examines alternative economic practices and regional economic development strategies in the Appalachian region. First, I deconstruct regional economic development policies and practices. I argue that policy documents produced by the Appalachian Regional Commission and the State of Kentucky have often limited economic imaginings through the perpetuation of regional stereotypes and short-term, decontextualized strategies. Then, I explore the existence of alternative economic practices as well as the contradictory role of the state within the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry. Using a mixed methods approach, I investigate how the state simultaneously supports cooperative craft production by perpetuating a geographical lore pertaining to crafts produced in the State of Kentucky, and yet fosters a discourse of self-sufficiency via entrepreneurial workshops that often alienate cooperative craft producers. Finally, I highlight alternatives that have emerged in this industry in an effort to document economic diversity and redefine development.

KEYWORDS: Appalachia, Kentucky, Crafts, Development, Alternative Economic Practices

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Student's Signature

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Date

REDEFINING DEVELOPMENT:
EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN APPALACHIA

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FOR ALEXANDREA

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Background and Statement of Problem

In his 1988 essay, *An Argument for Diversity*, Kentucky author Wendell Berry wrote the following:

> In a varied and versatile countryside, fragile in its composition and extremely susceptible to abuse, requiring close human care and elaborate human skills, able to produce and needing to produce a great variety of products from its soils, what is needed, obviously, is a highly diversified economy… What is needed is not the large factory so dear to the heart of government "developers." To set our whole population to making computers or automobiles would be as gross an error as to use the whole countryside for growing corn or Christmas trees or pulpwood; it would discount everything we have to offer as a community and a place; it would despise our talents and capacities as individuals (Berry 1988, republished in *What Matters? Economics for a Renewed Commonwealth,* Berry 2010, 78-79).

Berry's call for economic diversity, particularly in rural local economies that often rely upon the export of raw materials, was not new then, and despite what we might hear in current public discourse, such calls are not new now. Though many of Berry's essays address shifts taking place in farming communities throughout Northern and Central Kentucky, his sentiments are easily applied to the recent declines in coal production throughout Eastern Kentucky. Over the years resource extraction throughout Eastern Kentucky and Central Appalachia more broadly[1], has waxed and waned. To help offset the ruinous nature and instability of such resource-based economies, which may destroy the economy and ecology of a community, researchers, activists and others have called for economic diversity and the fostering of alternative economic practices in addition to, or in some cases substitution for, resource extraction.[2]

[1] Within the context of this study Central Appalachia includes portions of Eastern Kentucky, Southwestern Virginia, Southern West Virginia, and Northern Tennessee.

[2] To clarify, Berry's use of "diversity" often refers to encouraging the use of home produced goods and services, and fostering an appreciation for rural agriculture as well as building local economies. As I explain later, however, the term 'diversity' in this project is meant to represent a very broad range of economic activities – both capitalist and non-capitalist – that exist within 'the economy' (i.e. the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services). The most recent diverse economies framework categorization tool, published in *Take Back the Economy: An Ethical Guide for Transforming Our Communities* (Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2013) includes the following 5 different aspects of the economy that might be researched and cataloged by those exploring diverse economic practices: Labor – Wage, Alternative Paid, and Unpaid; Enterprise – Capitalist, Alternative Capitalist, and Non-Capitalist;

Though the call for economic diversity is not new, it is, for Eastern Kentucky anyway, more urgent than at the time of Berry's writing. According to recent data from the Kentucky Department of Energy Development and Independence, published publicly by the Mountain Association for Economic Development in Berea, KY., the region of Eastern Kentucky lost more than 4,000 coal jobs in 2012. Making matters worse, production in the region has plummeted to levels not seen since 1965 (MACED 2013).

The haphazard and short-sighted development policies of the past, which failed to take into consideration the limitations and fluctuations of an economy based upon the export of a global commodity, have left the region unprepared for the downturn taking place in the mining industry. Individuals throughout Central Appalachia now struggle to make ends meet and obtain the material means necessary for their livelihoods (Halperin 1990). Historically speaking, rather than highlighting and supporting economic diversity, policy makers and regional leaders in Central Appalachia have tended to put all of their eggs in one basket, and now, with a devastated landscape and many unemployed miners, economic diversity – including multiple livelihood strategies, formal and informal, capitalist and non-capitalist – needs to be seriously explored if people are to remain in their homeplace.

Defining "Appalachia"

Before proceeding into a discussion of the specific problem that will be examined in this study, it is necessary to briefly explore existing definitions of the Appalachian region. Throughout history, geographers, historians, folklorists, anthropologists, sociologists, government officials and many others have drawn and redrawn boundary lines of the Appalachian region. In fact, Appalachian scholar David Whisnant once noted that "Appalachia's boundaries have been drawn so many times that it is futile to look for a 'correct' definition of the region" (1994, 134). From the first mappings of the "Appalachee" mountains by Spanish mapmakers, to current mappings by the Appalachian Regional Commission, the boundary of the Appalachian region has been

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Transactions – Market, Alternative Market, and Non-Market; Property – Private, Alternative Private, and Open Access; Finance – Mainstream Market, Alternative Market, and Non-Market. For a review of this text see Fickey 2013.

fluid and contested, often drawn to meet the immediate needs of the individual mapmaker.

Early mappings of the region published by geomorphologists such as Arnold Guyot (1861), John Wesley Powell (1895), and Nevin Fenneman (1931 and 1938), typically included boundary lines based primarily on one, or in some cases several, topographical features (Raitz and Ulack 1984). In the later part of the nineteenth century, however, more sociocultural understandings of Appalachia became prevalent. As Raitz and Ulack note in their 1984 work, the most widely recognized sociocultural mapping of the southern Appalachian region was found in John C. Campbell's work, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (1921). Campbell's work blended historic, political and physical elements to create delimitations. In 1962, Thomas Ford would build upon such nongovernmental efforts, in his well-known study, *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*. The map published in this study bounded Appalachia as a region that included 190 counties in 7 states (Raitz and Ulack 1984).

Governmental efforts to define the region began as early as 1935 in publications by the US Department of Agriculture, and were repeated again in a 1940 publication by the Works Progress Administration (Raitz and Ulack 1984). The most recent and on-going governmental attempts to define the region occurred when the Appalachian Regional Development Act was established in 1965. At this time, the region was defined as 11 states from Pennsylvania to Alabama, consisting of 360 counties. Initial federal attempts to define the region were primarily based on natural environment and socioeconomic characteristics.[3] In 1967, the boundary was increased, bringing the total number of counties to 397 and spanning over 13 states. Such increases in the original number of counties have historically been considered "political logrolling", allowing for

[3] In 1965, the Appalachian Regional Commission service area included 4 sub-regional categories: Northern, Central, Southern and Highlands Appalachia. As of 1974, the Highlands region was subsumed by the Northern region in governmental maps. Though sub-regional lines were primarily drawn according to natural environmental features, socioeconomic characteristics played an important role. With regard to socioeconomic concerns, the Northern Appalachian region was identified as an older industrial-based economy undergoing modernization, the Central Appalachian region, the poorest of the sub-regions, was associated with coal and resource extraction, and Southern Appalachia was seen as having been traditionally agrarian, but moving quickly towards an urban and industrial-based economy (Raitz and Ulack 1984).

access to the growing amount of federal money made available to the Appalachian region via the Appalachian Regional Commission (Raitz and Ulack 1984).

Since then, the Appalachian Regional Commission's boundary has continued to expand. In 2008 when this study began, the total Appalachian region was composed of 410 counties. Of these 410 counties, 78 counties were considered "economically distressed."[4] Out of the total number of depressed counties in the Appalachian Regional Commission service area, 37 were located in Eastern Kentucky (47.44%). As of 2013, the region has grown to 420 counties, and the total number of distressed counties is 98. Of these 98 counties, 40 are located in Eastern Kentucky (40.8%). Eastern Kentucky has historically included the largest number of distressed counties in the Appalachian Regional Commission service area, along with high unemployment averages (ranking alongside Appalachian Ohio and Appalachian Mississippi) and thus based on these benchmarks is in the most need of assistance and new development strategies. Such statistics were taken into consideration when selecting which sub-region of Appalachia would be the focus of this study.[5]

The variable nature of regional boundaries prevents any stability in the study and discussion of regions. In fact, as Powell has argued in his work on critical regionalism, when we discuss any region, we are not talking about a stable, bounded place, but instead "about a cultural history, the cumulative, generative effect of the interplay among various competing definitions of that region. And in doing so, we are, inevitably, contributing to that cultural history, participating in the ongoing creation of regional identities" (2007, 5). This study contributes to ongoing struggles to define the Appalachian region, speaking to larger governmental efforts to generate regional economic development policy for the Appalachian region. Given this focus, the Central Appalachian region,

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[4] The Appalachian Regional Commission defines a 'distressed county' as a county which ranks in the worst 10 percent of the nation's counties (ARC Distressed Designation and County Economic Status Classification System).

[5] Statistics were gathered from the County Economic Status data and Number of Distressed Areas in Appalachian Kentucky for Fiscal Years 2008 (October 1, 2007 – September 30, 2008 and 2013 (October 1, 2012 – September 30, 2013). All data is available in the public domain via the Appalachian Regional Commission website: www.arc.org. Though Fiscal Year 2014 is not discussed above this data was published in May 2013 and is currently available from the Appalachian Regional Commission. Fiscal Year 2014 data indicates that the region has remained the same with a total of 420 counties, however, the total number of distressed counties stands at 93 with 36 of those counties (39%) being located in Eastern Kentucky. Due to the decline in the coal industry it is anticipated that many counties which have moved from distressed to at risk status may return to a distressed level in the Fiscal Year 2015 data.

within the context of this study, will be bounded by the Appalachian Regional Commission sub-regional boundary. Central Appalachia will include portions of Eastern Kentucky, Southwestern Virginia, Southern West Virginia, and Northern Tennessee, as proposed in the 1965 Appalachian Regional Commission boundary for Central Appalachia. Data was collected primarily in Eastern Kentucky. The boundary of Eastern Kentucky is based on The Center for Rural Development's service area as of 2008 when the study was designed (all 42 counties in The Center for Rural Development's service area are included in the Appalachian Regional Commission 2013 service area, see Chapter 3 for further discussion).

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

This project seeks to contribute to larger efforts of fostering economic diversification by examining what sorts of alternative economic practices individuals in Central Appalachia are engaging in to make a living, and how the recognition of existing diversity might allow for change in the historic patterns of development policies and practices in this region and provide new definitions of the term "development". The analysis of alternative economic practices for this dissertation project takes place primarily within the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry.

My specific research questions, which will be elaborated upon in a further section, are as follows: **(RQ1)** How has/does economic development policy at the regional scale, that is, primarily policies created by the Appalachian Regional Commission, limit economic imaginings for those living in Eastern Kentucky and Central Appalachia more broadly? **(RQ2)** In what ways do state economic development strategies differ from alternative economic strategies that have emerged in Eastern Kentucky within the craft industry? **(RQ3)** What principal contradictions have arisen as a result of the differences in state-based economic development strategies specifically geared towards craft producers and strategies employed by locally-based arts organizations in Eastern Kentucky? **(RQ4)** What lessons might policy makers learn through exploring the diversity and different definitions of "the good life" and "development" that exist within Eastern Kentucky's craft industry?

This project is significant for both academic and practical reasons. From an academic perspective, it contributes first to critical engagements with contemporary studies of alternative economic practices and diverse economies, exploring the use of geographical lore and the role of the state, and investigates the economic and political implications of development policies for local communities throughout Eastern Kentucky while speaking to larger concerns throughout the geographic region of Appalachia as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Second, this project attempts to provide an analysis of the state within diverse economies – which has often been neglected by researchers – by adopting a performative approach to the study of the state. Such an approach provides a theoretical lens through which the mundane, procedural and precedent-setting activities of the state can be examined in relation to the perpetuation or limiting of diverse and alternative economic discourses, practices and spaces.

From a practical or policy-oriented perspective, the lack of job availability is a growing problem throughout rural communities in Appalachia, with serious implications for the rural poor. This research contributes to understandings of the combined social and economic dimensions of fostering the growth and development of existing industries in Appalachia that do not rely upon large-scale resource-based extraction, and explores possibilities for the development of better policies for dealing with distressed economic areas which are facing an on-going decline of extractive industries. Finally, by considering the limitations of past and present economic development policies and practices by both state and federal entities, this project contributes to efforts to critically analyze development efforts in the region of Eastern Kentucky and Central Appalachia more broadly, offering insight into new definitions of development based on the ways in which people in this region are making a living.

Conceptual Framework

This section provides a brief introduction to the theoretical base for this study, and includes historical information as well as an overview of the literature that provides support for this research topic. First, I examine literature on alternative economic practices and diversity, providing the reader with an overview of previous studies. Then, I move into a discussion of discourses on the state and neoliberalism, examining how the

state has been neglected in previous studies of diverse economies. Afterwards, I turn to examples of literature pertaining to theories of development, antidevelopment, critical rural development, and community-based development, which provide the framework needed to critically analyze the 'performative core of the state' and its accompanying narratives such as development documents that render development policies and practices as technical challenges to be overcome. Finally, I present the reader with the historical context needed to understand past examinations of craft production within Appalachia and Eastern Kentucky. This study – drawing upon theories pertaining to diversity, alterity, the state, neoliberalism, and critical development studies – will use this context to provide a unique lens through which to study craft production, in ways not addressed by the current literature on alternative/diverse economies.

Fostering Alternative Economic Practices and Diverse Economies

Since the mid-twentieth century, as employment in extractive and agricultural industries has decreased and as jobs have been lost throughout Central Appalachia, individuals have often turned to alternative economic practices, such as small-scale craft production, to make ends meet (Mencken and Maggard 1999; Oberhauser 2002, 2005). This has been particularly true in rural, economically depressed sub-regions such as Eastern Kentucky where the majority of counties have been defined as economically distressed by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Though this study falls within a tradition of conducting qualitative research (see for example, Oberhauser 1995a, 1995b; Duncan 1992), including the analysis of historical documents (such as Pudup 1990; Lewis 1989) to better understand diverse economic practices, quantitative data has been gathered in the past to determine the proliferation of informal economic activity in Appalachia and surrounding counties. For example, in their 1999 study of informal activity in West Virginia, Mencken and Maggard found that over 22% of West Virginia households sampled reported engaging in some form of informal activity for exchange or income. Mencken and Maggard note that this percentage was much less than the 56.3% of Central Pennsylvania households sampled by Jensen et al. 1995, and the 49% of Kentucky households sampled by Wood and Tickameyer (1994) that were also engaging in informal activity.

Despite the fact that activities such as craft production have historically lessened with the rise of industrialization, resource extraction, and wage-labor, small-scale craft production has persisted over time and remains an important livelihood strategy and means of making ends meet (Eller 1982; Mencken and Maggard 1999; Williams 2002; Becker 1998; Fickey 2011; Fickey and Samers 2013). As Mencken and Maggard (1999) note, over the past 15 years, transformations taking place in the US economy have been particularly difficult for rural areas where poverty rates have increased dramatically. This is owed much to shifts away from extractive industries (which, in the case of the West Virginia coal industry, had provided workers with an average salary of $36,400 per annum) and resulted in a greater reliance on service sector jobs (with an average salary of $15,000 per annum). Many communities throughout Central Appalachia have experienced the same transformation, and although many individuals do continue to participate in the formal economy, they often choose to supplement income with informal economic activities (crafts/sewing is included as an informal economic activity in Mencken and Maggard's study; 30.5% of participating households recorded making crafts, sewing, or completing other handiwork for money/exchange).[6]

This project seeks to highlight the diversity of economic practices within the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry, building upon efforts of researchers such as Mencken and Maggard to broaden our understanding of informal economic practices – especially in rural areas – and to contribute to such scholarship by providing an investigation of people's motivations for participation in such diverse economic activities through the use of oral history.

The last decade has brought forth substantial growth in the study of economic diversity and alternative economic and political spaces across the globe, including the development of theoretical resources that challenge dominant discourses such as neoliberalism (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008; Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2013) as well as the analysis of alternative economic institutions, conventions, and practices (Leyshon et al. 2003; Fuller et al. 2010) (for a detailed

[6] Informal economic activities examined by Mencken and Maggard (1999) included: household repair for money/exchange; collecting wood, coal, or doing landscaping or yardwork for money/exchange; hunting or fishing for money/exchange; growing farm animals for money/exchange; making crafts, sewing, or doing other handiwork for money/exchange; performing personal services such as child care, nursing, or housework for money/exchange; and, performing bookkeeping or other services for money/exchange.

discussion, see Fickey 2011). Examples of activities that have typically been considered 'alternative' and have garnered the attention of researchers include: local currency systems (LCS) such as LETS (local exchange trading systems), cooperatives, credit unions, barter networks, and social enterprises (Amin et al. 2003; Jonas 2010; Lee et al. 2004; Lee 2006; Fuller et al. 2010; Leyshon et al. 2003; North 2007; Williams et al. 2003).

Research pertaining to alternative economic practices such as small-scale craft production remains critical as such practices can be crucial to sustaining livelihoods particularly in rural regions with declining resource-based extraction industries such as Eastern Kentucky (Oberhauser 2005; Carnegie 2008; Pretes and Gibson 2008; Fickey and Hanrahan 2013). For individuals who are no longer employed in mining and timber industries, who rely on state assistance for survival (as a result of injury, Black Lung disease, retirement, or the closing of mines), the craft industry may serve a last resort that provides the cash needed to make ends meet. And yet, despite the reliance of so many Appalachians upon small-scale economic activities such as craft production, such practices are rarely understood as "development worthy" in Appalachia and beyond (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006; Carnegie 2008; Fickey 2011). [7]

Although craft production is often a livelihood strategy, the practice of crafting can be woven into notions of culture, tradition, and authenticity (all of which can be further analyzed through an examination of concerns related to gender as well). In fact, many of the individual craft producers I spoke with felt a strong sense of attatchment to notions of authenticity and carrying on Appalachian traditions. Though craft products may be understood as cultural products in material form (Gough and Rigg 2012), it is interesting to consider how outside influences shape the product that emerges from localized production networks, and how a local or regional lore may create and reproduce notions of authenticity and tradition, thus creating cultural difference which sells in national and international markets (Crang 1996; Coulson 2004; Fickey and Samers 2013). In this regard, researchers have often failed to seek a deeper understanding of how the lore that surrounds a geographical region may both hinder and help individuals working

[7] More recent scholarship has documented how nonagricultural activities such as craft production have been targeted as possibilities for rural industrialization in areas of Vietnam and Thailand (Gough and Rigg, 2012).

in a specific industry. Such regional lore may also benefit the longevity of one industry and yet limit new economic imaginings that may seek to diversify industries at the regional scale. Questions regarding the perpetuation of geographical lore become even more intriguing when we begin to examine the role of state-based entities in promoting certain lore over others and will be examined in this study.

The Importance of the State with Respect to Diverse and Alternative Economies

State-based entities have played a fascinating role in the craft industry of Eastern Kentucky, as well as Central Appalachia more broadly, often perpetuating and solidifying neoliberal policies informed by ethics of the market, which frequently results in the success of a few at the sacrifice of the majority. For example, public policy scholars working within this region such as Mencken and Maggard have openly called for greater state support of craft production and other home produced goods to address the ills of the global economy in Appalachia, though no critical analysis of the role of the state has taken place. In their research pertaining to informal economic practices in West Virginia, Mencken and Maggard provide three public policy recommendations for legislators looking for ways to incorporate informal activities into a broader, viable economic strategy for the state apparatus.

> **(1) The state should promote markets for home produced goods by establishing networks of producers throughout West Virginia as well as between it and border states.** A model already exists for some forms of craft production in West Virginia (see Oberhauser 1995a). Policy makers may be able to help design such models for other goods. Should the state become involved in promoting home production, additional economic activity may be generated within its borders.
>
> **(2) The state could support future research in informal economic activity by allocating resources to undertake a longitudinal study.** How West Virginia's household participation co-varies with changes in local economic conditions, and how the support needs of home producers change during these periods would be documented. We believe that it will be very important to monitor household survival strategies once recent welfare reform legislation takes effect. Home production may be one of the few options these households will have to deal with reduced or eliminated benefits.

> **(3) State policy makers may improve the quality of life of its citizens through active involvement and support of informal activities.** In a global service economy, home production will probably become a long-term reality that is here to stay, as more and more households use such activities to supplement inadequate wages from formal activities (Jensen et al. 1995) (Mencken and Maggard 1999, 103-104).

As noted above, such policy recommendations are short-sighted and haphazard in that there has been no thoughtful examination of the contradictory role that the state may play within the informal economy, particularly within the context of craft production, and yet these policy recommendations openly encourage a role for the state within this industry and alternative economic practices more broadly. In general, the role of the state has often been neglected by both Appalachianists as well as economic geographers with regard to the study of alternative economic practices and diverse economies (Jonas 2010; Fickey 2011; Fickey and Samers 2013). As Jonas has argued, it would be a mistake to analyze alternative economic practices in the absence of an understanding of state interventions or subsidies with respect to these alternatives.

Fortunately scholars are now beginning to address this call for a thoughtful examination of the state apparatus. For example, in his recent research pertaining to housing policy in the United Kingdom, Hodkinson (2010) has demonstrated how the state has played a key role towards encouraging neoliberal housing-policy "alternatives", which have resulted in an increase of homeownership from 56%-70%, and a net loss of nearly two million social rented homes throughout England (Hodkinson 2010). Though an economic activity considered alternative by one researcher within the context of the United Kingdom may not be defined as alternative within the context of another territory, we nonetheless have the ability to learn from such analyses. The state can be an important actor when shaping the development and proliferation of alternative economic practices in many different geographic contexts.[8]

What is needed then is a conceptual framework through which to understand the actions of the state and the neoliberal ideas that are often perpetuated through state-based development strategies directed towards alternative economic practices within specific

[8] With regard to questions of understanding "alternatives" within different territorialities see Samers and Pollard (2010).

geographic contexts.[9] In work pertaining to the critical and discursive analysis of development projects – which tend to prescribe, codify and encourage a process of self-regulation of development subjects through techniques of governmentality – researchers have drawn heavily upon the work of Foucault (1991a, b).[10] The lens of 'governmentality' allows us to examine workshops and seminars offered by the state (or organizations funded by the state), which often teach lessons related to business ownership and encourage producers to engage in the "entrepreneurship of themselves", as examples of governmental techniques that foster individual self-regulation (Lemke 2001, 199; Foucault 1979; cited in Walker et al. 2008).

The state however, does not work alone, and Foucault (1976) has argued that we should seek to understand all the mechanisms and effects of power which do not pass directly via the state apparatus, yet often sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions – such mechanisms ultimately enlarge and maximize the effectiveness of the state. Foucault has gone on to suggest that the state is unable to occupy the whole field of power, and thus can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations (Foucault 1976). Thus, though the state may introduce or implement certain schemes, there are – as Li (2005) has noted – development experts who assist in the construction of such schemes and others still that are involved in the execution or perpetuation of governmental techniques. Within the context of the craft industry state strategies to encourage entrepreneurship, through the responsibility of the single individual, are often

[9] Though the utility and understanding of the term neoliberal is often contested, I believe the term is still quite useful in analyses of state-based development strategies. Walker et al. (2008) have argued that despite being a complex term, neoliberalism still offers scholars theoretical and analytical utility. The working definition of neoliberalism offered by Walker et al. states, "We understand neoliberalism as denoting political-economic shifts and a concomitant set of transitions in the way people are understood in relation to others and to the market. Markers of neoliberalism include: liberalization of the movement of foods and capital (not people); deregulation of the financial sector, but with state guarantees for bailout in a crisis; a minimized role for the state in economic life – reduced to guaranteeing property rights, upholding contract law, and containing civil unrest (hence the privatization of publicly-held assets and deregulation and hence the expansion of social service-oriented NGOs under neoliberalism); the expansion of market mechanisms into previously relatively un-marketized domains (e.g. water health, education); and, a social culture of responsibility and individualism" (Walker et al. 2008, 528, Footnote 1).

[10] See Walker et al. (2008) for a discussion of shifts in development strategies, neoliberalism and the role of technical assistance as a procedure of classification and calculation that encouraged self-regulation on the part of subjects within the context of Oaxaca. The authors use a broad understanding of governmentality, which does not restrict understandings of governmental practices to neoliberal rationality or the realm of the state. A more detailed discussion of governmentality and Foucault's work as it pertains to this project can be found in Chapter 2 as well as Chapter 5.

carried out in workshops and seminars offered by arts-related entities throughout Eastern Kentucky. These are development-related events taught by industry experts, either individuals working for the state, the arts agency hosting the event, or an independent contractor. This research seeks to offer an analysis of state discourses and practices by exploring the role of arts-related organizations in the construction and perpetuation of such schemes.

For example, in an ethnographic account of tobacco production in Appalachian Kentucky (Nicholas County), which includes data collected over a 25-year period, Kingsolver has noted the significance of locally-based organizations, such as industrial development authorities and chambers of commerce, in carrying forward state-generated expectations within development practices and reinforcing state schemes (2011). This examination by Kingsolver provides insights through which the role of arts-related organizations in reinforcing state schemes might be understood within the context of the craft industry. In an interview conducted with a state representative in 1988, Kingsolver inquired about the possibilities for agricultural processing industries to serve as an economic alternative to tobacco production in Nicholas County and elsewhere in the region. The state representative replied that "the state takes initiative in getting industry to Kentucky, but that it was the responsibility of communities to promote themselves as a location" (2011, 70).

Kingsolver's example touches primarily upon concerns of municipal and community responsibility which are often interwoven with discourses of individual responsibility. For example, though the state may provide money for the creation of an artisan center in Eastern Kentucky, in counties where amenities and access to clean water as the result of mining practices is limited, it is nonetheless argued by development practitioners and political leaders that it is the responsibility of the community or board of directors, and not the state, to ensure the success of such an arts-based entity. Individual artisans are expected to become entrepreneurs of themselves, to learn more about how to run a business, to obtain a Small Business Administration loan, to adapt to producing their wares in a workshop at the artisan center rather than in their homes (which allowed many female craft producers to provide oversight of children or grandchildren while working), and to generate enough money (or obtain enough capital through loans) to open

their own individual studio within 1-2 years. Within the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry the producer is encouraged to become a self-sufficient entrepreneur, one who will run their own business and assume individual risk and loss. As Walker et al. noted in their work with the Community Foundation of Oaxaca, the image of the entrepreneur is often invoked and perpetuated without attention to "the complex and deep social relations within which any kind of entrepreneurship takes place" (2008, 539). Perhaps one of my interviewees described this approach best when she referred to it simply as "encouragement without warning" (Interviewee #6, 2011).

In addition, researchers such as Scott (1998), who have offered critical analyses of the state apparatus within traditions of political science, have often failed to examine the linguistic and performative process of rendering targets for economic development by the state (for example, craft producers in economically depressed Eastern Kentucky) as technical issues to be easily addressed through interventions (such as, the creation of an artisan center). Li (2005) comes to the conclusion that the sorts of state schemes described by Scott and others have failed because "they [the state] ignored the lessons of political economy, attempting to fix social and economic process into a perfected model that brooked no movement. These schemes deliberately removed people from the relations in which their lives were embedded to build on a clean slate. They were planned without humility" (2005, 387). Li's work complements Walker et al. (2008) who argue that development strategies are often disembedded from context. Though some decontextualized technical strategies may have been successful for the state – in the case of entrepreneurial workshops, for example, which do provide support for craft producing entrepreneurs – more often than not such decontextualized strategies fail because they do not take into account the limited income and time that many craft producers have to pursue in becoming an entrepreneur, or that craft producers may not generate enough surplus income to repay loans taken out to cover start-up costs.

In many cases failed schemes of development have unintended effects. Li's (2007) research demonstrated that the people of Sulawesi often shared the same desires as development professionals. Thus the development schemes did not depoliticize individuals through failed technical projects; instead, failed schemes awakened a critical sensibility in the people of Sulawesi (Li 2007). As Walker et al. (2008) have suggested,

many of these state-based schemes might be best understood through the lens of neoliberalism despite arguments within the field of economic geography regarding the utility of this term. As an ideology, neoliberalism is perhaps best understood as a theory of political economic practices that proposes advancing human well-being by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills from social and state controls (Duménil and Lévy 2005; Harvey 2005; Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007; Kingsolver 2013). Fisher and Smith perhaps clarify the underlying logic of neoliberalism most clearly in the following statement: "What is individually borne is no more or less than the fault of the individual and therefore should not be collectively redressed" (2012, 6).[11] Within Kingsolver's work with tobacco growing communities in rural Kentucky, neoliberal capitalist principles of individual responsibility, free market participation, and a reduction of tariffs or taxes reshaped the tobacco industry and often resulted in economic hardships for many tobacco growers (2011). This same neoliberal discourse, perpetuated throughout the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry by the state, arts-related organizations, and individual craft producers, has often taken on the guise of self-sufficiency, individualism, and entrepreneurialism, shifting the responsibility of financial success onto the shoulders of the individual crafter. And yet, as this project will reveal, many industry leaders who on one hand support what appear to be very neoliberal practices within the industry, will, at the same time, support and even encourage alternative economic practices. Though discussed more fully in Chapter 5, neoliberal strategies in the craft industry, emerging roughly through the late 1980s-1990s forward, consist of shifting responsibility of risk and loss upon the individual craft producer through the perpetuation of the archetypal self-sufficient, business oriented individual entrepreneur. Under these circumstances an alternative to such a discourse might be understood as a cooperative approach to production and distribution, in which craft producers rely upon one another and share risk of profit and loss.[12]

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[11] Published in 2012, Fisher and Smith's work demonstrate the utility of the term neoliberalism within the field of Appalachian Studies as each of the independently written chapters in this text shares the underlying theme of critically examining the result of neoliberal globalizing logic upon Appalachian communities.
[12] With regard to the term "entrepreneur", I am working with a standard political economic definition offered by the Oxford English Dictionary in which an entrepreneur is understood as: *Polit. Econ.* One who undertakes an enterprise; one who owns and manages a business; a person who takes the risk of profit or loss. The image of the individual (i.e. "one", or "a person") is clearly invoked in this definition.

Employing Theories of Development and anti-Development from the 'Global South'

During the 1990s, novel shifts occurred in development studies to undermine and counteract the dominant discourse of neoliberalism, creating openings for alternative narratives. Such works often focused on documenting and exploring the tensions created through technical development strategies and alternative economic practices. Texts such as Crush's (1995) *Power of Development*, which included insightful essays from various scholars, were crucial in shifting the tide of analysis. In Crush's work, the primary focus is on actual texts and words of development – the way that development policies and strategies are written, narrated and spoken as well as the knowledge that development practices produce and the power relations created (Crush 1995; Williams 1998).

Such ideas were not new in the fields of political geography and critiques of sustainable development (see Redclift 1987; Adams 1990; Watts 1993); however, these works were significant for drawing attention to the decontextualized nature of economic development strategies within development studies, as well as the power-laden logic of development approaches (Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995; Watts 1995). Many recent works in development studies (Ferguson 1999; Li 2007; Wainright 2008) follow in this tradition. These studies however, have predominantly taken place outside of the United States.

Only a small number of development studies research, focused on examining the decontextualized nature of development practices, has been conducted within the United States. Jones (2000), building upon on Escobar (1995) and Crush (1994), actively calls for more attention to development problems in the United States and other so-called 'developed' countries, reminding us that if factors such as race, gender, geography, psychology, low aspirations, and especially, relative inequality within a society are responsible for many of the socioeconomic and development challenges facing communities throughout the world, then 'development issues' will not be strictly associated with the 'Third World' (Jones 2000). This project, conducted within the United States, contributes to broader discussions in development studies, particularly in its attempts to bridge the gap between 'Third World' and 'First World' development studies. Furthermore, this project contributes to broader discussions that attempt to provide critical studies of development policies and practices within the Appalachian

region, taking into careful consideration the significance of understanding an industry within a rural region as nonetheless connected to global markets.

The Limits of Critical Rural Development Studies and Community-Based Development

This project has been conducted in a rural region of the Eastern United States and as such builds upon and contributes to studies of rural economic development practices. In addition, this research seeks to speak to writers, thinkers, and practitioners of rural economic development directly. Though scholars in the field of Appalachian Studies have addressed concerns of rural economic development for many years now, often demonstrating the importance of subsistence farming and noncash transactions as livelihood strategies (more recent work, for example, includes Halperin 1991; Williams 2002; Keefe 2007; Eller 2008; Kingsolver 2011), there is still much work that remains to be done in the social sciences with regard to shifting discourses of economic development.

Regrettably, rural development scholars and practitioners, often trained in business or agro-business programs, rarely acknowledge the diverse range of economic activities that exist in rural economies, drawing instead upon common discourses of entrepreneurialism and industry growth and retention. Take for example the policy brief titled "Economic Development for Eastern Kentucky" produced by agricultural extension specialists (Reum 2007). In this document, the author describes a program which will be initiated in 7 Eastern Kentucky counties (Clinton, Cumberland, Elliot, Lee, Menifee, Owsley and Wolfe) and will focus primarily on entrepreneurial coaching and industry growth. The brief states:

> First, we will implement an entrepreneurial coaching program for local officials so that they themselves can coach individuals in low-income areas that are interested in becoming entrepreneurs. Second, we will provide training to provide the foundation for making a community more attractive to business by endowing the area with the attributes that firms look for when making locational decisions (Reum 2007, 2).

Throughout the remainder of the document the author discusses the significance of creating entrepreneurs in Eastern Kentucky as well as the creation of Market Marker, an e-commerce site that would assist farmers in selling their goods. With regard to

business retention the author emphasizes that communities should be realistic about the available labor force and the firms that will come to the region. Community leaders should focus on retaining businesses that are already in the region and increasing 'attribute levels' needed to bring new industry to Eastern Kentucky. In addition, the proposed program would assess medical needs in these communities, create a directory of all medical services, and help local government to create long-term health plans. Finally, in hope of bringing city and county government officials together, the program would provide training in the Analytic Network Process, which is an objective decision making tool that encourages leaders to consider all factors that have bearing on making a best decision.

Though the strategies described in this document may ultimately help some individuals, they are nonetheless limited in sight and scope. For example, entrepreneurial discourses are limited in that they do not provide room for discussion of cooperative methods and approaches of the production of goods and services. The 7 counties identified for inclusion in this program are some of the poorest in Kentucky and the United States. Cooperative approaches have the potential to reduce levels of risk that the individual might assume, and instead allows communities to share and distribute risk. Furthermore, though Market Marker and other e-commerce sites expand the size of potential markets that Kentucky farmers and fishers may reach, there is no real analysis of the lack of technology infrastructure throughout these counties. Finally, with regard to business retention, the author is quite right to encourage a focus on working towards retaining businesses that are already in a community and making sure that these business have all needs met to grow and expand; however, there is no discussion of education, or assisting local labor with soft skills development, nor is there any recognition of already-existing industrial parks (many of which were built in the 1990s throughout Eastern Kentucky) and how this infrastructure might be used by communities.

The material above is meant to serve as an example of how discourses of economic development and agricultural business initiatives tend to render activities such as small-scale craft and agricultural production, particularly more cooperative forms, invisible as worth-while development strategies. As demonstrated above, technical strategies such as implementing an e-commerce site, providing training in

entrepreneurialism, creating a directory of medical resources, etc., serve as decontextualized economic development approaches which do not take into consideration a deep understanding of the power relations and socioeconomic challenges facing the region of Eastern Kentucky. Regrettably, in the few cases in which craft production was taken seriously as a development strategy during my field research, it was not the result of an appreciation for small-scale craft production as a livelihood strategy, or as the result of an appreciation for and preservation of Appalachian-based cultural and artistic traditions. Often times I was asked if I knew how to build the craft industry in Eastern Kentucky to something comparable to the HandMade in America program in Northwestern North Carolina. Other times, individuals simply asked if I knew how to turn craft production into a 'million dollar industry' for Eastern Kentucky. Allowing small-scale craft production to remain invisible as a livelihood strategy, which combined with other economic strategies helps people make a living and remain in the region, will result in limiting the possibilities for addressing poverty.

Fortunately, some scholars within the field of rural development have come to recognize the failure of development practices in addressing issues of poverty in rural areas and scholarship in this field has called for a new practical paradigm (Ashley and Maxwell 2001; Ellis and Biggs 2001). For Ellis and Biggs, the focus should shift to the new sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach (Carney 1998, Scoones 1998, Ellis and Biggs 2001), as such a path appears open to the recognition and advocacy of diversity within the rural economic landscape. As Carnegie (2008) has suggested, small-scale agriculture as well as other diverse practices have the potential to complement more mainstream neoliberal development policies. In many cases, as in Mencken and Maggard's (1999) research in West Virginia, small-scale craft production is already being used to complement formal economic strategies. In fact, these researchers have found that it is not primarily the rural poor engaging in such practices, rather it is the 'near poor' who have access to wage labor, capital and social networks, and choose to supplement wage labor with alternative economic practices, engaging in a wide range of strategies to make ends meet.[13]

[13] As Mencken and Maggard (1999) state, "Our research documented that it is not the poorest households in the state that participate in informal activities, but the near poor. We speculate that home production among

Wiggins and Proctor (2001), however, provide a more skeptical (perhaps even dystopic) view, offer the following suggestion: "Despite several attempts of honest and honorable efforts to foster development in the remote countryside, there are few lessons that promise widespread improvement; and with the increasing importance of the multi-location household, policy that supports and facilitates migration deserves consideration" (2001, 435). Rather than develop or explore alternative economic practices that might allow individuals to remain in their homeplace, development practitioners are encouraged to foster migration-based policies to battle poverty. Alternative economic strategies continue to be ignored as legitimate development possibilities, allowing market-based and forced migration strategies to dominate. Such discourses restrict economic imaginings and future possibilities for rural regions.

In Eastern Kentucky, such discourses have recently been manifested in a proposed light rail system that would transport labor from 'the peripheral' regions of Kentucky to the core, Central and Northern Kentucky. In a speech given at the 2012 Kentucky Association of Counties conference, Speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives Greg Stumbo stated,

> I am convinced that a light rail system in Kentucky would help to bridge the gap between Have and Have Not Kentucky. It makes more sense to me to bring the worker to the job, than it does the job to the worker… How many industrial sites have we built across Kentucky, not only in Eastern Kentucky but all across Kentucky that are just sitting there growing grass? I believe it's better to take the worker to the job, and I think that what we ought to figure out how to do, is to do some creative things with the light rail system in this state so that we can take the workers from rural Kentucky and move them to our metropolitan areas where economic opportunities and jobs are plentiful, and then return them home that night. It does two things. One, it allows the worker to stay where he or she wants to live, their home in rural Kentucky. Two, it provides a stable workforce for prospective employers (Stumbo 2012).

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the near poor households is an attempt to supplement other forms of income. Other research has concluded that participation in informal economic activity is dependent upon access to markets. Given the prospects of reduced earnings from formal employment in a service based economy in the future, we might expect an increase in the number of households turning to informal types of production to supplement earnings" (1999, 103). Mencken and Maggard's research dovetails well with Carnegie's observation that such practices may compliment neoliberal strategies. With that said, however, each of these authors have been limited in their approaches as Carnegie's own research does not fully explore concerns of exploitation within diverse economic practices, and Mencken and Maggard fail to consider the range of possible outcomes of state intervention in such economic strategies.

Again, such strategies are short-sighted and limited. Stumbo makes the assumption that those in rural areas would want to spend countless hours commuting back and forth each day to work in areas such as Lexington, Georgetown or Cincinnati as factory labor at the Toyota Manufacturing Plant (one of Stumbo's common examples of employment opportunities). Though individuals in the region make this commute each day, carpooling with neighbors and friends, many development efforts do still encourage workers and companies to invest in local communities and to create new jobs at home. Shifting to a discourse that would no longer explore economic development in rural areas, instead choosing to focus on moving labor back and forth each day, may result in further decay of an already struggling region.

What is needed then in development efforts is a critical approach that is sensitive to multiple scales, economic approaches, historic-geographic contexts, and the patterns and practices of globalization, illuminating the social and political processes of exchange, exploitation, empowerment and extraction (Scoones 2010). Bebbington and Batterbury (2001) have suggested the following approach be taken to meet such challenges:

> A broader enterprise in which political ecology, cultural geography, development studies and environmental politics are all involved, even if they have differing entry points. This broader enterprise is one that struggles to understand the ways in which peoples, places and environments are related and mutually constituted, and the ways in which these constitutions are affected by processes of globalization (Bebbington and Batterbury 2001, 377).

Despite such efforts within critical rural development studies to explore the interconnectedness of the local and the global, to better understand the ways in which globalization shapes commodity chains, and to examine how communities at the local scale might be better served by producing goods themselves, community-based economic development practitioners and agencies in general – in both rural and urban settings – continue to focus on market-based growth strategies that often lack any sensitivity to concerns of class exploitation or environmental degradation. Again, such practitioners leave aside the potential in the exploration of alternative economic practices that may be more democratic, egalitarian and environmentally-friendly. Community development practitioners are often instructed to work *within* the framework of power that exists in communities, rather than posing any challenge to, or creating shifts within, dominant

development approaches. “Practitioners must learn to negotiate and form coalitions. Negotiation is all about the dynamics and chemistry of community power. The effective practitioners should understand power and work to harness it for the betterment of the community” (Schaffer et al. 2004, 229).

The goal of the practitioner from this perspective then is to harness power to better communities (through their own understanding of “betterment”). Practitioners are not encouraged to expose uneven relationships of power and class relations, or to engage in practices that would redistribute power to poorer people (in fact, scholars in the field of critical rural studies have suggested we must examine power structures at scales that create inequalities in the communities – an attempt to only explore power at the scale of the local is again shortsighted)[14]. In fact, many community economic development scholars and practitioners perpetuate a neoliberal discourse by arguing that the purpose of community development more broadly is to adhere to the needs of self-help. “Self-help builds and utilizes agency, mobilizes people’s cultural and material assets (e.g., indigenous technical knowledge, tools, and labor), and most importantly, avoids *dependency*” (Bhattacharyya 2004, 21; emphasis added). Self-help is seen by Bhattacharyya as an appropriate principle for community development because it has the backing of “tradition”, having been adopted by numerous international agencies such as the UN. Community economic development practitioners overall continue to fail to recognize diversity in economic practices and continue to promote a definition of development primarily as growth. In spite of continual failures at poverty reduction, efforts in community economic development focus primarily on the idea of market-based initiatives, arguing that local economic growth has the ability to diminish poverty (Cummings 2002).

[14] In his work pertaining to livelihood strategies and rural development studies Scoones (2010) states the following regarding analyses of power, “The attention to power and politics must, of course, move beyond the local level to examine wider structures of inequality. Basic questions of political economy and history matter: the nature of the state, the influence of private capital and terms of trade, alongside other wider structural forces, influence livelihoods in particular places. This is conditioned by histories of places and peoples, and their wider interactions with colonialism, state-making and globalisation. All this is, in many senses, blindingly obvious. But an unhelpful divide often persists in livelihoods analyses between micro-level, locale-specific perspectives, emphasizing agency and action, and broader, macro-level structured analysis. Both speak of politics and power, but in very different ways” (2010, 174).

Textbooks in community economic development further perpetuate understandings of development as growth (for example, see Phillips and Pitman 2009). Definitions of development in the text make it clear to the reader that capital engenders capital. Alternative economic practices, practices that might encourage barter or volunteerism, or redistribution of surplus to workers, do not readily appear in such a textbook and thus limit the economic imaginings of those trained in community economic development. Although the textbook does address the issue of powerlessness that community members must face, it does not discuss how wealth and land might be redistributed in favor of the poor and near poor. Primarily market-based strategies are eagerly encouraged throughout such textbooks.

A new theoretical paradigm would create an effective and practical shift away from decontextualized market-based strategies. There is little theoretical coherence offered in the development literature referenced above. Each field focuses more on praxis, providing practitioners with sets of concrete examples to employ. Much of this literature provides a number of practices and techniques that are adopted by development practitioners when working in a rural area or community; however, such practices will continue to fail until they are contextualized within specific historic-geographic contexts. The question then remains: what theories would prove to be most fruitful for development practitioners?

Those such as Gibson et al. (1999) have found that regional communities – particularly those in non-metropolitan (rural) regions – feel burdened by a sense of powerlessness in regard to development. In their pilot study focusing on the Shepparton region and Latrobe Valley of Victoria, Australia, Gibson et al. suggest that community members in these areas continued to embrace traditional economic development strategies despite little expectation that continuing to promote such strategies would result in success – defined in investment terms. Yet, at the same time, Gibson et al. note that individuals emphasized the resilience of communities and the potential for local capabilities.

Building upon this notion of local capabilities, economic development strategies are more likely to be successful if they are contextually based, grounded in a firm understanding of community assets and capacity mapping (Kretzmann and McKnight

1993; Gibson et al. 1999). This community based process involves identifying capabilities and skills of individuals such as artistic or sporting abilities; "familial, cultural and community associations and networks (such as church, migrant and Aboriginal groups, voluntary community groups, and sporting clubs); and the intuitions and businesses location in the region (including hospitals, educational institutions, government agencies and local businesses)" (Gibson et al., 1999, 33). Such an understanding of development allows for recognition of both capitalist corporations as well as alternative businesses often centered upon non-market dynamics (such as environmental stewardship, aesthetic values, and cooperativism). As Lee (2010) has noted, perhaps such non-capitalist, alternative practices are better understood as revolutionary, gnawing away at the singularity of capitalism, rather than sustaining a crisis prone capitalist economy.

Alternative, cooperative-oriented craft shops, which may indeed be gnawing away at the singularity of capitalism, have been somewhat neglected within state-led economic development strategies. Although funds are often available for more neoliberal, incubator spaces, cooperative spaces tend to struggle to gain access to local, regional, or state assistance. Though such incubator spaces could help to generate more cooperative methods, no technical assistance or instruction is offered to individuals as of 2013 who wish to pursue more cooperative efforts. Cooperative organizations however, continue to emerge throughout the craft industry and as such should be seen by development agents as community assets, providing means of support for local community members as well as potential tourism venues. It is also of importance that government agencies, such as the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, view such organizations as valuable to the stability of the craft industry.

Expanding Historical Analysis of Craft Production in Appalachia

The craft industry has remained an essential component of Eastern Kentucky's economy, helping people engaged in both cooperative and entrepreneurial forms of production and distribution to make ends meet. Barker (1991), Whisnant (1983), Becker (1998), Ardery (1998) and others have examined the craft industry in this region through the 1990s, documenting various arts organizations in the region. Scholars of the craft

industry often begin their analysis with a discussion of discourse pertaining to Appalachia, as the lore that has existed about this region most certainly shaped the growth of the craft industry.

Ardery's (1998) book, *The Temptation: Edgar Tolson and the Genesis of Twentieth-Century Folk Art*, echoes many of the same concerns that Garry Barker (1991) discussed in his work, *The Handicraft Revival in Southern Appalachia, 1930-1990*. The future of both folk artists and craft producers seems uncertain for each of these authors. Barker felt that shifts would occur within the Appalachian craft industry from the 1990s onward. Having held several leadership positions in the industry, Barker acknowledges that arts and crafts production would become more of a business; and that artists would become entrepreneurs (1991).Overall, Barker's assessment seems to be accurate. A new emphasis on entrepreneurship did emerge within the craft industry, but this entrepreneurial push is not a strategy embraced by all organizations.

In the conclusion to her book, Ardery (1998) draws upon researchers working in Oaxaca, Mexico, where political interventions – moving beyond a focus of neoliberalism and entrepreneurship – had been proposed. Ardery draws directly upon Cook's (1981) work with the Mexican government to provide an example of how an attempt to regulate the acquisition of materials and marketing of finished works to reduce self-exploitation which typically occurs in the craft industry was effectively ignored by the state apparatus. Cook notes in his work the following assessment of Mexico's crafters:

> Mexico's artisans are impaled by a paradox: ideologically and politically they are first class citizens sanctified as bearers of the authentic Mexican cultural heritage; but economically and existentially they are second class citizens condemned to a perpetual struggle for survival and presented with few opportunities for capital accumulation or even for material progress, through enterprise and hard work (Cook 1981, 65-66; Cited in Ardery 1998).

Cook blames both the Mexican state's bias towards capital-intensive development schemes and aestheticism, drawing upon the pervasive belief since the Renaissance that has perhaps forbidden artists' prosperity. Other researchers in Latin American studies, such as Canclini (1993), have argued that artisanal production is allowed to continue and is even encouraged within a capitalistic framework as such production provides a source of additional income to peasants living in villages throughout Mexico who otherwise

would leave their home-places and migrate to urban areas. In Canclini's opinion, artisanal and craft production, once it is co-opted by capitalism, serves as an attempt to "find a solution" to high levels of unemployment and injustice created by capitalism in rural areas (1993, 9). Canclini does suggest, however, that craft production can serve to improve the quality of life of craft producers if craft products are seen as identity symbols around which craft producers can cohere and retain ownership. The discourse surrounding such products can be shifted from "remnants" to "emergent" challenging expressions (1993, 84).

This question of how, and in what ways crafters make money, attempt to have a 'good life', and choose to participate in production and distribution cycles created by the state, regionally-based entities (both religious and secular), and producer cooperatives, provides the foundation of this dissertation project. While the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development, Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, Kentucky Arts Council, and various community-based organizations tend to promote entrepreneurialism and/or capital-intensive development projects, alternative economic practices do exist in opposition to, in addition to, and in substitution for such strategies.

Methodology and Research Methods

The research methods chosen for this study vary to address a number of different goals and to obtain a variety of data needed to document economic diversity, the role of the state in the craft industry, and the perpetuation of limited economic development strategies in documents and discourses. Information was gathered from craft producers as well as arts-related organizational leaders and state officials (both former and current) throughout Eastern Kentucky and the State of Kentucky more broadly. Within the context of this study, Eastern Kentucky is comprised of 42 counties (for a detailed discussion of rationale behind this regional demarcation see Chapter 3). A number of oral histories, semi-structured interviews, and participant observations were completed for this study. These interviews, coupled with a discursive analysis of transcriptions, archival materials and development reports, were analyzed in hopes of gaining a deeper sense of the role of the state in diverse economies as well as the development discourse in this geographic region.

Within the context of this study, 21 of the 35 interviewees were women. This included individual producers as well as organizational leadership at the regional and state levels. In general, all interviewees were over the age of 40, with the exception of a few women who ranged from 25-40. Individual producers were predominately retirees, who were engaging in craft production to supplement retirement income. Organizational leaders were often fully employeed by the state or a regionally-based entitiy such as the Appalachian Artisan Center, David Appalachian Crafts, or Red Bird Mission. In a few instances, some craft producers had started producing wares at a much younger age, and had continued doing so in addition to other entrepreneurial activities such as teaching workshops related to craft production and serving as speakers for state-based programs.

Structure of the Dissertation

While research pertaining to craft production in Central Appalachia is often framed as politically neutral, this project engages directly with the political, economic, social, and cultural reasons why craft producers choose to produce and distribute craft items in numerous ways and how the state has emerged as a key player in this industry. In the present chapter, I provide an introduction to the region as well as a description of the purpose of this study and a brief overview of the conceptual framework. In Chapter 2, I offer an engagement with the theoretical materials I have used to provide a deeper understanding of craft production in Central Appalachia, as well as the role of the state within alternative economic practices more generally. This framework draws upon literature pertaining to diverse economies, alternative economic practices, discourses of the state and neoliberalism, theories of development and anti-development, critical rural development studies, community-based development, and historical analyses of craft production in Central Appalachia and elsewhere. Afterwards, in Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the methodological approaches used to study the craft industry, state-based craft marketing projects, and historic patterns of development policies and practices in Kentucky and the Central Appalachian region. Methods are primarily qualitative in nature and include the collection of oral histories, semi-structured interviews, discursive analysis of documents produced by the state and development agencies, as well as archival research.

After providing a discussion of literature pertaining to this research project, and methods used in the field, Chapter 4 engages in an exploration of how development policies and practices in Appalachia have been limited in the past through the discursive analysis of several key reports generated by the Appalachian Regional Commission, as well as the State of Kentucky and the Kentucky Appalachian Task Force. Such reports were responsible for solidifying a development ethos and discourse in the region that remains today. Furthermore, the chapter considers what future economic development strategies might be expanded by taking into consideration the importance of alternative economic practices. In Chapter 5, I delve more deeply into the questions of alternative economic practices as well as an analysis of the history of geographical lore pertaining to Appalachia, and how such lore, often based on stereotypes of place, were used as marketing tools by early craft-related organizations. Over time, as craft production has evolved and grown, often adapting to fluctuations and changes in mainstream desires for folk arts, the state became a major player, particularly within the context of Kentucky's craft industry. By the 1980s, the state-based Kentucky Craft Marketing Program was actively engaging with craft producers and perpetuating geographical lores pertaining to craft production. The examination of the state offered in this project provides a crucial and sorely needed contribution to the study of diversity and alterity. Despite the emphasis of more neoliberal and entrepreneurial strategies throughout the past 30 years, craft producers have nonetheless continued to explore alternative economic practices including cooperatives built upon shared production and distribution strategies. Finally, in Chapter 6, I note the implications for researchers as well as development practitioners and instructors in the fields of economic geography and Appalachian Studies.

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CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON UNDERSTANDING DIVERSE AND ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIES:
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the theoretical underpinnings which guide this research project, to situate the project within broader literature, and to provide an overview of the conceptual framework. As this project incorporates a variety of perspectives it is necessary to consider and review literature from a number of different disciplines. In addition to providing the reader with a discussion of the literature referenced in this project, I also build upon and contribute to existing literature by questioning previously formulated perspectives and offering new understandings.

This multifaceted research project draws upon literature pertaining to: (1) diverse economies and alternative economic practices; (2) discourses of state theory and neoliberalism; (3) theories of development and anti-development; (4) critical rural development studies and community-development; and (5) historical analysis of craft production in Appalachia. In this chapter then, I first examine literature on alternative economic practices and diversity, providing an overview of previous studies and efforts to generate a language of economic diversity. Then, I move into a discussion of discourses on the state and neoliberalism, examining how the state has been neglected in previous studies of diverse economies and alternative economic practices and in what ways researchers might adopt a performative approach to allow for a more holistic analysis of diversity that recognizes the state. Afterwards, I turn to examples of literature pertaining to theories of development, antidevelopment, critical rural development and community-based development, each of which contributes to the framework needed to critically analyze the material public narratives created by the state such as development documents that have rendered development policies and practices technical in Eastern Kentucky and throughout Appalachia more broadly. Finally, I present the reader with the historical context needed to understand past examinations of craft production within Appalachia and Eastern Kentucky and how this study, which draws upon numerous

literatures and disciplines, generates shifts with regard to the study of craft production in new and exciting ways.

Diverse Economies and Alternative Economic Practices

The last decade has brought forth substantial growth in the study of diverse economies as well as alternative economic spaces within the field of geography. The diverse economies research program has included the development of theoretical resources that challenge dominant economic discourses (Gibson-Graham 1996; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2008) as well as the analyses of alternative economic institutions, conventions, and practices (Leyshon et al. 2003). Gibson-Graham's (1996) groundbreaking work *The end of capitalism (as we knew it): a feminist critique of political economy* was essential for creating a space in which researchers could explore economic alternatives, resulting in an expanding and sophisticated body of work on diverse economies and alternative economic spaces.

There has been much excitement within the field of geography regarding the study and creation of alternative economic spaces and diverse economic practices (Leyshon et al. 2003, Fuller et al. 2010, Wright 2010). Yet, with excitement and hope, a healthy amount of doubt has emerged, and not surprisingly, the diverse economies research program has been subject to critique (see for example Amin et al. 2003; Samers 2005). In many ways, literature on diverse economies and alternative economic spaces may appear somewhat polarized between firm believers on one end of the spectrum and critics on the other – individuals who are curious about what this new theorizing has to offer but remain skeptical (Fuller et al. 2010). However, this polarization has been fruitful. In essence, it has prevented 'blindness'. Geographers have begun to refine what constitutes a diverse economy or an alternative economic space and there is recognition of the need for further development of ideas and refinement of existing knowledge. Examples include the need to further explore the role of the state (Jonas 2010), circuits of value (Lee 2006; Lee et al. 2004; Jonas 2010), differential power relations (Argular 2005; Hughes 2005, Smith and Stenning 2006; Wright 2010), gendered, classed and radicalized inequalities in alternative economic spaces (Lawson 2005; Oberhauser 2005; Wright

2010), as well as the significance of diverse economic practices in the 'majority world' (Carmody 2005; Hughes 2005; Wright 2010).

The Birth of a Research Community

The diverse economies research program emerged essentially as a critique of Marxist political economy. In *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It)* Gibson-Graham (1996) extensively critiques the post-Fordist Marxist literature that had surfaced since the 1970s.

> I have found aspects of post-Fordist theory quite problematic and constraining. By emphasizing the thoroughly capitalist nature of industrial social formations, by theorizing societies as centered upon economies, by representing contradiction as mediated or stalled, and by understanding development as a systemic or hegemonic process, many theorists of post-Fordism have replicated the characteristics of other and earlier theories of (capitalistic) development (Gibson-Graham 1996, 148).

Marxist political economy tends to theorize capitalism as a unity, totality, and all-encompassing entity. In fact, Marxist approaches to the analysis of production had not theorized the discourse of capitalism in such a way that alternatives could be recognized. However, the "new economic geography" that emerged in the mid-1990s adopted critiques of economics that draw upon the idea of the social economic world as economically differentiated (Leyshon et al. 2003), which allowed scholars to theorize capitalism in a less totalizing way. Building upon this, Gibson-Graham argued that economic practice is comprised of both capitalist and non-capitalist activities and that the hegemony of capitalism must be deconstructed to further allow for a language of economic difference. She went on to note that non-capitalist practices had been rendered 'invisible' "because the concepts and discourses that could make them 'visible' have themselves been marginalized and suppressed" (Gibson-Graham 1996, x-xi).

In the final chapter of *The end of capitalism (as we knew it)*, Gibson-Graham (1996) calls for an end to referring to the economy as capitalist. In her opinion, referring to the economy as capitalist denies the existence of diverse economic forms and class processes. Focusing primarily on Marx's *Capital,* Gibson-Graham et al. (2001) suggest that – although capitalism was the focus of investigation – Marx utilized a 'language of class' that identified non-capitalist class processes that predated, coexisted with, and may

succeed it (2001). This reading of Marx allows researchers to embrace a "possibility of complex class readings of internally differentiated social and economic formations" (2001:5). With this understanding of class, Gibson-Graham creates a framework of understanding which moves beyond a capitalocentric understanding of the economy. "What if we could force capitalism to withdraw from defining the economy as a whole? We might then see feudalisms, primitive communisms, socialisms, independent commodity production, slaveries, and of course capitalisms as well as hitherto unspecified forms of exploitation" (Gibson-Graham 1996, 222). When reflecting upon this work, Gibson-Graham states that *The end of capitalism (as we knew it)*, "was attempting to open up an imaginative space for economic alternatives at a point when they seemed to be entirely absent, even unwanted. In the mid-1990s there was no conversation going on and seemingly no community to interact with" (2008, 614). Yet years later in a lecture prepared for the journal *Progress in Human Geography,* Gibson-Graham (2008) confidently recognizes the 'birth' of a diverse economies research community in the field of economic geography.

Before delving into examples of alternatives, it is important to clarify that conversations regarding alternative economic strategies and practices had actually been taking place before the mid-1990s (the story as we tell it in economic geography is somewhat limited…). Take for example the work of Robert Swann. From the Civil Rights movement onward, Robert Swann was involved in the redistribution of land, the creation of local currencies, and the creation of decentralized economies. Swann launched the Community Investment Fund in 1978, one of the first initiatives that included socially responsible criteria, and in 1980 he established the E.F. Schumacher Society in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and implemented programs based on Schumacher's economic philosophies. In addition, Swann was the founder of the Institute for Community Economics, and before founding the Schumacher society, Swann working with Ralph Borsodi to issue a commodity-backed currency in Exeter, New Hampshire, which was a forerunner to today's local currency movement (New Economics Institute, www.neweconomicsinstitute.org).

Susan Witt, who has served as the executive director of the E. F. Schumacher Society since its inception, has led many efforts to help communities create solutions to

economic problems working primarily with tools such as story-telling and story-listening as ways to for community members to share ideas with one another. She is also the founder of the SHARE micro-lending program and an administrator at the Community Land Trust in the Southern Berkshires, Massachusetts. Again, Susan began such efforts long before the mid-1990s. (www.neweconomicsinstitute.org).

And then there are the actual writings of E. F. Schumacher (1973), which in the early 1970s suggested that the most rational way to produce was for local needs, from local resources, and the work of Jane Jacobs who argued that a healthy region was one that was constantly replacing import industries on a continuing basis (cited in Swann and Witt 1988). When reading Schumacher's 1973 work, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*, especially his chapter on Buddhist Economics, one cannot help but think of the parallels between Schumacher's argument and many of the contemporary arguments posed by researchers studying alternative and diverse economic practices. For example, Schumacher emphasizes the need for work to be meaningful, for people to consider that human life is a dependent part of an ecosystem, and that as the result of the limited nature of physical resources people must choose to use such resources modestly or risk the violence between them that arises over access and use of natural resources.[15] In fact, recent work, such as *Take Back the Economy* (2013) by Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy, which despite being published some 40 years later, poses very similar arguments.

Examples of activities that have typically been considered 'alternative' and have garnered the attention of more recent researchers include local currency systems such as LETS (local exchange trading systems), credit unions, co-operatives, social enterprises and barter networks (Amin et al. 2003, Williams et al. 2003; Lee et al. 2004; Lee 2006, Leyshon et al. 2003, North 2007, Jonas 2010). At the same time, a notion of a diverse economy exists, "with its emphasis on revealing economic forms otherwise hidden by mainstream capitalism and its distributional politics" (Jonas 2010, 3). Jonas discusses at

[15] Though Schumacher's (1973) work tends to be rather gendered, I have used the word "people" rather than "man" in this section. In some cases, Schumacher goes as far as to argue that under the direction of Buddhist economics women would not need an "outside" job, such as employment in an office or a factory, and for women to hold such jobs would be a sign of economic failure. Though I do not agree with this argument, I would suggest that Buddhist economics, as a framework through which to evaluate livelihood strategies and consumption patterns, deserves further exploration that what is provided in this literature review.

length the difficulties that emerge in analyzing economic practices as both *diverse* and/or *alternative*.

> Whilst an interest in a diverse economy demands that our attention turns to the possible presence of 'other' economic and political forms in the landscape, whether or not diverse economies are always performed as *alternatives* to, for instance, the mainstream – that is, mainstream forms of the state, the economy, territory, etc. – is a contingent matter; it depends on a range of material, political, cultural and strategic circumstances… Alterity is itself diverse, context-dependent, and, above all, geographically specific (Jonas 2010, 4).

The notion of an economic 'alternative' – a practice which would be understood to exist in relation to an economic 'non-alternative' other – is problematic at best. While the term *diversity* offers us the possibility of many economic others, *alternative* restricts economic imaginings to a limited binary framework. However, to dismantle such binary thinking, scholars have suggested that alternatives might be explored as either 'alternative-additional', 'alternative-substitutional', or 'alternative oppositional'. Alternative-additional institutions are generally understood as, "institutions or enterprises providing an *additional* choice to other extant institutions whilst not necessarily adopting or advocating values that seek to reject the (state or capitalist) mainstream". Alternative-substitutional institutions on the other hand comprise, "institutions that act as a form of *substitute* for institutions once pervasive (in a particular place) yet have subsequently disappeared or moved elsewhere. In some cases these substitutes can be institutions of 'last resort' allowing people to survive under extreme economic and social circumstances". Alternative-oppositional then is understood as providing, "something different in value or operational terms, whilst simultaneously representing a rejection of more non-alternative, or mainstream forms and their identities" (Fuller and Jonas 2003, 67; see also Fuller et al. 2010, Lee 2010). These varying degrees of alterity allow researchers to begin from a point of 'diversity' even when thinking in terms of 'alternatives'. It is crucial within this research program that scholars allow themselves to begin working from a theoretical understanding of many possibilities, rather than a singular, restrictive notion of global capitalism (Lee 2010).

In the next section, I investigate a wide sampling of work that has emerged in this field which explores diverse economies and alternative economic spaces. I begin with a discussion of the failure of 'formal' economic institutions and reliance on diverse

economic activities. Then, I explore ‘openings’ that emerge within capitalism that allow formal economic institutions to support diverse economic activities. Finally, I conclude by examining possibilities for diverse economic practices to be considered ‘development-worthy’.

Reading for Difference: A Critical Mass of Work

Gibson-Graham (2008) argues that geographers must begin to ‘read for difference’ rather than dominance. The discourse of ‘capitalocentrism’ renders many economic activities as opposite of, complementary to, or consumed under capitalism. Through her re-working of Marx’s *Capital* Gibson-Graham brought non-capitalist economic activities – which Marx had left in the background – to the foreground, demonstrating how these non-capitalist and capitalist practices co-exist (Gibson-Graham 1996; 2008). The process of making visible those practices that have been rendered invisible and non-credible expands possibilities for social livelihoods and economic development (Gibson-Graham 2006; Carnegie 2008). This has become a tenet of the diverse economies research program.

By 2005, a critical mass of work had begun to emerge in regard to diverse economies (see for example Pavlovskaya 2004, French 2004, Miller 2003, Crossley 2002; Routledge 2003). As these researchers have demonstrated, diverse economic practices often play a significant role in subsistence strategies and the significance of diverse economic activities may be increased if formal economic institutions fail. In some cases, instability generated from the failure of formal institutions may even lead to resistance movements and new politics of space (see for example Castells 1997; Pile and Keith 1997; Sharp et al. 2000; North and Huber 2004; Jonas 2010). For example, in 2001, Argentina’s economy had essentially collapsed as a result of long term structural problems and political malaise. The collapse led to rapid growth in unemployment and underemployment, decline in the value of peso-dominated assets, and a chronic shortage of cash. With the rapid loss of jobs and cash, individuals had to find other ways to subsist and make ends meet. These methods – legal and illegal – included turning to petty crime, looting, and in some cases kidnapping middle class Argentines and holding them for ransom. In addition, some individuals became *cartoneros*, scavenging for items to sell or

exchange (Leyshon 2005). However, the majority of individuals joined a local currency system (LCS) known as *Red del Treque* (Powell 2002, cited in Leyshon 2005; North 2007). *Red del Treque*, like other Local Exchange and Trading Systems (Lee et al. 2004), enables individuals to engage in the reciprocal trade of goods and services through the use of 'special money' (Zelizer 2001) not supported by the state (Leyshon 2005). As North (2007) notes in his work, barter systems – such as *Red del Treque* – offered a means of survival for both the poor and the middle class.

This brief account of Argentina's economic collapse in 2001 allows us to consider the importance of diverse economic activities in mitigating the worst excesses of the failure of formal economic institutions. In many ways, Argentines were 'impelled' to rely on more than capitalist processes, thus they engaged in multiple income earning processes in addition to wage-labor. In their study of the post-socialist cities of Bratislava, Slovakia and Kraków, Poland, Smith et al. (2008) further explore the ways in which individuals in contingent and unstable labor markets sustain themselves. Once again, the failure of formal economic institutions increases reliance on diverse economic activities. Smith et al. (2008) examine at length how workers negotiate labor market segmentation and erosion of employment security, documenting the diverse economic practices individuals engage in to sustain themselves and their families. These processes are seen as crossing various boundaries, "between the formal and informal, the legal and illegal, and the capitalist and non-capitalist" (Smith et al. 2008, 306). Through the process of reading for difference Smith et al. (2008) are led to ask the deeper question (with Gibson-Graham 1996, 224), what does it actually mean to call countries of eastern Europe 'capitalist'?

Even when formal economic institutions remain stable, 'openings' may exist in the 'body' of capitalism that provides support of non-capitalist activities. These openings allow capital to seep out of an economy and non-capitalism to invade (Gibson-Graham 1996; Pretes and Gibson 2008). This notion of an 'opening' in capitalism is contradictory to the classic dependency argument that capital merely engenders capitalism (Pretes and Gibson 2008). For example, Pretes and Gibson's (2008) study of the Micronesian state of Kiribati explores how locally generated funds are not invested in stimulating local business activities. Instead, this capital is invested in global financial markets through a

national trust fund – the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund (RERF) – established in 1956. The primary source of trust fund capital was royalty revenue from the mining of phosphate deposits. Overtime, Kiribati has built up an extensive portfolio of offshore investments that provides an annual income. Funds are often pulled from this reserve during periods of budget deficits. Through the utilization of the trust funds the government of Kiribati can avoid both increasing taxes and requesting international aid from donor agencies. Under these circumstances, the capital that has flowed to the core has led to favorable outcomes for the periphery. Thus, this relatively small nation has utilized global finance markets to translate a non-renewable resource into fiscal support for diverse economic practices, including independent subsistence farmers and fishers as well as public servants (Pretes 2005; Pretes and Gibson 2008).

Although the Micronesian State of Kiribati has been successful at locating fiscal support for diverse economies, many communities struggle to meet this challenge. In general, diverse economic practices are not recognized as 'development worthy'; however, informal village economic practices could complement mainstream development efforts (Carnegie 2008). In her study of the village of Oelua, located in Indonesia, Carnegie (2008) utilizes the heuristic framework created by Gibson-Graham – primarily the typology of the characteristics of different non-capitalist and capitalist practices (Gibson-Graham 1996) – to document ways of performing and remunerating labor, as well as the variety of economic transactions taking place within the island's economy (Gibson-Graham 2006, cited in Carnegie 2008). The extensive catalogue of economic practices that Carnegie creates is meant to demonstrate how non-capitalist practices are sustaining livelihoods, generating household income, and creating individual and community well-being. Carnegie does note that there are examples of diverse economic activities which are exploitative and that undermine community well-being, she does not explore these practices in any length. Rather, the primary goal of Carnegie's analysis is to create a language of economic diversity – recognizing the plethora of economic transactions within Oelua's economy – that may then utilized to widen the possibilities for local and regional economic development. Carnegie suggests that, "A regional development agenda could involve conversations with community members and researchers about how surplus labor is (and could be) produced,

appropriated, and distributed in ways that meet local needs, values and aspirations for building sustainable, ethical, place-based economies" (2008, 367).

Questions regarding gender, class, or 'race' are largely excluded in Carnegie's analysis – and in general have been somewhat excluded in literature on diverse economies. It is in this way that Wright's (2010) recent work offers significant contributions to the diverse economies research program. Wright's analysis of the small village of Puno in the Philippines follows a very similar framework to Carnegie. Although Wright's work relies heavily on Gibson-Graham's heuristic device, her ethnography of Puno's economy pushes researchers to consider inequalities pertaining to gender, race, and class, that persist within diverse economies as well as the relations of power that constitute them (see also Oberhauser and Pratt 2004; Oberhauser 2005; Lawson 2005; Kelly 2005; Aguilar 2005; Smith and Stenning 2006). Wright's research strengthens significantly the argument that economies are indeed full of contradictions, tensions, and alternatives (Schreven et al. 2008; Samers and Pollard, 2010; Jonas 2010; Wright 2010).

I now wish to turn specifically to critiques of this literature as well as a brief discussion of new intellectual pathways. In the remainder of this section then, I will explore criticisms that have emerged in addition to possibilities for further research, focusing primarily on the role of the state and the analysis of circuits of value.

Points of Debate

A considerable amount of debate has accompanied the excitement regarding the diverse economies research program and the study of alternative economic spaces. Although Gibson-Graham's work has created a space in which researchers may start from an understanding of diversity, many mainstream researchers fail to take seriously any research which is not framed within an analysis of globalization, neo-liberalism, or capitalism (Jonas 2010). Diverse economic activities are often seen as merely utopian, detached from serious political concerns. Yet this view fails to acknowledge that such activities provide a means for survival – a way of making a living – that may also serve as a source of solidarity within communities (North 2007; Jonas 2010). In my own research in Appalachia, I have spoken with community leaders who engage in diverse

economic practices for the sole purpose of helping people make a living. Over the past decades, rural regions of Appalachia have suffered from economic decline as a result of decreases in employment in extractive industries such as mining and timber (Oberhauser 2005). As jobs have been lost, individuals have turned to diverse economic practices to make ends meet (Lewis and Billings 1997; Mencken and Maggard 1999; Oberhauser 2005). Diverse economic practices in the region include locally grown agricultural goods, artisanal crafts, and knitting organizations (Oberhauser 2002). For individuals who are no longer employed in mining and timber and now rely on state assistance for survival (as a result of injury, Black Lung disease, or retirement), the craft industry is a last resort that provides the cash needed to make ends meet without becoming disqualified for state programs.

Even when researchers are willing to entertain the notion that such diverse economic practices and alternative economic spaces exist, they nonetheless remain skeptical of the longevity of such practices, arguing that alternatives are vulnerable to cooptation by capital and the state (Healy 2009; Jonas 2010). Amin et al. (2003) raise questions regarding the extent to which so-called alternative production, distribution, and exchange processes are indeed 'alternative' or merely new forms of social-welfare capitalism that attempt to mitigate the effects of capitalism without replacing it. Bowring (1998) suggests that as LETS are distributed to the unemployed as an opportunity to better themselves, "the abandonment by mainstream society of the jobless poor, and of the welfare services they depend on, will be legitimized, and their exclusion from the structural guarantors of social identity and citizenship consolidated" (1998, 107).

Such criticisms have perhaps emerged as a result of the limited scope of literature in this field. Fuller et al. (2010) note that this literature has been limited in its empirical focus, "restricted to the analysis of western financial services, the informal economy and alternative forms of consumption rather than, as advocates of a diverse economy might claim, getting systematically to grips with contemporary class politics, non-capitalist modes of production and new forms of social provision" (2010, xii). Samers (2005) notes in his work that the diverse economies literature overall has failed to fully examine relations and processes of production as well as conditions of employment and labor underpinning so called 'alternative' activities. In fact, Samers calls for a more critical

treatment of diverse economies, suggesting that researchers focus on, “distinguishing between their more mundane but dyspeptic varieties (that is, large swathes of informal employment) and those with a seemingly more ‘progressive’ production, extraction, and redistribution of surplus” (Samers 2005, 883).

In some regards such research already exists, though it is not heavily referenced in the literature on diverse economies. Take for example analyses of the Mondragon Cooperatives in the Basque region of Spain. Though the cooperatives are often placed upon a pragmatic pedestal and celebrated for their ‘alternative’ nature and supposed benefits for the working class, Kasmir (1996) has demonstrated that the cooperatives are political institutions which actually include many drawbacks for working class activism. Kasmir notes that workers at the Mondragon Cooperatives confront the same sort of strains known to other workers engaged in industrial production such as the routinization of tasks, ever-increasing productivity levels and expectations, assembly line production, and shift work. Furthermore, the cooperativism first envisioned by Father Arizmendiarrieta was meant to overcome class conflict in the Basque region by creating Basque-owned businesses. On the one hand, it seems that much of the Basque region, especially the managerial class, has prospered as a result of Father Arizmendiarrieta’s vision. On the other hand, the working class has suffered many setbacks.

Through her study of the Mondragon Cooperatives, Kasmir concludes that discourses limited to pragmatic solutions to social and economic problems have robbed us of our ability to imagine and to think in ideological and political terms. Moving forward Kasmir suggests that we should willingly and openly think in ideological terms, “including imagining what it would be like if workers were active in larger political movements and if, in this age of flexible accumulation, we could build organizations that truly transferred power to workers and genuinely created more just workplaces” (1996, 200). Diverse economies are, in many ways, comprised of economic activities that exist on a spectrum between formal and informal. In our efforts to “highlight a locus of potentially progressive economic politics that is often overlooked” (Jonas 2010, 13) we must not exhibit political naïveté and empirical selectivity. Circuits of value within economic geographies should be explored in depth. Kasmir offers promising research by approaching the question of economic justice not from an external examination of the

structure of the cooperatives, but by engaging in a thoughtful historical-geographic study of Mondragon and by spending time with actual workers which allowed her to better understand the political nature and inner workings of managerial and production networks. Researchers must strive to come to terms with the relations of production and distribution embedded within diverse and alternative economies (Samers 2005; Jonas 2010). It is at this point then that a discussion of new intellectual pathways within the literature on diverse economies and alternative economic spaces will serve us well.

New Intellectual Pathways Exploring 'Value' and Historic-Geographic Context

Concerns to address relationships of production and distribution have led many to revisit the labor theory of value. Economic geographers have argued that economic geographies should be understood as material circuits of value, the means by which value is consumed, exchanged, and produced across time and space. Necessary for social life, economic geographies are contextually specific and socially constructed (Lee 1989; Lee 2010; Jonas 2010). As Jonas has noted then, examining and documenting the relationship that exist between labor and circuits of value should be a central task in the analysis of alternative and diverse economies (Jonas 2010, 15; Lee et al. 2004; Lee 2006). Unfortunately, Gibson-Graham did not address this topic in great detail (1996; 2006). "The distinction that she [Gibson-Graham] draws between 'alternative capitalist' and 'non-capitalist' enterprises appears to be based upon an analysis of how labor is performed rather than a critique of the political-economy theory of value (of that of its distributional politics)" (Jonas 2010, 20). Thus, the topic of value, within the alternative and diverse economies literature, has been rather ignored.

Yet, in his work, *Money and Liberation: The Micropolitics of Alternative Currency Movements*, North (2007) comes to the conclusion that alternative systems only work if groups control the alternative currency as well as the resources and that the alternatives are able to sustain livelihoods (in other words, to reproduce material economic life) during difficult economic times. North's (2007) work highlights the fact that alternative currencies are not always constructed in opposition to capitalism, but are instead representative of different ways of thinking about value within various spaces (Jonas 2009). Building on North's work, Jonas (2009) states, "It is thus necessary not so

much to celebrate the diversity of economic spaces apart from pre-given categories of capital and globalization, but instead to examine in the context of mainstream discourses of capital accumulation and globalization the diversity of ways in which alternative spaces are performed as spaces of economic survival and/or spaces of political opposition" (2009, 139).

Understandings of value are inevitably contextually specific and socially constructed, emerging out of specific historical and geographic material and political relations (Lee 2010). Thus, all circuits of value are often shaped by moral and ethical concerns and all economies – within specific historical and geographical contexts as well as territorial circumstances – operate within multiple forms/notions of value (Lee 2006, Sayer 1999, Lee and Smith 2004, Jonas 2010). The primary concern for those studying alternative economic spaces is to explore the value given to time within the circuit of value. Marx (1976) argued that exploitation of workers occurred at the point of production. The value of labor (i.e. labor as a commodity) was not equal to the labor power (i.e. capacity of workers to produce things of value), thus that value appropriated – above the equivalent price of labor – was surplus value. Building upon Marx's conception of the labor theory of value, Jonas suggests that for those advocating alternative economies, "the question is whether labor can be performed in a non-exploitative fashion such that there is some sort of equivalence in 'time value', i.e. between labor measured in time and the quality and quantity of labor performed. This, in turn, suggests that in an alternative economy, 'circuits of value' are to be examined not just in terms of the spatial flow and exchange of goods but also the exchange of labor time" (2010, 16). Jonas draws heavily from examples of LETS (Lee et al. 2004, Williams et al. 2003) and 'time banking' (Seyfang 2010), arguing that if we are to take seriously alternatives to mainstream capitalist labor practices, we must fully examine the ways in which alternative systems organize and value labor.

An acceptance of the embeddedness and contextual nature of value has the potential to allow researchers to move beyond the restrictive belief that anything less than full scale global revolution is unlikely to create social change. Researchers may take heed in recognizing and advocating that which works towards the end goal of generating a language of economic diversity and dismantling a capitalocentric discourse. "The

revolutionary destruction – from within or without – of the social relations of capitalism (as with all other social relations of value) can at best only be geographically and temporally partial)… Recognition, practice and advocacy of these multiple social relations may make them revolutionary acts as they are genuinely subversive in gnawing away at the apparent verities and certain singularities of capitalism" (2010, 284).

My own work with Kelsey Hanrahan (2013) has suggested that future research needs to be attentive to the fact that alternative practices are also differentiated based on place and therefore the historic-geographic contexts in which individuals live matters. In their examination of alterity's geographies, Samers and Pollard suggest that, "notions of alterity are not simply subjective, but produced and mediated through particular territories, and collectively (and not just individually) imagined and performed" (Samers and Pollard 2010, 49).

Recent work builds on this theme of understanding the particularity of the places created through economic practices. Some researchers have started to delve into the historic-geographic contexts of diversity and alterity and suggest that our current interest in studying diverse/alternative economic practices runs the risk of producing ahistorical narratives, portraying such practices as contemporary phenomenon (Bryson and Taylor 2010; Jonas 2010). Bryson and Taylor (2010) argue that although Gibson-Graham's work encourages geographers to engage in studies of diverse economies and to expose that which was once hidden, it is unfortunate that much of the literature pertaining to diverse economies implies that alterity is a new process rather than something that has been an important feature of economies for centuries. They empirically support this argument in their work on mutual dependency which explores diversity and alterity within the evolution of a single production system in a specific geographic region – the British metal trades in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

McKinnon's (2010) study of diversity and post-development project moves away from exploring diverse economic practices, but continues to emphasize the importance of historic-geographical context through the examination of the emergence of indigenous rights issues in northern Thailand. In her work, McKinnon applies the notion of diversity and 'making visible' to questions of social and political organization and begins her analysis with the formation of Thailand's modern borders in the early 1900s. Such

historic-geographic context, including a discussion of how and where highlanders have lived throughout the last century, is necessary to understand the recent ‘alternative’ indigenous people’s movement in Thailand. Working through a similar theoretical lens, Carswell’s (2002) study challenging the portrayal of the historically marginalized economic activities of women as ‘recent’ economic diversification uses historical documents along with oral histories to argue that the trading activities of women in southern Ethiopia have persisted over time and are not new. She further argues that the marginalized position of women in the community and in the understanding of economic activity in the region has long rendered their economic contributions invisible, despite their long term importance in diversifying the economy in southern Ethiopia. Being hopeful requires an understanding of where we have come from—the forces that shape our political, social and economic contexts within particular regions and territories—which provides us with the foundation to build, adjust and change our economic landscapes.

Studies of diverse economies and alternative economic spaces, although continuing to grow at a substantial rate, leave much to be addressed, particularly in relation to each other. The critical yet hopeful potential of economic geographies attuned to both historical depth and contemporary social factors influencing individuals and communities is significant. As in many cases, diverse and alternative economic practices have persisted over time—pre- and post-capitalism—as livelihood strategies, assisting in the creation of economic geographies that allow individuals to produce, exchange and consume all values necessary for being and the sustenance of social life (Lee 2010). However, it is important to remember that the potential for exploitation still exists within such alternative economic activities and new directions and possibilities certainly exist for research exploring gender, class and racial inequalities in alternative economic spaces (Lawson 2005; Oberhauser 2002, 2005; Oberhauser and Pratt 2004; Wright 2010; Blake 2010). Other emerging lines of critical inquiry include questions on the role of the state (Jonas 2010; Hodkinson 2010; Fickey 2011), circuits of value (Jonas 2010; Lee et al. 2004; Lee 2006; Lee 2010), differential power relationships (Aguilar 2005; Hughes 2005; Smith and Stenning 2006; Wright 2010), as well as the significance of diverse economic practices in the ‘majority world’ (Carmody 2005; Hughes 2005; Wright 2010).

For now, the duty of the engaged researcher in search of new economic development practices and livelihood strategies remains defined as, 'to expose what was formerly hidden, highlighting new and emerging economic, social and cultural forms, and above all celebrate the actual diversity of apparently singular existing practices through the lens of new categories and constructs' (Fuller et al. 2010, xxv). It is, and will continue to be, hard work to investigate such economic practices, the actors, and their historic-geographic contexts. As we continue to explore the economic landscape, researchers must be critical, reflexive, and reach beyond literature boundaries. In the next section of this chapter, I turn to studies of State theory and neoliberalism to continue building a theoretical framework through which to better understand diversity and alterity within Eastern Kentucky's craft industry.

On the State and Neoliberalism

Despite a lack of clarity surrounding the concept of the state, scholars such as Mencken and Maggard (1999), discussed in Chapter 1, as well as many others have often recommended state involvement in informal economic activities such as craft production as a pragmatic policy recommendation to address the decline in Appalachian-based extractive industries. What is needed in this field of study is a conceptual framework through which to understand the actions of the state and state governance (noting the role of the state in the regulation of behavior, the care of populations, and the acquisition and distribution of resources) (Asad 2004)[16], as well as the neoliberal ideas that are often perpetuated through state-based development strategies. Regrettably, Gibson-Graham's diverse economies framework does not mention the role of the state, which has perhaps resulted in the neglect of the role of the state within the diverse economies research program. A framework that recognized the role of the state in diverse economies and alternative economic practices would allow researchers to better understand the ways that

[16] Asad also notes the use of the term *state* in regards to "discourses of sovereign states (whether princedoms or republics) facing one another in war and peace… and the discourse of state politics (the struggle to establish a nation-state; competition over policy) (2004, 280). Though not discussed in this review, Asad (2004) also provides an over of the modern idea of the state in Western history, beginning in the late Middle Ages, in his work, "Where are the Margins of the State?" Within this project, analysis of the state begins in the twentieth century.

people are viewed in relation to one another and to the market through state-based neoliberal policies.

As an ideology, neoliberalism is best understood as a theory of political economic practices that proposes advancing human well-being by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills from social and state controls (Duménil and Lévy 2005; Harvey 2005; Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007; Kingsolver 2013). As a political project, neoliberalism seeks to render the social domain economic, using language such as "personal responsibility" and "self-care" in efforts to reduce state services (welfare) and security systems (Lemke 2001, 13). To clarify briefly, as noted in Chapter 1, markers of neoliberalism include: "Liberalization of the movement of goods and capital (but not people); deregulation of the financial sector…; the expansion of market mechanisms into previously relatively un-marketized domains (e.g. water health, education); and, a social culture of responsibility and individualism" (Walker et al. 2008, 528, Footnote 1). Rather than emphasizing a collective approach to improving overall well-being, self-responsibility is shifted to the individual.

Within the context of Appalachia, the neoliberal capitalist discourse fails to acknowledge ways that people are making ends meet in capitalistic and non-capitalist ways. For example, in her work on diverse economies, Oberhauser (2005) documents how more informal economic practices, such as craft production, is promoted as viable alternatives to the lack of more formal economic opportunities. "Diverse economic activities in Appalachia include growing agricultural goods, producing artisanal handicrafts, or a knitting organization where home-based workers produce goods for local and even international markets" (Oberhauser 2005, 869).

Perhaps the neglect of the state in the context of such alternative or diverse economies is also partially due to how social scientists have historically understood and approached the state over time. Throughout the twentieth century, for example, a discourse existed that provided few choices for those hoping to enact economic alternatives – "Either one was a free marketer and rejected the role of the state altogether or one was a 'Marxist-communist' and believed that control of the state was necessary" (Jonas 2010, 17). This dichotomy has been recognized by Jonas (2010) for the role of the

state being overlooked in most diverse economic analysis and begs the question, what is (or could be) the role of the state in alternative economic practices?

A history of the concept of the state reveals that political scientists have often disagreed on how to define and study the state, which has perhaps shaped the dichotomy described by Jonas (2010) above. Those who have studied debates surrounding the concept of the state within the realm of political science (see for example Mitchell 1991, 1999; and Sharma and Gupta 2006) have noted two main approaches throughout the mid-twentieth century. After World War II, political scientists began to note the difficulties in delineating firm boundaries of the state. Given that a clear boundary for the state could not be agreed upon, many political scientists at the time adopted what is known as a systems approach which argued for abandoning the concept of the state altogether in favor of studying "political systems" (Easton 1953, 1957; Almond et al. 1955; Almond and Coleman 1960).

By the 1960s however, the political climate of the day had generated new interest in the concept of the state, and many theorists began to argue that the state was a concept worthy of further study and analysis (see Krasner 1978; Skocpol 1979; Evans et al. 1985). These scholars, known as statist for adopting a state-centered approach, viewed the state as a bounded entity distinct from society. Scholars such as Sharma and Gupta (2006) have argued that this approach was an attempt to counter notions of Marxist functionalism that considered the state as an instrument of capitalist interests.

Neither the systems approach of abandoning the state altogether, nor the statist approach of seeing the state as a bounded entity existing outside of society (and the economy), is I would argue, helpful to those working in a diverse economies framework. Though the notion of Marxist functionalism may be somewhat useful, in terms of considering how the state promotes and supports capitalist interests in a global economy, this is perhaps limiting in the sense that the state may also support alternative economic practices that run counter to capitalist production and distribution – thus the state is not solely a mechanism of capital as it may support economic activity beyond capitalism and does play a role in diverse economies and alternative economic spaces. Jonas, for example, is right when he makes note of the sorts of interventions and complex roles that the state, or individuals working on behalf of the state, might play in diverse economies.

> For instance, paid work performed by, or on behalf of community economies can involve employees of the state or the local state. This is not to argue that state intervention is required for social enterprise to flourish, far from it in fact. But there is a danger that alternatives are simply to be understood in relation to the market (which might assume many forms) and that consequently there is no role in their formation for regulation, intervention or subsidy by the state (Jonas 2010, 17-18).

What Jonas suggests is that it is important to realize that many alternatives are born around or against the state. In many cases technical efforts of governmentality can shape the strategies and tactics of alternative economic practices (Jonas 2010; Kurtz 2003). To fully understand the role of the state however, we must adopt a working understanding of what "the state" might actually mean.

In his well-known work, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Failed*, Scott (1998) examines the role of the state and failed development schemes. Throughout this analysis the state is referred to as a totalizing entity, governing from above on those below. Take for example the following quote from Scott's discussion on the collectivization of agriculture in soviet Russia:

> Any comprehensive assessment of sixty years of collectivization would require both archival materials only now becoming available and abler hands than my own. What must strike even a casual student of collectivization, however, is how it largely failed in each of its high-modernizing aims, despite huge investments in machinery, infrastructure, and agronomic research. Its successes, paradoxically, were in the domain of traditional statecraft. The state managed to gets its hands on enough grain to push rapid industrialization, even while contending with staggering inefficiencies, stagnant yields, and ecological devastation. The state also managed, at great human cost, to eliminate the social basis of organized, public opposition from the rural population. On the other hand, the state's capacity for realizing its vision of large, productive, efficient, scientifically advanced farms growing high-quality products for market was virtually nil (Scott 1998:217).

Although Scott's work was influential for its analysis of the failure of economic development schemes, he fails to take into consideration the multiplicity of actors involved with interpreting and implementing state policies. Scott writes as if there is the totalizing Russian state and the subjugated Russian peasant, with no actors in between the two.

Scholars interested in economic development practices (such as Abrams 1988; Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Jessop 1982, 1990; Joseph and Nuget 1994; Mitchell 1991, 1999; Trioullot 2003; Li 2005, 2007) and many others have tried to move beyond this emphasis on an all-seeing state, of the state as an *a priori* empirical or conceptual object, and have adopted instead an approach that allows for the examination of the ideological and materials aspects of state representation and construction, emphasizing the importance of every day practices. In fact, Mitchell (1999) has argued that the state-idea and the state-system are best understood as two aspects of the same process. Any boundary lines between the state and society, or the state and the economy are, according to Mitchell, drawn internally, not externally, within a network of institutional mechanisms which are responsible for maintaining a certain social and political order.[17] Our goal then is not to clarify such distinctions, or separate the state-ideal from the material aspects of the state, rather we should historicize the phenomenon that allows, creates and maintains a distinction between the state and society. The work of such scholars such as Mitchell is built upon a methodological framework that allows for the exploration of "how 'the state' comes into being, how 'it' is differentiated from other institutional forms, and what effects this construction has on the operation and diffusion

[17] In his work, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," Mitchell lists five propositions for a different approach to questions of the state and its relationship to society and economy: "(1) We should abandon the idea of the state as a freestanding entity, whether an agent, instrument, organization, or structure, located apart from and opposed to another entity called economy or society; (2) We must nevertheless take seriously the distinction between state and society or state and economy. It is a defining characteristic of the modern political order. The state cannot be dismissed as an abstraction or ideological construct and passed over in favor of more real, material realities. In fact, we must place this distinction between conceptual and material, between abstract and real, in historical question if we are to grasp how the modern state has appeared; (3) For the same reason, the prevailing view of the state as essentially a phenomenon of decision making or policy is inadequate. Its focus on one disembodied aspect of the state phenomenon assimilates the state-society and state-economy distinction to the same problematic opposition between conceptual and material; (4) We should address the state as an effect of mundane processes of spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, supervision and surveillance, and representation that create the appearance of a world fundamentally divided into state and society or state and economy. The essence of modern politics is not policies formed on one side of this divisions being applied to or shaped by the other, but the producing and reproducing of these lines of difference; (5) These processes create the effect of the state not only as an entity set apart from economy or society, but as a distinct dimension of structure, framework, codification, expertise, information, planning and intentionality. The state appears as an abstraction in relation to the concreteness of the social, a sphere of representation in relation to the reality of the economic, and a subjective ideality in relation to the objectness of the material world. The distinctions between abstract and concrete, ideal and material, representation and reality, and subjective and objective, on which most political theorizing is built, are themselves partly constructed in those mundane social processes we recognize and name as the state" (Mitchell 1999, 185).

of power throughout society" (Sharma and Gupta 2006, 8). The work of Mitchell (1991; 1999) as well as Rose (1996, 1999) encourage us to explore the importance of everyday practices and the use of experts, which both constitute crucial features of the apparatus of rule. Below I have provided an overview of conceptual frameworks regarding the state, emphasizing the differences between each approach.

Table 2.1 Theoretical Conceptualizations of the State*

Approach	Description	Limitations	Examples
Systems Approach	Dominant in the 1950s, post-war America; argued for moving away from analysis of the state towards examinations of "political systems."	Researchers were unable to delineate clear boundaries for the state, substituting instead the idea of the "political system." Does not provide a framework through which to understand the state/ultimately eliminates questions pertaining to the role of the state.	See: Easton 1953, 1957; Almond et al. 1955; Almond and Coleman 1960.
Statist Approach	State as bounded entity separate from society and the economy (1960s).	Limitations: State is understood as bounded and discrete social fact. Distinct from society; described as unitary and autonomous actor with supreme regulatory authority. Unable to discern performative nature of the state through this approach.	See: Krasner 1978; Skocpol 1979; Evans et al. 1985.
Marxist Approach	Functionalist, state as instrument of capitalist interests. Neo-Marxist analyses from Latin America begin to gain prominence (late 1960s-1980s).	Limitations: Limited in terms of seeing the state as only an instrument of capitalist class interests. There does not appear to be a discursive space that allows for activities beyond capitalism, thus the state – through this capitalocentric lens – would be unable to support alternative economic practices.	See: Abrams 1988 for a detailed discussion of Marxist theory on the state.
Performative Approach	Explores representations and constructions of the state through processes of spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, supervision and surveillance, and representation. Includes the examination of tactics of governmentality. Highlights importance of ethnography and textual analysis (1990s-Present).	Limitations: For some authors (for example, Das and Poole 2004) the goal of examining every day practices seems to be to move away from a language of core and periphery. However, authors continue to invoke such language without critical analysis of these terms. Discourse of "marginal" spaces is often unclear. Key texts seem to focus only on spaces in the Global South.	See: Abrams 1988; Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Jessop 1982, 1990; Joseph and Nuget 1994; Mitchell 1991, 1999; Trioullot 2003; Li 2005, 2007; Sharma and Gupta 2006; Das and Poole 2004, Asad 2004.

** Table includes information drawn from Sharma and Gupta 2006, Mitchell 1999, Foucault 1991a, b, and Abrams 1988.*

With such goals in mind, it is a performative approach that might best serve those interested in exploring the role of the state within diverse economies. Such an approach helps us to better understand the cultural construction of the state, allowing us to explore how people in communities experience the state and give meaning to the encounters they may have with state experts. Mundane procedures such as collecting taxes, the issuance of passports, and the distribution of food to those on public assistance, are all procedural, everyday practices that shape what the state means to its people, and how boundaries lines may be drawn (Butler 1990; Sharma and Gupta 2006). These procedural and precedent-setting practices constitute the 'performative core' of the state. Rather than being *a reflection* of a bounded state core, such practices actually *constitute* the state. It is through the re-enactment of such practices that coherence and continuity of the state-based institutions is constituted, and in some cases destabilized or fractured (Sharma and Gupta 2006). It is also through such re-enactments that social inequalities, including class and gender, are produced and maintained.

A performative approach to the analysis of the state, one that openly engages with performativity (Sharma and Gupta 2006) and writing practices of the state (Das and Poole 2004), provides a useful lens to understand mundane practices and proceduralism. Building upon on the work of Butler (1990) and Taylor (1997), Sharma and Gupta (2006) argue that:

> Using the model of performativity to understand bureaucratic practices and political spectacles is useful in another sense as well. Performances assume an interface between actors and spectators; performances both constitute and are constituted by an audience. The repetitive performance of state procedures, for a variety of audiences located a different levels (such as rural peasants, local and national bureaucrats, activists, international development or human rights experts, and officials of other nations states), shapes audiences ideas about the translocal nature of the state and their relationship to "it." Proceduralism, the banal repetition of everyday actions, and the mundane realities of following precedent, reproduce "the state" as an institution across time and space. But do such actions do more than just (re)produce the conditions that allow for the continuity of an institution? We argue that they do much more. It is through such mundane activities that the primacy of the state is reproduced, and its superiority over other social institutions established (Sharma and Gupta 2006, 13).

Within the context of this study, state-based workshops for craft producers, the creation of a craft marketing program with a specific logo marking those who have met

state standards, and the publication and distribution of materials that emphasize one form of craft production and distribution over another, constitute the performative core of the state. As Das and Poole (2004) have noted, these practices bear the double sign of the state's distance and penetration into everyday life. For craft producers in Eastern Kentucky, physical state infrastructure, buildings, and employees are located 3-4 hours away by car in Frankfort, Kentucky, creating a strong sense of geographical distance, and yet, the everyday practices of the state – such as the differentiation of state sanctioned products through the Kentucky Craft Marketing logo – have very real economic and emotional consequences for craft producers (this example will be discussed further in Chapter 5). Furthermore, Kentucky Craft Marketing Program materials not only limit economic imaginings to through neoliberal discourse, they also draw upon a limited geographical lore about the Appalachian region. Commodities – such as crafts – are easily associated with geographical lores or knowledges associated with particular places (see for example, Crang 1996; Cook and Crang 1996; Coulson 2004). Within the context of Appalachia, craft items marketed through a place-based lore that emphasizes cultural difference, isolation and pre-industrial production methods.

Such procedures and activities should also be understood as exercises in power and social control. The term governmentality for example, refers to power in terms of its methods rather than its institutional forms.[18] Thinking in terms of power and governmentality allows us to examine workshops, booklets, and seminars as tactics of the state that encourage producers to engage in the "entrepreneurship of themselves," (Lemke 2001, 199; Foucault 1979, 1988, cited in Walker et al. 2008). Such individual self-regulation (considered "technologies of the self" by Foucault [1988]) encourages producers to adhere to one method of the production and distribution of craft products over another through a discourse of entrepreneurialism. In this instance, the state defines

[18] Sharma and Gupta (2006) make an important note of clarification regarding the distinction between everyday bureaucratic practices and statist representations. Everyday practices, such as the collecting of taxes and distribution of food to low income families mentioned above, and representations of the state such as shards, photographs of state leaders, official seals, etc., are mutually constitutive. Sharma and Gupta state, "How people experience bureaucratic practices is shaped by representations of the state; in turn, how people read representations is mediated by their daily encounter with bureaucratic practice. This dialectic operates not only for citizens but for bureaucrats as well. What needs to be analyzed here is how contradictory representations of the state are interpreted and operationalized in the everyday practices of bureaucrats" (2006, 19).

a problem – the need for employment in rural areas – and offers a strategy for solving/handling the problem – the teaching and encouragement of entrepreneurship to craft producers. Entrepreneurialism then becomes a form of state-sanctioned economic rationality which ultimately shifts responsibility from the state to the individual (Lemke 2001).

Examining the dialectic that exists between representations of the state and the everyday practices of bureaucrats that shape the livelihood strategies of individuals may prove significant as well. Often times, dissonance can arise between the ideas espoused through the representations of the state, and the actual practices of state officials. There may also be contradictions and tensions between programs and schemes implemented by different state departments, or even within one individual department. In Sharma's ethnographic analysis of a women's empowerment program initiated by the Government of India in Uttar Pradesh, called the *Mahila Samakhya* (MS) program, he noted tensions and contradictions at many different levels. For example, staff members working for the MS program, which had a dual identity of being state-based and an NGO (non-governmental organization), would often use different letterheads to converse with individual groups. When MS wanted to work with a grassroots organization, it would use NGO letterhead, when it wanted to pressure an individual or an organization, they would invoke the power of the state and use the Ministry of Human Resources letterhead. Sharma also noted inter-bureaucratic conflicts when conducting interviews with state officials. Many interviewees indicated that they were suspicious of the MS program, which sought to empower women, and officials at the lower (block or district) level exhibited outright hostility towards participants and workers. Limited funding for the program by the state (a result of the fact that MS did not distribute tangible goods) also put the program at a disadvantage politically (Sharma and Gupta 2006).

Other research, similar in style and scope to that of Sharma, has sought to expose the everyday practices of the state and to better understand how the state engages in tactics of governmentality through NGOs, experts, and other individuals that spread discourses created by the state. In her work, "Beyond 'the state' and Failed Schemes", Li (2005) advances beyond this idea of an "up there" all powerful state by recognizing the multiple actors/parties involved with the governing process including social reformers,

scientists, and non-governmental agencies. Li notes that such individuals are absent from Scott's influential analysis of the state referenced earlier. "Less visible in Scott's account are the missionaries, social reformers, scientists, political activists, ethnographers and other experts who routinely diagnose deficiencies in the population or some segment of it, and who propose calculated schemes of improvement" (2005, 386). Thus, we need to understand states as composed of "bundles of social practices, every bit as local in their materiality and social situatedness as any other" (Gupta 1995, cited in Ferguson and Gupta 2002).

In his work examining the state apparatus, Michel Foucault has also noted the importance of moving beyond an analysis that focuses solely on the state if the goal is to understand the mechanisms of macro-and micro-powers at play in society. This does not mean, however, that Foucault does not recognize the importance of the state. In his own words, Foucault explains, "I simply feel that excessive insistence on its [the state] playing an exclusive role leads to the risk of overlooking all the mechanisms and effects of power which don't pass directly via the state apparatus, yet often sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions, enlarging and maximizing its effectiveness" (Foucault 1976, 72-73). Furthermore, Foucault has gone on in other essays to suggest that the state is unable to occupy the whole field of power, and thus can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations (Foucault 1976). Thus, though the state may introduce or implement certain schemas, there are – as Li, and Sharma and Gupta have noted – experts who both assist in the construction of such schemas and others still that are involved in the execution or perpetuation of such schemas. Within this research project, the author seeks to better understand the creation of schemas by the state, as well as regional bodies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission, and the role of other experts such as arts-related organizational leaders and well-known crafters, in sustaining certain discourses that allow for a whole series of interventions such as workshops teaching e-commerce and entrepreneurial skills.

In addition, researchers such as Scott have failed to discuss the process of the state's attempt to identify and render targets for economic development (for example, agricultural production or craft production) as technical issues to be easily addressed through interventions. Li (2005) comes to the conclusion that the state schemes described

by Scott failed because, “they ignored the lessons of political economy, attempting to fix social and economic process into a perfected model that brooked no movement. These schemes deliberately removed people from the relations in which their lives were embedded to build on a clean state. They were planned without humility” (2005, 387). Though some of these technical strategies may have been successful for some – in the case of entrepreneurial workshops which do result in some successful entrepreneurs within the context of the craft industry – it is more often than not that such decontextualized strategies fail because they do not take into account the limited income and time that many craft producers have to pursue becoming an entrepreneur.

Often, such failed schemes of development have unintended effects. For example, Sharma and Gupta note that individuals who are the targets or subjects of state programs often learn the same techniques of lower-level state agents such as “paper pushing, leaving paper trails, and adopting official mannerisms” (2006, 17). Such tactics can then be used by these individuals to gain institutional access, subvert official scrutiny, or to establish authority over others. Such examples are drawn upon to demonstrate that official practices can be used as strategies of resistance, and are not always limited to the state. Building upon the work of Foucault (1991a, b), Sharma and Gupta (2006) argue that this is an example of the dispersal of techniques or regulation and governmentality – intensified through neoliberlization – which illustrates the governmentalization of society.

Li (2007) further demonstrates through her ethnographic work that the people of Sulawesi came to share the same desires as development professionals. Development schemes did not depoliticize individuals through failed technical projects; these schemes awakened a critical sensibility in the people of Sulawesi (Li 2007). Of course, state-led development strategies are not the only strategies which fail. We would be remiss to ignore that in an age of neoliberlization NGOs are often key players in development initiatives (as noted with Sharma’s example of MS). Within the context of rural regional development in the United States and elsewhere, NGOs play a complex role in creating the performative boundary between state and non-state realms. And it is to the question of NGOs that I now turn.

Examining the Political Economy of NGOs

During the 1990s, non-governmental organizations were viewed as the "development panacea" (Mercer 1999). As Mercer explains, "the global growth of the NGO sector is inherently associated with the rise of an influential consensus, spear headed by the international financial institutions of the World Bank and IMF, over the need for political democracy and good governance on the one hand, and economic liberalization, the rolling back of the state and the encouragement of the private sector to step into the gap, on the other" (Mercer 1999, 247).

As the result of the neoliberal rolling back of the state, NGOs have now become a medium through which development efforts flow (Walker et al. 2008). Given the growth of NGOs over the past 20 years, and the crucial role NGOs play in development practices, Mercer states that "the nature of state-society relations as played out between governments and NGOs must be seen as a critical issue" (1999, 248). In Mercer's analysis of (primarily Anglophone) literature on NGOs she states that NGOs are portrayed as "inherently 'good things', microcosms of the (liberal) democratic process, comprised of the grassroots, both separate and autonomous from the state, while acting as a 'bulwark' against it" (2002:9). Once contextualized however, NGOs can be examined for their role in creating tensions within state-society relationships and perpetuating neoliberal development strategies. I do not mean to insinuate that NGOs are in between the state and civil society, as part of some inherent vertical scale of power. In fact, it is important to study NGOs, the state and civil society within the same frame and process. "It is necessary to treat state and non-state governmentality within a common frame, without making unwarranted assumptions about their spatial reach, vertical height, or relation to the local" (Ferguson and Gupta 2002, 994).

Recent studies have indicated that NGOs play a significant role in the perpetuation of neoliberal practices. In many cases, neoliberal practices create the principal tensions that exist between the state, NGOs and CBOs.[19] Marcus Power (2005)

[19] For clarification, few differences exist between NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and CBOs (community-based organizations). CBOs typically have a more narrow scope than NGOs, and often address short-term objectives generated by membership. In comparison, NGO employees typically work to solve the long-term problems of others, across multiple communities, and receive financial support from external sources (which can include the state/federal government, though NGOs will typically exclude governmental officials from membership and decision-making positions).

notes in particular that "NGOs, many of which encourage leaders to organize their communities around neoliberalised self-help projects and even contribute to the production of neoliberal leadership, ensure political subjects that continue to choose neoliberal solutions" (2005, 609). In the contemporary era, studies of NGOs have become vehicles for understanding how development is conceived and implemented (Lewis 2005, Markowitz 2001, cited in Walker et al. 2008). Walker et al. demonstrate how technical assistance works to enact forms of neoliberal development through their examination of one program of the Community Foundation of Oaxaca (Walker et al. 2008, referenced in Chapter 1). In this case study, the researchers determine that during the NGO-offered workshops "the figure of the entrepreneur is invoked, sought out, and 'made' without attention to the complex and deep social relationships within which any kind of entrepreneurship takes place" (Walker et al. 2008:547). Within the Eastern Kentucky craft industry, such similar strategies are employed by NGOs, as well as non-profits and some (though not all) religious-based arts organizations.

In his work examining the political economy of NGOs, specifically within the context of Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, Fernando (2011) has argued that NGOs are in fact involved with every aspect of political, social, and economic life, which results in the state and federal government paying close attention to their actions in both positive and negative ways. What is crucial about Fernando's argument is his claim that NGOs fail both ideologically and operationally to attribute problems to capitalism, or to challenge and transform society. In many cases, NGOs absorb the crises of capitalism, providing material and ideological resources to those affected by such crises.

In a way then, NGOs might be seen as an auxiliary mode of production. Fernando states that NGOs often facilitate the development of relations and forces which compliment capitalist modes of production resulting in what seems like an "NGO mode of production" (2011, 275). However, NGOs should not be understood as a mode of production as NGOs are not able to achieve perfect competition, to correct market and state failures, or to improve producer and consumer efficiency (which Fernando considers necessary for a mode of production). The need to compete for funding and operational territory results in the manipulation of information about projects, as well as the willing completion of favors for politicians and businesses, which in turn results in increased

state and federal regulation of the NGO sector. Such critiques can be made of community-based organizations as well, as obtaining funding to keep utilities on and staff paid may lead to unethical and political actions for such groups. Though NGOs tend to derive legitimacy by being embedded within civil society, which essentially means that NGOs contribute to the state/society and state/economy binaries discussed earlier, such organizations will not generate social change. "NGOs are unlikely to inspire counter-hegemonic national movements. That would compromise their distinctiveness (diversity, localism, apoliticism) from state and for-profit institutions. Even if they did inspire such a movement, that movement would be limited by the fact that it would be grounded in capitalist relations and forces of production" (Fernando 2011, 277).

Although Fernando is very critical of NGOs, CBOs, and other such organizations, he does not throw the baby out with the bath water. Fernando actually still sees potential in the non-governmental organization, if such organizations are willing to differentiate themselves, in theory and practice, from state and for-profit organizations. This would require, in Fernando's view, a re-envisioning of the nature of the state and a strong consideration of class relations, which would require a moral commitment and a desire to search for social and environmental justice beyond capitalism's boundaries. In summary, Fernando provides three guidelines for NGOs to translate ideology into positive social praxis.

> **1) NGOs must first demonstrate the ability and will to development sustainable transnational solidarity centered on class inequalities.** They must keep in mind that class inequality is produced and sustained through all other social forms of inequalities.
>
> **2) NGOs must seek ideological and material ways to exceed the limits imposed by state sovereignty and transnational capital on NGO activities.** Today, it is generally understood that social and economic relations are imperfect, and there is wide agreement that we can do much to improve them.
>
> **3) NGOs have helped us to understand the magnitude of the problems, and the contributions of NGOs are necessary for resolving them.** But, despite their best intentions, they continually fail to achieve too many of their worthwhile goals. They seem to lack the political commitment and will necessary to bridge the gap between "knowledge for understanding" and "knowledge for action" (Fernando 2011, 280).

In his concluding thoughts, Fernando finds hope in moral foundations, in the notion that organizations with integrity, purpose and commitment to social change may indeed be able to exist. Yet for many, the search for ways to make a living has moved beyond the bounds of the state and NGOs. In our efforts to explore new definitions of development beyond NGOs and neoliberal strategies it is necessary to also explore studies pertaining to theories of development and anti-development.

Theories of Development and Anti-Development

The term, "economic development" has had a variety of meanings. Colonial understandings of the term before WWII (in the Western context), were primarily associated with the development of natural resources. In the postwar period when economic development began to formalize as an academic discipline, the term became synonymous with growth as well as efforts to 'narrow the gap' in per capita income between rich and poor countries (Arndt, 1981). Baran for example, states that "what characterizes all underdeveloped countries, indeed what accounts for their designation as underdeveloped, is the paucity of their per capita output" (1957, 126).

Throughout Esteva's (1992) work, the understanding of economic development and 'underdevelopment' is linked to a key event in American history. For Esteva, January 20, 1949, the day when Truman took office, was the day that the understanding of development by the masses changed. As Truman described his desire to embark on a new political program, he stated that the United States would make "the benefits of our scientific advancements and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of *underdeveloped* areas" (Esteva, 1992, 6; emphasis added). Truman had thus created a binary distinction between those countries that were developed, and those that were underdeveloped, or in need of development. Efforts were made by academics to provide scholarship facilitating the growth of underdeveloped areas to a status of developed and by 1960, Marx's stages of economic development had been reworked into Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth* (Arndt 1981). Rostow's (1960) work was very influential throughout the US and his notion of "take-off" was applied to economic development efforts.

With regard to Appalachia specifically, President Kennedy's Appalachian Regional Commission, assembled by the President as an advisory group, argued that the creation of an Appalachian Regional Commission as a federal agency, with proper funding, would provide the *thrust* for growth and take-off in the Appalachian region. In 1965, the Appalachian Regional Commission became a political entity that focused solely on the goal of economic growth; investing its federal dollars in locations where the greatest return was anticipated. As Estall (1982) has noted, "An unusual feature of the Appalachian Regional Development Act was its provisions for local planning organizations and its requirement that the public investments made in the region under this Act shall be concentrated in areas where there is a significant potential for future growth and where the expected return on the public dollars invested will be the greatest" (1982, 47).

In addition to growth, President Kennedy's Commission hoped to address concerns of isolation and backwardness, which the Commission argued primary challenges facing the region. Appalachia has historically been represented as a region apart – culturally, economically, and geographically – and was typically represented as untouched by the outside world. This is not surprising, considering that the idea of *dual societies*, that the outside capitalist world had provided growth for some while others remained isolated, subsistence based, feudal, or precapitalist, was a very dominant discourse of the day (Frank, 1966). In fact, dependency theorists, such as André Gunder Frank (1966), argued:

> Analogously to the relations between development and underdevelopment on the international level, the contemporary underdeveloped institutions of the so-called backward or feudal domestic areas of an underdeveloped country are no less the product of the single historical process of capitalist development than are the so-called capitalist institutions of the supposedly more progressive areas (1966, 151).

Many new theories emerged during this time to explain or address concerns of underdevelopment, such as: low level equilibrium trap, unbalanced growth, and cycles of poverty, big push industrialization, foreign exchange bottlenecks, unequal exchange, 'dependencia', redistribution with growth, and a basic needs strategy (Lal 1985). These theories as well as others would shape policies both for the "Third World" and for Appalachia. Building on the notion of dual societies and the idea that underdeveloped

areas were backwards and precapitalist, cultural modernization became a model of socio-economic change and a goal for development agents to achieve (Lewis and Billings 1997). Calls for cultural modernization would be employed to influence economic development strategies throughout Appalachia during the 1960s. "Thus the same theory that dominated social science thinking about development in the so-called Third World in the 1960s seemed applicable to backward and isolated regions at home as well" (Lewis and Billings 1997, 2).

Despite the prevalence of poverty in Appalachia and other rural areas throughout the world, the 1960s and early 1970s was generally a period of growth for the United States, Canada, Europe and Japan. This situation however, would deteriorate in the late 1970s as the world economy entered into a structural crisis. By the 1980s, a so-called new social order had emerged, that of neoliberalism. Frequently described as the ideology of the market and private interests as opposed to State intervention, neoliberalism emerged as a new social order in which the power and income of the upper classes was reestablished (Duménil and Lévy 2005). Although neoliberalism may seem rather dominant in our present day context, it is not an all-encompassing top-down process. Scholars however, must move beyond a totalizing view of neoliberalism to allow recognition and documentation of alternative visions and practices (Gibson-Graham 1996; cited in Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007). And yet, to understand why economic development policies became short-term, technical, and market-dominated, we must continue to analyze and study neoliberal policies. As Leitner, Peck and Sheppard have noted, neoliberalism is indeed a global project, accepted by elites and mainstream political almost everywhere around the world and implemented on multiple scales (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2007).

During the 1990s, novel shifts occurred in development studies to undermine and counteract the dominant discourse of neoliberalism creating openings for alternative narratives. These works often focused on documenting and exploring the tensions created through technical development strategies and alternative economic practices. Works such as Crush's (1995) *Power of Development*, which included insightful essays from various scholars, shifted the tide of analysis. In Crush's work, the primary focus is on actual texts and words of development – the way that development policies and strategies are written,

narrated and spoken as well as the knowledge that development practices produce and the power relations created (Crush 1995; Williams 1998). These ideas however, were not so new in the field of political geography and critiques of sustainable development (see Redclift 1987; Adams 1990; Watts 1993); however, these works were significant for drawing attention to the decontextualized nature of economic development strategies within development studies. Many recent works in development studies (Ferguson 1999; Li 2007; Wainright 2008) follow in this tradition. These studies however, have predominantly taken place outside of the United States.

The amount of research in the United States that has focused on examining the decontextualized nature of development practices has been limited. Jones (2000), building upon on Escobar (1995) and Crush (1994), actively calls for more attention to the practice of 'othering' that takes place not only between the "First and Third World," reminding us that, "if social distress is not caused by material resources alone, but by other factors such as race, gender, geography, psychological factors, low aspirations, and especially, relative inequality within a society, then 'development issues' will not be strictly associated with only 'Third World' problems" (Jones 2000, 239). Thus, such research projects must not be limited to the 'Third World'. Within this context, this project (conducted within the United States) contributes to broader discussions in development studies, particularly in its attempts to bridge the gap between 'Third World' and 'First World' development studies.

Critical Rural Development Studies and Community-Based Development

This project has been conducted in a rural region of the Eastern United States and as such the project builds upon and contributes to studies of rural economic development practices. Within the literature pertaining to rural economic development, the word "rural" appears to have no standard, agreed upon definition. Scholars such as Friedland (1982) have even gone as far as to argue that no space or place should be understood as distinctively rural in an advanced capitalist society as a result of the colonization of all space by capital. Rural sociologists however, contend that a rural area is best defined as a less densely populated area. This fundamental demographic feature provides a distinct "rural environment" (Marini and Mooney 2006). After providing this definition of a rural

space, Marini and Mooney (2006) begin to assign specific characteristics to economic decision-making practices within rural areas.

> Economic interaction within rural places is more likely to take place in the context of 'other than economic' relationships (kinship, cohort, neighbor, friendships, etc.) that bring distinctive but overlapping normative expectations and obligations to bear on the economic transaction. Thus, urban and rural network structures differ in both form as well as substance, in turn, giving rise to distinctive social capital formation. Whether this is a curse (to the neo-classical economist, for example) or a blessing (to the social capital analyst) is debatable. Our point here is only that the economic actor cannot, under such circumstances enjoy the normative autonomy of singular rationality that exists in the relative anonymity of the urban economy and that this may generate a fundamental difference in rural micro-economic behavior and institutions (Marini and Mooney 2006:92).

Marini and Mooney have created an unfortunate dichotomy in this statement; suggesting that individuals within an urban setting deal primarily with a singular economic rationality as opposed to individuals in rural areas who must deal with 'normative expectations and obligations'. To assume that individuals in urban areas are somewhat devoid of experiencing such expectations and obligations is folly, when in fact all economic behavior – regardless of scale – might better be understood as being guided by community norms and sentiments (Thompson 1971; Scott 1976; Granovetter 1985; Booth 1994; Sayer 2000; Arnold, 2001; Robbins and Sharp 2003; Pollard and Samers 2007). With that said however, Marini and Mooney do draw attention to the embedded nature of economic decision making practices in rural areas. Often times, rural development efforts tend to fail because they do not recognize such embeddedness. The failure to understand the embeddedness of economic decisions however stems from a larger failure to contextualize rural economic development practices; resulting in so-called universal technical solutions, supposedly applicable in all contexts.

In addition, rural development scholars and practitioners rarely acknowledge the diverse range of economic activities that exist in rural economies. For example, in Eastern Kentucky, dominant capitalist discourse tends to render activities such as the craft industry invisible. Allowing these activities to remain invisible will result in limiting the possibilities for addressing poverty in this region. Fortunately, scholars within the field of rural development have come to recognize the failure of development practices in

addressing issues of poverty in rural areas and recent scholarship in this field has called for a new practical paradigm, arguing that a different narrative is needed (Ashley and Maxwell 2001). Likewise, Ellis and Biggs state:

> If a new paradigm of rural development is to emerge, it will be one in which agriculture takes its place along with a host of other actual and potential rural and non-rural activities that are important to the construction of viable rural livelihoods, without undue preference being given to farming as the unique solution to rural poverty (Ellis and Biggs 2001, 445).

Ellis and Biggs (2001) focus on the failure of the small-farm orthodoxy throughout the history of rural development scholarship, 1950s-2000s, offering instead the new sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach (Carney 1998, Scoones 1998, Ellis and Biggs 2001) as the new path forward. Such a path appears open to the recognition and advocacy of diversity within the rural economic landscape. And, as Carnegie (2008) has suggested, small-scale agriculture as well as other diverse practices have the potential to complement more mainstream neoliberal development policies. Wiggins and Proctor however, providing a more skeptic (perhaps event dystopic) view, offer the following suggestion: "Despite several attempts of honest and honorable efforts to foster development in the remote countryside, there are few lessons that promise widespread improvement; and with the increasing importance of the multi-location household, policy that supports and facilitates migration deserves consideration" (2001, 435). Rather than develop or explore alternative economic practices that might allow individuals to remain in their home-place, development practitioners are encouraged to foster migration-based policies to battle poverty. Alternative economic strategies continue to be ignored as legitimate development possibilities, allowing market-based and forced migration strategies to dominate. Such discourses restrict economic imaginings and future possibilities for rural regions.

Community-based economic development practitioners and agencies in general – in both rural and urban settings – continue to focus on market-based growth strategies as well. Defining the term "community" is as a difficult as defining "rural" and once again, there is no standard definition. Schaffer et al., (2004) have suggested that community be understood as "a group of people in a physical setting with geographic, political, social,

and economic boundaries, and with discernible communication linkages" (2004, 2). In this context then, community economic development is defined as:

> A multi-faceted comprehensive approach to community change. It is not just limited to poverty programs, nor is it synonymous with industrial recruitment. Community economic development is not an attempt to exploit resources to yield the maximum economic return… To a large extent, two fundamental issues in community development are to understand the full range of choices available to alter economic circumstances and engaging willing (and even *unwilling*) collaborators in building long-term strategies (Schaffer et al. 2004, 6; emphasis added).

Community development practitioners are often instructed to work *within* the framework of power that exists in communities. "Practitioners must learn to negotiate and form coalitions. Negotiation is all about the dynamics and chemistry of community power. The effective practitioners should understand power and work to harness it for the betterment of the community" (Schaffer et al. 2004, 229). The goal of the practitioner then, is to harness power to better communities (through their own understanding of "betterment"). Practitioners are not encouraged to expose uneven relationships of power or to engage in practices that would redistribute power to lower classes. In fact, community economic development scholars and practitioners perpetuate a neoliberal discourse by arguing that the purpose of community development more broadly is to adhere to the needs of self-help. "Self-help builds and utilizes agency, mobilizes people's cultural and material assets (e.g., indigenous technical knowledge, tools, and labor), and most importantly, avoids *dependency*" (Bhattacharyya 2004, 21; emphasis added). Self-help is seen by Bhattacharyya as an appropriate principle for community development because it has the backing of "tradition", having been adopted by numerous international agencies such as the UN. Community economic development practitioners overall continue to fail to recognize diversity in economic practices and continue to promote a definition of development primarily as growth. In spite of continual failures at poverty reduction, efforts in community economic development continue to focus on the idea of market-based initiatives, arguing that local economic growth will diminish poverty (Cummings 2002).

Textbooks in community economic development further perpetuate development as growth. In a 2009 textbook for example, students studying community economic development were offered the following definition for the term 'economic development':

> Economic development is the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of human, financial, capital, physical and natural resources to generate marketable goods and services. The economic developer's role is to influence the process for the benefit of the community through expanding job opportunities and the tax base (Phillips and Pitman 2009, 3).

In this definition we can clearly see the notion that capital engenders capital. Alternative economic practices, practices that might encourage barter or volunteerism, or redistribution of surplus to workers, do not readily appear in such a textbook. Although the textbook does address the issue of powerlessness that community members must face, it does not discuss how wealth and land might be redistributed in favor of the lower classes and market-based strategies are eagerly encouraged throughout the text.

These decontextualized market-based strategies persist because a new theoretical paradigm is needed before an effective practical shift can take place. I suggest that a new theoretical paradigm necessary for both rural and community economic development. There is little theoretical coherence offered in the literature above. Each field focuses more on praxis, providing practitioners with sets of concrete examples to employ. Much of this literature provides a number of practices and techniques that are adopted by development practitioners when working in a rural area or community, however, such practices will continue to fail until they are contextualized within specific historic-geographic contexts. The question then remains, what theories would prove to be most fruitful for development practitioners?

Those such as Gibson et al. (1999) have found that regional communities – particularly those in non-metropolitan (rural) regions – feel burdened by a sense of powerlessness in regard to development. In their pilot study focusing on the Shepparton region and Latrobe Valley of Victoria, Australia, Gibson et al. suggest that community members in these areas continued to embrace traditional economic development strategies despite little expectation that continuing to promote such strategies would result in success – defined in investment terms. Yet, at the same time, Gibson et al. note that regional spokespersons emphasized the resilience of communities and the potential

for local capabilities. Building upon this notion of local capabilities, economic development strategies are more likely to be successful if they are contextually based, grounded in a firm understanding of community assets and capacity mapping (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Gibson et al. 1999). This community based process involves identifying capabilities and skills of individuals such as artistic or sporting abilities; "familial, cultural and community associations and networks (such as church, migrant and Aboriginal groups, voluntary community groups, and sporting clubs); and the institutions and businesses location in the region (including hospitals, educational institutions, government agencies and local businesses)" (Gibson et al. 1999, 33). Such an understanding of development allows for recognition of both capitalist corporations as well as alternative businesses often centered upon non-market dynamics (such as environmental stewardship, aesthetic values, and cooperativism). As Lee (2010) has noted, perhaps such non-capitalist, alternative practices are better understood as revolutionary, gnawing away at the singularity of capitalism, rather than sustaining a crisis-prone capitalist economy.

While conducting this research project, it became clear that alternative cooperative craft shops were somewhat neglected within State-led economic development strategies. Although funds were available for more neoliberal, incubator spaces, cooperative spaces often struggled to access local, regional, or State assistance. Such organizations however, continue to emerge throughout the craft industry and as such should been seen by development agents as community assets, providing means of support for local community members as well as potential tourism venues. It is also of importance that government agencies, such as the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, view such organizations as valuable to the stability of the craft industry.

Historical Analysis of Craft Production

The craft industry has remained an essential component of Eastern Kentucky's economy, helping people - engaged in both cooperative and/entrepreneurial forms of production and distribution – make ends meet. Barker (1991), Whisnant (1983), Becker (1998), Ardery (1998) and others, have examined the craft industry through the 1990s, documenting various arts organizations in the region. Scholars of the craft industry often

begin their analysis with a discussion of discourse pertaining to Appalachia, as the discourse that existed about this region shaped the growth of the craft industry.

For example, two primary images of Appalachia emerged during the late 1800s, one that demonized social behavior and one that romanticized expressive folk culture. Expressive folk culture included items such as vernacular log architecture, folk music and dance, handicrafts, woodcraft, superstitions, and religious practices. Social behavior included an emphasis on deviance, illiteracy and propensity for feuding and brawling. (Williams 2002). The "primitive" mountaineer, associated with such demonized social behavior, was still seen as worthy of uplift. Thus, the craft revival was one of many variants of missionary work that began in the region during this time.

The revival that was taking place in Appalachia was embedded in larger trends and ideas throughout mainstream America. In fact, many efforts to revive, preserve or restore craft traditions actually began in urban – and not rural – areas. Philadelphia, Chicago, Dayton, Boston, etc. were all known for their art leagues or art societies. "The arts and handicrafts revival movement was carried to the South (and especially to the mountains) not by urban arts and handicraft societies but by rural settlements, 'industrial' schools and 'church and independent' schools" (Whisnant 1983, 60). The most influential of these schools in eastern Kentucky was the Hindman Settlement School, established 1898 in Knott County, Kentucky (Williams 2002).

Working through the settlements schools, revivalists managed to find tradition bearers throughout the region. Tradition bearers were defined as individuals who remembered handicraft techniques passed down through generations. These individuals, typically women, were "seized on" and utilized by the revivalists. However, these women did not produce lower grade items, such as utilitarian baskets, weavings or carvings that they typically would have learned; rather their work was adapted to the tastes and desires of middle-class America (Williams 2002).

As Becker has noted, notions of 'tradition' and 'the folk' quickly came to serve important roles in shaping a national identity that would distinguish America within an international context (1998). The plethora of material produced on Appalachia by ballad collectors, social workers etc. created the concept that true American culture, untouched by modernity or industrialization, existed in Appalachia. The region was thought to have

a “preindustrial economy, face-to-face relations, and the persistence of Anglo Saxon folk traditions” (Becker 1998, 5). A fascination with folk culture began to emerge.

The principles of capitalism were eventually applied to the craft industry during this time period. “Rationality, efficiency, and hierarchical bureaucracies were the organizational principles of corporate capitalism” (Becker 1998, 6) and these characteristics of capitalism were implemented to accommodate the growing fascination with folk culture. The actual producer of the craft was rendered invisible to the process of selling. Americans were only interested in a product made in traditional ways by a supposed primitive people was thought to provide insight into their own past.

By the 1960s, the craft industry had grown and was booming in Appalachia. Buyers from within and outside of the state of Kentucky were purchasing Kentucky-made arts and crafts, and craft fairs were becoming a primary outlet for sales. During the 1960s, it would have been more likely that visitors to a fair in the state of Kentucky would have seen a booth set up by an organization, such as Churchill Weavers or Berea College, rather than an individual seller (Barker 1991). By the end of the 1960s however, expressive objects made by poor individuals around the world came to be regarded as “twentieth century folk art” and were sought after by the middle class and the wealthy. Through her study of the Kentucky woodcarver Edgar Tolson’s “dolls”, Ardery explores the connections between folk art’s revival in the late 1960s, the War on Poverty in Appalachia, and government and corporate arts sponsorship.

Ardery’s (1998) book, *The Temptation: Edgar Tolson and the Genesis of Twentieth-Century Folk Art*, echoes many of the same concerns that Garry Barker (1991) discussed in his work, *The Handicraft Revival in Southern Appalachia, 1930-1990*. The future of both folk artists and craft producers seems uncertain for each of these authors. Barker felt that shifts would occur within the Appalachian handicraft industry from the 1990s onward. Having held several leadership positions in the industry, Barker acknowledges that arts and handicrafts production would become more of a business; and that artists would become entrepreneurs (1991).Overall, Barker’s assessment seems to be accurate. A new emphasis on entrepreneurship did emerge within the craft industry, but this entrepreneurial push is not a strategy embraced by all organizations.

In the conclusion to her book, Ardery (1998) draws upon researchers working in Oaxaca, Mexico, where political interventions – moving beyond a focus on neoliberalism and entrepreneurship – had been proposed. Ardery draws directly upon Cook's work with the Mexican government to provide an example of how an attempt to regulate the acquisition of materials and marketing of finished works to reduce self-exploitation which typically occurs in the craft industry was effectively ignored by the State apparatus. Cook notes in his work the following assessment of Mexico's crafters:

> Mexico's artisans are impaled by a paradox: ideologically and politically they are first class citizens sanctified as bearers of the authentic Mexican cultural heritage; but economically and existentially they are second class citizens condemned to a perpetual struggle for survival and presented with few opportunities for capital accumulation or even for material progress, through enterprise and hard work (Cook 1981, 65-66; Cited in Ardery 1998).

Cook blames both the Mexican State's bias towards capital-intensive development schemes and aestheticism, drawing upon the pervasive belief since the Renaissance that has perhaps forbidden artists' prosperity. This question of how, and in what ways crafters make money and attempt to have a 'good life', provides the foundation of this dissertation project. While the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development, Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, Kentucky Arts Council, and various NGOs tend to promote entrepreneurialism and/or capital-intensive development projects, alternative economic practices do exist in opposition to, in addition to, and in substitution of this strategy.

Summary

Throughout this chapter I have referenced a number of literatures which provide the theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation project, noting limitations within literatures pertaining to diverse economies and alternative economic spaces, state theory and neoliberalism, NGOs, theories of development and anti-development, as well as previous analysis of the craft industry in Appalachia. I have suggested that topics such as the role of the state, the question of value, and historical context have been neglected by researchers working within a diverse economies framework. Such topics are worthy of study and may provide future pathways for this research program. Furthermore, I have

argued that critical development theories from the Global South may prove useful to those working in the Global North, particularly in Appalachia, that seek to gain a deeper understanding in which development documents have limited economic imaginings in the region. In addition, historical analysis of the craft industry in Appalachia has failed to take into consideration the role of the state in the industry, specifically with regard to the perpetuation of neoliberalism and geographical lore. Literatures on these topics provide a framework through which to provide new research pertaining to craft production in the region.

Although a research agenda built upon fostering a language of economic diversity may bring researchers and communities together in an effort to develop economic possibilities, the performative nature and weak theoretical approach of the research program leaves no assurances for researchers.

> This theoretical approach offers no guarantees; it simply foregrounds possibilities, with the understanding that a wider sense of possibility is a first step toward enacting alternative economies. It is the connection between a performative concept of knowledge, and ontology of economic difference, and a transformative politics of research that defines this area of study and its promise in the future (Healy 2009, 13).

In the same way, this dissertation research provides new possibilities to help people make a living and remain in their homeplaces despite crises of capitalism. It seeks to to provide new definitions and possibilities for development through an analysis of the craft industry and development policies and practices within the context of Appalachia.

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CHAPTER 3
MATERIALS AND PROCEDURES:
METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Introduction

This dissertation project was constructed to allow the exploration of alternative economic practices as well as the contradictory and complex role of the state within the context of Eastern Kentucky's craft industry. Specifically, the project investigates how the state simultaneously supports cooperative and entrepreneurial craft production by creating a geographical lore pertaining to crafts produced in the State of Kentucky, and yet perpetuates a discourse of self-sufficiency via entrepreneurial workshops that often alienate cooperative craft producers.

The research methods chosen for this study vary to address a number of different goals and to obtain a variety of data needed to document economic diversity, the role of the state in the craft industry, and the perpetuation of limited economic development strategies in documents and discourses. In this chapter, I discuss research questions and rationale, research methods, and selection of study site and interviewees. Afterwards, I undertake a discussion of procedures used in the collection of data and the instruments used to gather information from craft producers as well as arts-related organizational leaders and state officials (both former and current). I also make note of the number of interviewees and participant observations completed for this study. These interviews, coupled with a discursive analysis of transcriptions, archival materials and development reports, were analyzed in hopes of gaining a deeper sense of the role of the state in diverse economies as well as the development discourse in this geographic region.

Research Questions and Rationale for Methodology

The rationale for methodology was developed in tandem with the focus and foundation of this project – to celebrate economic diversity and broaden the language of development within the Appalachian region. This project supports broader efforts to move away from historic tendencies of blaming the physical isolation, rough terrain, and the people of Appalachia for the social and economic challenges facing the region.

Instead, researchers should seek to understand the many creative ways people make a living (Eller 2008).

With these objectives and goals in mind, the following research questions were created to guide this project (see Table 3.1). A corresponding method of analysis is listed to each individual research question. This project adopts a mixed-method, ethnographic qualitative approach. An ethnographic research approach, which includes an appreciation for qualitative data, is crucial for any deep understanding of a social setting or activity. Furthermore, qualitative methodologies allow researchers to gain more meaningful insight into the research subject by calling attention to an awareness of historic-geographic context. As a result, standardized tools which can be utilized independently of context were not incorporated into this project.

Table 3.1 Research Questions and Corresponding Methods

RESEARCH QUESTION	METHODS
RQ1: How has/does economic development policy at the regional scale, primarily policies created by the Appalachian Regional Commission, limit economic imaginings for those living in Eastern Kentucky and Appalachia more broadly?	Interviews and oral histories with current craft producers, State employees, past employees and leaders at arts-related organizations. Archival research with collections pertaining to organizational leaders and producers in the craft industry. Discourse Analysis of historical and recent development documents produced by and for the Appalachian Regional Commission (see Table 3.2 & 3.3 for further details).
RQ2: In what ways do state economic development strategies differ from alternative economic strategies that have emerged in Eastern Kentucky within the handicraft industry?	Interviews and oral histories with current craft producers, State employees, past employees and leaders at arts-related organizations. Archival research with collections pertaining to organizational leaders and producers in the craft industry (see Table 3.2 & 3.4 for further details).
RQ3: What principal contradictions have arisen as a result of the differences in State-based economic development strategies specifically geared towards craft producers and strategies employed by locally-based arts organizations in Eastern Kentucky?	Interviews and oral histories with current craft producers, State employees, past employees and leaders at arts-related organizations. Archival research with collections pertaining to organizational leaders and producers in the craft industry. Participant observations at State-based craft events (see Table 3.2, 3.3 & 3.4 for further details).
RQ4: What lessons might policy makers learn through exploring the diversity and different definitions of a good life rather than 'conventional' forms of development that exist within Eastern Kentucky's craft industry?	Interviews and oral histories, participant observations and discourse analysis (see Tables 3.2, 3.3 & 3.4 for further details).

A performative approach seemed best to address such research questions, especially with regard to the analysis of the performative nature of the State of Kentucky as well as federal agencies. Qualitative data collection tools used for this project were selected based on this approach. Methods such as semi-structured interviews and oral histories allow researchers to better understand tactics of governmentality used by the

state as well as interpretations of the state by citizens. Textual and discursive analysis, discussed in further detail below, also provides tools through which to examine the performative and public cultural narratives produced by the State of Kentucky as well as the Appalachian Regional Commission.[20] Public cultural texts such as television and radio programs, newspapers, reports and leaflets produced by the government as well as non-governmental and community-based entities can be illuminating when we are trying to understand overlaps, shifts, disjunctions, contradictions and tensions produced by governmental entities. As Sharma and Gupta (2006) note, it is through such "localized" images and artifacts that the state (and federal government) is discursively imagined.

In general, such qualitative methods have been broadly accepted in the field of economic geography (see for example Schoenberger 1991; McDowell 1992; Herod 1999; Crang 2002; Sheppard 2003). "Despite differences concerning the relative significance of feminist, postmodern, and post-structural approaches, there is consensus rejecting economistic theory and promoting qualitative languages and research methods" (Sheppard 2003, 100). Economic geographers have demonstrated that qualitative methods, particularly the semi-structured interview, are essential for analyzing and documenting economic development strategies and alternative economic strategies. Indeed, qualitative methods are required in any attempt to reveal "underlying causal mechanisms and structures that lie behind observed behavior" (McDowell 1992, 212). It is my hope that this dissertation might also demonstrate the benefits and challenges of moving beyond the structured interview to the thoughtful and more engaging method of oral history (a methodology which has not gained as much prominence as the semi-structured interview in economic geography), particularly with regard to collecting and understanding work biographies within one specific industry.

The research questions and methods listed above were designed to collect and analyze data specifically within the historic-geographic context of Appalachia, though such methods might be easily incorporated by other researchers seeking to examine the role of the state in other geographic places. In the next section, I discuss the study site

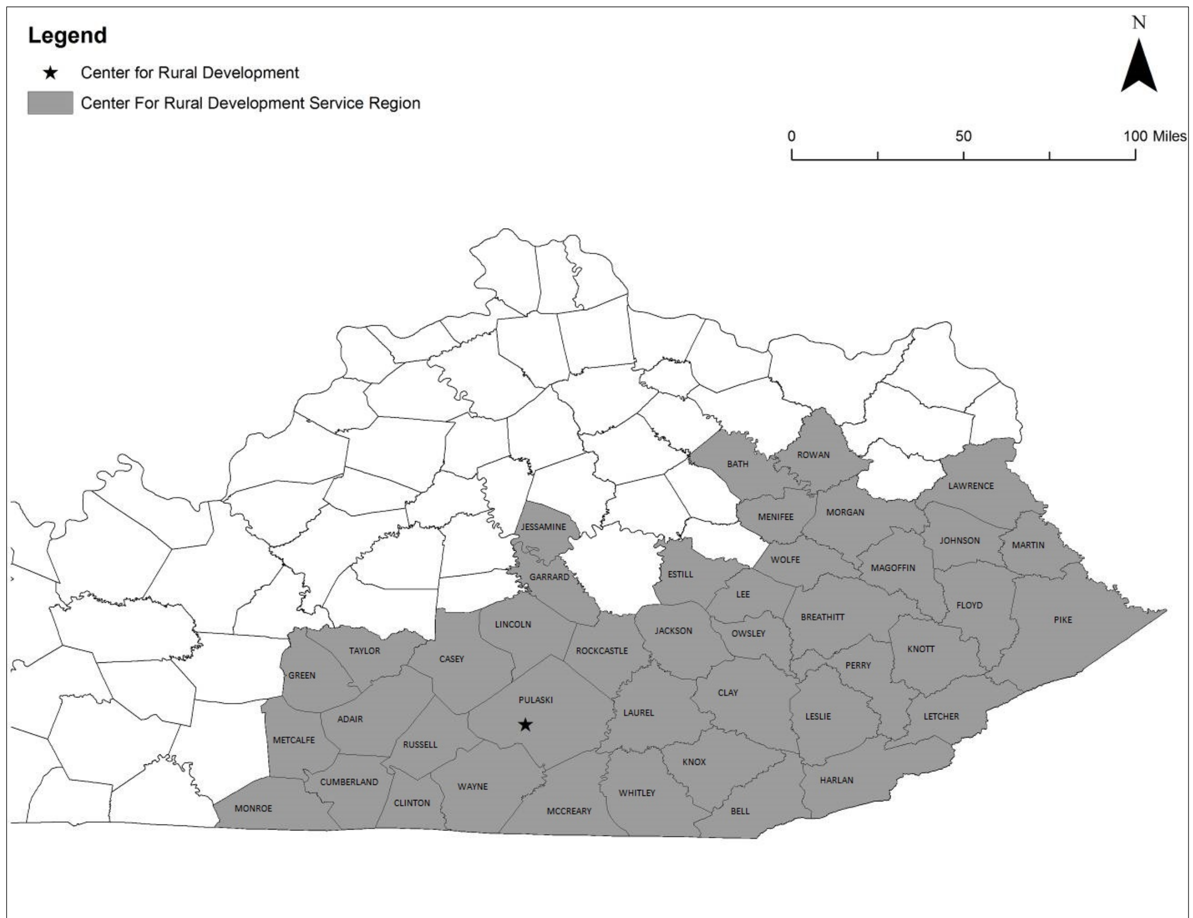
[20] Sharma and Gupta 2006 argue that although public cultural narratives have come in to focus since the "cultural turn" such resources still remain understudied.

where fieldwork was conducted as well as the selection of interviewees. Then, I will address the use of each of the methods listed above in detail (see Table 3.1).

Site Selection and Its Challenges

The research site for this study is the predominantly rural region of Eastern Kentucky (defined by The Center for Rural Development service area as of 2008). Given my experience serving as the Arts and Culture Outreach Coordinator at The Center for Rural Development (2007-2008), and as a folklorist and historic preservationist in this region while completing my master's degree (2005-2007), I was already very familiar with this geographic area and had previously established relationships with many craft producers and organizations. Furthermore, all 42 counties are within the Appalachian Regional Commission boundary (which included 51 counties in 2008). As this research project was designed to impact development policy and practice at a regional level, it seemed best to adopt a study area that corresponded to a regional development entity in Eastern Kentucky. Figure 3.1 shows all 42 counties included in this study. Of the total 35 oral histories collected for this study, over two thirds were conducted within this region. Others were conducted with state and regionally-based organizations/leaders that serve crafters in this service area, but are not necessarily located within Eastern Kentucky.

Figure 3.1 Map of Research Study Area with County Identifications



(Cartographer: Amanda Fickey, 2009)

This site was selected because of previously established relationships and the longevity of craft production in this geographic region. As mentioned previously this study has been limited to only one geographic region, however, the lessons learned from this study may also provide insights for researchers working throughout Central Appalachia (including Appalachian portions of Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, which are predominantly rural, and include many “distressed” or “at risk” counties). The majority of the 42 counties included in this service area were defined as “distressed” by the Appalachian Regional Commission when this study began and remain under this

distinction as of 2013 (see Appendix B for the most recent County Economic Status Classification System Map in Appalachia, Fiscal Year 2013) .[21]

In an effort of full disclosure I should note that craft organizations and individual craft producers located within my hometown of Whitesburg, KY, (Letcher County) are included in this study. Based on previous studies in the field of economic geography, I was aware of the fact that the potential existed for this situation to increase the difficulties I would face in the field. For example, Sabot (1999) conducted interviews with elites in her hometown of Saint-Etienne, France, as well as Glasgow and Motherwell in Scotland. In her personal reflections regarding this field experience, Sabot was surprised by the treatment she received in her hometown, and remarked that she felt as though she had to deal with two totally different attitudes. Though she was received very warmly by government officials and business people in Scotland, this was in sharp contrast to her experience in Saint-Etienne, in which she was often denied access to information.

I draw on Sabot's (1999) work because it echoes my own experience conducting research in Eastern Kentucky. Within this dissertation project I faced several unforeseen challenges which certainly resulted in unanticipated limitations. Elites at the local level, often serving as leaders for many organizations within one county (not just one arts-related organization), were often very reserved during interviews, particularly when discussing economic development strategies. If the topic of mining or resource extraction came up, with regard to dominant development strategies, many interviewees – some who had known me since my childhood and had always been open and comfortable with me – would quickly shift away from the topic, becoming worried or agitated. Others chose to share their own personal thoughts with me once the recorder was off and had been disassembled). To my knowledge I was not directly denied access to any critical information per se, though some state officials were often very cautious and careful with their words and perhaps did not provide as much information as they could have (those no longer holding an official post with the state spoke more freely). With elites then, in

[21] Per the Appalachian Regional Commission's County Economic Status Classification System, the majority of counties in the research study area are considered "distressed." These counties are understood to be some of the most economically depressed counties in the Appalachian region, and in the worst 10 percent of nation's counties. A full account of shifts in the Appalachian Regional Commission boundary, as well as classification changes in 2008 and 2013, was discussed in Chapter 1 – see footnote 5).

this case state officials and some organizational leaders, conversations and the collection of information was often tricky and somewhat/occasionally limited.

With non-elites however, particularly independent craft producers, I found myself in several situations in which I was very concerned with how much information was voluntarily being given while I was recording. I will explore this issue in more depth with regard to the selection of my interviewees and the use of oral history when studying diverse economies and work biographies.

Selection of Interviewees

Selection of interviewees was based on previously established relationships within the craft industry, as well as an extensive review of literature documenting crafters and industry leaders in Eastern Kentucky. Preliminary interviews were conducted with gate-keepers or key informants who facilitated access to additional interviewees. This technique is often used by researchers to gain access to a particular group of individuals as key informants often play important roles in the group of individuals one is trying to access (Esterberg 2001). Having worked in this industry as a graduate student and development practitioner I knew who the key players were, and scheduled interviews with these leaders early on using funding provided by the University Of Kentucky Department of Geography and a University of Kentucky Appalachian Studies Program James Brown Research Award.

After interviewing key informants, I used the preliminary data collected, along with my previous experience working in the region, to construct more specific research questions and identify potential interviewees (see Appendix A for Interview Scripts). After obtaining IRB approval, interviews were then conducted with: individual craft producers, industry leaders (who may not have been associated with an organization at the time of the interview, but had been in the past), individuals who served as a representative of a specific organization at the regional and state level (such as Red Bird Mission or the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program), and state officials (current and former). The majority of project interviews were conducted between 2009 and 2012 and funded by the Kentucky Oral History Commission (Phase 1 and Phase 2 grants respectively). Opportunities did arise, however, when I was able to conduct interviews

for the Kentucky Craft History and Education Association – without payment – and was given permission to use this interview data for my own research and publication purposes.

The "insider" knowledge I have discussed above, in terms of having worked in the industry for several years as a graduate student and development practitioner, does not inherently create a level of validity, and I do not make this argument. From the very beginning of this research project, I have allowed my interviews with key informants and industry leaders to guide the direction and focus of my research. Having grown up and worked in the region, it would perhaps be easy to claim that my access and knowledge of this industry would validate my research and that my insider access would provide privileges that supposed outsiders would be unable to gain. However, this is simply not the case, and the dualism of insider/outsider has lost its usefulness to many qualitative researchers. As Herod has noted in his own research, "It should not be presumed that an 'insider' will necessarily produce 'better' knowledge than will an 'outsider' simply by dint of their positionality. Indeed, given that the interview process is about constructing social meaning – a process that involves both the researcher and the sources – in many ways this dualism is meaningless" (Herod 1999, 313).

While I cannot (and should not) deny a personal connection and attachment to this research project, my supposed insider status created as many difficulties as it did opportunities. For example, those who were familiar with my having worked at The Center for Rural Development would often ask if this organization was in any way involved with my current project. Despite my best efforts to present myself solely as a researcher associated with the University of Kentucky, my past ties to other organizations and individuals were often brought up to me or mentioned at some point during interviews. Depending on the interviewee and the organization he or she belonged to, my past association with The Center could be seen as advantageous for some, and worrisome for others. For many, The Center provides economic opportunities and amenities. And yet again, for others, the Taj-ma"Hal" (in reference to the role Congressman Hal Rogers plays at The Center as well as the size of the actual building) was seen as being a development center that was not truly devoted to helping those in Eastern Kentucky as it was built in Pulaski County, a 2-3 hour drive away from many of the counties in The

Center's service area. Those who were aware of The Center's connections with the state and the federal government may also have interpreted my own outreach efforts as being state-led. Given that The Center adopts many of the same procedural and precedent setting practices with regards to craft producers – such as limiting access to the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Fair to only those individuals that were juried members in organizations that had been accepted into the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council – I may have been viewed as working in tandem with the state. Many individuals may also have been aware of the fact that my research was funded by a state entity (though separate from the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, the Kentucky Oral History Commission has been very active in the region of Eastern Kentucky and many individuals are aware of this state entity). In fact, each grant award resulted in a flurry of press releases which stated – very openly – that my research had been funded by the state, as did my consent form. It is unclear at this time how my association with the state may have shaped interviewee responses.

Further challenges often arise for researchers when they are conducting research projects that cross multiple networks and classes, thus the researcher must always be attentive to the difficulties that each individual interview will pose. My attempts to understand the craft industry at the local, regional and state scale, moving in and out of state-based and private networks of producers, as well as organizational leaders, often proved to be challenging. As Cormode and Hughes note with regard to conducting research that seeks to understand the thoughts and views of elites and non-elites, "The characteristics of these studies, the power relations between them and the researcher, and the politics of the research process differ considerably between elite and non-elite research" (Cormode and Hughes 1999, 299).

While I had previously established relationships with many of the elite and non-elite involved in this study, the producers and the organization leaders, those working with the state and in addition to the state, these relationships were established before I began working on my PhD. In most cases, I believe that the pre-established relationships were generally not affected by my having shifted from serving as a development practitioner to an academic. Many arts-related leaders working at the local level were willing to sit down with me and share their personal stories. However, with regard to my

interviews conducted with state officials, and some organizational leaders at the regional level, there was obviously a difference between working with me to create educational arts programming – which had been part of my position at The Center for Rural Development – and sitting down with me to conduct a recorded interview. I did note a shift in these conversations specifically as state officials were far more cautious and hesitant with me during interviews than they had been previously when we were on what may have seemed like a more equal playing field. It is interesting then that while some craft producers may have viewed me as working collaboratively with/for the state, state officials obviously viewed me as something foreign and perhaps even threatening.

Within studies of qualitative methods, scholars have called attention to the lack of discussion regarding research projects that include elite interviewees (see for example Hertz and Imber 1995; Ostrander 1993; Puwar 1997; Parry 1998; Cormode and Hughes 1999; Bradshaw 2001; Kezar 2003; Schoenberger 1999). One should also note the lack of material specifically related to interviewing state officials within projects pertaining to diverse economies and alternative economic practices (the same claim would perhaps not be made for scholars working specifically in the field of political science, or even in development studies, where interviews with state officials have become more common place). The lack of research regarding the state has left a methodological gap that needs to be addressed. As Cormode and Hughes (1999) point out, the gap between the rich and the poor has been steadily increasing and has become ever more significant that research studies be conducted that examine networks and flows between the elite and non-elite. This project is meant to contribute to the elimination of this methodological gap in the field of economic geography by reflecting upon interview experiences with both elites and non-elites that include craft producers, arts-related organizational leaders, state officials, and some local development practitioners.

Data Collection and Instrumentation

Oral Histories and Interviews

Within the context of this study, the majority of interviews conducted were indeed oral histories, in that the full extent of one's life and work biography was discussed in great detail. Many recording sessions lasted anywhere from 60 to 120 minutes depending

on the individual. In some cases however, particularly with elites/state employees, interviews were far more formal, and the depth involved in an oral history interview was not always present. These interviews, on average, lasted approximately 45 minutes.

Oral history as an appropriate method for qualitative research has often been debated within practitioner circles and it is important to make note of some of those concerns in this section. The practice of oral history became prominent in the US and England post-WWII. In the US context, oral history was used to primarily to collect the personal biographies and stories of elites, while in the British context the method was used more frequently to record the experiences of non-elites and had strong initial ties with the field of folk studies (Thomson 2007). Since then, questions regarding memory, subjectivity, the role of the oral historian as interviewer, and digital revolutions have left oral historians struggling to define themselves and their craft. Exciting work during the 2000s in Latin America for example, has pushed forward the notion that oral history is intimately interwoven in politics and that oral history may thus offer a more radical (and perhaps liberating) political purpose (Neocoechea 2003, Thomson 2007).

Such thoughts regarding political transformation and the radical potential of oral history in general are not new. In fact, as Thomson himself notes, Paul Thompson, an early pioneer of oral history, was a socialist who was committed to documenting the history of working-class people, and that oral history could shift the focus of history and open up new areas of inquiry by groups of people that had been previously ignored (Thompson 1978; cited in Thomson 2007). Though my own research incorporated oral history in hopes of gaining a deeper understanding of the work biographies and personal story of each craft producer and organizational leader, in addition to gaining a meaningful glimpse into how the state is interpreted and perceived by my interviewees, I have taken a very limited approach to producing a true oral history project which is worth a brief discussion.

In 1990, Frisch published a well-known book within the field of oral history titled, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. In this text, the author urges oral historians to consider the importance of "shared authority" between oral historian and narrator in oral history projects. The creed of shared authority is known and practiced by oral historians, public folklorists, anthropologists,

and many others that use oral history on a regular basis. This volume has encouraged researchers to actively create open source materials, to share power with interviewees, and to generate democratic research projects.

In a discussion on sharing authority and the collaborative process, oral historians such as Thomson (2003), Frisch (2003), Shopes (2003) and others, comment on the challenges that oral historians face when actually trying to do truly collaborative oral history or reciprocal ethnography. I mention such trends and debates within the field of oral history, as I often ran in to difficulties while conducting this study as the result of restricting my data in the archives. Limiting the amount of material I was willing to share while attempting to publish articles often created difficulties in terms of the expectations surrounding my project, as oral histories are typically open and available to the public. I was unable to share my materials with the Kentucky Craft History and Education Association, as well as other entities that were interested in my data for the lessons these interviews provided regarding the craft industry. In many ways, conversations regarding the struggles that academic oral historians face, in terms of publishing and protecting data, have been very limited. This is why I mention my own challenges here.

The project I designed and implemented, though it was structured on best practices in the field of oral history, did not allow for the time necessary to work with 35 individuals in terms of creating shared rules and decision-making procedures, or to allow for reading, reflection, and editing of interview materials by the interviewees. Furthermore, as a social scientist, it would have been difficult to have gained IRB approval for such a project as I would have been unable to protect the identity of my interviewees.[22] In addition, I often found myself confronted with interviewees who wanted to share too much information while the recorder was running. Given that this project sought to better understand the economic decision-making practices of craft producers through oral history I often found myself getting exactly what the project was designed to do – people sharing with me in great detail how they were making a living, even though their actual practices were technically considered illegal by the State of

[22] For clarification, IRB approval (Number 09-0550-P4S) was given for the collection of oral histories which would be deposited in an archive and restricted for limited amount of time. Though the names of the interviewees will be associated with the actual oral history recordings, individual names will not be published in dissertation materials or in any related publications.

Kentucky (in that they were not claiming taxes on income earned). An example would be a craft producer who is subsisting on state assistance and chooses not to apply for a tax ID. They do not claim any of the cash income they may earn through selling crafts as the income may disqualify them for state assistance. In some cases, organizational leaders had purposely decided not to ask craft producers if they had registered for a tax ID when applying to join an organization and only paid craft producers in cash.

Under these circumstances, I eventually limited this portion of the study on purpose, and stopped asking questions directly related to income earned while the recorder was on. In some cases, when the topic came up even (though I had not directly asked about it), I paid careful attention to the interviewee's words and changed the topic if there was the remote chance that the individual was about to share too much information. As this research was funded by the Kentucky Oral History Commission, I was legally responsible for archiving all interviews and making them available to the public. Due to the risk involved for individuals who needed to remain on state assistance, but also engaged in craft production to pay their bills or coverage prescription costs, I changed my questions and approach when recording their oral histories. In this sense then, I felt an obligation to those I interviewed to protect their economic interests and this obligation outweighed any other academic or research concerns. Though the project was undertaken with the notion of expanding economic understandings of the region, and to collect the stories of craft producers, it was necessary to take action to protect those who participated in this study. All recordings that have been deposited have also been restricted at this time. Table 3.2 below provides all information pertaining to oral history interviews conducted as well as archival information for each interview.

Table 3.2 Data Collection Method: Oral History Interviews

Total Number of Oral History Interviews Conducted: 35
*Funded by Kentucky Oral History Commission
**Funded by Department of Geography, University of Kentucky
***No funding provided, conducted on voluntary basis, deposited with the Kentucky Craft History Education Association
COH ACC = Louie B Nunn Center for Oral History Accession Numbers (Restricted)
Note: Interviewee numbers, used for publication purposes, were randomly assigned

Organization Name	Date	County	Interviewee #	COH ACC#
Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky *	10/26/2010	Knott	#1	20120H020 EKCI 003
Independent Musician and Crafter ***	5/8/2012	Fayette	#29	KCHEA
Cozy Corner **	6/21/2010	Letcher	#3	N/A
David Appalachian Crafts *	7/9/2010	Floyd	#4	20120H023 EKCI 006
Independent Leader (Former Directior of Kentucky Craft Marketing Program) *	8/18/2011	Jefferson	#5	20120H050 EKCI 019
Independent Author * (Craft Industry Historian)	8/3/2010	Fleming	#7	20120H024 EKCI 007
Family and Consumer Science Extension Agent**	11/04/2008	Elliott	#8	N/A
Hindman Settlement School *	8/8/2011	Knott	#9	20120H047 EKCI 017
Independent Artist (Former Eastern KY Outreach Coordinator, Kentucky Arts Council) *, **	11/10/08** & 7/6/2010* (archived)	Jackson	2008 = #2 2011 = #10	20120H022 EKCI 005
Junkyard Pottery *	11/8/2011	McCreary	#11	20120H051 EKCI 020
Kentucky Artisan Center *	7/27/2011	Madison	#6	20120H044 EKCI 013
The Painted Cow *	8/17/2011	Lawrence	#12	20120H053 EKCI 022
Kentucky Communities Handicrafts *	8/16/2010	Knox	#13	20120H026 EKCI 009
Kentucky Craft Marketing Program *	8/15/2011	Franklin	#14	20120H049 EKCI 018
Kentucky Folk Art Center *	8/1/2011	Rowan	#15	20120H045 EKCI 014
Kentucky Guild of Artists and Handicraftsmen *	9/22/2011	Madison	#16	20120H054 EKCI 023
Kentucky Museum of Art and	11/30/2011	Knott	#17	20120H057

Table 3.2 Continued

Craft *				EKCI 026
Independent Crafter (Board Member, Kentucky Craft History and Education Association) *	8/3/2010	Estill	#18	20120H018 EKCI 001
Mountain Arts Center *	8/10/2011	Floyd	#19	20120H048 EKCI 017
Independent Arts Leader (Former VP, Center for Rural Development) *	4/6/2010	Pulaski	#20	20120H019 EKCI 002
Pendleton Arts Center *	11/29/2011	Boyd	#21	20120H056 EKCI 025
Pine Mountain Handicrafts - Extension Program *	7/13/2011	Letcher	#22	20120H042 EKCI 0011
Pine Mountain Settlement School *	11/23/2011	Harlan	#23	20120H055 EKCI 024
RS Guitarworks (Co-owner) ***	4/26/2013	Clark	#27	KCHEA
RS Guitarworks (Co-owner) ***	4/26/2013	Clark	#28	KCHEA
Red Bird Mission *	6/18/2009 – Fieldwork 8/9/2010	Clay	#24	20120H025 EKCI 008
Independent Scholar (University of Kentucky) ***	5/8/2012	Fayette	#25	KCHEA
Sheltowee Artisans *	9/15/2010	Pulaski	#26	20120H027 EKCI 010
Southeastern KY Tourism Development Association *	6/25/2010	Pulaski	#35	20120H021 EKCI 004
Fine Arts Extension Agent *	11/10/2011	Pike	#30	20120H052 EKCI 021
Independent Crafts (Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop Member)	8/31/2011	Pulaski	#31	N/A
The Center for Rural Development **	6/26/2010	Pulaski	#32	N/A
Berea College Craft Program *	7/25/2011	Madison	#33	20120H043 EKCI 012
4H Mountain Handicraft Center *	8/4/2011	McCreary	#34	20120H046 EKCI 015

Participant Observations

Participant observations were used with interview and oral history collection to gain a deeper appreciation of the ways in which craft producers engaged with one another and how they priced their items for sale in a fair/store/studio setting. It was also necessary to attend board meetings and general meetings of craft producers (workshops, etc.) to better understand in what ways a neoliberal discourse was being perpetuated by the state as well as arts-related organizations.

Examples of such events included the Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky's (henceforth, Appalachian Artisan Center) Artists' Gathering (Hindman, KY), the Mountain Mushroom Festival (Irvine, KY), the Kentucky Craft Market (Louisville and Lexington, KY), the Woodland Art Fair (Lexington, KY), Kentucky Folklife Festival (Frankfort, KY) and the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Fair (Somerset, KY). I have either attended or helped to facilitate these events over the past 6 years (in 2007 for example, I helped to coordinate and plan the first Artists' Gathering at the Appalachian Artisan Center and have been attending this event since its inception).

Table 3.3 Data Collection Method: Participant Observations

Meetings with craft-related organizations (some board meetings)	10
Attendance at craft fairs/public events	15

Archival Research and Discourse Analysis

It was very important to engage with archival materials and documents related to the craft industry and economic development for this study. Such cultural artifacts are crucial in understanding how the state produces the abstractions of being a distinct and separate entity from civil society. In Table 3.4, I note the reports, articles, and materials that I reviewed in an effort to better understand the craft and art industry in Kentucky, the role of the Appalachian Regional Commission in creating a development discourse which influenced this industry, and what sorts of materials craft producers were being given by state and regionally-based organizations. Though not noted in the table below, I have retained many of the agendas from meetings I attended to provide an overview of shifts

in themes that may have been discussed at board meetings/workshops over an extended period of time. With regard to archival resources at the University of Kentucky, I often went through collections such as the Kentucky Folk Art collection deposited by Julie Ardery, to look at interview material from interviews with craft producers whom I would be unable to interview myself, and/or to compare interview materials of the same individual (for example, in some cases I interviewed an individual that Ardery had interviewed over 10 years ago. In these cases, I tried to compare those interviews to examine similarities and differences in themes and content).

Table 3.4 Data Collection Method: Archival Research and Discourse Analysis

Documents	Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, Published 1964	113 pp.
	Appalachia Tomorrow, 2009-2013 (Kentucky Four-Year Development Plan)	58 pp.
	Appalachian Regional Commission, Network Appalachia: Access to Global Opportunity, 2009	63 pp.
	World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography 2009 (Chapter 8, References to Appalachian Regional Commission)	408 pp.
	Appalachian Regional Commission, Tourism Development Project, Kentucky Economically Distressed Counties, Marketing Plan Summer 2007	20 pp.
	Arts and the Kentucky Economy, Center for Business and Economic Research, University of Kentucky,1998	34 pp.
	Kentucky Arts Council, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2007	55 pp.
	Kentucky Arts Council, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2008	72 pp.
	Kentucky Arts Council, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2009	72 pp.
	Kentucky Arts Council, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2010	80 pp.
	Kentucky Arts Council, Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2011	78 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center Financials, 2011	7 pp.
	Handmade Institute, Solutions for Creative Economies, Information Packet for Entrepreneurs and Craft Producers (2009, North Carolina) Includes: • Mapping Creative Economies: The Impact on Real Estate • Starting a Business Resource Guide	~ 50 pp.

Table 3.4 Continued

	• Advantage West 2009 Annual Report • Micro Enterprise Program, WAMY Community Action Inc., Information Sheets • Strategies for Green Entrepreneurial Development Information Sheets • A Handmade in America Toolkit: Integrating Craft, Architecture & Design • Building Creative Economies: A Story of American Revival • Landfill Gas: Recycling Refuse for Creative Enterprises	
	Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development Small Business Services Division Start-Up Packets (Distributed to Craft Producers, 2010 Appalachian Artists' Gathering) Includes: • Individual letter regarding starting a crafts business • The Kentucky Business Guide: A Handbook for Starting and Licensing a Business in Kentucky (Jan. 2010) • Definition Sheet – Business Entities • Application for Employer Identification Number • Kentucky Tax Registration Application • Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service Publication 583 – Starting a Business and Keeping Records • Instructions for Creating a Business Plan • Sample Business Plan: "Fat Cat Creations, December 2001	~ 100 pp.
	Arts Kentucky Sixth Annual Arts Advocacy Day, 2008 – Reports and Presentation Slides	20 pp.
	Evaluation Report – 2007 Kentucky Appalachian Craft Fair	14 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky Artist Program Survey Results, 2005	20 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky Strategic Plan, 2008-2011	3 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky Artist Incubator Studio Program Application, 2010	9 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky Visiting Artist Studio Program Application, 2010	8 pp.
	Appalachian Artisan Center Kentucky Community Artists Studio Program Application, 2010	6 pp.
	Knott County Art and Craft Foundation Three Year Plan, 2005	23 pp.

	State Policy Briefs, Why Should Government Support the Arts, National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, 2010	15 pp.
	The Creative Industries in Kentucky, Governor Steve Beshear, Americans for the Arts Fact Sheet, 2011	3 pp.
	Hindman Artisans Support and Marketing Center, Phase "A" Submittal, Schematic Design, 2001	70 pp.
	Creative Industries, The State Report, Americans for the Arts, 2008	12 pp.
	Kentucky State Creative Economy Profile, South Arts, 2011	2 pp.
	Arts & the Economy: Using Arts and Culture to Stimulate State Economic Development	43 pp.
	Kentucky Guild of Artists and Craftsmen Standards Application, 2012	8 pp.
	E-Commerce, Getting Wild for the E-conomy Workshop Packet, 2008 (Hosted By: Kentucky State University)	Approx.50 pp.
	Kentucky Adventure Tourism, Eastern Kentucky Adventure Tourism Plan, 2007	123 pp.
Archival Research (Specific Collection)	Kentucky Folk Art Oral History Project (Series ID: KFA001), Louie B Nunn Center for Oral History Number of interviews in collection: 59	N/A

To analyze the material listed above, ranging from transcriptions of my own interviews, transcripts and other materials in archives, magazines and newspapers related to the craft industry, as well as development documents, I relied upon textual analysis, specifically, critical discourse and condensation analysis. With regard to oral histories and interviews, transcriptions were completed which allowed for a 'thick analysis' of the materials, pulling heavily from anthropological and folkloristic traditions. Overall, I have exercised skills of attentiveness and sensitivity towards my interviewees, listening appreciatively and empathetically.

Fieldnotes, interviews and transcriptions were organized based on economic and industrial categories in NVivo (categories included: producers; local organizational leaders – based within one single county; regional organizational leaders – based with 2 or more counties; state leaders working directly for the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, industry leaders – no longer holding positions of authority but key for providing historical context to the evolution of the craft industry). Utilizing the condensation method allowed me to break down the material I had collected into core points of

analysis or themes, providing accounts of groups of individuals within the craft industry. This method of condensation analysis, according to Kvale (1996) provides the researcher with a tool "to analyze extensive and often complex interview texts by looking for natural meaning units and explication of their main themes" (207). Through this method, the researcher can review material, drawing out key points made by interviewees. These key points can be used to determine what future questions need to be asked and what additional interviews need to take place. In contrast, coding can fracture deeper meaning of interview materials, and thus was not used for this project. The quality of the interviews in this project was based on the depth of biographical history and memories that can be obtained through oral history, thus analyzing the interview in its entirety was a more appropriate approach. The interviews may also be understood as accounts; the ways in which craft producers engage in "sensemaking" of the industry in which they work and the forms of production and distribution they choose to engage in (see Baker 2002 for a discussion of interviews as accounts).

To analyze development documents and reports, which create the development *ethos* that practitioners adhere to in the field (Li 2007), and cultural representations of the state that reinforce the state-idea through tangible materials, I carefully read through several development reports to determine what language was used, how stereotypes were woven in, and in what ways these documents had limited economic imaginings in the region. In other words, I analyzed the words of development in the context of Eastern Kentucky. Critical discourse analysis provides researchers with a methodological lens through which to understand how language and visual images interact with other elements of social life and how tangible documents, such as development policy figure into unequal relations of power (Fairclough 2001).

Different positions within the field of critical discourse analysis draw upon Western Marxism, social theory, post-structuralist theories, and confront issues such as ideology and hegemony. Though discourse analysis takes as its end point the analysis of texts and language, it begins through recognition of social issues and problems which people face in their daily lives (Fairclough 2001). The texts then, are materialities through which society is produced, reproduced and/or changed. The entry point for this project is very similar in that this project seeks to improve the quality of life in the

Appalachian region – as poor quality of life has been a consistent issue in the region – through the broadening of economic language (both in terms of economic diversity and development). Given the limited access to capital and other livelihood resources such as affordable child care assistance and technology infrastructure (high-speed internet is often only available through satellite service at this time and is very expensive based on the average income in the region) the rural poor struggle to make ends meet and partake fully in mainstream development opportunities. Such factors have resulted in uneven development throughout Eastern Kentucky. It is crucial then that social scientists, especially those with an eye for policy creation and analysis, continue to explore the value of critical discourse analysis for broadening economic imaginings by creating new languages of diversity and development and perpetuating such languages in forms easily accessible to the public.

Summary of Research Methodology

> There are results of fieldwork that defy description and elude exemplification. The friendships made, the feelings evoked and shared, the human concerns generated and expressed by those who come to know each other through their involvement in the enterprise we call *fieldwork* can only be known, understood, and appreciated by the individuals involved. Moreover, the unpleasant surprise and shattered expectations, the warm welcomes and hostile receptions, the hopes aroused and promises broken, the mementos treasured and nightmares relived, the insights gained and the assumptions call into question can neither be quantified nor articulated succinctly. In one respect, fieldwork never really ends, neither for fieldworkers nor subjects, for each fieldwork adventure is a part of an ineradicable continuum of human experience. The results of fieldwork, therefore, are not ends. That is learned from the experience results instead in continuities and new beginnings whose ends are usually unpredictable and indeterminable. Such is the nature of human relationships and human beings' constant search to understand themselves and know each other (Georges and Jones 1980, 36).

Fieldwork is by necessity a performative act which is always in the process of becoming. The plans laid out so carefully in the proposal for this project were altered here and there as the project progressed, as new relationships were formed, and as suggestions were given for additional sites of investigation such as galleries and shops with which I was unfamiliar from industry leaders whom I had not previously met during my time working in the industry. The following chapters are meant to be a respectful and

responsible analysis of the craft industry, as well as economic development strategies within this industry and throughout the Central Appalachian region. As noted above, the overall purpose of this study was to understand diversity in the craft industry, the role of the state in fostering or hindering such diversity, and how development policies and practices might be created that celebrated diversity and no longer limited economic imaginings. I am indebted to all those who shared their personal histories and work biographies with me in hopes that I might then return that knowledge in some condensed format that would be useful and accessible. The oral histories collected served as the framework through which to create the following chapters. I have worked diligently to address the ideas, thoughts, concerns, hopes, and fears of those I have interviewed. Furthermore, I have archived all copies of the oral histories collected so that others may learn from them and continue to use this material when conducting future research projects.

To this end, this dissertation represents an attempt to engage critically with the alternative economic practices used by craft producers to make a living in the region of Eastern Kentucky and how the state may play a contradictory role in both supporting and undermining alternatives. In addition, this project an attempt in fostering the recognition of new and alternative forms of economic development strategies that might be employed in Eastern Kentucky. Though this dissertation serves as the culmination of one project, as the epigraph above states, this fieldwork project is not truly over and the relationships I have built with groups such as the Kentucky Craft History and Education Association, the Kentucky Oral History Commission, the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program and many others are ongoing.

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CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC IMAGINING: DECONSTRUCTING DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES AND REDEFINING DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

> Appalachia is more striking in its homogeneity than in its diversity. Unlike though they may be, its subregions share an unhappy distinction: rural Appalachia lags behind rural America; urban Appalachia lags behind urban America; and metropolitan Appalachia lags behind metropolitan America (PARC 1964, XVIII).

Appalachia has historically been represented as an enigma, a region that simply did not seem to fit within the rest of the United States. This discourse of cultural difference has been invoked by writers, scholars and policy makers to delimit a geographic region in need of development and to propose decontextualized technical schemes. During the late nineteenth century writers for many national magazines often distinguished Appalachia as different by composing stories about the region's inhabitants as being "exotic" and "natural" (Williams 2002). Such representations were used by early craft industry leaders to market Appalachian-made craft products. In the 1920s and 1930s, the region again made national headlines for miner strikes, predominantly taking place in Eastern Kentucky and Southern West Virginia. And, despite the fact that the 1950s was a period typically associated with economic growth and prosperity for the rest of the country, Appalachia would once more appear in the national news as images of massive flooding taking place in the region were used by news agencies to further perpetuate the notion of "otherness."

By the 1960s then, Appalachia – which had thus far been understood as different, isolated, and even rebellious – would also become associated with abject poverty. This narrative of Appalachia would become firmly ingrained in the imagination of most Americans (Eller 2008). In fact, Appalachia was slowly becoming the national face of poverty throughout the United States. For example, in 1962, *Look* magazine published a series of photographs that portrayed inhabitants of Appalachia. In the descriptions provided for the images, the authors stated, "The people of Appalachia, U.S.A., lived in an underdeveloped country. No less than Latin Americans or Africans, they can use more American aid. They are more entitled to it because they are our own people" (cited in

Eller 2008, 66). The use of the term "underdeveloped" can be understood as representative of the development discourse at the time. Terms such as underdeveloped were often used to legitimize poverty, implying that the underdeveloped region simply *lagged behind* and could eventually *catch up*. This discourse was frequently used by policy makers to support claims for assistance to so called lagging regions throughout the world (Ferguson 1999).

Other powerful examples were produced in studies and reports generated by organizations throughout the United States; examples which solidified the discourse of poverty surrounding the region. In 1968, The New Community Press in Washington, D.C., published the report, "Hunger, U.S.A.: A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States." The report was produced by an independent Board of Inquiry assembled by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty to explore starvation and hunger in selected poverty areas.[23] This Board of Inquiry held hearings in Hazard, Kentucky (covering mountain counties of Eastern Kentucky, Northern West Virginia, and Southwestern Virginia). The descriptions of Eastern Kentucky offered in this report serves as an example of how an image of abject poverty was perpetuated.

> Wherever we have gone we have seen the multitudinous cast-offs of an economic system which, bewilderingly, can build up ever greater national achievements without affecting the immense and economically useless pockets of the impoverished. Curiously, the desolate poor are heavily weighted on the side of old inhabitants: Indians, Negroes, Appalachian whites, Spanish speaking residents of the Southwest. For example: In a shack in what had once been a mining camp – but was now, because the mines are closed down, a sub-division of rental housing – outside an east Kentucky town, three ladies met us one day last July. The youngest of the three – a girl who could not have been 20 – was the lady of the house. Her young husband was working on a "little old bitty mine" which he and three other men had leased and which was about to run out. She herself was being paid to attend a Neighborhood Youth Corps project. All told, their small income was too high to entitle them to food stamps, though they are still paying off a $415 hospital and physician's bill for a still-born baby. The oldest lady, the young mistress's aunt, was getting food stamps to help her feed herself and three

[23] "Hunger, U.S.A.: A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States" (1968), was supported by individuals and organizations including: the Domestic and Foreign Missions Society of the Protestant-Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.; the J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc.; the New York Foundation; the Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.; the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; the Taconic Foundation; the William C. Whitney Foundation; and the Van Amerigen Foundation (Hunger, U.S.A. 1968, 4).

> orphaned youngsters (whose they were we never quite discovered) she cared for. Her husband had worked many years in the mines until laid off in 1947 because of stomach ulcers; mostly after that he drove trucks, until he committed suicide in January 1965. The old lady and her three wards had moved in the niece but a few days before, because her own shanty – in the same sub-divisions – had been one of several that had burned down. Everyone in the room was sure it had been arson, and who the arsonist was: a tenant, taking revenge against the owner for an eviction for non-payment of rent. The third lady was a daughter of the old lady and happened to be visiting; she lived quite a ways up the hollow. She has four children, and she got no food stamps because she had no money at all for buying them. She had been receiving Aid to Dependent Children until a few months earlier at which time her husband (now unemployed), had finished his prison sentence. Our welfare system can penalize a woman and her children when father gets out of jail (Hunger, U.S.A. 1968, 5).

Images such as these were juxtaposed against the rest of the United States, and therefore targeted Appalachia as in need of intervention and development. In 1964, this development discourse that presented Appalachia as poverty stricken and lagging behind, was used by regional leaders and policy makers to support the creation of a federal agency, the Appalachian Regional Commission, which would uplift Appalachia. Rather than discuss the creation of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, which Ron Eller (2008), John Williams (2002) and others have already documented, I first focus my analysis in this chapter on one particular document produced by this group of individuals that helped to solidify and perpetuate this development discourse. For the 13 Appalachian states' governors that comprised the President's Commission, the document, "Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964" (hereafter, the PARC report), would be the key for gaining access to federal funding for state and local level development projects, providing the framework and foundation for the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

Though Appalachian Regional Commission strategies have been somewhat successful throughout the region, in terms of providing federal funds for infrastructure projects such as highway construction, the building of industrial parks for prospective businesses looking to locate in the region, improved vocational education to increase the availability of skilled labor, and increased access to healthcare facilities, poverty nonetheless remains (Gaventa and Lewis 1991; Keefe 2009). Why is it that, despite such

large-scale efforts of the Appalachian Regional Commission, mainstream development appears to have failed in this region?[24]

In this chapter, I first deconstruct how so-called "development" has been defined in the past. Then, I explore how Appalachian scholars might move forward in terms of re-thinking how this term is defined. Furthermore, I argue that Appalachian scholars play an important role as the architects of an alternative future for the Appalachian region, re-imagining what is possible for the region and its people in both the field and the classroom. To examine new possibilities for re-thinking development in Appalachia I draw upon literature pertaining to understandings of governmentality (referred to in Chapters 2 and 5), as well as development studies produced by scholars working in the Global South. This project seeks to explore the value of incorporating the theoretical insights from the 'Global South/development studies' literature into studying development issues in the 'Global North'. I then apply these theoretical ideas to examine in what ways Appalachia was defined as an area in need of regional economic development, how inhabitants of Appalachia have been represented in policy documents, and what economic development strategies have been recommended for this region. To better understand the history of development strategies I provide two case studies: 1) an examination of the final document produced by President Kennedy's Appalachian Regional Commission titled, "Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964,"[25] and, 2) an analysis of Governor Steven L. Beshear's Kentucky Appalachian Development Plan 2009-2013, "Appalachia Tomorrow" (hereafter, the KAD plan).

Throughout the chapter, I emphasize three themes that emerge in the language/ethos of the PARC report: 1) the notion of isolation, 2) state-organized economic development departments and private enterprise; and 3) human resources. After working through this report at the regional level, which solidified the development discourse throughout the Appalachian region, I then delve into the relationship between the state and the nation-state, and examine how the Kentucky Appalachian Development

[24]In her work on participatory development in Appalachia, Keefe (2009) notes that over three-quarters of all ARC money goes to build highways. Keefe estimates that more than 2,600 miles have been constructed at a cost of almost $10 billion.

[25] The analysis of the PARC report is based on Fickey (2010), and portions of the original analysis have been edited/expanded throughout this chapter.

Plan 2009-2013, "Appalachian Tomorrow," produced by the Governor's Office, works in a dialectical relationship with Appalachian Regional Commission efforts, shaping and being shaped by the language and descriptions of worthy development interventions as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Again, drawing upon the same performative approach employed in Chapter 2, I draw attention to the ways in which the state produces documents that limit the development discourse in Eastern Kentucky, restricting economic imaginings not merely in one industry (as emphasized in Chapter 5) but throughout the entire Appalachian Kentucky region.[26] The tensions and contradictions throughout the state report are numerous and are discussed at length.

In my concluding thoughts, I underscore work within the state framework that has challenged development understandings, such as a report written by the Kentucky Appalachian Task Force in 1995 titled, "Communities of Hope: Preparing For the Future in Appalachian Kentucky" (hereafter, the KATF report). This report demonstrates how development might be generated in such a way as to be accessible to and employed by community members. Then I explore in what ways local community members, activists and researchers working in Appalachia, frustrated with the failure of conventional development practices and reports have already started to search for new ideas far beyond the borders of Appalachia and the Appalachian Regional Commission.

Unearthing the Developmental Ethos and Building a New Economic Language

Scholars in Appalachian Studies, pondering the future of the discipline as well as the region, have been quick to suggest that in order for the discipline to survive we must be willing to reach out to other scholars across the globe, sharing theories and methodologies, as well as strengthening interdisciplinary dialogue.[27] Our analysis of the economic crisis taking place in Appalachia must be embedded within a larger conversation of global economic restructuring. I agree that Appalachian Studies must be willing to engage with other scholars, on a global scale, who are examining the same sorts of issues that the Appalachian region faces. With these goals in mind I argue that

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[26] To clarify, Appalachian Kentucky includes 54 counties, the majority of which are located in Eastern Kentucky. Some counties however, such as Hart County, may be considered part of Western Kentucky.
[27] For an engaging and thoughtful roundtable discussion on the future of Appalachian Studies, see the 2010 Spring/Fall issue of the *Journal of Appalachian Studies*.

Appalachian scholars should turn our sights to the Global South, learning from and engaging with critical literature on "Third World" development practices and policy documents (for example, see Crush, 1995; Ferguson, 1999; Li, 2007, 2010; Wainright, 2008; Esteva, 2009). Such literature provides a unique lens through which to conduct an analysis of development reports, produced by the federal government and the state, which are meant to shape perceptions of development-worthy work and to discipline the efforts of development practitioners. Development scholars working in the Global South have increasingly called for the analysis of policy documents by "First World" researchers, or scholars in the Global North, arguing that the primary focus of all researchers should be on the texts and the words of development, "the ways that development is written, narrated and spoken; on the forms of knowledge that development produces and assumes, and on the power relations it underwrites and reproduces" (Williams, 2002, 119; Crush, 1995).

In addition, Li (2010) argues that analyzing governmental documents rather than conducting in-depth ethnography allows researchers to unearth a developmental *ethos*. "A close reading of documents can reveal an ethos, a way of defining problems and connecting them to solutions, that takes even the authors by surprise" (Li, 2010, 235). Li emphasizes in her research that policy documents have *real effects*, often with unintended or unanticipated consequences, and she describes the following example in her work in Indonesia: "In the case of the [World] Bank program, the Indonesian nation took on $1 billion of debt on the basis of the document's narrative connecting problems to solutions. Hundreds of thousands of Indonesians participated in new ways of doing things prescribed by the Bank" (Li, 2010, 235).

Such literature encourages us to think of development as not a thing, but rather a process and performance that has real effects for different groups and individuals. Documents are part of the performative core of the state and reinforce the binary relationship between the state and civil society (i.e. these documents are produced by state agencies in a performative effort to discipline and shape practices within civil society). Scholars should examine very critically the language used in policy documents, as well as the tensions, divisions, fractures, and struggles that occur as the result of particular development approaches (such as neoliberalization discussed at length in

Chapters 2 and 5), and how groups and individuals experience extraction and appropriation of resources (Jarosz 2011; Li 2007).

In the past, scholars have suggested that the development solutions employed in Appalachia by the Appalachian Regional Commission may necessarily be short-term. For example, economic geographer Michael Bradshaw has stated the following, "The money available from government sources in countries with market economies will always be less than what is needed to make massive change possible; the involvement of politicians will always lead to a focus on short-term solutions to long-term problems. Public-policy regionalism is inevitably at most a catalyst: it may provide the structures and processes that assist change and improvement, but taking advantage of such provision must be done by individuals and groups at the local level" (Bradshaw 2002, 330).[28] Unfortunately, short-term solutions – which render development strategies as "technical"– often fail, especially when long-term problems such as a history of low wages, exploitation, out migration, and resource extraction are not taken into account by policy makers as well as local level development practitioners. Though many individuals throughout the region have turned to alternative economic practices to make ends meet, development agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission, as well as others, have tended to disregard such practices as "development worthy."

Scholars examining alternative economic practices across the globe have seen all too frequently the failure of governmental agencies in recognizing the validity of alternative practices as valuable livelihood strategies (for a detailed discussion, see Carnegie 2008). For many families in Eastern Kentucky however, production declines in the coal industry, as well as shifts toward mechanization and MTR practices, have resulted in production cuts and layoffs. Given these circumstances, alternative economic practices play an important role in making ends meet. For example, the non-profit agency, Appalachian Voices, recently recorded the layoff of approximately 920 miners in Kentucky mines between December 2011 and April 2012. Reasons for the layoffs, as stated by the company owners, included, "(1) Low market demand, (2) Weakness in

[28] The quote above is taken from Bradshaw's chapter, "A Political Approach to Regional Development," first published in, *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present* (2002, fourth edition). Bradshaw's (1992) work, *The Appalachian Regional Commission: Twenty-Five Years of Government Policy*, provides a very detailed and engaging analysis of this federal agency.

steam coal market, (3) No one is buying steel making coal, (4) Soft market, (5) Continued weakness in market demand, (6) Poor market conditions, and (7) Market conditions" (Appalachian Coal Jobs Update – June 2012, Appalachian Voices). And yet, despite the reliance of so many Appalachians upon small-scale economic activities such as craft production, often in addition to or in substitution of formalized wage labor including employment in mining that may no longer be available, such practices are rarely understood as worthy of institutional 'development' support in Appalachia and beyond (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006; Carnegie 2008; Fickey 2011).

To consider such practices as development worthy, we must first recognize the prevalence of such alternative practices in the economic landscape and document the diverse ways in which people are creating sustainable livelihood practices. In essence, we need to broaden our language of what actually constitutes development. For example, in her study of the village of Oelua, located in Indonesia, Carnegie (2008) suggests researchers must build a new economic language of diversity, a language that allows for the recognition of non-capitalist economic transactions within Oelua's economy. Documenting practices of hunting and fishing taking place in the local economy may then be utilized to widen the possibilities for local and regional economic development. Carnegie further argues that regional development agendas should involve conversations with community members and researchers about how "surplus labor is (and could be) produced, appropriated, and distributed in ways that meet local needs, values and aspirations for building sustainable, ethical, place-based economies" (Carnegie 2008, 367).

The analysis of the 1964 PARC report, the KAD plan, 2009-2013, and the exploration of what "development" truly means (and who has the right to define this term) adopts an approach similar to Carnegie and scholars working in the Global South (Crush 1994; Ferguson 1999; Escobar 1995; Li 2005, 2007; Wainright 2008). This approach is coupled with a performative understanding of the state and the study of alternative economic practices. In the next section, I will explore the following three themes that emerge throughout the PARC report: 1) the notion of isolation, 2) economic development departments and private enterprise, and 3) human resources. What will become clear throughout this analysis is that the socio-economic problems facing

Appalachia were depoliticized, rendered as technical issues for development agencies to address. The legacy of absentee landownership, political corruption, low wages, and resource extraction in this region was disregarded (although the responsibility for success of the development scheme proposed by the Commission would ultimately be thrust on the shoulders of people living in Appalachia). Through efforts of modernization, the PARC report argues that Appalachia could eventually *catch up* with the rest of America. Technical assistance and connective infrastructure would be the methods called upon to help the region.

The PARC report played an important role in setting the precedent for future economic development strategies in the region that still remain with us today; providing strategies that are heralded both inside and outside of Appalachia. In fact, the World Bank's *World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography*, praised the 1965 Appalachian Regional Development Act (based on the 1964 report) as an excellent example of development policy that combined regionally coordinated social programs and physical infrastructure; in the author's words, such policies can "pay off" (World Bank Report 2009, 243). Despite the World Bank's attempts to provide a compelling narrative that legitimizes the 1965 Appalachian Regional Development Act, it begs the question, if the 1965 Act was so successful, why does so much poverty continue to persist in the region? And, why is there no recognition in the World Bank's report of the uneven economic development that occurs within Appalachia? Within this context, the analysis of the actual language of the 1964 report, the very foundation for the 1965 Act, is both critical and urgent.

Case Study 1: Examination of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission Report, 1964

> At the request of the late President John F. Kennedy on April 9, 1963, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission was formed consisting of a representative designated by each of the Governors of the Appalachian States and a representative of the heads of major Federal departments and agencies. The President charged the Commission to prepare a comprehensive action program for the economic development of the Appalachian Region. Following the death of President Kennedy, our Commission received your direction to complete the preparation of this report. (Letter of Transmittal, PARC 1964, II).[29]

The "Isolation" of Appalachia

> "Appalachia is a region apart – geographically and statistically" (PARC 1964, XV).

Rendering a space as distinct or different is an essential feature of development practices. Before a development agency can create and employ technical practices, this process of delineating a space for intervention must take place. "To render a set of processes technical and improvable an arena of intervention must be bounded, mapped, characterized, and documented: the relevant forces and relations must be identified: and a narrative must be devised connecting the proposed intervention to the problem it will solve" (Li 2007, 126).

Throughout the Introduction of the PARC report (titled: A Region Apart), Appalachia is characterized as being isolated primarily as a result of the region's geographic location. This mountainous landscape is described as being "upthrust between the prosperous Eastern seaboard and the industrial Middle West" (PARC 1964, XV). The report further notes that "although the region includes a natural endowment of the nation's richest coal seams, abundant rainfall higher than the rest of the nation, and some of the most beautiful mountains in the Eastern United States, the Appalachian inhabitant (as a result of isolation) has failed to match his counterpart outside of the region as a participant in the nation's economic growth" (PARC 1964, XV). In essence, the Appalachian inhabitant is rendered deficient, resistant to economic development

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[29] The Appalachian Regional Commission has made the full 1964 PARC report available online for researchers and instructors: http://www.arc.gov/about/ARCAppalachiaAReportbythePresidentsAppalachianRegionalCommission1964.asp.

practices, and despite such natural bounty is still in need of assistance. The geographical lore and knowledge that is produced about Appalachia emphasis cultural difference deficiency. This geographical lore is then used to justify development strategies (in Chapter 5 I will further demonstrate how lore of difference is used to market craft products). The PARC report argues that to overcome highland isolation, roads and air facilities must be built throughout the region. "These roads would be built to serve a particular purpose, primarily to bring traffic into the region. This investment is seen as being crucial to stimulating economic growth" (PARC 1964, 28).

Over the years, scholars in Appalachian Studies have effectively challenged the assumption of Appalachian isolation, documenting the many ways in which inhabitants of Appalachia have always been connected to other geographic locations through political, social and economic relationships (see for example Eller 1982, 2008; Gaventa and Lewis 1991). It does appear however, that the reader of the policy document is meant to conclude that Appalachia is isolated from the national and global economy, leaving connective infrastructure as the only means of generating growth and prosperity in the region. Thus, we can gather from this portion of the report then that the theme of isolation is employed not because it is contextually true, but to provide justification for road building. As the authors continue to build the argument for road and air facility construction, the reader of the report quickly becomes concerned with how this argument is stabilized on a foundation of economic growth. It is necessary to quote the report at length to analyze the argument put forth by the authors that an increase in road and air facility construction would lead to improvements in social services. This argument is at once invoked, and then quickly disregarded.

> The highland isolation must be overcome with modern roads and air facilities. The ribbon-towns must be provided with the amenities of urban life. A substantial effort in education, health facilities, employment services, community apparatus – all the items of social overhead neglected for long decades must be made. The quality of such investment is essential. But its character is even more important. It must be directed to the stimulation of growth, *and not to the problems which result from growth as is the case with most of our present public investment* (PARC 1964, 28).

Development agencies must present problems in such a way that viable solutions can be offered. In this case, the Appalachian Regional Commission could not possibly

address all of the socio-economic issues typically associated with growth (such as lack of available housing or environmental degradation), nor could the Commission actually control or contain the results of the industrial growth that may take place in the region once new roads were constructed. Thus the report argues that capital invested into the region should focus only on the stimulation of growth and not the socio-economic problems generated as the result of growth – this then would be the technical issue that the Appalachian Regional Commission would eventually address. The building of highways would indeed bring traffic to the region and this is what the authors had in mind. While tourism-related traffic is mentioned by the authors, it is a deeper concern with transportation and its connection to industrialization that becomes apparent. "Its penetration by an adequate transportation network is the first requisite of its [Appalachia's] full participation in industrial America" (PARC 1964, 32), and "the goal of the highway system would be to improve travel to remote areas, to stimulate the flow of people and goods, and to open areas where commerce has been inhibited" (PARC 1964, 33).

We need only to turn a few more pages in the report to see the relationship between connective infrastructure and the extraction of resources. The creation of highways would inevitably allow access to previously unexploited areas. In regard to timber production, the report recommends to "accelerate the construction of access roads in the national forests to enable the harvesting of the full allowable cut of marketable timber" (PARC 1964, 41). As for coal, "all efforts at increasing coal production – both for domestic and foreign uses – must be vigorously pursued if the region is to obtain maximum economic benefit from this resource" (PARC 1964, 42). Of course, when coal production is understood within the context of the national economy – rather than in isolation from this broader context – the push for increased coal production becomes clear. Shifts in the consumers of coal, from northern fuel markets to southern utility companies, had led to greater demand of this resource (Weisenfluh et al. 1996).

The PARC report is essentially arguing for the deepening of capitalist relations, the very relations that have continually left this region economically depressed. In fact, as Weisenfluh et al. (1996) note, as of 1996 more coal in Kentucky was being mined than ever before with a smaller number of employees and a limited amount of local surplus

distribution. Essentially, the 1964 report argues for the continuance of the same practices of capital accumulation, through resource extraction, that had taken place since the late 1800s. An additional result of this push for coal production, and resource extraction in general, would be the maintenance of class power in the hands of the elite – particularly of coal and timber company owners (Massey 2003). This form of transportation and energy-led development precludes the consideration of alternatives and, unfortunately for Appalachia further perpetuates the conditions for class power to reside in the hands of elites through the report's discussion of private enterprise.

The Relationship between Economic Development Departments and Private Enterprise

"Private enterprise will be the ultimate employer" (PARC 1964, 26).

By the 1930s, many U.S. states were establishing development departments. State agencies were often established with the primary goal of generating economic activity. The PARC report acknowledges early on that efforts of creating state agencies had already occurred in the region. Such agencies were "staffed by dedicated men and women who have created a climate of hope and enthusiasm throughout the region. Each of the development programs that had been established has the firm support of state political leaders and the cooperation of local officials in communities" (PARC 1964, 24). This section is then followed by a list of what the report authors considered substantial efforts that had been made in the region that were supported by private citizens. "Serving in their individual capacities, as members of local committees formed under the area development or rural areas development programs, as members of state and local development organizations – they have provided a substance of effort *which no governmental effort could possibly attain*" (PARC 1964, 26; emphasis added). However, the role of the state in this report is slightly misleading. We must be careful not to view the creation of economic development departments as only an expansion of state-based intervention. The state-led economic development departments were often rooted in large part in the mobilization of locally dependent interests.

These development programs, while initiated by state governments, would have access to enormous federal funding through the Appalachian Regional Commission. The

Commission that was created however, did little more than serve as a consultant to these states. "Advocates made much of this unique federal-state partnership, but the long-run implication suggested that the ARC was more a regional consulting than a coordinating body" (Williams 2002, 341). Once again, we need not be surprised that during a time of competition between states that the House of Representatives was fully aware of, in theory, the advantage that the creation of the Appalachian Regional Commission might provide the region. Opposition to this portion of the act was also outlined in one of the twelve points included in the House version of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. This point states, "It [the Act] would provide preferential treatment to one region of the U.S., thereby discriminating against other areas with equal or greater economic problems" (cited in Farrigan and Glasmeier 2005, 11). Again, despite the fact that representatives disagreed with the creation of such a large regional development plan for only one region of the U.S., the act would still pass. Although smaller regional plans had been developed in the U.S., including plans for the Four Corners, Ozarks, Coastal Plains, New England and the Upper Great Lakes regions, the multi-state plan for Appalachia was unique.

One particular characteristic of the plan was the exclusionary nature of inward investment. As Estall (1982) states, "An unusual feature of the Appalachian Regional Development Act was its provisions for local planning organizations and its requirement that the public investments made in the region under this Act shall be concentrated in areas where there is a significant potential for future growth and where the expected return on the public dollars invested will be the greatest" (1982, 47). This policy led to a discriminatory practice of investing in growth centers which often furthered the gap between urban and rural locations. The Commission argued that funding would provide the *thrust* for growth in the region (particularly in the growth centers) and it would be individual private entrepreneurs that would be responsible for the success of development. As the report states, "the final purpose of the actions recommended in this report is to assist growth and development at the local level – *to enable people to help themselves*" (PARC 1964, 53; emphasis added).

There is certainly a touch of what one would now refer to as a neoliberal development discourse buried within this statement. Once the Commission injected

monies into the region as an initial thrust of development, responsibility for the further improvement of the region would be shifted to the rational and maximizing entrepreneur who would have the skill set and capital to stimulate growth (Amin, 2003, 48). As the report stresses, most local businessmen would indeed have "access to traditional channels for private equity capital, and private sources of short- and long-term credit required for the regional development activities included in the report" (PARC 1964, 53). Thus, the report once again, through its technical nature, reaffirms power within the class of local elites – those who will be able to enact the proposed projects. We are left wondering, how do those that are not local elites fit into this economic development scheme? Interestingly enough, these individuals would play a crucial role for the authors of this report. In fact, the region's inhabitants are portrayed as the most important *resource* in the region.

The Most Important Resource in the Region

> On behalf of the people of the Appalachian Region, for whom this program can bring sorely needed new opportunity and upon whose shoulders will rest the final responsibility for success, we express our appreciation to the late President John F. Kennedy for his action in establishing this commission (Letter of Support on behalf of the Conference of Appalachian Governors, Washington, D.C., PARC 1964, IV).

Under the heading of "Human Resources" the PARC report states, "The programs of access and physical resource development in the foregoing are validated only by the enlargement of hope and genuine opportunity they offer to this region's most valuable resource – its people. But programs must also be initiated which are focused more directly on the people themselves" (PARC 1964, 48). Programs initiated would focus on meeting basic needs of the region's inhabits including the lack of food, clothing, medical care, housing, basic education, skills and jobs. Yet again, these issues are rendered as technical. Rather than addressing *why* these problems existed, the report simply offers technical ways of addressing such issues. Vocational schools were to be built in more remote areas, job training offered, financial support made available for children and the elderly, regional health centers were to be constructed, the school lunch program expanded, and inadequate housing improved (PARC 1964).

The Office of Economic Opportunity (created through President Johnson's War on Poverty initiative) would subsume responsibility for most of the human resource

issues listed above, while infrastructure related concerns would be handled by the Commission. Unfortunately, most of the federal dollars that were distributed throughout the region to be used for these purposes were instead used-up by local elites. As we have seen throughout the analysis of this document, the Commission consistently failed to address class relations when generating development policies. Thus, a situation was created in which the improvements sought by the Appalachian Regional Commission could not fully be achieved because dollars were not distributed in a manner which would then lead to social change. Overall, this failure to critically examine social history has become somewhat standard practice of development agencies in the Global North and has led to a failure of development policy to generate the socio-economic change needed. "An important reason promised improvements are not delivered is that the diagnosis is incomplete… It cannot be complete if key political-economic processes are excluded from the bounded, knowable, technical domain" (Li 2007, 18).

As the Office of Economic Opportunity was beginning to dissolve, and the last of the funding for human resource initiatives was running out, fighting began to occur between local elites. "Elites fought over control of poverty dollars. Authority over public housing and economic development programs became as important as control of county roads and schools, and local political machines clashed with state and even federal authorities to maintain their influence" (Eller 2008, 156). However, Eller's (2008) analysis of the Commission's failures, as well as the failures of the Office of Economic Opportunity, is quite similar to what Li (2007) has found in her analysis of development in Sulawesi, Ferguson documents in his study of the Zambian Copperbelt (1999), and Wainright concludes in his study of southern Belize (2008). These failures of development projects often have numerous unintended effects. For example, Li (2007) finds that the people of Sulawesi came to share the same desires as the development professionals. Rather than become depoliticized themselves through failed technical development projects, it was as though the development scheme had awakened a critical sensibility in the people of Sulawesi (Li 2007). The people of Sulawesi came to understand why the failed projects had not worked.

In his analysis of development efforts in the Zambian Copperbelt, Ferguson (1999) demonstrates how inhabitants, again, had the same aspirations for development as

the developers. However, as mining in the Copperbelt began to decline, leading to an overall economic decline, socio-economic opportunities were essentially taken away from Zambians leaving within them a critical awareness of this forcible exclusion from a global market (Ferguson, 1999). Wainright's (2008) work echoes these sentiments, documenting how Mayans who have suffered at the hands of several failures of development practices and experienced their own critical awakening and became involved in counter-mapping practices along with Wainright and several geographers from University of California-Berkeley.

This analysis of recent critical Global South development scholarship allows us to underscore the significance of Eller's (2008) work within the context of Appalachian Studies. Following in a similar line of thinking as these authors, Eller (2008) notes the unintended effects of the failed development initiatives implemented by the Commission, and the War on Poverty more generally, on Appalachia's inhabitants. While the War on Poverty failed in its neoliberal development plans, it succeeded (again, unintentionally), in mobilizing the population politically in expressing their understanding of the political, rather than technical, context of regional poverty.

> The War on Poverty generated a degree of independence and assertiveness that undermined the old tradition of deference to authority and laid the groundwork for collective action on a variety of labor, health, and environmental issues. Low-income community leaders found common ground with their counterparts in neighboring counties on problems of welfare and social services; coal mining families from eastern Kentucky joined with others in West Virginia and Ohio to press for mine safety and union reform; young volunteer organizers from across the region established networks to oppose strip mining, outlaw the broad form deed, document absentee landownership, and lobby for fair taxation. Out of the crucible of community action came a variety of regional movements and a new space of regional organizations (Eller 2008, 157).

Although the authors of the PARC report, or the Office of Economic Opportunity, may not have anticipated any of these outcomes, these development efforts played a crucial and rather unexpected role in setting in motion a movement of individuals and organizations who would create their own definitions of justice and understandings of the good life. Regrettably, though individuals have created alternative economic development strategies, such diversity at the local level has not resulted in much deviation at the state level with regard to development policy. In the next section, after

having provided a thoughtful engagement with the PARC report, I move forward with an examination of Governor Steven L. Beshear's Kentucky Appalachia Development Plan 2009-2013 (KAD plan), which includes many echoes of the PARC report, and illuminates the performative network that exist between the federally-organized Appalachian Regional Commission, the State of Kentucky, and multi-county Area Development Districts.

Case Study 2: Examination of the Kentucky Appalachian Development Plan, 2009-2013, "Appalachia Tomorrow"

> The most perplexing of questions to reach a conclusion then becomes, with all of the worthwhile investments made in to region over the years, and increasing activism at the local level, why will there be as many distressed counties (40 out of 54) in 2010 as there were at the beginning of this decade (40 out of 49)? *A discussion to that question can be had by historians.* The intent of this document is to focus on what direction investments and development initiatives should proceed in the future (KAD 2009, 8; emphasis added).

The Kentucky Appalachian Development Plan, 2009-2013, titled "Appalachia Tomorrow," was prepared by the Governor's Office to provide an overview of Governor Beshear's anticipated investments in Appalachian Kentucky, and how these strategies would dovetail with the Governor's investment plans for the rest of the State of Kentucky as well as the goals of the Appalachian Regional Commission.

The Appalachian Regional Commission is structured in such a way that state governors play a crucial role in the programs instituted by the Commission, as well as the distribution of federal funding. Briefly, there are now 14 Commission members. These individuals include all 13 Appalachian state governors, and 1 federal co-chair who is appointed by the President and subject to confirmation by the Senate (ARC 2013). Each state governor then appoints an alternate to oversee the state's ARC program and to provide guidance at the state-level for those seeking ARC assistance. "Grassroots" participation then, is (theoretically) spearheaded by the local Area Development Districts (ADDs), which are multi-county agencies with boards comprised of local leaders, business people, and elected officials.

Individuals living in the region of Eastern Kentucky encounter the Appalachian Regional Commission through the state, often in the form of state-distributed reports and

ARC funded projects (such as highway development projects), and through ADD officials who conduct workshops and programs in multi-county areas. As the Commission is located in Washington, D.C., and program directors rarely conduct site visits (except in cases where projects have gone awry) many individuals only ever experience the ARC through the narratives produced by the state or interactions with ADD officials.

Many individuals in the region have little working knowledge of the Area Development Districts, or the boundaries of each district which include a relatively small number of counties. The ADDs nonetheless play an important in economic development throughout Eastern Kentucky, and often mediate development strategies on behalf of the state. Within Eastern Kentucky, the two primary ADDs representing the most interior Appalachian counties include the Big Sandy Area Development District and the Kentucky River Area Development District. When the ADDs were created by Julian Carroll's administration, they were meant to serve as a way for the state to channel funding into a region, and to bring demographic and other data out. Development at the time (mid-1970s) was primarily focused on bringing manufacturing jobs to the region. As Kingsolver (2011) has noted in her research, ADDs were meant to serve as mediators on behalf of the state in local communities, which essentially meant that the state would have a hand in rural development efforts. The state would negotiate *for* communities with multinational corporations or federal entities. In my own research I have found that ADD districts continue to play such a key role. Officials with the ADDs are consulted on the majority of development projects in Eastern Kentucky, and in my participant observations I have found that in some cases representatives from ADD districts are praised and upheld as the only individuals actually "doing" economic development.

ADD officials play an intriguing role in the region, perpetuating development discourses on behalf of the state and enlarging the realm of state intervention and effectiveness. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, Foucault has noted the importance of moving beyond an analysis that focuses solely on the state if the goal is to understand the mechanisms of macro and micro-powers at play in society. In his own words, Foucault explains, "I simply feel that excessive insistence on its [the state] playing an exclusive role leads to the risk of overlooking all the mechanisms and effects of power which don't

pass directly via the state apparatus, yet often sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions, enlarging and maximizing its effectiveness" (Foucault 1976, 72-73). Furthermore, Foucault has gone on in other essays to suggest that the state is unable to occupy the whole field of power, and thus can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations (Foucault 1976). Again, the creation of ADDs allows the state a direct way to sustain state-led development discourse in the region and to implement the KAD plan created by the Governor's Office.

As noted above, the KAD plan, and the goals created by Governor Beshear, work in tandem with the goals established for the Appalachian Regional Commission. These include:

> 1) Increase job opportunities and per capita income in Appalachian to reach parity with the nation.
> 2) Strengthen the capacity of the people of Appalachia to compete in the global economy.
> 3) Develop and improve Appalachia's infrastructure to make the Region economically competitive.
> 4) Build the Appalachian Development Highway System to reduce Appalachia's isolation (ARC 2013).

These goals then, as created by the Appalachian Regional Commission (comprised of state governors), shape development discourse and reports generated throughout the Appalachian region. The KAD plan (2009) serves as an excellent example. First, a place of intervention is clearly created by the state through the use of statistics. The same discourse of difference discussed above in the PARC report is invoked by the State of Kentucky. Statistical tools, such as the number of counties defined as "distressed" by the Appalachian Regional Commission, are employed to discursively create a bounded space in need of development. Then, Appalachian Kentucky is juxtaposed against the rest of Kentucky as well as the United States in regard to rates of poverty and educational attainment, with a reminder that despite any progress that has been made, "Appalachian Kentuckians still lagged behind the region and nation in high school completion rates, and significantly behind national averages in college graduation rates" (KAD 2009, 5). Appalachia seems to still be in a race to catch up with everyone else, though the authors of this report felt no need to discuss the political and economic context which has fostered low educational rates in the region.

Interestingly enough, the authors of the report do take a moment in the report to reflect and acknowledge the sort of narrative they are creating through the use of such statistics (though they stop short of pursuing questions regarding why inequality exists).

> Currently, a snapshot of some arbitrary data sets are available that provide more up-to-date estimates than the last census research. The portrait painted by demographic data new and old craft a similar tale for the residents of Appalachian Kentucky; in historical comparative context, sheer numbers depict a region closing the gap with the rest of the nation in several respects, but the undeniable fact remains that Appalachian Kentucky metaphorically treads water somewhere behind the rest of Appalachia, and ever further behind the US as a whole (KAD 2009, 6).

Through conventional measures of poverty, this report conveys an image to the region's residents and leaders that Appalachian Kentucky is still a region apart. Rural Appalachia still lags behind urban Appalachia. Urban Appalachia still lags behind the rest of the nation. It is almost 50 years since the PARC report was written. We have heard all of this "lagging behind" language before. Interestingly enough, though authors of the KAD plan do challenge dominant discourses in some regards, arguing for skills that will help the region's residents obtain high-paying careers rather than positions in manufacturing plants without roots in the region, the authors nonetheless revert back to a pragmatic and limited development discourse.

> "But an administration must also be pragmatic enough to position itself to bring jobs to distressed communities in Appalachia whenever possible given the high unemployment and poverty rates across the region. It is this dichotomy that every administration must reconcile. Other seemingly incompatible concepts that need reconciled include:
>
> - Continued investment in large scale infrastructure projects vs. smaller investments designed to generate more civic involvement.
> - Concentrated investment in distressed communities vs. expanding opportunities in growth areas with the hopes success might spread and backslides may be avoided.
> - Recognition of the ultimate importance of locally grown initiatives vs. exporting centralized concepts that have had proven positive impacts.
>
> The conclusion, ultimately, is that all of the above concepts have merit and must be pursued when unique opportunities present themselves" (KAD 2009, 9).

The text above seems to imply that that every administration faces making tough decisions and that any action done in the name of development – even if that means

continuing to invest in growth areas or large scale infrastructure projects, instead of investing in civic engagement and distressed communities – is acceptable. With such an inclusive overarching statement covering any and all development action, how could anyone be critical of the Governor Office in 2013 if he failed to meet his objectives?

In the next section, following the same deconstructive approach used to analyze the PARC report, I briefly explore the more specific areas of intervention that will be the primary focus of the Beshear administration ("centerpieces" as they are referred to by the Governor's Office). The following are the themes of intervention that are clearly underscored in this report: 1) Early childhood education; 2) Adventure tourism; and, 3) Energy technology-related industries. In the next section, I note the ways that problems and decontextualized strategies are presented to the reader, and how a development ethos emerges with regard to improving the lives of the region's residents. Afterwards I move into a discussion of how we might re-think "development" and foster the recognition of contextualized economic alternatives.

Discourses of Diminishing Poverty and Childhood Education

Throughout this section of the KAD plan, improvements in early childhood development are presented as strategies that will diminish "this cycle of poverty, low education levels, and unemployment" (2009, 26). Improving early childhood development, a strategy that (in theory) could be deployed anywhere in the world, is deployed here as decontextualized technical development strategy. Early childhood development is presented here as a way to improve the labor force in Eastern Kentucky, which the authors of the KAD plan argue is necessary for the improvement of the State of Kentucky. The authors of the report suggest that children participating in early childhood outreach programs are: more likely to outperform their peers on academic and cognitive tests, more likely to attend college and obtain higher skilled positions, less prone to teenage pregnancy, and less likely to participate in special education curriculum.[30]

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[30] According to the state narrative, the first step towards the improvement in childhood education and health was taken by Governor Patton in 1999, when the Early Childhood Task Force was created. Calls for improvement in childhood education are not new. The 1965 PARC report highlighted the significance of investing in human resources, and many reports and articles were published in the late 1960s and early 1970s discussing the importance of early childhood programs (see for example Lazar 1970; "Mountain

To further justify an emphasis on early childhood education, the authors employ relevant statistics, such as averages pertaining to the number of low birth-weight babies, pre-term births, women smoking during pregnancy, and teen pregnancy rates. The report does include a few instances in which the State of Kentucky has managed to meet the national average, demonstrating the usefulness of its public awareness campaigns and efforts to distribute preconceptual and prenatal vitamins to health departments. Nonetheless, the State of Kentucky nonetheless received an "F" from the March of Dimes organization on its Premature Birth Report Card (2009, 25).

The authors then shift to a discussion regarding poverty rates. No explanation is given to the reader regarding why poverty rates in Eastern Kentucky are so high, and yet we are asked to firmly believe that an increase in education alone will break the "cycle of poverty" in the region. Throughout this section the authors continue to present the many ways in which Appalachian Kentucky lags behind: our "at-risk" parents and children need better education at all levels, and we do not have enough children enrolled in nursery school, preschool or kindergarten when compared to the rest of the nation. The state budgetary effects for Kentucky government would be endless if childhood education was improved – education expenses would be lowered, children would fail fewer grades, participants would be less likely to commit criminal acts and more likely to pay tax revenues, and in general, unlikely to participate in the welfare system. Though the state plans to intervene and offer financial assistance to fund preschool families, there is no discussion regarding context in which it is necessary to create a financial assistance program to publicly fund preschool programs to the families of three and four year olds whose family income is *below 200%* of the federal poverty level. There is no explanation of as to why Appalachian Kentucky has families with incomes below 200% of the federal poverty level, though such questions are of critical importance to the future stability of this region.

Let me be clear, it is not my intention to argue against the importance of health care and educational improvements in the region. I do mean to suggest however, is that this discourse does not fully recognize many of the reasons for the health issues facing

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State in Perspective," West Virginia Development Plan 1968; The Appalachian Health Program: A Progress Report 1971).

mothers, or the challenges posed for the educational system. Holistic contextualized development strategies must take such issues into consideration. Gaventa, Smith and Willingham (1990) noted problems with such an approach in the Appalachian South during late 1980s and early 1990s, as the Southern elites shifted from an emphasis on low-wage, low-skill labor, to a discourse that argued for the importance of an educated workforce (as the *lack* of such skills would prevent growth in the South), Appalachian scholars working in Georgia were quick to note the limitations of such an approach to development.

> Such arguments are difficult to oppose, for most will agree that educational quality and opportunity should be improved. And it is very likely that increased education will lead to increased productivity and job creation in some areas or for some people. But to argue that the lack of economic development lies in the lack of an educated workforce rapidly boarders on a new version of blaming the victims of economic crisis, rather than its root causes (Gaventa, Smith and Willingham 1990, 283).

As jobs in Appalachian Kentucky have diminished due to decreases in resource extraction, a discourse emphasizing the lack of skills of the region's residents has certainly surfaced as of late. To blame a lack of education, without teaching about the root causes – relationships of power, a lack of redistribution of profits to offer better schools, the scarcity of 'good paying' jobs – may result in advancement for some, but may also be used to blame others for failure which they have little control over.

The decontextualized nature of the Governor's centerpieces continues in the subsequent discussion of adventure tourism, which does not recognize the resource extraction taking place in the region that would deter tourism efforts, and fails to take into any consideration the ecological impact of tourism strategies such as those that involve the development of all-terrain vehicle (ATV) trails. I explore these issues further in the next sub-section.

Unbridled Kentucky Adventure: Tourism, Nature and Landownership

"Unbridled Kentucky" and "Unbridled Sprit" are well-known place branding campaigns in the State of Kentucky. Within Appalachian Kentucky, this campaign highlights the Southeast mountain region and lakes of Southern Kentucky. Examples of successful tourism initiatives featured in the report include the following: "Nearly 10,000

ATV riders came to Harlan County between October 2004 and November 2005. In Knott County, *a private landowner* allowed the use of 43,000 acres of forest land and coal mining areas for horseback riding trails" (2009, 36; emphasis added). I have purposefully added emphasis to the phrase, a private landowner, as I find this to be significant regarding the topic of landownership and accessibility to land in Eastern Kentucky for alternative forms of economic development. Would it not seen questionable to an average reader of this report that one individual private owner in Knott County would own 43,000 acres of land?

Landownership is not always recognized as an important variable for the cause of Appalachian poverty (and poverty in general throughout the United States), but it should be. Ownership of surface mines and minerals determines where people live and work, whether or not the land will be pristine or polluted, destroyed or preserved (Shuford 2009). Ownership of land, and therefore land use, is directly related to issues of power and governmentality (for previous land studies in Appalachia see the 1983 report, "Who Owns Appalachia," published by the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force). The KAD plan does not include information regarding the private landowner, though in this instance the example included in the plan speaks to larger concerns regarding land ownership in Eastern Kentucky (and land availability is an important variable when exploring new development possibilities).

In the example used in this report, it appears as though the Sutton family heirs in Knott County are primarily responsible for making land available for use in the Knott County Adventure Park System. After retrieving a copy of the letter confirming the transference of ownership to the Knott County Judge Thompson however, it becomes clear that the Sutton family heirs actually only donated 10 acres of their estate to the Knott County Fiscal Court. The heirs also granted an easement for approximately 600 acres. Other land owners included Joe Newland who expressed interest in developing a network of horse trails on portions of the Western Pocahontas' 42,000 acres of reclaimed mine lands, and Bob Miller of Miller's Brothers Coal Company who was interested in horse and ATV trails (Phase 1 – Master Plan, www.trailsrus.com/adventure/phase 1). Tourism strategies such as these deepen already existing capitalist relations, keeping land and capital in the hands of wealthy elites in Eastern Kentucky.

Trail developments are supposed to lead to economic development, so the authors of the report tell us. “Entrepreneurial citizens can develop related industries, such as Barn and Breakfast, craft stores, guide services, or trail-side cafes. The development of a trail-system also allows Kentucky to capitalize on our abundant natural resources in a responsible manner, as we are not depleting a non-renewable resource” (2009, 38). This may be true enough; such development approaches are considered to be far less damaging to local flora, fauna, and water resources than the extraction of coal and gas resources (although ATVs have been known to cause damage to wildlife and stream quality). The tensions and contradictions throughout the report, as one first reads a narrative of tourism and environmental stewardship to a discourse of energy technology, discussed in the next section, are daunting.

An additional note should be made related to the strategic placement of the Department of Tourism which is responsible for such state-supported efforts such as the Knott County Adventure Park System. As Sharma (2006) noted in his work, there are often internal tensions within the state regarding departments, divisions, and so forth. The hierarchy within state government clearly shapes understandings of certain discourses pertaining to subject areas such as tourism, arts, commerce, and so forth. In this case the authors of the report note that Governor Beshear elevated the Department of Tourism, which had been a part of the Commerce Cabinet, to the Cabinet level, creating the Tourism, Arts and Heritage Cabinet (essentially removing discussions of tourism, the arts and heritage initiatives from conversations with the Commerce Cabinet and the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development). Though the Governor may argue that such a promotion elevated the status of tourism in general, the division created between tourism, arts and heritage, and commerce and economic development, may ultimately result in promoting an economic development discourse that does not see arts and heritage initiatives as worthy development endeavors.

As a development strategy on its own, tourism efforts are limited and can result in unanticipated damaging and fracturing of communities in rural areas. As Gaventa, Smith and Willingham (1990) have noted, there are many examples in which tourism efforts in rural areas have played out with mixed results in Appalachia and the South more broadly. For example, in places such as the Sea Islands, South Carolina, and Gatlinburg,

Tennessee, tourism has resulted in the loss of traditional forms of survival and has led to the prevalence of seasonal low-wage service sector jobs dependent upon the number of tourists that actually visit the area. Within a struggling national economy such strategies seem further problematic. Of course, the authors of the KAD plan argue that, despite all of the rhetoric regarding early childhood development and a need for an educated workforce, service-related jobs created through tourism development will employ a wide range of people and do not require extensive education or training. The report goes on to suggest that such jobs would be long-term and that there is no way to outsource such positions. Again, there is no discussion of the fact that such positions are typically seasonal, are not well-paid (and thus would not address economic concerns associated with poverty), and without large numbers of tourists many tourism ventures (such as the Appalachian Artisan Center discussed at length in Chapter 5) may struggle to survive.

The inherent contradictions that occur in development discourses, such as when the state suggests tourism development in a region that is also home to resource extraction, or how an educated workforce is needed, but not with regard to low-wage service sector jobs, seems par for the course in development plans. As we will see in the next sub-section, it is difficult to understand a development discourse that argues for sustainability, tourism and environmental stewardship, while at the same time fostering the extraction of coal and natural gas.

Booms and Busts: Energy Technology and Natural Resource Extraction

The abundance of natural resources in the Appalachian region has long tempted and teased the capitalist imagination. As noted in the 1965 PARC report, the language of abundance and fostering the extraction of resources such as coal and timber created a framework through which exploitation of the environment was legitimated. The KAD plan further legitimates such approaches stating that, "Significant progress has been made in economic competitiveness, educational attainment, certain health indicators, and quality of life issues, owing in part to investments made with revenue from coal and energy-based industries" (2009, 48). Through a discourse which brings attention to Eastern Kentucky's abundance of natural resources, a desire for America to move toward energy independence, and the political willingness of the region's residents to embrace

new energy technologies, Appalachian Kentucky is encouraged to explore alternative energy sources (more specifically liquid fuels derived from coal and biomass, energy technologies which were also supported in 2007 by State Representative Rocky Adkins in House Bill 1). In other words, Eastern Kentucky was expected to play a key role in the United States' shift from dependence on foreign oil, and the State of Kentucky would play a leading role in the charge, forging partnerships with public, private and educational sectors.

The authors of the report then go on to address the history of the coal industry in the region, yet this narrative only provides one side of the story. I will quote this section at length to demonstrate how, through the production of a public cultural narrative, absentee capitalists who played a key role in limited diversification and profit reinvestment in mining communities are purposefully hidden by state narratives.

> Lynch, Kentucky, in Harlan County, was a company town established in 1917 by the U.S. Coal and Coke Company. By the 1940s, Lynch had more than 10,000 residents. The economy had been built around coal mining. The community had assets, including a hospital and a movie theater. By the 1960s and 70s, as mining shifted to less labor-intensive methods, the population declined radically. In the 2000 Census, the population was 900. The 2007 estimate for Lynch was 828.
>
> This is a story that could apply to small mining towns all across Central Appalachia. During the boom times, people would seek out job opportunities in the coal mining industry. Fortunes have been made from the extraction of natural resources from the mountains. But mining success never translated to a broad economic improvement of the population comparative to the rest of the nation, nor did much to improve the isolated nature of the region. There are a multitude of reasons that prosperity and progress were limited, but in the 21st Century, after the achievements in inter-connectedness, remote isolation is not as big an obstacle for Appalachian Kentucky as is once may have been… The wall of isolation, which once might as well have been literal, is now merely metaphorical. Therefore, it should be true that if Appalachian Kentuckians create sustainable, dependable industries, meaning the jobs are something more than here today, gone tomorrow, Appalachian communities could progress at an accelerated rate and move into parity with the rest of the state. Energy-related industries, potentially creating thousands of new jobs and millions of new dollars in tax revenue, could be the lynchpin by which to make such a move (KAD 2009, 52).

The history of resource extraction, and the failure of capitalists to reinvest profits in the region (one of the multitude of reasons that prosperity and progress were limited) (see Caudill 1962; Gaventa 1982; Eller 1982, 2008; Gaventa, Smith and Willingham

1990; Fisher 1993; Billings and Blee 2000; Williams 2002; Billings 2002; Fisher and Smith 2012) are not discussed. The fact severance tax policies in the State of Kentucky often benefit the core, Central and Northern Kentucky, more than the periphery, Eastern and Western Kentucky where the majority of mining takes place, is not acknowledged.

I would like to postpone a discussion of all environmental and ecological concerns for a moment, to simply examine severance tax structure in place within Kentucky. To clarify, a severance tax is levied on coal production in order to retain economic value from a non-renewable resource after it has been extracted or severed. In FY 2012, before the latest downturn in the coal industry, the State of Kentucky collected $298 million in severance taxes. Now, a large portion of severance tax monies goes to the State of Kentucky General Fund. In FY 2012 this amount was $140 million. Before any money could be distributed to economic development programs in Eastern or Western Kentucky, almost half of the revenue generated through severance taxes was given to the State of Kentucky (though not all of the state suffers direct ecological damage due to resource extraction). Adding insult to injury, it was also the case in FY 2012 that $2.5 million in severance tax dollars was given to Rupp Arena, located in Lexington, KY (Central Kentucky) for renovations. Kidd (2013) a community development practitioner and rural public policy advocate working in Whitesburg, KY, wrote an op-ed piece in the Lexington Herald-Leader regarding severance tax and noted that, “Allocating $2.5 million to Rupp Arena is an outrageous use of severance taxes, but small change compared to the amount that disappears into the General Fund each year. If that $140 million had been invested in a permanent endowment, these funds would be earning interest in perpetuity, both for purposes we know about now and for those we can’t foresee” (Kidd 2013).

Though the KAD plan goes on to emphasize the importance of employment in the coal industry throughout the Eastern Kentucky coalfields, the situation four years later is now very different. Recent downturns in the industry due to shifts in the global economy, the lower cost of natural gas, the relatively higher cost of mining Appalachian coal (when compared to coal extraction elsewhere throughout the US), and EPA regulations have resulted in layoffs throughout the region. The report does leave room for the exploration of renewable energy resources in Eastern Kentucky, but this discussion seems focused on

non-coal producing counties. In coal producing counties energy production will focus on coal-to-liquids technologies, as well as the extraction of natural gas and carbon capture/sequestration projects. The authors also suggest that efforts should be made to explore nuclear energy, though it is doubtful that such an argument would be made now given the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster that occurred in Japan, in 2011 (after the report had been published). Impediments to energy-based opportunities in Appalachian Kentucky ultimately bring the report full circle, noting the Appalachian communities have "serious work to do to address workforce limitations, the health of the population, the education attainment levels of Appalachian students, necessary infrastructure, housing and entertainment opportunities, available land, and other concerns" (KAD 2009, 57).

The PARC report set the precedent for federal and state-led economic development in the region, and the 2009-2013 KAD plan regrettably echoes a similar limited development discourse narrative that fails to take into consideration a complete and holistic narrative of the political, cultural and economic history and geography of Appalachian Kentucky, disregarding any broader structural analysis of social challenges facing the region. We should now ask, were the recommendations in the PARC report, and the subsequent KAD plan, the only possible options for Appalachian Kentucky more broadly? If we think outside the dominant discourse of economic development practices in Appalachia, what might we imagine?

Architects of Appalachia's Future: Re-thinking Development and Fostering Alternatives

> These mountains have stood throughout history as nearly impenetrable barriers to socioeconomic interaction, commerce, and prosperity. Appalachia is a place apart, a place where people have long-suffered the chronic economic consequences of physical isolation (Networking Appalachia 2009, 7).

In November 2009, after the KAD 2009-2013 plan had been distributed by the Governor's Office, the Appalachian Regional Commission released a new study titled, "Networking Appalachia: Access to Global Opportunity." This new report focuses primarily on the "commercial importance of intermodal transportation networks" (www.arc.gov). Building its argument on the same notion of isolation that Appalachian

scholars have worked diligently over the past 40 years to deconstruct, the 2009 Networking Appalachia report perpetuates the same discourse of overcoming isolation as the previous 1964 PARC report and 2009-2013 KAD plan. In fact, the introduction to the 2009 report (Section 1.0 and 1.1) begins with *literally* the same discussion as the PARC report.

> Recognizing both obstacles and the potential facing the Region, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) opened its 1964 report to President Lyndon Johnson, thus the following: "Appalachia is a region apart-geographically and statistically. It is a mountain land boldly up-thrust between the prosperous Eastern seaboard and the industrial Mid-West – a highland region which sweeps diagonally from New York to Mississippi…" Recognizing the linkage between the isolation and economic distress, the PARC report emphasized, "Developmental activity in Appalachia cannot proceed until the regional isolation has been overcome" (Networking Appalachia 2009, 2).

The 2009 report goes on to emphasize the disjointedness and disorganization of transportation networks throughout the region, many of which the Appalachian Regional Commission has been responsible for developing through its own Appalachian Regional Highway Development program.

Thus, rather than recognizing the integration and interconnection of the region's economy to the rest of the country (which, to some extent, the KAD plan did acknowledge), the Networking Appalachia report continues to perpetuate a limited discourse of isolation. The authors of the Networking Appalachia (2009) report argue that Appalachia must continue to build transportation networks to attract new business and employment to the region.

Yet, since the since the 1980s, many scholars in the field of Appalachian Studies have attempted to deconstruct this limited notion of isolation and development. Scholars have generally argued that Appalachia is poor as a result of its integration with – not isolation from – the American corporate economy (see for example Eller 1982; Gaventa 1980; Billings 2002; Billings and Blee 2000). It is only with an appreciation for an understanding of the history and social relations in Appalachia that economic development policies can be generated by the Appalachian Regional Commission, and states such as Kentucky that include a significant number of counties within the Appalachian region, which will improve economic conditions. The Appalachian Regional

Commission, as well as other development agencies at the state and federal levels, must critically examine the existing level of integration of Appalachia within the national and global economy – and the ramifications of such integration. This is true for non-governmental agencies working in the region as well that often perpetuate the limited discourse of the state.

Some scholars have admirably tried to work within this system. As the Chair of the Kentucky Appalachian Task Force, historian Ron Eller was commissioned, along with other Task Force members, to produce a report that would serve as a guide to development efforts in Appalachian Kentucky. In 1995, Task Force members produced the document, "Communities of Hope: Preparing for the Future in Appalachian Kentucky" (hereafter, the KATF report). In a letter written to Governor Brereton C. Jones, Ron Eller described this report in the following terms.

> This is the report to you on the work of the Kentucky Appalachian Task Force. It is more than just another government report about the problems of Appalachia. This is a Guide For Action – one that can take the people of Appalachian Kentucky into the 21st century as full partners in the future of the nation and the Commonwealth. It is a report generated from the ideas and experiences of citizens and leaders across eastern Kentucky, and as such, it represents their hopes for the future and their determination to make a difference in their own communities. The report makes specific recommendations for change that you can initiate, but it is also a guide for action that anybody can pick up – a congressman, a legislator, a mayor, a teacher, a student, a business leader – and use to determine what he or she can do to help. Throughout the report is a recognition that there is much that is good in Kentucky Appalachia today and that we have achieved significant progress since the 1960s. If none of the recommendations in this report are implemented, many in eastern Kentucky will do fine in the years ahead. But for many others, the journey to economic security, family stability, adequate health care and educational opportunities will remain incomplete. In the new world of technology and global markets, these distressed communities and populations are still at risk of being left behind, and the region as a whole, including its successful residents, will not achieve its full potential. We call upon you to assist the citizens of Appalachian Kentucky in realizing their dreams for the future. As this report indicates, the people of the region have faith in our ability to embrace change while holding onto the best parts of our past. We can achieve this vision if each of us will do our part (KPTF 1995, 3).

Eller provided an eloquent letter for a meaningful report, which at its core was truly a document that pushed for state and regional planning derived from community-based planning, the maximization of civic participation, and the empowerment of the

region's inhabitants through lifelong learning. Although I would question the use of the notion of 'lagging behind' in this report, the majority of language used was certainly a step in the right direction for development policy and Appalachian Kentucky.

When a new governor was elected in Kentucky, shifts were created in state-led policies and practices, and though the political party itself had stayed the same, the control of the Kentucky Appalachian Task Force shifted hands from Ron Eller to Governor Patton who distributed Task Force positions to his cabinet members. By 2003 when another governor was appointed, this time a Republican, the Task Force was dismantled (Eller 2013, Personal Communication). Thus a report which could have generated much good in the region by pushing for contextualized community-based development practices, and a Task Force which seemed to blend scholars, leaders, and politicians, was dismantled. I would argue that no report with such a democratic blend of authors has been written since, and recent Calls to Action published by so-called regionally-based research and development institutes, do not compare to the work and devotion shown in this text.

For those local activists, researchers, and Appalachian scholars, frustrated with the failure of conventional development practices, who have decided to work outside of the performative bureaucratic norms of the state, the search for new ideas has moved far beyond the borders of Appalachia and the Appalachian Regional Commission. This search for new economic models and development possibilities has led to such places as the worker cooperatives in Spain's Mondragon region (discussed in Chapter 2), to networked niche-based firms of Italy, and to the World Social Forum in Brazil (Billings 2002). Lessons learned from places such as the Micronesian state of Kiribati emphasize that rural regions, especially those which have been dominated by one extractive industry, must begin advocating economic diversity and fighting for the control of surplus distribution (Pretes and Gibson 2008). If the extraction of resources is to continue in Appalachian Kentucky region, then investment approaches using severance tax funds such as those proposed by Kidd (2013) and Bailey (2013) must be taken seriously. This is in direct contrast to the highway building approach of the Appalachian Regional Commission, whose highway projects have historically provided access to previously 'untouched' resources – thus facilitating not only the extraction of such resources, but

also wealth from this region. These problems are not unique to Appalachia however; they can be found in rural/poor communities throughout the world.

Projects that seek to foster economic diversity and for the redistribution of resources must be contextually dependent to be successful. Activists, scholars and development practitioners must take into consideration the social relations and class conflicts of different communities, and be attuned to the wants and desires of community members. In this sense, over some 40 years later, Appalachian scholars must continue to highlight the importance of Appalachian Studies and community-based development strategies, pushing for policy change rather than continuing a practice of promoting or embracing decontextualized technical strategies. Policy makers must consider possibilities that allow economic development strategies for Appalachia to emerge from the bottom-up, rather than being forced from the top-down.

Calls for civic engagement and democratic participation by Eller and others in the 1995 KATF report were a step in the right direction. While it may become all too easy to be seduced by the thought of non-capitalistic small-scale production as the change that is needed in response to failed "conventional" or strictly capitalist-oriented developmentalism, scholars, development practitioners, and policy makers must choose instead to accord more space to "alternative" or non-capitalist approaches, while recognizing their entanglements with capitalist practices and conventional developmentalism, both within the Appalachian region and the wider world.

Conclusions

Through this analysis of the top-down development recommendations of the 1964 PARC report, as well as recommendations in the 2009-2013 KAD plan prepared by the Governor's Office of the State of Kentucky, I have demonstrated in what ways Appalachia has historically been discursively defined as an area in need of regional economic development by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, how inhabitants of Appalachia were represented by the Commission, and examined what economic development strategies were recommended for future development. I have focused primarily on three themes which emerged throughout the analysis of this document: 1) the notion of isolation, 2) economic development departments and private

enterprise, and 3) human resources. While additional or alternative themes have been emphasized by other scholars, I would argue that these three themes emerged most clearly in any understanding of how this document attempted to stabilize development efforts in Appalachia. Through my analysis of the PARC report, I have attempted to elucidate how this report provided a limited development discourse that continues to be invoked today. The further analysis of the KAD plan was meant to demonstrate how a limited economic development discourse remains with us and is perpetuated by the state.

This chapter has suggested new paths forward in terms of literatures and the utility of deconstructing development discourses, demonstrating the value of understanding development reports as part of a performative act that generates division between the state and civil society as well as the state and the economy. Such tangible documents shape economic imaginings and development discourses in the region, and are part of a performative movement that aims to make state agencies distinctive from civil society and allows the state to claim the right to define and impose development policies and practices. I argue that it is not fruitful to perpetuate the notion that the economy of Appalachia is moving towards a different stage, that development works through the same phases in all places and that one day, with the right thrust, we will see remarkable economic growth in the region. Instead I suggest that we re-imagine Appalachia and re-think development through a new discourse, one that allows for and encourages Appalachians to define 'the good life' in their own terms, in their own space. Development in this region should not merely be defined as bringing in a manufacturer to occupy the majority of industrial sites that currently sit empty. The first step in our collective reimagining is to deconstruct limited discourses of Appalachia, to which Appalachian scholars have devoted much time and energy. We must now think critically about the language of development policies that are generated in and for Appalachia and commit ourselves to expanding development possibilities beyond mere capitalist practices, beyond open and receptive to broad definitions of "the economy." In the next chapter, I will explore alternatives economic practices within the context of the craft industry in hopes of beginning a conversation regarding new development possibilities through the recognition economic diversity.

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CHAPTER 5
"KENTUCKY CRAFTED":
EXPLORING CRAFT GEOGRAPHIES, GEOGRAPHICAL LORE AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Introduction

> The craft movement throughout America is still gaining momentum. The opening of the new American Craft Museum in New York in 1986 and the growing number of fine-art galleries in major cities showing crafts have brought new prominence to the movement. Yet for all this, craft remains a regional phenomenon rooted in places like Kentucky (Shands 1989, 9).

In the foreword to Phyllis George's (1989) work, *Kentucky Crafts: Handmade and Heartfelt*, Mary Norton Shands provides a brief overview of the Kentucky Art and Craft Foundation, created in 1981 with the mission to promote Kentucky-made craft products on a national and global scale. Shands states that "the tradition of craft in Kentucky has a long and illustrious history, and the moment had arrived for an organization that would help bring it into focus" (Shands 1989, 9). Throughout the foreword Shands further reflects that craft production was a regional phenomenon rooted in places like Kentucky, but she does not bother to explore why it is that craft production is, in her opinion, regionally-based and how Kentucky came to be noted for its crafts and crafters.

The cultural, social, and economic dimensions of Kentucky's historical development provide a rich context through which to understand the growth and evolution of the craft industry, as well as the role of the state with regard to diverse economies and alternative economic practices. The marketing of Kentucky's crafts and of the Appalachian region more broadly through the creation of a 'geographical lore' (Crang 1996; Coulson 2004) is a process which has been ongoing since the late 1800s. When we look closely at public cultural artifacts created by the state and arts-related organizations, such as pamphlets, magazines, brochures, etc., we find traces of a geographical lore that draws upon stereotypes of tradition, ancestry, purity, honesty, and earthiness often associated with crafts produced in the Appalachian region. As we will see, such lore is frequently perpetuated by the state, and embraced by craft producers, as such narratives

entice consumers with promises of authenticity and quality. And yet, tensions and contradictions exist when the state generates a lore that is meant to benefit all Kentucky-based craft producers, and yet sustains exclusionary discourses of neoliberalism through other state-based programs, workshops, and seminars.

In this chapter, I first examine the role of craft production as alternative economic practice in Eastern Kentucky, located in Central Appalachia. Then, I explore in what ways a geographical lore concerning Central Appalachia was brought into being; a lore which distinguished the region as culturally and socially different and was used by the state to brand the region and create an appropriate context for the growth of the craft industry. Afterwards, I examine how the state entered into the craft industry and has continued to perpetuate a specifically regional lore which benefits both entrepreneurial and cooperative craft producers. At the same time however, the state emphasizes primarily entrepreneurial training and workshops which often alienate cooperative producers. I maintain then, following long-standing critical treatments of 'capitalist states', that the state's promotion and regulation of alternative economic practices is often performative and contradictory in nature, and the procedural and precedent-setting practices that re-enact the abstract and material idea of the state may create solidarity as well as division within Kentucky-based producers. For example, marketing through a geographical lore may benefit all Kentucky producers to some extent. And yet, the implementation of a state-sanctioned craft marketing logo as well as workshops that emphasize only entrepreneurial production and distribution efforts generates tensions and differences with real economic consequences within this industry. Finally, I examine stories of encounters with the state and economic diversity in which craft producers are exploring alternative ways to produce and distribute crafts in addition to state-supported methods.

Background

Creating a Lore, Building an Industry

The late 1800s were a time of upheaval and change in the Appalachian region. With the devastation of the South after the Civil War, Southern leaders adopted a 'New South' creed seeking to exploit the region's resources in hopes of achieving the same

level of industrialization and economic prosperity occurring in the North. Naturalists such as William Bartram (1792 [1976]) had been cataloging, in detail, the flora and fauna of much of Appalachia and the South more generally since the late 1700s, and yet it was not until the 1870s that ‘Appalachia’ was effectively ‘discovered’ and defined as a distinct region with an abundance of resources that often played to the capitalist imagination. During this time, local color and travel writers quickly began to assemble caricatures and stereotypes about Appalachia, describing the region as exotic, natural, backward, and different. This generation of impressionistic writers including Harney (1873), Murfree (1884), and Fox (1903, 1908) defined Appalachia’s residents by associating them with numerous behaviors and customs that were meant to set them apart from mainstream America, that is, expressive culture: vernacular log architecture, folk music and dance, handicrafts, woodcraft, superstitions and religious practices; and, social behaviors: deviance, illiteracy, feuding and brawling. In addition, landscape descriptions emphasized a mix of heights and valleys, light and shade, wildness and tameness, firelit interiors, crude beds, and cane-bottomed chairs.

Ultimately, two images come to dominate the literary landscape: “a positive set of attributes associated with the quaint but stalwart mountaineer and a negative set identified with the ignorant and impoverished hillbilly” (Williams 2002, 198-199). Such stereotypes dovetailed nicely with capitalist speculators and investor’s aspirations to exploit the region’s resources as such notions rendered the region’s people as in need of development and assistance (which, during this time, would have been understood as the exploitation of natural resources). In fact, these two processes of change have been described as inextricably and dialectically linked (Shapiro 1978; Eller 1982, 2008). The one, crafting what it meant to be Appalachian, was essential to the other, turning timber, coal, and other natural resources – besides the human labor needed to recover them – into cheap commodities for the nation’s industrial revolution. In many ways, this regional identity met not only the needs of capitalists; it also provided an ‘other’ for mainstream America.

Though literary authors played a key role in establishing and perpetuating the lore that presented Appalachia as isolated and different, academics are equally to blame. Even folklorists, anthropologists, geographers and others who claimed to present ‘objective’

assessments of ‘tradition’ or ‘folkways’ were engaged in a politics of culture as notions of tradition are undoubtedly ideological constructs, shaped by gender, ‘race’, social, political, and economic considerations. In Becker’s words, “Definitions of these categories [such as tradition] tell us less about the identified people and their cultures than about their interpreters. Sometimes the professionals dedicated to understanding tradition are the very ones who construct the genres used to understand or define it. Sociologists, anthropologists and folklorists use tradition as the fundamental basis for ascribing ‘authenticity’ in their interpretation of culture. Yet such thinking has political implications” (Becker 1998, 9).[31]

In his still somewhat controversial book, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*, Whisnant (1983) suggests that cultural endeavors such as ‘crafting’ what it means to be Appalachian, whether by novelists or academics, makes one “gradually aware that the manipulation of culture (at least, a culture constructed in certain ways) inevitably reflects value and ideological differences as well as the inequalities inhering in class” (1983, 7). Citing a fairly well known example beyond the Appalachian region, Whisnant explores attempts at economic ‘improvements’ in the Highlands of Scotland during the 1800s, which resulted in lairds forcibly clearing the indigenous population from the land to introduce large-scale sheep farming. In addition, lairds attempted to legitimate their actions by denigrating local people and participating in the erasure of their own cultural and geographical signifiers through the elimination of any trace of local dialect, dress, or style (Prebble 1961, 1963; cited in Whisnant 1983).

A similar manipulation of culture to serve economic purposes most certainly blossomed in Appalachia. Understood as a place which was written about and described by academics and non-academics alike, Appalachia, and the people who lived in the region, came to experience their homeplace – a symbol that communicates personal and

[31] Though not mentioned in Becker’s analysis, geographers also played a crucial role in portraying the Appalachian region is backward and cultural different. In her essay, “The Anglo Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study in Anthropogeography,” Ellen Churchill Semple (1901) wrote in reference to Eastern Kentucky that, “A glance at the topographical map of the region shows the country to be devoted by nature to isolation and poverty” (Semple 1901, 147). Semple goes on to say that, “nowhere else in modern time has that progressive Anglo-Saxon race been so long and so completely subjected to retarding conditions.” (Semple 1901, 174; cited in Williams 2002).

social identities – as a space that was different, and outside of mainstream America.[32] Journalists, educational and religious missionaries, as well as the foundational leaders of what would become a booming craft industry, contributed to and exploited emerging Appalachian stereotypes.

In many ways, these stereotypes of isolation, backwardness, and difference provided an 'appropriate' social context for the production and advertising of 'traditional' crafts. Jackson and Taylor (1996) have noted that the advertising of a particular product is an inherently spatial practice and in this instance the products (that is crafted items), had been associated with a space clearly defined as culturally different, and cultural difference sells (Rutherford 1990). Within the context of Appalachia, traditional crafts include items such as handmade baskets, quilts, rugs, brooms, wooden items (bowls, spoons and toys), instruments (dulcimers, banjos, violins and mandolins), and home-based items (placemats, corn shuck dolls and functional as well as decorative pottery). We might then understand such efforts to perpetuate stereotypes by craft industry leaders in hopes of enticing consumers to purchase and consume such traditional products as 'place branding'. Papadopoulos' (2011) expansive literature review examining academic work on place images indicates that the first known reference to the significance of the "little phrase made-in" on product labels occurred in 1962 (Dichter 1962), followed by the first study to empirically confirm the importance of the phrase (Schooler 1965), and the first literature review (Bilkey and Nes 1982).[33] However, we can easily see such efforts of the production of place images and place branding through the literary movement in Appalachia as early as the 1800s (perhaps even before then if we consider the place branding that might have occurred on early maps of the region produced by European mapmakers).

[32] As Papadopoulos (2011) has noted, conceptions of place have shifted overtime. Understandings of place, in the traditional and narrow sense of 'region' or 'location', have been replaced by notions of viewing place as a socially constructed experience, which means that place cannot be separated from people (see also Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Kearney and Bradley 2009; Trentelman 2009; Brown and Raymond 2007; Cuba and Hummon 1993).
[33] Interestingly, Papadopoulos (2011) suggests that place images and place branding have become some of the most researched issues in international buyer behavior and marketing studies (including over 1400 publications, 800 of which were refereed journal articles. Papadopoulos suggests that this is the result of the fact that these subjects combine three elements of paramount importance: "1) culture, which largely defines who we are; 2) place, which says where we come from; and, 3) perception, which is how we understand the world around us" (2011, 28).

Given the existence of a lore emphasizing isolation and pre-industrialization, Appalachia quickly became a haven for craft revivalists and missionaries who were influenced by the international 'anti-modernist' sentiments of the day which sought to revive the folk arts and crafts of preindustrial Europe (Williams 2002, 202). Thus, by the turn of the century numerous craft associations had emerged throughout Central Appalachia, taking a direct and active role in the marketing of the region and craft products.[34] Susan Chester opened her Log Cabin Settlement in Asheville, North Carolina; Berea College started its "fireside industries" crafts program; Frances Goodrich started her Allanstand Cottage Industries project, and Katherine Pettit made her first exploratory visit to Eastern Kentucky (ultimately resulting in the founding of the Hindman Settlement School in 1902 and the Pine Mountain Settlement School in 1911) (Whisnant 1983). Such institutions used the prevailing 'geographical lore' and discourse of place to their advantage, aiming to entice consumers with promises of authenticity and/or 'exoticism' (Crang 1996; Coulson 2004). Such lore is still used by state and non-governmental entities today to market craft products to consumers on national and international scales.

Though America had suffered an identity crisis during the post-Civil War period, Appalachia quickly provided an 'other' for America to distinguish itself against. "By the First World War, tradition and folk culture had come to serve important roles in shaping a national cultural, as well as political and economic, identity that would distinguish America within an international context" (Becker 1998, 4). The plethora of material produced on Appalachia by ballad collectors, social workers etc., created the concept that true American culture, untouched by modernity or industrialization, existed in Appalachia. The region was thought to have a "preindustrial economy, face-to-face relations, and the persistence of Anglo Saxon folk traditions" (Becker 1998, 5). These

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[34] For clarification, Papadopoulos (2011), in his study of places and brands, defines a few key terms which are necessary in order to study place, products, buyers, etc. Throughout my work, I have adopted similar definitions as Papadopoulos, whose definitions are in line with general marketing definitions. "1) 'product' is anything that can be offered by someone to someone else (from toothpaste to a political platform during an election); 2) 'association' is broadly defined and can be the product's actual location of manufacture, its place of assembly or design, the origin of its principal ingredients or parts, the producer's headquarters location, or simply an unrelated place whose image is used to enhance the product's appeal (e.g. an Australian wine with a French name); 3) the 'buyer' may be a consumer or organization considering a purchase, a government considering a political proposition by another, or any company, tourist, worker, or student looking for a place to invest, visit, work, or study; and, 4) the 'seller' may be any organization using 'place' to help market its offering – such as 'Swiss Made' in watches, or 'Viva Mexico' in tourism promotion" (Papadopoulos 2011, 27).

place images and textual descriptions became woven into the fabric of daily life for many Appalachians.[35]

Over time, the ideology of capitalism was applied to the region's craft industry. "Rationality, efficiency, and hierarchical bureaucracies were the organizational principles of corporate capitalism" (Becker 1998, 6) and these characteristics of capitalism were implemented quickly to accommodate the growing fascination with folk culture. The actual craft producer was rendered invisible to the process of selling as Americans were primarily interested in the products and the place image; products that were believed to have been made in traditional ways by a supposed primitive people in a backward place. Thus Appalachian crafts were thought to provide insight into America's past. The actual craft producer often lost control over the meaning given to the final product.

In 1929, industry leaders established the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild, comprised loosely of several craft producing centers and schools. In her analysis of the Guild, Becker (1998) notes that the Guild was successful in its goal of seeking to become the arbiter of quality and taste with regard to mountain-made crafts. Furthermore, the college-educated leaders associated with the guild – mostly female – presented themselves as experts on mountain crafts and exerted great influence over products produced and how they were advertised. Becker also explores at length how many guild leaders in general were concerned primarily with social reform, and yet found themselves working through concerns of artistic standards as well as marketing. Often, such concerns resulted in conflicts and tensions. The existence of such tensions however, meant that, "the guild could, for example, engage in projects to preserve the 'fine old crafts' of the region while simultaneously seeking outside assistance in styling some of the goods to appeal to urban centers" (Becker 1998, 77).

In their desire to cater to middle and upper-class outsiders, those running settlement schools and guilds, or conducting craft workshops, often avoided the utilitarian pots, weavings, carvings, and baskets of their 'ancestors', items which would

[35] The lingering impacts of such place-based images and stereotypes still continue today and, in 1990 prompted Batteau to argue that, "Only when those who know personally experienced Appalachia begin to understand and come to grips with the full range of meanings in read-about Appalachia will there be the possibility that read-about Appalachia might serve the interests of the Southern Mountain People, Appalachian or otherwise" (Batteau 1990, 8-9). I mention this in passing as scholars in the region are still working diligently to break down and disassemble such geographic lores, which more often than not have historically served capitalist interests and not the interests of the region's residents.

have commonly been used in the mountains (and, perhaps, would have been considered, by folklorists at least, as more authentic items used and produced every day). Instead, crafters made new products with different cultural ideas than their own embedded within them, in effect tapping into the mental schemata of buyers located outside of the region. "Pots became vases, weavings became place mats and table runners, carvings became toys and *objets d'art*… In effect, the crafts movements succeeded in making 'Appalachian' one of the leading brands in twentieth-century neotraditional home fashions and decorative arts" (Williams 2002, 204). [36]

By the late 1950s, the craft industry had grown significantly throughout Appalachia. The relationship established between the Southern Highlanders Guild, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the National Park Service, had provided a network through which expansion and growth had taken place (Barker 1991). Though this research seeks to primarily understand the role of the state and government in the craft industry, specifically in Kentucky from the 1980s forward, it is important to note that the government has been playing a key role in the craft industry throughout the broader region of Appalachia since at least the 1930s.[37]

Within the context of Kentucky, buyers within and outside of the state were purchasing Kentucky-made arts and crafts and craft fairs were becoming a primary outlet for sales. During the 1960s, it would have been likely that visitors to a fair in the state of Kentucky would have seen a booth set up by an organization such as Churchill Weavers, Red Bird Mission, Berea College, or the Kentucky Guild of Artists and Craftsmen (born during the 1960s in Berea) rather than an individual seller (Barker 1991). Though craft sales were growing in Kentucky and throughout the region, scholars at that time struggled to collect quantitative data. Stevens' article, "The Revival of Handicrafts," published in the study, *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Ford 1962), provided a few statistics collected from Southern Highland guild members, estimating that the 189

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[36] In his analysis of the craft movement, Williams (2002) reminds the reader that the movement was often led by women and it is important to remember that, despite the analytical critique of the ideologies within the movement that may have exploited women, many mountain women nonetheless benefited from the growth of the craft industry. "This was a movement led primarily by and for women. That is, by orienting Appalachian craftsmanship to an economic niche controlled by wealthier women, the revival generated incomes for mountain women who had few other sources of cash and, to that limited extent, increased their personal autonomy within patriarchal households" (Williams 2002, 204).
[37] For a full discussion see Barker 1991, or Becker 1998.

people that responded to her survey had sales of $129,450, which Stevens' projected to an overall sales of $649, 989 for the entire guild (Stevens 1962; cited in Barker 1991, 68). As tends to happen with regard to the topic of craft production in discussions involving development concerns, Stevens ultimately expresses doubt about the economic benefits of craft production stating that "Crafts are still not the road to riches for the individual craftsman or the guild" (Stevens 1962; cited in Barker 1991, 68). And yet, Stevens works through the binary of economy and civil society (by moving away from solely monetary discussions of craft production) and begins to recognize economic and social value in craft production.

> Crafts are not the quick answer to all the financial needs of depressed mountain areas. A craft is not learned in six easy lessons and its products sold cheaply and without effort. Education, whether of the father-to-son variety or the contemporary college or workshop kind, is essential.
>
> With intelligent planning and timely financial aid for a comprehensive educational program, crafts could become a more vital factor in the cultural, social, and economic life of the Southern Appalachian region (Stevens 1962; cited in Barker 1991).

In the quote above Stevens blends economic and civil society by discussing the potential role of financial support, as well as the cultural and social significance of craft production. The economy, which is often portrayed as a machine with which we have little interaction (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013), is seen as part of a much larger craft production strategy that addresses economic, cultural, and social concerns. In his personal reflections, Barker notes that the craft fairs of the 1960s, and the craft industry more generally, actually created a feeling of family, of cooperative success, which has (in Barker's opinion) faded away with the adoption of personal and portable booth displays, lighting and carpeting commonly seen at current fairs such as the state-organized Kentucky Crafted: The Market held every spring, or the Woodland Art Fair in the summer (two very well-known fairs in the state). Throughout this period cooperatives steadily grew, and yet, by the late 1980s, a sharp decline in such approaches had occurred. A new focus on self-sufficiency and the individual became the norm and the state – through certification and outreach programs that would actively teach individual booth design and marketing practices – emerged as a key player within this industry.

Such strategies would be deployed in regions such as Eastern Kentucky as ways in which people may make enough money to remain in their home-place. Though the War on Poverty had generated critical consciousness, it had brought very little long-term tangible relief. Crafting could be done in addition to, or in substitution of mining when needed to make ends meet. By the 1990s, state funds would be poured into the county-seat of Knott County (Hindman, KY) to support the founding of a school of craft and an artisan center – both of which have had limited success and have been used as scathing examples in recent critiques of state-based development efforts in the region.

The debate of the role of craft production in the region and in Kentucky's economy rages on. In his work, Barker (1991) purposefully cites Stevens, and then, on the following page, juxtaposes his own thoughts which he published some thirty years later:

> As a statewide industry, crafts are a significant economic factor. But for the lasting economic salvation of Eastern Kentucky, look somewhere else. Look to industry, light or heavy, and to the improved schools, water systems, and quality of life necessary to getting those industries to relocate.
> The crafts world will continue to grow, to better market its quality products and to better train craftspeople in business operations. But Eastern Kentucky needs more than crafts, flea markets, and yard sales to build a lasting, tax-paying economic base, and it's time Frankfort realized that (Barker 1991, 69).

On this note then, it is best to turn to a discussion of the craft industry in the 1980s, and how state leaders came to play a dominant role in an industry whose economic contribution to the regional economy of Eastern Kentucky, as well as the overall economy of the state, is still contested.

The Role of the State and Alternative Economic Practices, 1980s-Present

Development of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program

For Kentucky, and the history of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, there is one name which remains prominent, that of Phyllis George, the 1971 Miss America and former wife of Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown. Throughout numerous interviews, the story of Kentucky crafts tends to always include a reference to George. After 'discovering' Kentucky's two-hundred-year-old craft traditions during Governor Brown's election campaign, George was said to have "spent the next four years [after Brown won

the election in 1979] hustling, flying buyers across the states, and garnering national attention for her efforts" (Barker 1991, 154). In her personal reflections, George often romanticizes her travels from the mountains and hollows of Eastern Kentucky to the lake regions of Western Kentucky to find those she considered 'traditional' artisans, individuals who George described as having "a purity, honesty, and earthiness about them" (George 1989, 10).

In his analysis of the Kentucky craft industry, Barker (1991) makes note of a particularly ironic act that occurred in the 1980s. Despite George's discovery and enthusiasm for craft products, it was as though Governor Brown was completely oblivious of his second wife and her efforts to foster the craft industry when, rather early in his term during his efforts to reduce the size of government, he abolished the Kentucky Arts Council. Barker notes that "After abolishing the Kentucky Arts Council he [Governor Brown] realized he'd cost the state over $200,000 in National Endowment funding and quickly appointed a new 'Kentucky Arts Council' as part of the Kentucky Department of the Arts" (Barker 1991, 154). In addition, Governor Brown also created the Crafts Marketing Division, which existed as a separate branch, but was located in the same department. In accounts of the early 1980s, Commissioner of the Crafts Marketing Department, Lois Mateus, and Crafts Coordinator, Karen Horseman, seem to be almost hidden by the glamour and status of George. It was also during this time, in 1981, that Mary Norton Shands and others established the Kentucky Art and Craft Foundation, to assist with craft outreach efforts throughout the state.

It is at this point then, in the early 1980s with the state stepping forward as an influential player in this industry, that we begin to see tactics of governmentality and what van Ham (2001) and Papadopoulos (2011) have referred to as 'the rise of the brand state'. During this period place branding and geographical lore become a central issue of state efforts. The efforts of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, from the 1980s to the present, provides an interesting case study of the many ways in which the state has established procedural and precedent setting practices with regard to craft production, perpetuated geographical lores of place, and has often encouraged and celebrated one form of production over another in an effort to foster self-disciplining individuals who will adhere to state-encouraged entrepreneurial norms.

The Kentucky craft industry grew throughout the 1980s. Though large department stores throughout the US such as Bloomingdales and Neiman-Marcus became buyers of Kentucky-made artisan goods, often as a result of George's promotional and place-based marketing efforts, such stores did not prove to be a long-term market. Rather, the benefit of all this would seem to be the promotion of Kentucky-made crafts on a national and international scale – the global marketing of locally-made products.

Many leaders in the industry were cautious during this time, and with good reason. In his personal notes, Barker remarks, "My question is, will [the current boom] last when Phyllis George leaves?" (Barker 1991, 161). Making matters worse is the fact that, despite efforts to expand markets and increase sales, it was (and still is) immensely difficult for the state to account for sales of craft items.[38] In January, 1982, the *Kentucky Business Ledger* wrote a brief analysis of the craft market in Kentucky. In it, the author Ron Cooper laments, "There's no way to tell how much craft sales are making in terms of revenue to either artisans or the state. Because craftspeople generally handle their own transactions, industry and government spokespersons couldn't accurately estimate those figures" (Cooper 1982, 3). To this day the state still struggles to account for craft sales.

Though George's efforts may have increased access to national and international markets for craft producers, her efforts in branding Kentucky-made products were nonetheless grounded in a limited geographical lore and narratives of cultural difference. Such a place branding approach, which 'storied' the brand, creating a narrative to encourage consumer loyalty, perpetuated stereotypes commonly associated with Appalachia and perhaps the State of Kentucky more broadly. In fact, George described Kentucky-based craft producers in the following manner:

> They are of all ages, all types, and all backgrounds, but they have one thing in common – they represent a vanishing breed of artists and craftspeople who, often at great personal and family sacrifice, have chosen lives dedicated to preserving the Kentucky tradition of making things by hand… Family roots and tradition are important to these people… These people are the keepers of the skills and talents that built American life as we know it. Their stories are an inspiration to all of us

[38] Barker notes that, with regard to creating projections of craft-related earnings, the key factors that must be considered include who is making the projection and for what purpose. "Economic developers and state governments inflate their figures, craftspeople always understate income, and organizations would rather not be included. Overall sales numbers are also misleading; so much of the gross income goes to hobby and part-time craftspeople and to the retailers that net individual earnings are deceptively low. Craftspeople still work from love of craft, not expectations of profit" (Barker 1991, 171).

who live fast-paced lives in a high-tech society and who need reminders now then of where we came from and of what is important and lasting in life (1989, 10-11).

One cannot help but to be reminded of the narratives emerging in the region during the missionary movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s. The phrase "our contemporary ancestors" (Frost 1899) quickly comes to mind. Yet again, these artisans and crafters are seen as a vanishing breed, outside of the industrialized fast-paced high-tech society and thus provide a glimpse into the past. Moving forward, through the Martha Layne Collins administration and so forth, the Kentucky Crafts Marketing Program began to grow and shape production and distribution strategies in the craft industry, while also perpetuating geographical lores of tradition, authenticity, and high-quality grounded in understandings of difference and isolation from globalization.

An examination of how the state came to hire artists to create and record its own activities is interestingly enough woven into the formation of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. Given that this dissertation seeks to understand the ways in which the state creates representations and cultural constructions, I have transcribed, at length, the history of the intimate relationship that exists within the first efforts by the state to both hire artists to create state representations, and efforts to assist craft producers and artisans as shared with me by a former state employee who is now retired.

> I graduated from there [Western Kentucky University] with a BFA in Commercial Art, and my first job in the field I took with the Department of Public Information in state government as a graphic artist. It was actually part of the Division of Travel and Development, interestingly enough. The agency had graphic artists; I think there were 5 or 6 of us, photographers, writers, and a multimedia division which could do things like film and commercials. They recorded a lot of the activity of state government, particularly within the governor's office to put out regular press releases, working with the media, things like that. And we did, we produced all kinds of things for state government, pamphlets, logos, invitations, posters, all those things, pretty much what an ad agency would do, but within state government.
>
> It turned out, I started there in 1979, I graduated from Western in '77, but when John Y. Brown came in as governor, shortly after that, there was a big change in state government and he was about reducing the size of government at that time and he was, I don't think there were any agencies that were looked over in that process. And I think the opinion at the time was that that agency primarily served the governor's office and that maybe it was a PR move. Anyway, a lot of positions were cut from that particular program and were sort of moved around in

> state government and they elevated the Department of Travel and Development to, I don't know if it became the, I think it was a was a division that became a department, but it was elevated and it made tourism more significant within the hierarchy of state government. So, people were sort of dispersed and I was lucky enough to stay on as a graphic artist and got moved in to this new Department of Tourism.
>
> But it wasn't long after that, that I was invited to be a part of this new program. When the Brown's came in and Phyllis George was first lady, she took a personal interest in the crafts of the state. They had been traveling around the state campaigning, and I think people had given them gifts and she quickly became quite enamored with them, so, [she] started doing things to promote the crafts and the crafts people. One of the first things that happened was a department store promotion, Bloomingdales. And the first one, I was still a graphic artist, and we did promotional materials for that whole opening and we, I was asked to go work in this program and we had a… I think we were still in tourism, started with Karen Horseman, and I was told by Commissioner Kaylow that it was a new program, they weren't sure what it was going to do or what it was going to be, but that would be part of our job would be to figure it out. And something sort of told me that if I didn't take that job I may not have one! I was the newest artist, the latest hire, and I was like, ok, let's give it a shot. So, I was told at the time that I would be able to continue doing my graphic work, but that quickly just sort of didn't happen. And what happened from there was that, once we did that one department store promotion, and they had buyers come in and we had to set-up little mini exhibits at different places around the state, took the buyers around, and they did a big American promotion featuring Kentucky crafts. What was happening right there, it was a lot of that 'Buy America' campaign, there was a big trade deficit in the early 1980s, and this whole primitive, kind of country look, had gotten to be really popular in decorating in the magazines, so Bloomingdales department store really picked up on that (Interviewee #5, 2011).

Such a transcription, in its entirety, serves us well as it provides insight into the workings of the state. First, as my interviewee notes, the state engages in creating representations in a similar manner to a marketing firm, branding itself through logos, pamphlets, press releases, and commercials – all performative acts that result in creating public cultural narratives which individuals encounter in their everyday lives.

Second, the creation of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program may at first seem very haphazard and unstructured. In fact, one may wonder if the state would have even started a craft marketing program at this time if not for the interest in crafts of the Governor's wife. If we historicize this phenomenon further however, perhaps it was not solely interest in the crafters themselves that sparked George's interests. As my

interviewee notes, efforts by the state to market Kentucky-based craft products were part of a broader place image marketing strategy to encourage consumers to purchase American-made goods. Kentucky-based crafts were a small component in a much larger national effort. George needed only to tap into the pre-existing lores about Kentucky-based crafts and the network of producers in the region to engage in place-based branding and production that would serve the need of broader national efforts.

Third, three literatures – studies of diverse economies, the state, and geographical lore – are woven together in an analysis of this one interview. This helps us to recognize that diverse economic practices such as craft production are not new as they have historically persisted in this region and that the state may actively shape those industries by engaging in promotion of geographical lore to market products. As my interviewee goes on to clarify, the state felt that craft producers in Kentucky simply were not ready for such high levels of production. As a result, the state was forced to do some hand-holding and guiding of production efforts.

> We learned from that experience. One, the artists were really not prepared to deal with that level of business… What we literally had to do was hold hands. We, all the orders went through us. We monitored production to see if they were on track, getting the orders out when they needed to go. You know, I'm trying to remember now, I think we did 2 possibly 3 different promotions with Bloomingdales, and they would have purchase orders where orders had to be broken up and sent to different stores, and if they didn't meet the deadlines, or if they didn't ship to the proper location, they would charge back a service fee. And then we had difficulty getting the bills paid, you know collecting, and that was a learning experience for us too, we were really seeing what this was all about and what it took. So we realized that these artists needed training, they needed skills development, and then we got a lot of response from other retailers from around the country because this got a lot of publicity, because of the Governor and First Lady's involvement, they went up there and did, you know, a big affair and had lots of celebrity type people involved, so we were trying to respond to the interest generated from all over the country. I mean, the phones started ringing. And then more crafts people came out, it seemed like every other call from an artist was, "I want to sell my work to Bloomingdales," but that wasn't going to be forever, if we weren't in the middle of a promotion, we didn't have that opportunity (Interviewee #5, 2011).

During this period craft marketing efforts, which were taking place within discussions of tourism and development (and the Department of Tourism and Development's 'Oh Kentucky' branding campaign), meant that the craft marketing program was at an advantage politically due to the attention given by the Governor's

wife. The Kentucky Art and Craft Foundation was incorporated, and a Kentucky craft market was established (Kentucky Crafted: The Market) which helped to solidify state involvement in the industry.

By the late 1980s however, shifts were beginning to occur. The Kentucky Crafted market had not taken off tremendously in Lexington, KY., and generally had low retail sales. As a result the market was moved to Louisville, KY. Retail sales tripled during this time and crafters had gained access to a wider market base (Interviewee #5, 2011). The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, which my interviewee remembers as becoming a formalized program early on, had of course evolved and grown over the years. The creation of a Special Projects Division in the Department of the Arts, which housed four sections: film production and assistance, creative services (including graphics, the old Department of Public Information where my interviewee had worked, the craft program, and a visual program, was crucial in this regard. Kentucky was one of the first states to have such a division which housed a craft marketing program, and as the program grew so did its procedures, such as jurying into the program and the use of logos and branding tools that created division and some animosity between Kentucky-based producers. In fact, my interviewee acknowledges some of these tensions.

> [Interviewer] So, thinking in terms of who the craft market was trying to accommodate, it's producers who, at this point, had enough to be engaged in wholesale?
>
> [Interviewee #5] Yes. We really promoted the professional side of this, and pretty much pitched it to them. If you're wanting to make a living from your craftwork, and wanting to be a professional in this field, then we can help you. So that was sort of, you know, there were certainly some of them that struggled with that, they would see those Kentucky Crafted hands on items around the state, it was those tags that they got when they juried into the craft program and, a lot of times they would call and say, "I want to jury because I want those tags." But out of about, at one point we had about 400 people juried, but slightly less than half of them felt like they were in the position to come to the Kentucky Market and sell their work at wholesale. Sometimes it meant hiring employees, and some of them weren't up for that, or they did it just as a hobby, they liked the kind of, you know, the validation they got from being juried and having someone want to buy their work, but it wasn't as important to them that they make a living from it. But there was a core group of, you know, a couple dozen people that did this as full-time, went to the New York shows, and then there was another kind of a second tier group that would come to the Kentucky Market and sell, you know, a substantial amount to offset their personal family income. Maybe it was the wife and the husband

> worked and this was supplemental, or it was a retired person and it supplemented retirement, or a mother who wanted to stay at home when her children came along and would take up craft as a way to be in the home and still be home with her children but still provide an income to the families. So it sort of crossed all kinds of strata when it came to people's reasons for doing it, but we were clear about our expectations that you had to understand wholesale/retail pricing, you had to do that properly, you had to be prepared to deal with retailers if you were going to sell your work. You had to meet delivery deadlines, and produce quality work (Interviewee #5, 2011).

Again, this interviewee highlights state-led efforts to promote a 'professional' approach to craft production, one which encouraged the producer to generate enough products to meet wholesale and retail demands. This transcribed material also suggests that 'class' (understood in a neo-Weberian sense) was a factor with regard to what opportunties were accessible for crafters via the state. For example, only fulltime crafters with the capital, time and other livelihood resources needed to engage solely in craft production (such as child care assistance in the case of female crafters) participated in the New York related events. Individuals engaging in craft production as a form of supplemental income comprised what this interviewee has termed a "second tier" group that participated in the KY CraftMarket, but were not included in efforts to sell wares in New York.

Access to other state-based services such as the The Kentucky Crafted logo (which indicated juried membership in the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program) created differences within craft producers as well. The logo often served as a visual marker of distinction throughout the state between those crafters who were sanctioned by the state, and those who were not. Although the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program recognized the diversity within the craft industry, they did little to support artists producing a smaller amount of product through workshops etc., as such events were inevitably geared towards individuals or producing a larger enough amount of product for wholesale. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the promotion of Kentucky-made crafts in general, on a national and international marketplace, no doubt helped these producers to sell their wares (even in cases where their work did not display Kentucky Crafted tags, place branding efforts were surely still beneficial).

Towards the end of his book, *The Handcraft Revival in Southern Appalachia, 1930-1990*, Barker (1991) suggests that since the 1980s the craft industry had become more 'business-like' (Barker uses this term in reference to more of an emphasis on entrepreneurialism, the opening of individual studios and a greater effort to improve marketing and distribution strategies). In the lengthy transcriptions above, meant to highlight and discuss the development of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, we can most certainly see why Barker would have made such a claim. Instead of basket-makers and weavers carrying on traditions handed down orally through the ages, which harkens back to claims of traditions and the oral transmission of design and methods, Barker speculated that the future of the craft industry in Kentucky would belong to "university-trained designer-craftspeople." The crafts of the future would, in Barker's opinion, be "excellent, well designed and executed, well marketed and visually exciting, but far removed from the weavers and basket-makers that William Frost found when he toured the mountains in 1893" (Barker 1991, 220). Furthermore, Barker suggested that craftspeople, in their efforts to become more professional would continue to move in different directions.

Barker was quite right to note an emphasis on entrepreneurialism which was supported and fostered by the Kentucky Arts Council and the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. In fact, in July 1990, the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program was relocated, moved from the Department of Arts to the Small Business Division of the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development (Barker 1991). The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program is presently housed in the Cabinet for Tourism, Arts, and Heritage.[39]

> [Interviewer] So, what became the focus for the program moving forward from the 90s?
>
> [Interviewee #5] Well it did involve, we did continue with the Market, and we continued doing the New York show. I think the workshops became more and more advanced because we had artists that had been in the program at that point for 15-20 years and they were kind of wanting to go to the next level. I'm trying

[39] The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program is currently directed by the Kentucky Arts Council, which is an agency in the Kentucky Tourism, Arts, and Heritage Cabinet. This cabinet also includes: the Department of Travel, Department of Parks, the Office of Adventure Tourism, Department of Fish and Wildlife Resources, Kentucky Historical Society, Humanities Council, State Fair Board, Kentucky Sports Authority, Heritage Council, Kentucky Center for the Performing Arts, Frankfort Convention Complex, Governor's School for the Arts, Kentucky Artisans Center in Berea, Kentucky Arts Council, Kentucky Horse Park, Kentucky Film Society, and the Office of Creative Services.

> to think of some things that happened… We had the 'Year of American Craft' celebration in 1993 which was kind of big, we were trying to create awareness nationally about what was going on with craft, and we had record attendance at the Market that year (Interviewee #5, 2011).

Perhaps the use of the phrase 'in our heyday' is exactly right, because it was during the 1990s that the craft industry became more intimately woven into economic development strategies by the state with the creation of two Kentucky-based Artisan Centers, one in Berea, KY (funds for construction of the site were appropriated by the Kentucky legislature in 1998 and 2001) (Kentucky Artisan Center at Berea 2013), and in Hindman, Kentucky (funds for the construction of the site were appropriated in 1997 as part of Governor Paul E Patton's Community Development Initiative 'Arts and Smarts' Plan) (Cheves and Estep 2013b).

'Arts and Smarts': Geography, Politics and Artisan Centers

Though commonly juxtaposed in development discourse throughout the region, the Kentucky Artisan Center at Berea (henceforth, KAC) and the Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky in Hindman (henceforth, AAC) should not be seen as similar entities With regards to organization, these two Centers – despite being funded by the state at relatively the same time, and each having a role in shaping craft production throughout Kentucky, are simply not structured the same. In their recent editorial examining the failure of the AAC, Cheves and Estep (2013b) state that the 'Arts and Smarts' plan, initiated by Governor Paul E. Patton, languished in Hindman for two reasons: geography and politics.[40]

The 'arts and smarts' plan of the Patton administration was an attempt to address the need for economic diversity in addition to the coal industry in Eastern Kentucky. In this sense, it was somewhat contextualized. In 1997 the Patton administration awarded $11.8 million in state and federal money to Knott County through the Community Development Initiative (henceforth, CDI). Funds were to be used to build the AAC as well as a Kentucky School of Craft to train folk artists. Governor Patton was recently

[40] As of 2013 the Appalachian Artisan Center has gone through several directors, and the Kentucky School of Craft was forced to close for a period of time last winter. New directors have now been hired at both institutions.

quested by Cheves and Estep in the *Lexington Herald-Leader* as stating, "We hoped to establish a little artistic community much like Berea has. As an economic development tool, we anticipated people coming in for art shows, to attend classes, to shop" (Cheves and Estep 2013b).

Questions of geography certainly seem to have shaped the economic outcomes of each of these Centers thus far. The KAC is located off of Interstate 75, making it an easily accessible tourist destination, whereas the KAC and Kentucky School of Craft are located in Hindman, a remote area that is a fair distance away from any interstate. The KAC at Berea is one part artisan center, another part rest area which easily accommodates traveler's needs. The AAC and Kentucky School of Craft are both very small, and though each institution would claim to be a tourist destination, they most certainly do not offer the amenities that a large rest area would provide.

In this sense then, geography has played a crucial role in the success of the KAC, and Cheves and Estep (2013b) were right to note this. Indeed, managerial staff interviewed at the KAC note that economic development and tourism needs, in addition to geography, were taken into consideration early on when considering how this particular center would be structured.

> So, right from the beginning, economic development for artists was a primary goal. And one of the things that's unique about this center within artisan centers, and there are several of them in other states, is that this was really not designed as simply a destination in itself, but rather as a gateway to the entire state. So, we are about selling artisan products here and providing a wonderful visitor experience, a wonderful Kentucky experience, but we're also about helping other people find out about other Kentucky experiences, other places they can find artisan works (Interviewee #6, 2011).

When we examine the Appalachian Artisan Center through a similar lens, it becomes obvious that the development strategy used by Governor Patton was overall decontextualized, devoid of any real attention to the regional economy and social context. Though the goal of the project was to build a sustainable local economy based on the community's heritage and cultural attributes, leading to the community's emergence as a center for the production and marketing of high-quality regional art and Appalachian crafts, further supported by environmental enhancements and light manufacturing, it

seems as though the environmental degradation in the region, as well as the struggling economy and lack of tourism infrastructure was simply not taken into consideration.

The region of Eastern Kentucky is economically depressed and few individuals at the local scale in Hindman (or in neighboring communities) have the surplus income needed to purchase craft items. Thus, the AAC would have to bring in a significant number of tourists to generate a profit, being itself a destination center. Unfortunately, there has been no dramatic increase in tourists, and the Artisan Center struggles to keep its doors open. In fact, it is only through tax payers and federal dollars that the AAC is still in existence. In 2003, when Democratic Governor Patton left office, succeeded by Republican Governor Ernie Fletcher, the Kentucky Appalachian Commission – which was overseeing all of the CDI projects in the state – was dismantled. The AAC was left to secure its own funding. Despite the history of 'fickle' politics in Kentucky, no mechanism was in place to protect the CDI projects in Hindman once a new governor was elected. In 2011, the Appalachian Artisan Center reported income of $975, 226, only 3 percent of which was generated by its own business operations (all of which reported losing money). The majority of the Artisan Center's revenue came from the state's coal severance taxes and grants from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Appalachian Regional Commission (Cheves and Estep 2013b).

One wonders, given such questions of geography and politics, how the state thought that the Appalachian Artisan Center would succeed in the region. Furthermore, the overall concept of the AAC, and the incubator space that it would provide, seems problematic at best. The 'arts and smarts' plan included not only the AAC, which includes a small café, art gallery, and community space on the second floor, but also a small incubator space located in a second facility in downtown Hindman. This space has been open and available to entrepreneurs for a few years now. The incubator was designed to serve as workshop/studio space that would be rented by artists for a number of months/years while the artist created a market for themselves and their product. In theory, within 1-2 years the craft producer would become a self-sufficient entrepreneur that would open their own studio in Hindman, working with the AAC to draw tourists to the county seat. The success of the incubator space however, was interwoven with the ability of the Kentucky Technical College of Arts and Crafts – currently the Kentucky

School of Craft – to serve as a feeder and provide crafters to the Center. The Kentucky School of Craft has suffered numerous setbacks and has been unable to achieve this goal. Even when individuals do agree to occupy such spaces, they see very little traffic and sell few products. Furthermore, many crafters in the region are engaging in craft production in addition to other forms of labor, or to supplement their family's income, and the AAC has struggled to keep crafters in the space.

Due to the limited number of tourists and local buyers that visit the AAC, any crafter attempting to make a living from craft production must find other ways to connect with buyers at regional, national, and global scales. To do so, crafters attend fairs outside of Eastern Kentucky and Kentucky more broadly, or participate in state-led programs such as the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. Other smaller organizations such as Red Bird Mission and David Appalachian Crafts provide access to broader markets based on religious networks. Red Bird Mission for example takes crafts produced by artists and transports them to craft fairs held at numerous Methodist Churches throughout the United States. Following a similar pattern, David Appalachian Crafts travels to fairs held at Catholic Churches. If the crafter attempts to build such networks independently, a web-based presence becomes crucial. E-commerce sites, through either a personal website or pre-built sites such as www.ETSY.com, become essential for building a customer base.

In hopes of generating revenue, creating a stronger presence in the crafting community, and perhaps to adapt the same outreach strategies as those employed by the state the Artisan Center began to offer entrepreneurial workshops which were in many cases funded by the state and typically included individuals affiliated with the state in some capacity. State affiliated individuals include KPAN advisors (Kentucky Peer Advisory Network), officials with the Kentucky Arts Council, and representatives from the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development Small Business Division. As discussed in Chapter 2, Foucault (1976) argues that the state does not work alone and thus we should seek to understand all the mechanisms and effects of power which do not pass directly via the state apparatus, yet often sustain the state more effectively than its own institutions – such mechanisms ultimately enlarge and maximize the effectiveness of the state. Foucault has gone on to suggest that the state is unable to occupy the whole field of power, and thus can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations.

Through this lens, we can begin to understand the sorts of workshops offered by the AAC as well as other organizations as performative acts based on state procedures and discourse which shape craft production.

Workshops specifically coordinated by the Kentucky Arts Council and the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program (using a mix of state and grant funding often provided by the National Endowment for the Arts) have typically been geared towards individual producers. A former outreach coordinator for the Kentucky Arts Council (who conducted outreach programs throughout Eastern Kentucky), stated that:

> Grants were often sought to do workshops for *individual* artisans, whether they [the artisans] were in performing arts or they were in arts and crafts, or in folk arts; to look at marketing and promotional, and business practices, so that they could enhance their income from the arts. We weren't looking at doing any development of skill level or of creativity. We were very specifically focused on things like packaging and pricing, and marketing, which we found a great need for… even artists who have a degree in the fine arts or performing arts generally, have not had any training in entrepreneurship. So, we were really focusing on that aspect of it (Interviewee #2, 2008; *emphasis added*).

Thus, this emphasis of the individual shifts the sole responsibility for success or failure onto the crafter. The subject and object of governmental efforts was to codify a social space of action, and to present Eastern Kentucky craft producers as learning subjects deficient in entrepreneurial skills (for a similar study within the context of Oaxaca, Mexico, see Walker et al. 2008). After 4 years of participant observations, ranging from 2008-2012, it is clear that many of these entrepreneurial workshops are limited in scope and training, rendering hidden much of the diversity existing in this industry and encouraging individuals with limited time and capital to take on enormous risk. An interviewee perhaps said it best when they described such workshops as "encouragement without warning" (Interviewee #6, 2011). Such workshops often instructed craft producers – with limited time and capital – to apply for Small Business Administration Loans and build e-commerce sites without providing extensive instructions for creating business plans, or exploring how e-commerce allows access to a larger market which may generate higher demand and the need to increase production quickly. Such workshops are further limited in that they fail to recognize the overall

diversity existing within craft production and provide no recognition or assistance for cooperative efforts.

The workshops provided by the state, though in some cases very general, emphasize a business and entrepreneurial approach to craft production. When a craft producer decides that they want to take their 'hobby' to the next level, state officials can put them in touch with the Cabinet for Economic Development and the Small Business Service Division. In terms of steps, contacting the SBA seems to appear as the natural order of things.

> The Art Council has always been strong and effective on offering workshops throughout the year to the artists. We've had similar, we've had programs like Platinum 10 where we would bring a speaker from New York to work with a select group of artists in how to market themselves better and how to make them, you know, play at a higher level in the business world. Now we've also recognized that not everybody is at the same level in their business, and when you have varying degrees of business acumen and business development, you can't be everything to everyone, but we do poll the artists and ask them where are the needs are, where do you need training or assistance, and we're finding that the majority of that comes from an overall understanding of how to market one's self, how to price one's self, how to take good images so that you show your work in the best light. We're also seeing new people take to social media. There has been a strong surge in trying to understand social media, and what does it mean to 'tweet' and what does it mean to have a Facebook page. Understanding that you have to have some type of online presence and even now some type of social media presence to capitalize on those markets because, you know, I have been preaching all along that you have to look at the social media realm as a demographic of people. You have to understand that there is a market there… I think what's been helpful for us with our workshops is that we try to provide general enough topics that everybody can learn something from it, but those that want to learn more can then, after the workshop say you know, I was really intrigued by what you were saying in this area and I want to learn more about that. So you try to start and develop that, ok where are they trying to take their business and if, let's say it was just coming up with an idea, like at a workshop on coming up with an idea, and you have an artist that says I think this is a great idea and I can really make it work so what's my next step? And then you say, ok, if you are taking it from an idea to putting it down on paper and you want to write a business plan, ok, we want to make that connection for them with the SBDC or the SBA and say, you know, here's your next step (Interview #14, 2011).

This interviewee does go on to say that as a state official they would not encourage a crafter or artisan to immediately apply for an SBA loan and open a business; they simply make this contact for the individual. But this then is an extension of the state,

a form of disciplining that encourages self-regulation – such actions shape the growth and development of the individual crafter and how they perceive the next 'appropriate' step forward. In other words, it shapes their economic imaginings of what is possible with regard to craft production.

Regionally-based organizations such as the Appalachian Artisan Center are no different in this regard. For example, the 2008 Artists' Gathering, hosted at the Appalachian Artisan Center in partnership with The Center for Rural Development, the Kentucky Arts Council and the UK Cooperative Extension Service, included the following workshops: Developing an Artist Statement, Preparing for Jurying, How to Handle Commissions, Publishing Options, Marketing for Performers, Event and Booth Design, and Business Law (Artists' Gathering 2008). In 2009, a significantly smaller Artists' Gathering (whose list of sponsors no longer included the Kentucky Arts Council, The Center for Rural Development, or the UK Cooperative Extension Service) offered similar workshops on: Visioning and How to Build a Business, Marketing, Pricing, and E-Commerce. There was also a panel discussion on 'Artists in the New Economy' (Artists' Gathering 2009). In 2010, again there was very little change and the Artists' Gathering offered workshops in: Internet Sales, Managing Your Art Business, The Kentucky School of Craft, and Artisan Center Studies. A few resource booths were available as well (Artists' Gathering 2010). These workshops, the language they use and the understanding of the economy they teach, discipline individuals and shape economic imaginings in this region.

The relationship between the state and the AAC, in terms of outreach efforts and funding support, appears to have hit a bit of a bump in the road when, in FY 2009, no funds were awarded in Knott County and the Kentucky Arts Council does not appear listed as a sponsor of the Artists' Gathering. By FY 2010 however, the Appalachian Artisan Center appears to have gained enough political support to apply for, and win, a Kentucky Arts Partnership Grant (see Table 4.1 for specific amounts). The organization has continued to receive Partnership Grants from the state since this time.

Table 5.1 Data Collection: Kentucky Arts Council Awards to Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky in Knott County, FY 2007- FY 2012

County	Fiscal Year Awarded	Number of Grants Submitted	Amount Awarded to by Kentucky Arts Council
Knott	2007	5 (4 funded)	$6,095 (Unknown how much, if any, was awarded to the Appalachian Artisan Center)
Knott	2008	5 (4 funded)	$7,504 (Unknown how much, if any, was awarded to the Appalachian Artisan Center)
Knott	2009	2 (0 funded)	No funds were awarded to Knott County this fiscal year
Knott	2010	2 (2 funded)	$19, 375 (Total amount awarded to the Appalachian Artisan Center, Kentucky Arts Partnership)
Knott	2011	3 (3 funded)	$16,970 (Total amount awarded to Appalachian Artisan Center, Kentucky Arts Partnership)
Knott	2012	N/A – Data not provided by Arts Council	$19,998.00 (Awarded to the Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky, Kentucky Arts Partnership Grant)
Knott	2013	N/A – Data unavailable (No Arts Council Report at this time).	$21,334 (Awarded to Appalachian Artisan Center of Kentucky, Kentucky Arts Partnership Grant)

**Data was obtained from Kentucky Arts Council Reports FY 2007 – FY 2012.*

It seems as though the state has chosen to take a very active role in supporting the AAC's economic survival (at least in keeping the lights on, the doors open, and a few staff in the building). And yet, in Knott County, where state auditors have long criticized local officials for fraud, waste and nepotism, it seems contradictory for one state entity to invest so much money here while another division of the state critiques county leadership. Knott County is a county that no longer can pay its bills partially as the result of the decline in the coal industry, which has of course created budgetary shortfalls. In January 2013, Andrew Hartley, staff attorney for the Department of Local Government, told officials in Knott County attending at a fiscal court meeting, "You can't pay your bills at this point" (Cheves and Estep 2013a, 1). Hartley's answer was to increase revenue

through an occupational tax, a levy on business profits, or possibly an insurance premium tax. It is not surprising then that the Appalachian Artisan Center, embedded within a network of corruption and fraud with a revolving managerial door and a lack of community support, fails to make a profit. But why then does the State of Kentucky, through the Kentucky Arts Council housed in the Tourism, Arts, and Heritage Cabinet, continue to throw money at this Artisan Center while its own staff attorneys tell municipal officials that they lack enough money to pay their bills?

At this point it is best to turn to work outside of Appalachia to explore possible state motives for support craft production in the region. In his work on artisanal production as a capitalist necessity within the context of Mexico, Canclini breaks down two different perspectives, that of state-based policy makers and the rest of civil society. Canclini states:

> From the peasants' point of view, artisanal production enables them to feed and keep their families together in the villages where they have always belonged. From the state's point of view, crafts represent an economic and ideological option to limit peasant migration and the constant flood into urban areas of a substantial labor force that could not be absorbed by industry and would aggravate already worrisome housing, sanitary, and educational deficiencies… The promotion of crafts, which provide work for producers in the countryside and for thousands of marginal in the urban marketing system, transforms "a situation of visible unemployment (a short employment season per year) into a situation of generalized invisible underemployment all year long through the juxtaposition or superposition of economic activities with abnormally low income." (Canclini 1993, 40).

Perhaps the funding of the Appalachian Artisan Center can be seen as a last ditch effort to do something; a performative act which might be interpreted as the state attempting to fund a resource that might provide supplemental income (which would then keep residents from migrating). Though the state is still providing financial support, there appears to be very little engagement by state staff members at the local level. The outreach coordinator position was eliminated by the Kentucky Arts Council. Though a member of the Kentucky Arts Council staff had actively provided support in the past, there is no longer a staff member who conducts outreach in Eastern Kentucky on a regular basis. Current Arts Council staff seemed very distant and detached from the AAC, and from Eastern Kentucky more generally. In fact, when I sat down with a current

state official, who was directly involved with the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program (as well as a number of other programs that were essentially thrust upon this interviewee) I was very surprised at their lack of familiarity with both current events and operational relationships at the AAC.

> [Interviewer] What about places like the Artisan Center in Hindman? How do you think that will play out?
>
> [Interviewee #14] Now this is a loaded question. I would like to see the Artisan Center continue to build upon its programming, you know, I would like to continue to see a relationship built between that group and the state Arts Council. I think there are opportunities for us to work together in various capacities. I don't have a lot more information on what's been going on there recently to give you more of an answer (Interviewee #14, 2011).

At the time of this interview there was no representation of present Kentucky Arts Council staff on the board of directors at the Appalachian Artisan Center. This relationship between the state and the region of Eastern Kentucky, with regard to craft production, is complex. Many individuals have expressed to me how grateful they have been for state assistance with regards to arts-related funding assistance, while others have stated how neglected they have felt by state-based programs, which more often than not fail to offer the same range of financial and outreach support in Eastern Kentucky.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will outline examples of stories collected from arts-related organizational leaders, and craft producers in hopes of demonstrating that the way people experience bureaucratic practices is shaped by representations and discourses of the state; and, that how people interpret and understand state discourses and practices may in turn shape the diversity that emerges in this industry. The goal is to provide an examination of the performative core of the state, and how state practices have shaped Kentucky's craft producers. In addition, I will then provide examples of how individuals are using procedural and precedent-setting practices of the state to their own advantage.

Perceptions and Interventions: Stories of Encounters with the State

For those researching diverse economies it is important to make note of the fact that a neoliberal ideology, one that emphasizes 'entrepreneurialism of the self' and complete self-sufficiency, as well as a rolling back of state assistance, has also resulted in

NGO engagement in alternative economic practices. As Fernando (2011) noted, NGOs frequently adopt state practices and discourses when it is advantageous for them to do so. As the example below demonstrates, NGOs may also perpetuate a geographical lore of cultural difference to justify their programs.

Quality versus Product: The Formation of the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council

An example of a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is not directly affiliated with the state and yet has adopted state-based practices is The Center for Rural Development housed in Somerset, KY. In 2004, The Center for Rural Development, a non-profit agency in Eastern Kentucky which draws upon a pool of various resources to fund its programs, created a Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council (henceforth, KACC). The consultant working for The Center in December 2004 who was responsible for forming the Council the stated that she felt the creation of this group was important for the following reasons:

> I began pulling together craft co-ops and craft guilds from around the region with the intention of just getting them all to the table to talk about different problems, and issues, and concerns they all have. I'm a firm believer that if you can find folks that are working in the same areas, doing the same kinds of things in different geographical areas, and sit them down and have discussions, or help them to discuss things for themselves, they come to the understanding that it's not a competitive thing, that there's a lot of positive that come out of those kinds of conversations. So, that in essence was the beginning of what is now known as the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council (Interviewee #20, 2010)

As meetings began to take place more frequently the consultant, who less than a year later became a paid employee for The Center, stated that the KACC was created in addition to the state as many crafters in Eastern Kentucky had not been accepted into the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program and thus needed a place to market their wares. Though the state had a great program and craft market, crafters in Eastern Kentucky simply did not seem to make the same kind of product as those participating in the state-based program.

> Well actually we've had three fairs now [since 2007]. This came out of the discussions at meetings of the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council and talking about how to improve the market place for the crafts from Eastern Kentucky. One of the things that happens in the state as you know is Kentucky Crafted that the Kentucky Arts Council hosts, which is a very high quality, very good craft fair

> state-wide. Some of the problems that I recognized early on is that a lot of crafters from Eastern Kentucky had tried to jury into Kentucky Crafted to try to be part of that program and that fair and were not accepted because of quality concerns, product concerns. But after talking with a number of these crafters I came to the conclusion, personally, that it was not so much a quality issue as a different type of product. The products in Kentucky Crafted are very high quality; they are held to a certain standard of production for that particular type of craft. When you talk about crafts in Eastern Kentucky a lot of these are handmade. Let's say for example a basket where the crafter goes out and strips the bark and hand-makes the basket. It's not going to confirm to the rigid production quality standards that might be required to be a member of Kentucky Crafted. In other words, I guess the bottom line of what I'm trying to say here is that some of the crafts coming out of Eastern Kentucky are just rough, handmade. They are not the polished, pretty crafts that you see in the windows in Lexington and Louisville. And again, personally, I came to the conclusion that there wasn't a difference in the quality as much as there was a difference in the product.
>
> So, out of those discussions we decided to give a shot at doing our own craft fair. We wanted to create something similar to Kentucky Crafted, but this would be more aligned with the type of market that crafters from Southern and Eastern Kentucky would need to reach or want to reach. And the first year that we did our craft fair we were hoping to, I think we were hoping for 500 people to walk through the fair and we ended up with 1,000 people that came through the fair that first year. And it has, despite the decline in the economy, we have continued every year to have slight increases in the number of exhibitors, and maintain or grow the number of attendees at the fair each year. The other thing that we offered at the craft fair, a few things actually, one – we have demonstrations. We will allow several of the crafters to actually demonstrate to the public and to the attendees how they make their craft. So the goal of creating an interest in the production of craft and how the craft is made, telling the story of the individual crafter is done through these individual demonstrations at the craft fair. The other things we've done at the fair, on Saturday and Sunday mornings before the fair opens to the public, we offer professional development workshops for the exhibitors and the crafters. These are at no extra cost whatsoever to the crafters. And we bring in presenters and speakers from all over the state and cover different topics. Everything from booth design to product development to pricing to marketing, we're doing one this year on social marketing; using a website, Facebook, social media for marketing (Interviewee #20, 2010).

Discerning the many discourses taking shape in this transcription is challenging. Contextualizing the KACC, as well as the KACC craft fair organized by The Center for Rural Development, is helpful in this regard. The interviewee, who was responsible for serving a 42 county area in Eastern Kentucky as a development consultant initially states that due to the failure of many craft producers in Eastern Kentucky to gain access to the

Kentucky Craft Marketing Program through its jurying process, the KACC fair would provide a sorely needed outlet to sell their wares. Craft products being made in Eastern Kentucky, which were supposedly "rough," needed to be sold to a different market of customers as they were not the same quality of crafts that one would see in Lexington and Lousiville (located in Central and Northern Kentucky).

Though the interviewee may have personally believed that the items produced in the region were "rough" when compared to other parts of the state, and members of the KACC may have shared her sentiments, the first KACC fair in June 2007 was not marketed using such language. In fact, a news article covering the event quoted this interviewee as saying "An event like this allows us to see, touch, and experience a wide variety of the beautiful things crafters from our region make with their hands" (Kentucky Appalachian Craft Fair, June 22, 2007, www.somerset-kentucky.com). The CEO of The Center for Rural Development was quoted in the same article we can clearly see a discourse of economic development in rural areas and entrepreneurialism invoked. As s/he states: "These arts and crafts are often expressions of our cultural heritage, and are also good for the economy. The individuals who make these works of art are entrepreneurs in the business of art. Their work is unique to them and their environment. Their businesses improve economic conditions, and their products go far to increase cultural pride in our area" (Kentucky Appalachian Craft Fair, June 22, 2007, www.somerset-kentucky.com).

Given this historic context, the KACC fair appears to little more than a rural economic development strategy that mimicked the policies and procedures of the state and served as a tool for The Center for Rural Development to generate revenue. Some craft producers participating in the first fair had indeed earned membership in the Kentucky Craft Marketed Program, and many of the organizations that reserved booth space had similar production standards and jurying guidelines to those of the state. Production guidelines even existed for exhibitors in the fair and mass produced items were highly discouraged.

The KACC fair was eventually taken over by the organization 'Tour Southern and Eastern Kentucky', and the Council appears to have now dissolved (or at the very least the group does not seem active). The KACC organizational Facebook page has not been

updated since 2011, and Tour Southern and Eastern Kentucky seems to be solely responsible for KACC fair setup, booth space and advertising. The employee of The Center for Rural Development, who was once responsible for the organizing of the fair, is no longer with this organization and without someone to coordinate this regional effort and development strategy arts-related organizational leaders seem to have stepped back from this Council.

The discourse suggesting that craft products in Eastern Kentucky did not meet the same rigid standards as those imposed by the state, that crafters could not gain access to the Kentucky Craft Marketing program, and that a another fair venue was needed now seems problematic at best. Of course craft producers throughout the state produce crafts of varying quality; some products require more labor than others, or can be made in higher volume than others. Some pieces can be sold for $1000.00, while others for only $25.00. To categorize an entire region as producing one or other however renders the product diversity in this industry hidden. For years now I have seen a diverse range of products throughout the state, made at varying levels of artistic talents. I have seen very expensive objects in the windows of stores in Lexington, and yet I have also seen polished (Kentucky Crafted products) in shops such as the Courthouse Café in Whitesburg, KY., in the gallery space of the Appalachian Artisan Center in Hindman, KY., and in Kentucky Communities Crafts shop in Barbourville, KY.

Despite this diversity, the sense of exclusion from the state by many crafters still exists in this industry and region. This should not be surprising when we think in terms of physical geography and distance – with regard to where the state has invested the most time and capital. The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program is based in Frankfort, the state craft show is held in Lexington, and the so-called “Folk Arts and Crafts Capital of Kentucky” is now in Berea. Perhaps many craft producers in Eastern Kentucky do indeed feel as though they lie in the margins of state efforts. Though the Appalachian Artisan Center may have at one time, held the potential to change this, the failure of the AAC may contribute to a discourse that exists in Eastern Kentucky of the neglect or failure in state-based strategies throughout the region.

Marginal Spaces: Exploring Red Bird Mission, David Appalachian Crafts and the 4-H Mountain Craft Center

Some organizations appear to exist in spaces that have not been penetrated fully by the state. In many cases, the leadership of such organizations has found ways to become self-sufficient without relying upon state assistance. This is not merely due to geography. Organizations such as the Appalachian Artisan Center located in Hindman are, geographically speaking, far away from the corridors of Frankfort, but at one time this Center was nonetheless intimately woven into state-based economic development strategies. The recognition of the Center by the State of Kentucky seems to have waned since Governor Patton left office, most likely as the result of the Appalachian Artisan Center's inability to gain financial independence from state and Appalachian Regional Commission funding and to make a profit. As noted earlier in the chapter, state officials with the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program were not very familiar with the inter-workings of the Center, and although state-based grant support was still given, no active state employee holds a position on the board of this organization. The state then still has a channel through which to intervene and maintain control via grant funding, but appears to have created political distance between itself and this organization.

Other organizations have simply questioned the importance of state-based strategies and again, while the state's efforts to perpetuate a geographical lore may help all craft producers, some organizations have moved beyond or created strategies in addition to those perpetuated by the state. Take for example the craft marketing program instituted by Red Bird Mission. Red Bird Mission is a non-profit agency located in Beverly, Kentucky. The Mission was founded in 1921 to provide educational resources and evangelistic ministries to Southeastern Kentucky. Areas of ministry within the Mission currently include education, health and wellness and community outreach, economic outreach, and community housing improvement. Red Bird Mission is an institution of the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church within the Red Bird Missionary Conference (About Us, http://www.redbirdmission.org).

The craft marketing program at Red Bird Mission is part of the economic outreach ministry. The Mission does use strict guidelines regarding admission into the craft marketing program, restricting membership to artisans that live with a 60 mile

radius of the Mission. Although no specific jurying guidelines are listed for membership into the craft program the Mission director selects the artwork that will be sold. The Mission purchases the artwork directly from the artisan and markets the products through various “Appalachian” craft shows that are held throughout the United States. These fairs are hosted by 35-40 churches each year. Money earned through the fairs is used to purchase more crafts from the artists, providing a steady income for these individuals.

Empowerment appears as a theme within the Mission’s outreach work. Per the Mission’s website, “Red Bird Mission, guided by Jesus Christ, empowers individuals and advocates justice by providing spiritual, educational, health and community outreach ministries” (Ministries, http://www.rbmission.org/Ministries/economic.html). While the Mission attempts to empower the community by providing services, the organization does not seek to challenge any structural limitations of the region, creating an endless cycle of attempting to meet the community’s needs.

Beverly, Kentucky, where the Mission is located, technically falls within two counties of Eastern Kentucky, Bell and Clay (although the physical Mission structure lies in Bell). Along with Bell and Clay, Leslie County is located within the Mission’s 60 mile service region. All three of these counties are classified as distressed by the Appalachian Regional Commission, thus craft production provides access to sorely needed additional revenue for many individuals. During our interview the director indicated that if he purchases a craft product from a crafter which does not sell, he will still continue to purchase the craft from the crafter as he knows that individuals dependent on the cash generated when he purchases their goods. In this production network, the director of the program purchases goods directly from the artist and sells them of their behalf, but the profits are reinvested into the craft program primarily to cover salaries of staff and supplies needed in the small craft store located on the Mission’s campus. At no point in time did the director acknowledge that the act of selling products on behalf of producers renders this individual hidden and leaves no space for the crafter to share with the buyer the interpretive and contextual meaning associated with this product.

To clarify briefly with an example, consider a piece of jewelry made out of anodized aluminum in the shape of a female body. The buyer may appreciate it aesthetically, but there is no context – Why did the producer make a female body? What

does this piece represent to the producer? In this example, I am describing a piece of work made by a well-known Eastern Kentucky jeweler who incorporates powerful feminine historical references in her work. In this instance, I am referencing her work, The Midwest Goddess "Hope" (based on the Hopewell Tradition, 200 BCE – 500 BCE). It is possible perhaps for a producer to convey such interpretive and contextual meaning through packaging (to a certain extent), but without this information on packaging the product simply exist as anodized aluminum in female form.

When selling such craft items on behalf of producers the director of Red Bird Mission does not sell in state or regionally-based fair venues. In fact, the same discourse of distance from the state, as well as Berea, seemed pervasive in our conversations. In fact, the director questions whether or not the quality of craft programs actually mattered to the state or the Appalachian Artisan Center in Hindman.

> In Hindman there is a lack of a natural crafts person. There is no focus on community artists. The artisan center has to improve its focus on quality of life of local artists. The focus has to be on helping people to make a living. Hindman was developed on the state level, quality wasn't a factor. The Kentucky Craft Marketing program has the same problem; it does not understand the need to improve the quality of life in the region. There is a disconnection between the state, Berea and Eastern Kentucky. The craft marketing program expects people to be able to represent themselves and tell their own story, but some people aren't capable of that. The craft marketing program fails to understand the individual in Eastern Kentucky, what their needs and wants are. The state has failed to take advantage of the cooperative extension service. At least craft cooperatives are spending time with the people (Interviewee #24, 2009).

For the director of this program, it is fine if the craft producer is a member of the state-based program, and the director will even provide assistance on ways to improve products to meet state standards, but membership is not required. Participating in the state-based program is not a necessity for the success of this craft program as the director has found another social network that provides access to buyers ready to purchase Kentucky crafts.

> The mission continues to do well through the recession too, thanks to benevolent buying. Giving to missions is actually increasing. During the 1990s recession, the mission had to find a recession proof methodology. Found the methodology in the idea of benevolent buying, buying for the good of those who made the good. So, where does benevolent buying work the best? Churches, where benevolent giving takes places. You are going somewhere where spending takes place. Churches

> may allow you only to sell on Saturday, but most allow selling on Saturday and Sunday. Church will assist with setup. Travel expenses are often covered through love offerings. Often housing and food is included (Interviewee #24, 2009).

In the summer of 2009 I was invited to travel with the director and another staff member to visit a small Methodist church on Fenwick Island, Delaware. The purpose of the trip, as I understood it, was to provide me with a deeper understanding of how craft program worked, how the director marketed products, and what it meant to individuals outside of Eastern Kentucky to purchase craft products made in the region. I also served as labor for the director, and was responsible for assisting with fair setup and breakdown. At this time I was curious to learn more about how and in what ways the director drew upon geographical lore to sell craft products. When we discussed his marketing techniques, the director described his approach in the following terms.

> We tell them that the craft program is helping people to live, to stay in their culture and their home. They produce magnificent crafts. When a craft is purchased, you are treating yourself to older heritage and helping people to stay in the mountains. We never pull out the poor stereotype. We just want people to be able to make money. We do talk about the lack of economic opportunities though… The number one purpose of the craft program is to provide money to people through marketing of crafts. We help people to take care of themselves and provide for their families. We rarely do consignment; we buy the product directly from the crafter and sell it in our store or at fairs. We do not buy computer generated work; we only buy hand-made, craft production (Interviewee #24, 2009).

While assisting the Mission with the fair in Delaware I had time to speak with other Mission employees as well as locals in the community that came to the church to purchase craft products. Signage for the fair did not mention “Kentucky,” rather the director drew upon the lore associated with craft production in “Appalachia” more broadly. True to his word, I did not hear him discuss Kentucky residents as being poor, though he often pointed out the lack of job availability. Individuals that I spoke with who purchased craft items at the fair had remarked that they wanted to come to the fair because the items were “handmade” rather than mass produced. They also told me that they believed the craft producers in Eastern Kentucky were trying to do something to help themselves and their economic situation, and they wanted to be a part of that. Out of

the 50 or so individuals that I spoke with casually that afternoon, I rarely heard the mention of any negative stereotypes.

The geographical lore of Appalachian craft products more certainly helped sales that day, and a few individuals remarked that they had been to the region – they either had family in Eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, or Tennessee – or else they had visited the Mission for a work program and wanted to support the individuals in the community by purchasing craft items. The director has built such a successful network of churches and communities through the United States that he has no need to participate in state-based events in Kentucky. He can easily travel to one fair a month and earn enough revenue to keep the program going through the sale of craft items and monetary offerings (money given freely by the church membership). When I traveled with the Mission housing and food was provided by the church hosting the event.

Such organizations then are perhaps best considered within the margins of the state. Though the director will admit that the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program does invest a lot of time and effort into promoting Kentucky-based crafts, he also states that the program overall is too top-down to work effectively in rural communities.

> Our model wants to be good and fair to the community. We put heart into it. Other organizations could utilize this social network as well. We are a bottom-up process, not a top-down. The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program is an example of a top-down process. They have no grassroots emphasis. You must build trust, relationship, and help crafters find one another.

Other examples of faith-based organizations with a grassroots emphasis include David Appalachian Crafts, a non-profit crafts organization, located in David, Kentucky. The organization has been in existence since 1971 and allows over 65 craft producers to supplement their income through its activities (http://davidappalachiancrafts.com). David Appalachian Crafts receives funding from St. Vincent Mission, a Catholic mission serving the Appalachian region. Like Red Bird Mission, David Appalachian Crafts has managed to keep the organization afloat through national and international support received from church members. In the past however, this organization has made a concentrated effort to maintain ties with the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, the Kentucky Appalachian Craft Council, the Appalachian Center, as well as other regional and state-based entities. The director of David Appalachian Crafts feels that craft fairs

provide exposure. Some years are better than others in terms of revenue earned at craft fairs, but for the director it is important to attend fairs like Kentucky Crafted to mentor new crafters throughout the state. The director of the organization also teaches workshops on booth design, pricing, and other topics as needed for state-based fairs and workshops.

In general the director of this program shared the same sentiments as the director of Red Bird Mission. Crafters juried in to the David Appalachian Crafts could be juried in to the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program as well, but again this wasn't necessary. In fact, gift shops in Kentucky state parks (another space in which individuals encounter the state in Eastern Kentucky) had been shutting down due to budget cuts (in this particular instance the gift shop at Jenny Wiley State Resort Park had closed). Representatives from these parks, which would have attended Kentucky Crafted market to purchase goods, were no longer coming to place orders. This had caused the director to reevaluate whether or not it was worth participating in the state-organized fair each year. Additionally, the director simply stated that the state logo tags were expensive, and the organization had stopped using them frequently. Many of the customers visiting the shop in David, KY, were in many cases interested in purchasing an "Appalachian" rather than a "Kentucky" craft, so the tags were not crucial within the context of the shop. With a limited budget, church-based craft fairs simply became the most economical decision for the organization.

> I think in the beginning the state was very much behind, you know, when Phyllis George started it, behind the crafts. But there again, I think a lot of it has to do with budgets, and they've changed it from one cabinet to another and now it's part of the Arts Council so the, I don't know if the influence is there as much as it used to be. So much of this stuff is budgetary… We've pretty much gone to doing church shows because that way we don't have competition from anyone else and we're allowed to bring in a variety of things that we have from all the different crafters whereas the shows I referenced before you have to have the individual crafter there (Interviewee #4, 2010).

Due to the nature of the state-organized craft fairs, which often allow only entrepreneurial individual producers to participate, it simply makes more sense for an organization like David Appalachian Crafts to attend church-based fairs. Though some crafters do have membership status in the Kentucky craft marketing program – which provides exposure for the individual artist as well as David Appalachian Crafts –

membership in the program is not a requirement. The director notes that at church-based fairs she can sell a variety of crafts of varying quality from the full membership of her organization and has little or no competition from other crafters. Again, there was no acknowledgement that the act of selling products on behalf of producers renders crafters, and the meaning(s) attached to their products, as invisible to the buyer.

The question of the political influence of the state-based program is also at question for the director of this program. The director seems fully aware of the fact that the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program has been moved around in government many times now does not seem to carry the same political power that the organization once did in the 1980s. In my own discussions with state-based representatives this certainly seemed to be the case. Individuals working for the state-based craft program have suffered as the result of budget cuts. A smaller staff now manages twice as much work.

The question of regional lore is also important to these faith-based organizations and begins to take an intriguing new direction with these groups as they market wares at shows throughout the United States. Red Bird Mission and David Appalachian Crafts travel extensively throughout the country, building upon the same lore of Appalachian crafts that other organizations in the region use. Faith-based organizations however, may draw upon not only a narrative of tradition and authenticity, but one of social justice as well.

> With David Appalachian Crafts and Red Bird Mission, they can incorporate into their marketing social justice issues as well as quality work. So they can market a finely made basket not only as a finely made basket, but as a finely made basket that supports a low income family in Appalachia. And that, to the consumer, means that they can do twice as much with their dollar because they can buy something they like for themselves personally or to give as a gift, and, they can also feel like, *and actually be making a contribution to a family and a region that is a little bit out of the economic mainstream* (Interviewee #2, 2008; emphasis added).

It is worth noting that this interviewee, a former outreach coordinator for the Kentucky Arts Council, felt the need to add the description “a little bit out of the economic mainstream.” However, such understandings of the region’s poverty as being caused by a disconnection from the national and global economy are common. What is unfortunate, however, is that this understanding of the regional economy limits what

possibilities might be imagined for this region. Nonetheless, the interviewee is right to point out that the regional lore which paints Appalachian crafters as both traditional and authentic, may also paint them as impoverished and thus purchasing products produced by these individuals may in fact be understood as a 'good deed'. Though these organizations do not consider themselves cooperatives in terms of economic structure, they do play a crucial role in helping crafters make ends meet, often providing surplus income to individuals who are unable to pay bills or purchase food by allowing them to volunteer their labor.

For some much smaller organizations helping crafters make ends meet seems to be the primary focus of their efforts. Funding and staff time does not allow for much more beyond this basic goal, and questions of exposure or state-based participation do not appear to be on the radar. For example, the 4-H Mountain Craft Center is located in Southeastern KY (specifically in McCreary County on the border with the State of Tennessee). Mining has faded in this area and the majority of the land in the county now falls within the Daniel Boone National Forest boundary. The county seat of Stearns has reinvented itself as a historic town, offering visitors the chance to travel along the Big Fork Scenic Railway and tour a number of rehabilitated coal camp structures. Many local residents have gained employment at a local light manufacturing plant.

In August 2011 when I arranged for an interview with the director of the 4-H Mountain Craft Center I found a small shop with very little traffic and handmade goods sorely underpriced (which tends to happen when shops throughout the region mix handmade goods and older/antique items). The director at the time had a staff of two volunteers and was paid very little money.

[Interviewer] So now, you've got two staff members? Are they both staff?

[Interviewee #34] They're volunteers.

[Interviewer] They're volunteers?

[Interviewee #34] Yea.

[Interviewer] So you're the only on paid salary?

[Interviewee #34] Yea.

[Interviewer] Ok. Do you mind if I ask what that is? If you don't want to tell me you don't have to…

[Interviewee #34] I get 80% of what the markup is. That goes to my salary.

[Interviewer] 80% of the markup, so that changes by month then?

[Interviewee #34] Yea. In January I think I made $0.29. It is strictly based on sales.*

[Interviewer] Have you ever thought about traveling to fairs or would that be too much of a financial investment?

[Interviewee #34] We looked into traveling to fairs a couple of times. The problem with something like that… This is setup like a consignment store. If I get out and something gets damaged then I'm personally responsible for it. I would have to pay for it.

[Interviewer] So you're not buying anything from the artist directly. You're putting it in here, doing the markup, and once it's sold they'll get paid.

[Interviewee #34] Yea.

[Interviewer] Ok. So the volunteers… Do those stay the same two volunteers all the time or do all the members take turns?

[Interviewee #34] No, we have different volunteers. One thing we do, I'm not sure of the best way to say it… K-TAP, their workers have to provide 20 hours of service somewhere in the community. Now we allow them to come here and work their 20 hours. We have one; she's on a school program where she actually gets paid through the school and the college system.

[Interviewer] Which college is she with?

[Interviewee #34] She's with Somerset Community College.

[Interviewer] To clarify, what does K-TAP stand for? Do you know? **

[Interviewee #34] I don't know exactly, it's the welfare system.

[Interviewer] Ok, that's ok. So you've got mostly adults through K-TAP and then you've got this one student. Is this an internship for her? How does this work?

[Interviewee #34] No, she's considered a single mother and is through K-TAP.

[Interviewer] Does she get any college credit?

[Interviewee #34] No, she gets a paycheck. She actually gets paid by the hour.

**The position of director at the 4-H Mountain Craft Center did include housing at this time.*

*** K-TAP stands for Kentucky Transitional Assistance Program.*

For the director of this organization, encounters with the state did not mean working with the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. Instead, it meant working with 4-H extension agents – as the University of Kentucky receives state monies which are directed into extension programs agents should considered important actors and representatives of the State of Kentucky and University – and the K-TAP welfare program. Though I have focused primarily on the assistance and role that the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program has played in this industry, the state is also helping craft producers sell their wares through the assistance they provide through K-TAP and other social services.

Working with the K-TAP welfare program and other state assistance programs was a theme that emerged several times throughout this research project, often when I didn't expect it. Many individuals, young and old, receive state assistance in addition to working in craft shops throughout the region. This information was shared verbally with me as I spent time in shops and got to know the people actually working for the organizations that were selling craft products. In many cases people (often women) seemed fearful of sharing this information with me and stated, very clearly, that they only worked the total number of hours approved by the state, or, in cases where they were earning income in addition to state support, individuals made certain that I knew they were not earning more than what they were allowed. While visiting a shop in Southeastern Kentucky one individual actually showed me her work schedule to verify the number of hours she completed each week to make sure that I knew she was not earning additional income that was not accounted for by her organization.

With regard to the 4-H Mountain Craft Center it appears that I scheduled an interview at the eleventh hour so to speak. A recent news article published in The McCreary County Records indicates that in September 2011 the Center was actually closed (Slaven 2013). This is not surprising given the information shared with me during

the interview as the organization had been in debt for several years and probably should have been closed much earlier. In March 2012, the University of Kentucky Extension Service was considering selling the Center, which actually held a great deal of cultural and historical significance to the local community. At this time, Jim and Rita Cmolik of Hills and Hollers Ministries became interested in purchasing the building. The University of Kentucky negotiated a deed transfer, granted on the conditions that the site remain a working craft center and that it be reopened by April 2013.

The Center has apparently been far more successful this time around, gaining enough financial donations and volunteer labor to reopen its doors in November 2012. Local artisans have reorganized themselves as well, creating the McCreary County Mountain Craft Association. The adjacent structure to the Center, which had one been used as housing for directors, is now being rehabilitated and will serve as a pregnancy support center for local women. The Cmoliks plan to move beyond the sale of craft items to planning more local demonstrations of traditional craft-making and have expanded access to include all of the Big South Fork area. Thus far, it appears that the Center is taking a community-based approach to regrowth – teaching arts camps, selling products at smaller, local church fairs, and engaging in some state-based activities such as fairs held at the KY I-75 Welcome Center (Slaven 2013). I have seen no secondary source evidence to confirm a presence of the Kentucky craft marketing program at this time, but artists such as Charlene Marrinan in Ferguson, KY, and others that have worked with the Center in the past and already and have affiliations with the state craft program/Kentucky Artisan Center.

Over the past 20 years, as organizations such as Red Bird Mission, David Appalachian Crafts, and the 4-H Mountain Craft Center (now the McCreary Mountain Craft Center) have worked to assist producers in the region, often through faith-based production, distribution and consumption networks, new independent craft cooperatives and organized groups of leaders without direct state coordination or religious affiliation have also emerged in Eastern Kentucky's craft industry and examples exist where artists collectively pool time and capital. Such community-based organizations offer engaging perspectives regarding diversity and possibilities for economic development. In the next

section I draw upon my work with the Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop to discuss an alternative form of craft organizational structure.

"None of us want to be in charge!" Cooperative Craft Production and Distribution

An example of a community-based approach to craft production and distribution is the Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop, located in a rehabilitated Carnegie Library, in downtown Somerset, Kentucky (Pulaski County). Local artists, including individuals who owned their studios as well as those who did not, came together to create the Co-op shop which opened its doors in 2008. A general description of the inner workings of the Co-op shop, as provided to me by a member of the group, is provided below.

> [Interviewee #26, 2010] When the Carnegie Center started making plans, they were also working with Watershed Arts Alliance. It was just sort of an invitation. Can you move the shop to the Carnegie Arts Center and I said sure, I was sort of familiar with the layout and I said let's do it in the periodicals room, it would be perfect on the main floor. So, we were invited and we needed a little bit more rent money. So, this is $200.00 a month rent, so I found 15 members. We opened up December 1st, 2008.
>
> [Interviewer] So, it's 15 members that are members of the guild?
>
> [Interviewee #26] In the guild, about 80…
>
> [Interviewer] Does the art shop only sell work for those 15 members?
>
> [Interviewee #26] Yes, for now, with one exception.
>
> [Interviewer] What is the one exception? Am I allowed to ask?
>
> [Interviewee #26] Yes, one of our artists is the art quilter, with the garments and the silk scarves, and she had, we go on 6 month contracts and she had to pull out 3 months early because she got a tremendous quilt commission. So she pulled out, and if she had taken all of her things out, we would have had a big hole in our inventory. So we convinced her that we wanted to keep her work in and that we would do consignment…
>
> [Interviewer] But otherwise everyone's equal?
>
> [Interviewee #26] Everyone's equal. Everyone has to sit the shop, keep the shop clean, well-stocked. We had some requirements of our members within the general Sheltowee membership.

[Interviewer] So now, how many hours do you sit each week? How many hours do members sit?

[Interviewee #26] We sit approximately three, 3 hour shifts a month, and each day is a 2-3 hour shift.

[Interviewer] And the merchandise that's sold in the shop, how does the money work from those items that are sold?

[Interviewee #26] Now that's a good question. That's what we discuss a lot! We have a system where each member has got a cubby in the back, a little storage unit. And we all keep self-addressed stamped envelopes in stock in our cubby. So, if Becky makes a sale, and I'm sitting the shop, then I fill out a triplicate receipt for her. She gets a copy, the customer gets a copy, and one stays in the book. I charge tax to the customer. The customer gives me a check, or I fill out a charge slip or she gives me cash and then I just immediately send everything to Becky. If its cash, I don't send cash in the mail, I'll just write Becky a personal check and keep the cash. If it is a check, that's the easiest thing, it goes right to Becky. If it is a charge then I fill out the charge card receipt and put all the information on it and then Becky reports it and gets the money from the charge herself with her own personal unit.

[Interviewer] Ok, so money for supplies in the store is that, how do you have additional income flow beyond just paying rent?

[Interviewee #26] There is money now; we learned the hard way that we have to have more than just rent to run an art shop. So, we tacked on a little bit more. If we all paid rent we'd be paying $160.00 per year each, each of the 15 artists. So what we do is we tack on an extra $80.00 a year for extras.

[Interviewer] So each person tacks on an additional $80.00?
[Interviewee #26] $80.00 per year. And that should give us enough petty cash to pay for bags, paint, displays, and light bulbs. In the beginning we used donations. In the beginning we had people from out-of-town who couldn't travel and sit the shop, so in exchange they gave us a chuck of cash and we bought things like pedestals, postcards, lighting, and lights.

[Interviewer] So when you make decisions regarding the art shop, are those made collectively? Do you have a meeting of all 15 members?

[Interviewee #26] We have a meeting once a month. Approximately half of our members come each month. Everything is done with consensus, and we tackle the problems as they come, all equally.

[Interviewer] Why is it important to you to have all members have a say and for all things to be done equally?

[Interviewee #26] I guess because none of us want to be in charge! We like working together. We at one time thought, there was a group of us that thought we needed a treasurer. Well, who would the treasurer be? Could that treasurer be our treasurer for a long period of time? What would happen if the treasurer had an illness or a family member was ill? Who would fill in for that treasurer? Who would pay her? How much would we pay her? How much more would that be? So we chose the least financial solution to that which was to do it all ourselves this way, with the idea that, if things changed and we needed to change we could.

[Interviewer] Do you recommend that other organizations in Eastern Kentucky follow this same path for establishing art shops in their communities?

[Interviewee #26] No, I think each co-op needs to find their own balance. The co-op in Virginia, there weren't that many of us members that could come in to sit the shop. So in that case, we had an elderly painter, whose name was George, and he wanted a studio outside his home. So George was there almost every day to sit the shop. It was a perfect arrangement. We don't have somebody here in our community who wants a studio who could be in here a lot. So we all split the sitting.

[Interviewee] So you think its context dependent?

[Interviewer] Yes.

In the scenario above income generated through the sale of craft items is given directly to the artist. Under these circumstances the artists become *the first distributors of the surplus – or profit – generated* (Community Economies Collective 2001). These artists allocate a collectively agreed upon percentage of surplus – funds generated in excess of what it cost the artist in terms of labor and materials to produce, package and sell their ware – to a community reserve that all artists may access, directly challenging the "you're on your own" premise of neoliberalism. As the owners of the means of production, all excess generated comes back to the artist making them the first distributor of surplus. To clarify, it is the broader Sheltowee Artisan Guild that has cooperatively established a community reserve using surplus generated, not merely the Co-op Art Shop membership. "We do have a fund that we've set-up, a Sheltowee Relief Fund, where we give out about $1,000.00 a year to artists who have an emergency. Like, one artist has severe health problems and needed money to pay for her health care. We helped her out. We also helped out an artisan whose studio had burned down" (Interviewer #26, 2010).

The trauma of capitalist exploitation is that the worker is cut off from the social possibilities that surplus enables and represents (Community Economies Collective 2001). However, these artists maintain control of the social possibilities by controlling the surplus generated. Thus, this cooperative approach provides an expansion of social possibilities, allowing crafters to revisit their own notions of 'the good life', share in risk, and define for *themselves* how surplus should be distributed.

These artists however, are often members of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, and benefit by their membership with this organization. They take information gained through workshops (which some of them have taught for the state) and apply these business techniques and marketing strategies to their own products. Although these artists are exploring the meaning of equity and the social possibilities that might be gained by controlling surplus, such as creating a relief fund, they are none the less participating in and benefiting from a geographical lore that clings to notions of traditions. For example, the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program enticed buyers to come to the 2012 Kentucky Crafted: The Market event with the slogan, "tradition meets cutting edge" (Kentucky Crafted 2012). Members of the Co-op Art Shop benefit from the sales of their wares at this internationally recognized art fair, and often end up reinvesting their profits in their own Co-op Shop. In this sense then, the state provides a wonderful outlet for these crafters to sell their products (despite using marketing campaigns based on notion of traditions and authenticity, the fair does help many craft producers earn a living and expand social and business networks). And yet, the fact that income earned is used to foster a Co-op Art Shop seems to undermine the very purpose of more neoliberal workshops. There are people at the local level, throughout Eastern Kentucky, who are moving beyond state encouraged strategies, though they still participate to some extent in state-based programs, which creates wonderful diversity and contradictions throughout the industry.

Other diverse examples of organizations include those with a strong state and university influence. The state may intervene in alternative economic practices not only through the perpetuation of a regional lore, but by providing actual labor under the umbrella of a state-funded university. For example, one of the participants of the relatively new Pine Mountain Co-op Crafts located in Whitesburg, KY., is a University of

Kentucky Family and Consumer Science Extension Agent. This agent helps to organize labor at the Co-op, and often takes products made by craft producers to fairs throughout the region, though no profits are returned to the Extension Office or the University. Such work actually fits well within the scope and aims of a state-funded, land grant academic institution. The persistence and emergence of such cooperatives in the craft industry, and the role of the state through the university in supporting such ventures, is yet to be fully recognized and much work remains in exploring contextually dependent cooperatives as possible development strategies.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have provided an examination of craft production as an alternative economic practice, and explored the ways in which a geographical lore was created about the Appalachian region and used by early craft organizations as a place-based marketing strategy. Furthermore, I have documented the growth and development of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program and how the state – through procedures and every day practices such as workshops, fairs, and state-sanctioned logos – has become an important actor in this industry. To demonstrate the performative and contradictory nature of the state, I have drawn upon diverse stories from organizations such as the Kentucky Artisan Center, the Appalachian Artisan Center, Red Bird Mission, David Appalachian Crafts, the 4-H Mountain Craft Center (now the McCreary Mountain Craft Center), and the Pine Mountain Craft Co-op. Organizations such as the Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop, which I have identified as a recently emergent cooperative example, may serve as a unique case study for future craft producers looking to explore new ways to produce and distribute their wares.

In my efforts to highlight the complexity of the state intervention, I have noted several different divisions and departments that intervene in this industry beyond the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, including: the Kentucky Arts Council through the awarding of grant funding; the Kentucky Cabinet for Economic Development and the Small Business Division which often provides materials for and teaches workshops to craft producers; and the Kentucky Technical Assistance Program which has providing the funding needed for personnel support at craft shops through welfare programs. The role

of the state then is clearly not limited to the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program, and the interventions by these different individuals on behalf of the state create many spaces in which contestation and contradiction may occur.

Overall, the examples provided in this chapter – with regard to the number of organizations as well as state entities – are meant to illuminate diversity, to demonstrate the ways in which individuals are engaging in craft production, and to document how the state has played a role in craft production over time. This chapter has emphasized that craft production as an alternative economic strategy in Eastern Kentucky, and Appalachia more broadly, is not new. It has served as an alternative source of income for individuals for many years. In this sense, alternative practices are not always new, despite the tendency of researchers to present them as such. This chapter has attempted to ground an analysis of craft production as an alternative economic practice in history, emphasizing its longevity and possibility as a worthy development strategy.

With respect to state discourses and practices, the contradictions identified in this chapter are clear. On the one hand, the state insists on encouraging entrepreneurialism. On the other, the state simultaneously supports cooperative production through the geographical lore it perpetuates. This place-based lore is useful to all Kentucky-based producers, regardless of production and distribution methods. The Kentucky Craft Marketing Program may market individuals, but it primarily markets place. Marketing place then, which may help individuals and cooperatives sell their wares, undermines the state's own efforts to emphasize entrepreneurial modes of production in workshops, seminars, etc.

Furthermore, cooperative producers use this state-based marketing program to their advantage. The state requires that an individual, rather than an organization, join the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. However, there are no restrictions stating that a juried artist cannot engage in cooperative production and distribution once they have joined. In the case of the Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop multiple individuals in one cooperative gain access to the Kentucky Crafted marketing logo, and simply sell their wares together in one location. Though the State of Kentucky continues to contribute the growth and development of the craft industry, the neoliberal discourse perpetuated by the State must not be presented as the only path forward any longer. The Kentucky Craft

Marketing Program would be well served by considering possibilities for supporting cooperative efforts.

In the remaining chapter, I explore the results and implications of the research I have presented in previous chapters for researchers, policy makers, and teachers. It is my hope that this project will be useful to those who endeavor to contribute to efforts to redefine development, to provide support and assistance to craft producers in Eastern Kentucky, and to build strong ethical communities that provide meaningful work to residents living in Appalachia.

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CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND FINAL REFLECTIONS

Introduction and Summary of Study

> *Without prosperous local economies, the people have no power and the land no voice* (Berry 2000, 193).

The goal of this project was to contribute to economic diversification taking place in this region by examining what sorts of alternative economic practices individuals in Eastern Kentucky are engaging with to make a living. Furthermore, this project has sought to demonstrate how the recognition of existing diversity might allow us to alter the historic pattern of development policies and practices in this region. It is through such an analysis that I hope to have contributed in some small way to understanding and imagining alternative local economies throughout Eastern Kentucky, and perhaps Central Appalachia as a whole.

The specific research questions addressed in this study centered on first, how has and how does economic development policy at the regional scale (primarily through policies created by the Appalachian Regional Commission) limit economic imaginings for those living in Eastern Kentucky and Central Appalachia more broadly? Second, I asked in what ways do state economic development strategies differ from alternative economic strategies that have emerged in Eastern Kentucky within the craft industry? Third, I sought to elucidate the principal contradictions that have arisen as a result of the differences in state-based economic development strategies specifically geared towards craft producers and strategies employed by locally-based arts organizations in Eastern Kentucky? Finally, I reflected upon what lessons policy makers might learn through exploring the diversity and different definitions of "the good life" and "development" that exist within Eastern Kentucky's craft industry?

This project has engaged directly with the political, economic, social, and cultural reasons why craft producers chose to produce craft items and in what ways the state has played a role in this industry. In Chapter 2, I provided a theoretical framework that allows for a deeper understanding of craft production in Eastern Kentucky as well as the role of the state within alternative economic strategies. This theoretical framework draws upon

literature pertaining to diverse economies, alternative economic practices, a literature on 'geographical lores', discourses of the state and neoliberalism, theories of development and anti-development and historical analyses of craft production. Then, in Chapter 3, I provided an overview of the methodological approach and the methods used to study historic patterns of development policies and practices in Appalachia and state-based craft marketing projects in Eastern Kentucky. The methods used were primarily qualitative in nature and included the collection of oral histories, semi-structured interviews, discursive analysis of documents produced by the state and development agencies, as well as archival research.

After providing a discussion of literature pertaining to this research project and methods using in the field, I devoted Chapter 4 to examining the actual language of development policies and practices in the region. I argued that economic development strategies might be expanded in the future by taking into consideration the importance of alternative economic practices in development policies. Despite the perpetuation of neoliberal and entrepreneurial strategies throughout the last 30 years in development policy and practices, craft producers have nonetheless continued to explore alternative practices including cooperatives built upon shared production and distribution strategies. In Chapter 5, I drew upon examples from the craft industry and explored the process of creating a geographical lore and its use with regard to craft production and marketing in Eastern Kentucky. Such geographical lore and knowledge, often based on stereotypes of place, were used as marketing tools by early craft-related organizations and continue to be invoked today by the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. Furthermore, I documented the evolution of a state-based craft program that has become over time a major figure within the context of this industry, arguing that the state, within the context of Eastern Kentucky, does play a key role with regard to alternative economic practices and diverse economies.

In the following section, I will provide a summary of the contributions as well as the implications for researchers, development practitioners and policy makers that have emerged from this project. I will then discuss possibilities for future research, and the importance of using a language of diversity in the classroom setting and providing students with opportunities to explore their own definitions of development.

Contributions

The following section is meant to provide an overview of the main contributions of this dissertation.

Challenging Hegemonic Development Discourses in Appalachia

One of the aims of this research has been to contribute to the critical examination of prevalent development discourses in the Appalachian region. The process of discursively deconstructing development documents allows researchers to better understand the development ethos created by policy makers. The reports that have been critically examined in this study were responsible for solidifying development discourses in Appalachia and Appalachian Kentucky. Present discourses perpetuated by the Appalachian Regional Commission and the state of Kentucky have limited definitions of development and economic imaginings for the region's inhabitants. This project has provided deconstructions of these discourses so that new definitions of development – that take into account community-based development and alternative economic practices – might be constructed.

In addition, this research project speaks to broader development concerns in the Global North and Global South, contributing to already existing efforts to bridge the theoretical gap that exists between scholars working in these different regions. More specifically, this project has sought to demonstrate the value of discursive analysis of policy documents in the Global North; to highlight how this method is useful to scholars working in both global regions; and, to provide evidence of how new development policies and practices might be generated through our understanding of the performative nature of the creation of development documents and state-based development strateiges. In future publications, the researcher will share this discursive analysis more broadly through publically-accessible publications geared towards an audience of Global North development practitioners who engage directly in the perpetuation of development discourses. It is through such work that everyday mainstream development practices might be challenged on the ground level.

Deconstruction of Limited Geographical Lore and Place-Based Marketing

A second contribution of this research has been to document the ways in which a 'geographical lore' has been discursively produced about the Appalachian region since the late 1800s, and how this lore has been invoked to justify development discourses, and to market Kentucky-made craft products. A critical appreciation of geographical lore allows researchers to examine how cultural difference, coupled with place-based marketing techniques, is used to entice consumers with promises of exoticism, authenticity and high quality. The individuals in this study are frequently represented through geographical lore as isolated, backwards, traditional, and removed from the mainstream global economy. Therefore, geographical lore based upon stereotypes must be deconstructed, creating a discursive space for new lore that exposes interconnectedness and shared struggles with other rural and mountain communities.

Documenting Alternative Economic Practices and Diverse Economies

A third contribution of this dissertation research involved understandings of alternative economic practices and diverse economies. The process of documenting economic diversity and alternative economic practices expands possibilities for economic development strategies and practices. The individuals who participated in this research study indicated that many motivations exist for engaging in craft production in Eastern Kentucky.

Through the collection of work biographies I found that craft producers do not always engage in craft production in direct opposition to more formal economic employment. Only in one or two cases did any crafter use language indicating that they considered crafting 'oppositional'. Many others engage in wage labor and produce crafts as a hobby, selling them informally, giving them to family members, or donating them to charities. Others produce crafts as a way to supplement income to cover medical expenses, pay household bills, or cover other personal costs. There are those crafters that decided to remove themselves from what they consider the mainstream economy and have been producing crafts with spouses for many years now without engaging in any form of wage labor (these crafters do consider themselves as producing in opposition to the mainstream economy). In these examples, individuals felt that crafting allowed them

to maintain a level of control over their own time and capital. And still yet, there are crafters who fell into crafting because opportunities such as mining or timber extraction were no longer available to them (due to injury, Black Lung disease, or layoffs). There is significant diversity in this one industry. If craft production is to be considered as a development strategy, then policies need to consider providing support to many different forms and levels of craft production. We must also take into account that strong levels of attachment to place, culture, heritage and tradition are still woven into craft production throughout the region. As demonstrated earlier, such language (through problematic) may still be useful in terms of more inclusive development practices that allow craft producers to define for themselves what " tradtion" and "authenticity" mean.

Providing Evidence of State Intervention in Alternative Economic Practices

As discussed in Chapter 2 the role of the state has been neglected in studies of alternative economic practices and diverse economies. Given this lacuna, a fourth aim of this project was to contribute directly to such studies by providing a framework through which to analyze the state. After briefly reviewing theories of the state, I argued that a 'performative approach' worked best when trying to understand the interaction between crafters and the state. A number of examples have been collected and presented in this document to demonstrate that the state – through mundane every day practices and procedures – intervenes and shapes craft production in Eastern Kentucky. The individuals in this study have differing perceptions of the state based on encounters with state-based programs and employees within the context of the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program. As discussed in Chapter 5, the many divisions and departments of the state are often contradictory in nature, which has resulted in diversity with regard to the ways that individuals choose to interact with the state. In some cases individuals in the craft industry have decided that benefits exist to embracing state-based strategies and programs. However, some individuals in the region have felt excluded by state efforts and have created alternatives to state programs.

Examination of Cooperative Production Efforts and Social Possibilities for Surplus Distribution

This project has examined why individuals in the craft industry have turned to cooperative production methods in spite of a discourse of neoliberalism that has been perpetuated by the Kentucky Craft Marketing Program and other arts-related industries. Examples such as the Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop were collected and documented in an effort to expand discussions of craft production and distribution in the region, and to highlight the social possibilities – such as the creation of a relief fund – associated with maintaining control of surplus. Though well-meaning organizations in the region provide support for crafters through selling their wares on their behalf, the ability to serve as the first distributor of surplus is taken away from the producer.

Fostering Critical Pedagogy and Teaching "Diversity"

The diverse economies research program seeks to do more than collect stories of diversity and alterity in the economic landscape. This research program aims to create a new economic language in communities and classrooms. My efforts to teach diversity and engage in critical theory with my students dovetails well with my research project to deconstruct development discourses, challenge predominant stereotypical geographical lore, foster recognition of the role of the state in alternative economic practices, and offer an analysis of cooperative production and distribution efforts. A contribution of this research project then includes my experiential efforts in teaching diversity. In the conclusions, I have provide case study examples of critical projects that I have instituted during my time as an instructor for analysis and critique by other researchers in the final thoughts section of this chapter. The projects I have created and implemented in my classroom contribute to efforts to both document diversity and deconstruct development discourses.

In the next section, I move from a discussion of contributions to personal reflections on my work and implications of this research project for researchers, policy makers and teachers.

Reflections on Epistemology, Methodology, and Implications for Researchers

As discussed in Chapter 3 the insider/outsider debate seems rather pointless these days; however it is important that I acknowledge my status as a native and a stakeholder in this region. Throughout this project I have been concerned with the welfare of family members and friends who live and work in Eastern Kentucky. Thus, as the result of my position as an Appalachianist who has worked in this region for many years now, this project has, for me anyway, always had a strong sense of urgency attached. I did not embark upon this study because it was simply interesting; rather I hoped to do something that might help my home-place in some small way. Such a stance has been readily embraced in the field of Appalachian Studies since the 1970s, shaping the experiences and researcher scholars such as Helen Lewis, Ron Eller, Dwight Billings, John Gaventa, and many others who have collected and studied knowledge related to the Appalachian region.

All of these issues touch upon current debates in the field of economic geography (and perhaps the social sciences more broadly). In Samers' (2001) commentary regarding the purpose of economic geography that touches upon "Barnes' (1996) call for antiessentialism, deconstruction and metaphorical redescription, Peck's (1999) appeal for policy relevance, Sayer's (1995) and Castree's (1999) renewal of radical political economy, Sunley's (1996) demand for "pragmatism", Gibson-Graham's (1996) treatise on the discursive and material difficulties of actually naming that nexus of processes called capitalism, and Amin and Thrift's (2000) listing of potential allies for economic geography," it is suggested that economic geographers might adopt approaches in the development and implementation of research projects that aspire to be more than simply interesting or stimulating; they should be urgent, seeking to expose economic injustices, and mitigating the forces neoliberalism through meaningful engagement with policy makers.

I echo such arguments in this section as I feel that academics have an obligation to produce assessable research that may be disseminated to practitioners and policy makers – and within the field of Appalachian Studies this is 'tradition'. Though many development practitioners, as well as economic development policy makers, may be looking primarily for quantitative data, there is a place for qualitative data as well; a place

for the critical analysis of stories of the state, of craft producers, and of researchers. Practitioners that are faced with economic development challenges might be well served by the availability of qualitative data that provides them with a deeper understanding of how individuals are presently making a living in the communities where they work. Collecting oral histories, work biographies, and other cultural narratives will no doubt provide useful data.

The analysis of such stories provides us insights and lessons for moving forward in the Appalachian region. We should indeed find value in our stories and history. For example, in his personal essay regarding the future of Appalachian Studies, Billings (2011) reminds us that the lessons from our own place, from Appalachia, should have prepared us for national and global events such as uprisings in Wisconsin, or the Arab Spring. As Billings notes, we are Buffalo Creek, and we are Blair Mountain. Adopting such a research approach, which grounds us in our place, offers promise for the future of Appalachian Studies and perhaps academia in general. Like Billings, I react to things, and understand things afar, from where I am now, and where I am from. In this sense then, understanding the stories of my homeplace provides me with a deeper appreciation for and understanding broader catastrophes and resistance efforts. In this research project, my attempts to collect and understand a plethora of different stories in the region of Eastern Kentucky has provided me with new ideas and language throughout which to shape development policy and practice throughout Appalachia.

Speaking to Concerns of Development Policy and Practice

Opportunities most certainly exist for development practitioners and policy makers working in the Appalachian region to alter their approach and explore new development opportunities. This project has been an attempt to contribute to such efforts and provide a new economic language that recognizes diversity within the craft industry and Eastern Kentucky's economy more broadly. In some ways, however, this project has struggled between an idealistic utopianism formed by my own experiences in the academy, and my desire to produce something that could alter the development structure as it currently exists. To what extent I have accomplished, or will continue to accomplish this goal, is yet to be determined.

Such debates and aspirations however, are not new to the field of economic geography and I am most certainly not the only scholar to face such struggles. In her work on methodologies, epistemologies and audiences, Glasmeier (2007) notes that there exists a distinction between the scholar as the acquirer of information and the scholar as information synthesizer and translator, hoping to speak to policy debates and problem solving. Though many debates have taken place in economic geography regarding issues for academics speaking to larger policy concerns (see for example Peck 1999; Banks and MacKian 2000; Peck 2000; Pollard et al. 2000), Glasmeier argues that such conversations have rarely dissected the process of policy-making itself (which I now find myself embedded in). As Glasmeier has argued, and my research has echoed, policy-making, and the actual language of policy documents, is complex and messy, consisting of documents, processes, statements, and measures or benchmarks. Furthermore, place matters, as policy development and implementation is shaped by political, social, religious, economic, ecological and historical processes, manipulated and reinterpreted by multiple institutions and actors at numerous scales. Understanding the language of policy documents, as well as the paths of influence, is crucial for academics who hope to speak to policy concerns. As Glasmeier has suggested elsewhere (2000), economic distress occurs in rural areas as the result of "the decline in the price of commodities, international competition for natural resource-based products, changes in the use of raw materials, the legacy of external ownership of land and resources, and the historic impact of native lands appropriation, slavery, and the plantation economy" (2000, 559). Until development policies begin to explore options for redistributing wealth and landownership, building sustainable and more equitable local economies, there will be little impact in rural settings.

Despite such debates, I hope at the very least that my publications and outreach efforts have demonstrated my faith in the belief that small-scale industries should not be underestimated as tools to redistribute wealth and to keep local revenue from "leaking out" of communities. For example, in May 2013, the Appalachian Regional Commission's Export Trade Advisory Council (ETAC) sponsored a multi-sector Appalachian business delegation to attend the Trade Winds Asia Forum in Seoul, Korea. The forum focused primarily on export opportunities, allowing delegates the

opportunities to conduct business-to-business meetings with business representatives from Seoul, Hong Kong, Taipei, Manila and Tokyo. A smaller portion of the conference provided time for representatives from Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Maryland and Pennsylvania to be featured in a “SelectUSA” program, which highlights new and expanding international investment in each of these states (ARC 2013).

In addition to efforts that explore options for exporting American-made goods, or enticing international businesses to settle in the Appalachian region, we might also examine import substitution possibilities in Appalachia and how our own craft and agricultural producers might be able to meet basic needs locally. Many Chambers of Commerce throughout the region are already exploring such opportunities and working with local businesseses to determine how needs for goods and services could be met by local producers as such possibiltiies may provide new jobs and keep dollars within smaller communities. Though such concerns are embedded within economic policy conversations (Would we treat imports from neighboring states the same as those from international countries? In what ways and under what circumstances would we allow for the import of items that we simply could not produce?), these conversations must also take place in classrooms. The key starting point to such efforts begins with improvement in geographical and economic education throughout the Appalachian region and elsewhere. Children should learn at an early age to understand and appreciate commodity chains; they should be taught economic responsibility and global citizenship, which might translate into concerns for workers in other places as well as the goods that they produce.

Efforts to support education with regard to sustainability, community leadership and development, Appalachian Studies and geography will be imperative in attempts to encourage import substitution. In the past, import substitution has suffered throughout the Global South as products produced were often not competitive in a global market, thus buyers would purchase cheaper goods made elsewhere. In order for import substitution to occur in Appalachia, I would argue that stronger networks must take place between local business owners and local suppliers. Whether producing as individual entrepreneurs or cooperatives, there must be an understanding of local needs. Community leaders will need to take the initiative to build networks and make conversations happen – movers and

shakers are quite effective at this. Again, children in the region will also need to learn from an early age about the tradition of family farming and gardening in the Appalachian region, and how food production and food miles – here is where geography education will be key – are important to maintaining a good life not only in terms of knowing where there food comes from, but also in understanding the conditions through which the food was grown, gathered and transported. Though I am working primarily with agricultural examples, the same sort of conclusions could perhaps be drawn with craft production. Over and over again craft producers have lamented the fact that they simply cannot get local people to appreciate their work; to see the value in investing money into objects that would last their lifetime. Such education and valuing of crafts must start early, and it must take place through geographical studies.

It is a mindfulness of our economic actions that is necessary for import substitution to succeed; a recognition that the livelihood of our neighbor may depend on our decision to buy locally, that someone in another place may be spared exploitative working conditions if I am unwilling to purchase the cheaply made bag at Wal-Mart, and that the large eco-sphere of which I am a part may suffer less if I my food is not mass produced with toxins and then transported over thousands of miles. Education regarding such political economic and ecological issues, supported by federal agencies like the Appalachian Regional Commission, must begin to take place. Such strategies will not result in substantial economic growth in terms of wealth, in fact, the acceptance and implementation of such an approach might mean the acceptance of a more frugal and minimalist life style for many who chose to stay in Appalachia, but such strategies might be enough to improve the quality of life of those living in the region and to allow residents to stay in their homeplace.

Community Relevance and Future Research

The current economic situation in Central Appalachia, particularly in Eastern Kentucky, does not inspire hope in many of the region's residents. Many families in the region were struggling to make ends meet when this project began in 2008 during a national economic recession, and unfortunately, for many communities, little improvement has occurred. For the last 9 months of this project, I have served as a

research fellow in residence at the Central Appalachian Institute for Research and Development, funded by the Appalachian Regional Commission, which has provided me the opportunity to be embedded in the region and to listen and observe current economic development strategies. A few of these efforts, related to this dissertation project, are discussed below.

Many unemployed miners throughout the region now seek support from a number of governmental and nongovernmental institutions and programs. One such program, H.O.M.E. (Hiring Our Miners Everyday), a program provided by the Eastern Kentucky Concentrated Employment Program, Inc. (EKCEP), provides on-the-job training, classroom training in basic academic skills or certification and licensing, and skilled apprenticeships to unemployed miners, coal company staff and their spouses. The goal of the program, as described by Executive Director Jeff Whitehead, is to provide these individuals with the skills needed to remain in Kentucky. "We want these miners to be able to train, work, and remain here in their home region without uprooting their families for jobs in other states or regions of Kentucky" (Whitehead, 2013). EKCEP is a nonprofit workforce development agency that serves over 23 Appalachian Kentucky counties.

Such conversations of work force development, the strengthening of soft skills, and the creation of jobs to replace the loss of employment opportunities in mining, are often divorced from conversations of education, culture, environment, power and politics, and livelihood strategies. In her analysis of Nicholas County, Kingsolver makes a double-edged observation regarding the introduction of reliable broadband, job opportunities, and literacy rates – an observation which illuminates just how educational attainment levels, technology availability and employment opportunities are interwoven and shaped by globalization. Kingsolver notes:

> Another national policy that may affect Nicholas County's economic and social terrain, as I have mentioned, is the introduction of reliable broadband Internet availability. This would mean more college graduates might stay home and telecommute, but it might also mean an influx of low-wage service work, like call centers. Low-wage employers are going to seek out the workforce in rural Kentucky, as has happened in the past, because of the lack of unionization and, frankly, other employment options, but this time Nicholas Countians could find themselves competing with workers in India and losing out because of low literacy rates (Kingsolver 2011, 145).

In her conclusions, Kingsolver reflects on what she has learned while working in tobacco-growing communities. To summarize, (1) literacy and education, and the valuing of already-existing skills within communities, are going to be important, (2) inclusive consideration of the identities of Nicholas County residents, including skills, needs – this includes the recognition of individuals involved in the illegal prescription drug trade, and (3) local ownership of land. I mention Kingsolver's reflections; as such lessons should guide the creation of economic development policy at the local and regional scale throughout Central Appalachia. In the following sub-sections, I will contribute my own reflections regarding in what ways I have witnessed some of these conversations taking place.

Taking Back Ownership of Land and Folkways

Maintaining and/or regaining ownership of land throughout rural Eastern Kentucky will be crucial for individuals hoping to stay in the region. Future research must be conducted that revisits older land studies conducted throughout Central Appalachia, which might further redistribute land to those living in the region. The taking back of land, however, is a part of a much larger project to take back our economy in Central Appalachia; a project that will involve the transformation of our regional economy with an emphasis on ethical economic and ecological production, distribution and consumption networks. In general, I would argue that we should take back our land, our labor, and our folkways in this region (Fickey 2013).

The craft industry provides a wonderful example of the ways in which Central Appalachians might begin to take back their own labor and folkways. This process does not return to older notions of crafts as collections of objects, or autonomous expressions, in fact, I mean to challenge and dismiss such notions all together. As Canclini (1993) argued in his work, it is through craft production that we might be able to contribute a counterhegemonic culture. For this to work, however, Canclini states that popular sectors, such as the craft industry, must organize themselves into cooperatives and unions, allowing producers to take back control of their labor and ownership of the means of production and distribution. Furthermore, craft producers must take back the ability to control not only economic control, but symbolic control as well. While reading Canclini's

work, though it is based in an entirely different region of the world, I could not help but to be struck by his discussion of the importance in craft producers moving away from working with "remnants" of the past into producing "emergent," challenging expressions in the present. In a way, what Canclini argues for is not an industry filled with intermediaries that sell crafts for producers in some far off place from where the producer lives and produced their work, or in a boutique or craft shop where the item is placed with other items that share an aesthetic quality but the producer and their homeplace is rendered hidden, it is instead a more democratic industry where producers control the production and distribution of their work and maintain control of the symbolic meaning given to the craft item.

I have highlighted a few, democratic examples throughout this project, but work remains to better understand the formation of more recent craft cooperatives not only in Eastern Kentucky, but throughout Central Appalachia, and in what ways craft producers have attempted to unionize, or may do so in the future. The Sheltowee Co-op Art Shop has been an organization which I have referenced throughout my work in which a group of artists independently came together in 2008 to form a cooperative shop. Other organizations, such as the Pine Mountain Craft Co-op, have formed under the guidance and with the assistance of extension agents working on behalf of the University of Kentucky. In this circumstance, surplus is invested directly back into the co-op as the university pays the salary of the extension agent and no money is taken from the co-op for the services the agent provides.

It is not enough, however, to simply highlight the existence of such cooperatives within the craft industry. In Oberhauser's (2005) later work, particularly her comparative work exploring both Appalachia and South Africa, she notes the importance of diverse economic practices such as craft production in terms of providing economic support in households where formal, capitalist forms of employment are in adequate or no longer available. Though Oberhauser argues that alternative economic practices act "as sites of resistance in livelihood strategies" (2005, 865), it is difficult to accept that all forms of alternative economic practices are indeed sites of resistance when the argument may also be made that the state engages in and benefits from certain forms of craft production. It is at this point that Canclini's (1993) work becomes relevant. As discussed earlier (Chapter

4) neoliberal discourses, promoted by the state, openly discourage cooperative efforts, and instead support entrepreneurial approaches. And yet, at the same time, the state perpetuates a geographical lore that promotes Appalachian crafts as "traditional" and "authentic". Within the capitalist market place, this lore often helps to sell products. Future research must continue to explore these issues. What forms of craft production are democratic? Is it possible for the state to support emancipatory forms of craft production, to shift from a limited discourse of entrepreneurialism to a more open approach that offers funding and marketing support for cooperatives as well? If so, what would this look like? Can non-governmental, regional-based entities move away from small business workshops and entrepreneurial trainings and support cooperatives in addition to state-led efforts?

The Significance of Historic and Geographic Context

Questions regarding future forms of craft production are best asked with sensitivity to and understanding of the past. In fact, the need for thoughtful engagement with historic and geographic contexts has been generally neglected within the study of alternative economic practices and diverse economies. Though this dissertation project is meant to contribute to more recent effort to provide examples of analyses which incorporate historic-geographic context, work remains to be done. Researchers have started to delve into the historic-geographic contexts of diversity and alterity and have suggested that our current interest in studying diverse/alternative economic practices runs the risk of producing ahistorical narratives, portraying such practices as contemporary phenomenon (Bryson and Taylor, 2010; Jonas, 2010). Bryson and Taylor (2010) argue that although Gibson-Graham's work encourages geographers to engage in studies of diverse economies and to expose that which was once hidden, it is unfortunate that much of the literature pertaining to diverse economies implies that alterity is a new process rather than something that has been an important feature of economies prior to the cultural turn in the 1990s. They empirically support this argument in their work on mutual dependency which explores diversity and alterity within the evolution of a single production system in a specific geographic region –the British metal trades in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Within the context of Appalachia, it has most

certainly been the case that alternative economic practices have been used as livelihood strategy for the past hundred years. Certainly the first miners and millhands in the region continued small-scale agriculture and craft production to meet their needs and engage in barter while engaging in wage-labor (Eller 1982; Eller 2008).

As discussed in Chapter 2, McKinnon's (2010) study of diversity and post-development project moves away from exploring diverse economic practices, but continues to emphasize the importance of historic-geographical context through the examination of the emergence of indigenous rights issues in northern Thailand. To make questions of social and political organization visible, McKinnon examines the formation of Thailand's modern borders in the early 1900s. Such historic-geographic context, including a discussion of how and where highlanders have lived throughout the last century, is necessary to understand the recent 'alternative' indigenous people's movement in Thailand.

Working through a similar theoretical lens, Carswell's (2002) study challenging the portrayal of the historically marginalized economic activities of women as 'recent' economic diversification uses historical documents along with oral histories to argue that the trading activities of women in southern Ethiopia have persisted over time and are not new. Furthermore, touching upon issues of gender, Carswell argues that the marginalized position of women in the community and in the understanding of economic activity in the region has long rendered their economic contributions invisible, despite their long term importance in diversifying the economy in southern Ethiopia. The act of being hopeful then requires an understanding of where we have come from – the forces that shape our political, social and economic contexts within particular regions and territories – which provides us with the foundation to build, adjust and change our economic landscapes (Fickey and Hanrahan 2013).

Given the historic tendency of leaving the power of regional definitions, demarcations and planning efforts in the hands of elites, it is uncertain history and geography will ever be embraced by the state within the process of making "big plans" for Eastern Kentucky. Most recently for example, Governor Beshear and Congressman Rogers called for the Shaping Our Appalachian Region Summit (henceforth, SOAR) to be held in Pikeville, Ky. This summit was meant to serve as a state-based initiative to

stimulate the generation of ideas related to diversifying the regional economy and stimulating development. Sessions throughout the day included panels on: Youth; Regional Innovations; Framing Regional Challenges; and, Comparative Studies – Iron Range, Minnesota. Breakout "regional opportunity" discussions covered topics such as: Job Creation and Retention; Entrepreneurship and Innovation; Infrastructure; Public and Private Investment; Tourism; Regional Collaboration and Identity; Leadership Development and Youth Engagement; Lifelong Learning; and, Health/Biotechnology/Human Services.

Regretably, the 40 members of the planning committee consisted of the "usual suspects," primarily political leaders and development practitioners, and included few alternative voices such as women, minorities, etc. It is beyond the purview of this dissertation to analyze the outcomes of the SOAR summit or many of the other regional plans being developed for Eastern Kentucky. Based on the proposed timeline offered publicly at the SOAR summit, a report of the ideas shared will be given to Governor Beshear and Congressman Rogers by Jan. 2014. They will review the report in 30 days and make recommendations by Feb. 2014. In March 2014, we may see the creation of yet another regional development entity that could well repeat past mistakes and render hidden the voices of minorities, youth, the poor, etc. However, the future of this regional entity is, perhaps, yet to be determined. In the next section, I turn specifically to the question of gender.

Questions of Gender in Alternative Economic Practices and Handcrafted Products

When writing research questions for this project, it was necessary – as with every project – to create boundaries. Though the question of gender is highlighted only briefly throughout this document, it is certainly important with regard to the division of labor within the craft industry and worthy of further study. Craft production has, for many years, provided access to cash income for women throughout Central Appalachia, and issues of gender, class, and 'race' have long been motivating issues for understanding and developing diverse economies (for examples, see Lawson 2005; Oberhauser 2002, 2005; Oberhauser and Pratt 2004). Unfortunately, questions of gender as lines of inequality *within* diverse economies literature have been somewhat neglected. It is in this way that

Wright's (2010) recent work offers significant contributions to the diverse economies research program by the intersection of power relations and economic strategies to argue for an understanding of diverse economies negotiated within responsibilities, obligations, and access to opportunities that differ between individuals (with regard to differential power relations, see also Aguilar, 2005; Kelly, 2005). Drawing on recent work with residents of a small Filipino village involved with three different social movements, Wright examines the diversity of strategies employed by three individuals with varying socio-economic and gendered positions. Community members develop 'spaces-beyond-capitalism' through their efforts to overcome problems and debilitating outcomes associated with previously practiced capitalist strategies. A focus on power relations from the perspective of individuals struggling to create alternatives allows Wright to demonstrate that diverse economies are neither *inherently* exclusionary, nor inclusionary, but are experienced differentially within a community. Diversity and alterity certainly exists within the economic landscape and a critical focus on gendered relations within that landscape – in ways that demonstrate the leveling and unleveling potential of economic practices – will contribute work aimed at transformation (Fickey and Hanrahan 2013).

Gender may also be important to those who study alternative economic practices, particularly within the context of the craft industry, when thinking in terms of the ways in which gender is inscribed into craft and art products. For example, authors and artists alike have inscribed gender into writings and art work portraying the Appalachian region, and many of these works would most certainly meet Canclini's criteria of emergent, challenging expressions. In Harry Caudill's work, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (1962), the mountains are described by the author with rather female characteristics, particularly within his chapter titled, "The Rape of the Appalachians" in which strippers used augers to push into virgin seams of coal. Caudill's book, despite the well-known critiques of use of language related to eugenics, provided a counterhegemonic text that challenged the political powers structures of the day.

Recent artists have continued to personify the mountains in the image of a female. In his 2004 work, *The Agony of Gaia*, Letcher County native Jeff Chapman-Crane created a sculpture of a woman (Mother Earth), lying on her side in great pain and agony

as heavy machinery is used to remove coal from her body. Chapman-Crane (2004) first displayed the sculpture at a meeting of the Kentuckians for the Commonwealth. The sculpture is meant to be provocative, and to inform the viewing public. In his personal reflections, shared with Appalachian Voices (2011) Chapman-Crane remarks, "I wanted to express that the earth is not just this source of raw material we can exploit for coal with no cost to the earth or ourselves… The earth is a living thing. It feels what we're doing to it and there is a real price to pay for the kind of abuse and exploitation that we've been subjecting the earth to for so long now" (Appalachian Voices 2011, online). Not only is Chapman-Crane challenging development discourses, and creating counterhegemonic artwork, he is actively controlling the symbolic meaning attached to the artwork by traveling with the sculpture when it is displayed. "We've taken it to college campuses, churches and exhibited in conjunction with a United Nations special hearing. We try to focus on venues where there are people who have never been made aware of the issue. It's a great opportunity to teach people about it" (Appalachian Voices 2011, online). Future research then needs to conducted not only with regard to examining the gender of craft producers, but the ways in which gender is explored and played with within art and craft products such as *The Agony of Gaia*.

Final Thoughts: Geographical Education, Appalachian Studies and Service-Learning

This project sought to create social change and diversify the economic landscape in Eastern Kentucky and throughout Central Appalachia. Furthermore, the publications (academic and open source), presentations, podcasts and newspaper articles generated from the data collected have served as mediums through which to broaden the language of economic development policies and strategies throughout this geographic region. My efforts to share the information I have collected with Appalachians young and old have resulted in my teaching at the university and high school level, and building many relationships throughout much of Kentucky.

As a native of the region, and a current resident, I have observed and experienced the direct outcome of current power struggles to define the good life in Central Appalachia and to re-imagine what "development" might look like in this region. Most

recent, hopeful examples include conferences such as the Appalachia's Bright Future Conference organized and hosted in April 2013 by the Kentuckians for the Commonwealth in Harlan County, Kentucky. The Conference included community leaders from around the globe that were living in/had experienced economies in transition away from a formerly dominant global commodity (such as fisherman from Newfoundland, and miners from South Wales). Such conferences, in theory, provide safe spaces for conference attendees to share ideas. I am careful to use the words, "in theory", as while I was attending the conference I observed several Kentucky State Policemen monitoring the event, and such a public display of power may have made many participants fearful and hesitant to speak up (Fickey 2013).

Nonetheless, conversations regarding alternatives and diversity are now taking place in the region at a more frequent rate. There seems to be little choice in having such discussions however, if the region's residents are going to find ways to remain in Eastern Kentucky. Though the craft industry may serve as an alternative means of employment, much work remains to be done in the exploration of what forms of craft production may truly be emancipatory, and which forms simply prop up the capitalist structure, allowing crafts to merely serve as merchandise to tourists.

Creating Social Change through Critical Geographical Education and Service-Learning

Efforts to reimagine must not be limited to development practitioners and adult residents of the region. Redefining development must begin earlier in life, and geographers can play a key role in this regard. To this end, many service-learning projects at the university level can be designed in such a way that teaches critical thinking, inspires hope, a commitment to social change, and allows the student to create a useful product (for both the student and the community they mean to serve). For example, in the fall of 2010, I took students in the geography department's Appalachian geography course to a post-mining community in Southeast Kentucky, providing them with insights into livelihood strategies in places that no longer rely on resource extraction (Oberhauser 2005; Fickey and Rieske-Kinney 2011; Grabbatin and Fickey 2012). Before traveling to the community, students learned about the history and geography of Appalachia over the

past 200 years in a course I was teaching at the time entitled "Land, People, and Development in Appalachia." Students completed readings pertaining to critical development, diverse economies, and alternative economic and political spaces.

Funded by the University of Kentucky-based Appalachian Center and the Appalachian Studies Program, the field trip to South-eastern Kentucky involved numerous on-campus and off-campus actors. Planning the trip and research itinerary involved collaboration between the instructor, Appalachian Center staff, as well as an AmeriCorps Vista worker located in the community who helped build relationships between local community members and the university.

During the field trip, students spoke with local entrepreneurs and government officials to gain a deeper understanding of the difficulties individuals with limited capital faced in rural regions. This place-based approach challenged students both from Appalachia, as well as those who grew up outside the region, to examine this place through the lens of critical development and alternative economic practices, exploring new and diverse understandings of "the good life" (McKinnon 2010; Fickey 2011; Fickey and Hanrahan 2012). After completing the field trip, students then conducted interviews with regional leaders and wrote reports about organizations throughout southeast Kentucky that were engaged in alternative economic development strategies that moved beyond resource extraction. Each student examined the sorts of development practices that a particular organization—of their own choosing—engaged in and what benefits these organizations offered to the region.

Final reports were submitted for review to the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED) located in Berea, Kentucky. Several of the reports were published as part of the *Alternative Transitions Initiative*, which featured the stories under the heading "Student Stories" (see *http://appalachiantransition.net/stories*). The Alternative Transition Initiative, led by MACED and Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, seeks to advocate for economic development strategies other than the extraction of natural resources. For example, one student explored the value in small-scale sustainable agricultural practices, and conducted an interview with Dr. Bill Best at the Sustainable Mountain Agriculture Center (Coleman 2011). Even though the project was perhaps limited in its time and scope, students

learned that they could play an active role in critiquing the hegemonic development discourse in Appalachia. Through this project, students engaged in a process of celebrating and making visible alternative economic practices, which a capitalist discourse of resource extraction renders invisible (Gibson-Graham 1996; Gibson-Graham 2002; Lee 2010).[41]

In addition to teaching diversity, alterity and the deconstruction of development discourses at the university-level, I have tested such theories with high school honors students as well. In the end of her book *Tobacco Town Futures* (2011), Ann Kingsolver provides a postscript which includes essays submitted as part of an essay contest that Kingsolver sponsored in her homeplace of Nicholas County. As I read through the essays, and Kingsolver's own notes as to why it was important to her to allow young Nicholas Countians to have the last word, I realized just how important and significant it was to allow the actual youth of the county in which Kingsolver grew-up and studied define for themselves what the future of the region might look like in years to come.

In an effort to duplicate Kingsolver's approach, I assigned a final essay to a group of 60 high school students that I taught during the summer of 2013 at the University of Kentucky in the context of the Robinson Scholars Program. This program provides paid scholarships to first generation college students from 29 Eastern Kentucky counties (all are included within my dissertation research area). For the past two years, I have taught an Appalachian History and Culture course as a component for the Mission Appalachia camp, organized by the Robinson Scholars.[42] This camp includes students who are "scholars", and have already been awarded scholarship money, as well as "leaders" who are younger and have not undergone the selection process yet.

After working with the students over the course of the week, covering topics in Appalachian History such as European Settlement, the Civil War and Industrialization,

[41] For a detailed discussion pertaining to service-learning within the field of geography and academia in general, see, "Service-Learning: Critical Traditions and Geographic Pedagogy", (Grabbatin and Fickey, 2012). This paper explores the philosophical overlap between experiential and service-based learning in the educational philosophy of John Dewey. In addition, the paper examines several theoretical and methodological debates in geography, celebrating and drawing lessons from classic and current service-learning programs. We conclude with a discussion and reflection on experiences with implementing similar pedagogical projects.

[42] In the summer of 2013, I also co-taught a course broadly titled, Appalachian Issues, with the University of Kentucky Robinson Scholars Director, Jeff Spradling.

the Great Depression, World War II, the War on Poverty, the Rise of Strip Mining and Mountaintop Removal, I asked the students to complete a final essay assignment for me which provided them the opportunity to consider 1) the challenges facing the Appalachian region, 2) what the future might look like, and 3) what was their responsibility, if any, in shaping the future? Though these essays were written within a 50 minute time frame, the duration of the class time, and they did not have the time to edit or expand on ideas that writing for an essay contest would have allowed, these works are still important and representative of the thoughts and issues that the region's youth are trying to work through.

Though the inclusion of my students' work may seem non-traditional or unorthodox for a dissertation, within the circumstances of this project I would argue that such essay's contribute to our understanding of the definitions of development that exist in this region. The following two essays (see Appendix B – Student Essays) were selected not because I thought they were the best essays in terms of grammar and writing style, nor were they selected due to content per se. I selected these two essays because the authors were passionate. Despite whatever critiques Appalachian scholars may have of the essays (and I could point out quite a few areas of critique myself) these students feel strongly about the future of their homeplace, so much so that they are determined to 'make a difference', and I believed that as I read each piece. And this, the optimism with which these students completed these essays is enough reason to feel hopeful about the future of Eastern Kentucky.

As noted only a few paragraphs above, the act of being hopeful involves the understanding of where we are from. Each semester and summer I have tried to pass along the knowledge of my homeplace with the youth of the region, and at present, I am now conducting a project with the University of Kentucky Robinson Scholars Program to better understand and analyze the ways in which high school-aged students engage with community development projects in Eastern Kentucky.[43] Teaching has been just as important to me as my research and service duties over the past few years. Incorporating the possibilities for geographical education, Appalachian Studies, and service-learning has been a natural part of this project for me. I plan to continue my efforts to triangulate

[43] To learn more about this open source project visit: http://ukrobinsonleaders.wordpress.com.

teaching, research and service obligations throughout my academic career, creating spaces to redefine development and explore alternative economic practices for years to come.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCRIPTS

**Note: Interview scripts were initially created by the researcher to serve as a guide during the collection process. Questions were altered as needed in each individual interview.*

Script A-1: State-Kentucky Craft Marketing Program

Data Collection Instrument – Semi-Structured Interview Script

1. How long have you been working at *insert department title*?
    a. What types of positions have you held within the state?
2. I am currently interested in learning more about economic development strategies employed in the state of Kentucky?
    a. What can you tell me about current economic development strategies?
        i. In your opinion, what does economic development mean?
        ii. What types of development strategies receive the most attention in your department?
        iii. Why do you feel those strategies are more significant than others?
        iv. Do you work closely with community based organizations in developing and implementing strategies?
    b. Out of the strategies that you have mentioned, do you feel that these strategies work well throughout the state?
        i. Do some strategies work well in urban areas and not in rural areas?
        ii. If so, why?
        iii. If not, what do you think these strategies work in both areas?
    c. My research sites are located within the region of eastern Kentucky. Do you feel that eastern Kentucky is a developed region?
        i. If so, why?
        ii. If not, why not?
    d. Do you feel that there are specific strategies that should be employed in this region?
        i. If so, why would these strategies work better in this region? Are they specific to rural places?
        ii. If not, why do you feel that the same strategies that would work within, for example, the Bluegrass Region, would work equally well in eastern Kentucky?
3. I would like to learn more about the handicraft program.
    a. When was handicraft program established?
    b. What is the purpose/mission of the handicraft program?
4. I am currently interested in learning more about the connections between economic development strategies employed in the state of Kentucky and the handicraft industry.
    a. What can you tell me about current economic development strategies?
        i. In your opinion, what does economic development mean?

ii. What types of development strategies receive the most attention in your department?
iii. Why do you feel those strategies are more significant than others?
iv. How do you feel that the handicraft marketing program fits within these strategies?

5. In what ways is the handicraft industry significant to the state of Kentucky?
    a. Do you personally feel that this is an important industry within the state?
        v. If so, is this industry significant in an economic or cultural sense?
6. Do you feel that the Handicraft Program is necessary for the growth and/or survival of this industry?
    a. If so, what do you feel that this program offers to the handicraft industry within the state?
    b. What types of strategies does this Handicraft Program employ to support this industry?
        i. Are these strategies successful?
        ii. If so, how should we understand "success"?
    c. Do you feel that non-governmental organizations play an important role in the industry?
        i. If so, are there any of these organizations that you might recommend that I visit?
7. Do you feel that the state marketing program works closely with organizations on a community level?
    a. If so, in what ways?
    b. Does the handicraft marketing program consider this important?
    c. Do any tensions exist between the Handicraft Program and NGOs?
        i. If so, what are some examples?
        ii. Why might these tensions exist?
    d. Do any tensions exist between the Handicraft Program and CBOs?
        i. If so, what are some examples?
        ii. Why might these tensions exist?
8. I would like to thank you for sitting down to talk to me today. Do you feel that there is any topic that you would like to elaborate on or that I failed to address?

Script A-2: Locally-Based Arts Organization/Regionally-Based Arts Organization

Data Collection Instrument – Semi-Structured Interview Script

1. Let's begin by discussing your background.
    a. How did you begin working in the handicraft industry?
2. How long have you been working in handicraft industry?
    a. What types of positions have you held within the handicraft industry?
3. I would like to learn more about (insert affiliated organization). Can you tell me about (insert affiliated organization)?
    a. When was your organization established?
    b. What is the purpose/mission of your organization?
    c. Does your organization have a specific service area?
        i. If so, how was this service area determined?
4. How do you work with crafters?
    a. Do you offer workshops?
        i. If so, why and on what topics?
    b. Do you offer funding support?
        i. If so, why and for what type of work to you offer funding?
    c. Do you display work in a store/gallery space?
        i. If so, why?
    d. Do you take work to fair locations to be sold?
        i. If so, why and what types of fairs are these?
        ii. Where are these fairs located?
    e. Do you sell handicraft products on an organizational website?
        i. If so, why and do you encourage crafters to create their own websites?
    f. Do you use any other approaches that I have failed to list here?
5. What can you tell me about the crafters you work with?
    a. Do you generally work with more men or women?
    b. Do most crafters sell handicrafts as a primary from of income, in which they can live off of, or do most artists sell handicrafts as a secondary source of income that supplements their primary income?
    c. Are most crafters interested in becoming self-sufficient?
        i. If so, in what ways?
            1. Do they hope to open their own business?
            2. Do they want crafting to serve as their only source of income?
    d. Do you see more of an emphasis on traditional handicrafts or contemporary handicrafts?
    e. Do you have guidelines that crafters must adhere to when producing handicrafts?
        i. Do you require traditional methods and equipment, i.e. handmade versus computer/mechanical equipment?
        ii. Do you require traditional materials, i.e. materials native to the region?

6. Is it personally important to you to work within the handicraft industry?
    a. If so, why?
7. Do you feel that the handicraft industry is an important industry within the state?
    a. Do you feel that the industry is important an economic or cultural sense?
8. What handicraft organizations (on a regional or state level) do you feel are highly successful in the state?
    a. How do you define success in the handicraft industry?
9. How do you feel that the handicraft industry will evolve in the future?
    a. What is the primary goal now and what will be the goal in the future?

Script A-3: Individual Craft Producer

Data Collection Instrument – Semi-Structured Interview Script

1. Let's begin by discussing your background.
    a. How did you begin working in the handicraft industry?
2. How long have you been working in handicraft industry?
    a. Have you held any formal positions for arts-related organizations within the handicraft industry?
    b. If so, I would like to learn more about (insert affiliated organization). Can you tell me about (insert affiliated organization)?
        i. When was your organization established?
        ii. What is the purpose/mission of your organization?
        iii. Does your organization have a specific service area?
        iv. If so, how was this service area determined?
3. How often do you work with other crafters?
4. Do you ever attend workshops?
    a. If so, where, why and on what topics?
5. Do you offer apply for funding support to assist you with your craft or opening your own studio?
    a. If so, why and for what type of work to you offer funding?
6. Do you display work in a store/gallery space?
        ii. If so, why?
7. Do you take work to fair locations to be sold?
        iii. If so, why and what types of fairs are these?
        iv. Where are these fairs located?
8. Do you sell handicraft products on an organizational website?
        ii. If so, why and do you encourage crafters to create their own websites?
9. Do you use any other approaches that I have failed to list here?
10. What can you tell me about the crafters you work with/meet at craft fairs?
    a. Do you generally work with more men or women?
    b. Do you think that most crafters sell handicrafts as a primary from of income, in which they can live off of, or do most artists sell handicrafts as a secondary source of income that supplements their primary income?
    c. Are most crafters interested in becoming self-sufficient?
        ii. If so, in what ways?
            3. Do they hope to open their own business?
            4. Do they want crafting to serve as their only source of income?
11. Do you see more of an emphasis on traditional handicrafts or contemporary handicrafts?
12. Are you often given guidelines to follow when producing handicrafts?
        iii. Do you prefer to use traditional methods and equipment, i.e. handmade versus computer/mechanical equipment?

iv. Do you require traditional materials, i.e. materials native to the region?

13. Is it personally important to you to work within the handicraft industry?
    a. If so, why?
14. Do you feel that the handicraft industry is an important industry within the state?
    a. Do you feel that the industry is important an economic or cultural sense?
15. What handicraft organizations (on a regional or state level) do you feel are highly successful in the state?
    a. How do you define success in the handicraft industry?
16. How do you feel that the handicraft industry will evolve in the future?
    a. What is the primary goal now and what will be the goal in the future?

APPENDIX B

STUDENT ESSAYS

Essay B-1 Completed on June 28, 2013

The history of Appalachia is one of struggle, hardships, and tremendous amounts of effort. To say we, as Appalachians, are hopeless is to say our history was all in vain. I am very hopeful for my homeplace and am eager to help preserve our culture. Appalachians have endured so many challenges and stereotypes, I have confidence we can endure long enough to get Appalachia back on track.

The future of Appalachia lies in the younger generation's hands; how they – we – see their homeplace will have an enormous impact on the quality of the future. If we continue forward on the same path we've traveled thus far, I'm saddened to say of future might not be full. Poverty will take a stronger hold on this region. Income from absentee business and land owners will continue to drive the profit out of the Appalachian region, leaving us grasping for sustenance. People will continue to leave the region, also driving much needed profit away from our homes.

Those challenges, however, are not set in stone. We have the power to reshape our future. We have the power to develop our region. We can bring that income back to Appalachia. The unemployment rate is continuing skyward. Obamacare has given employers the opportunity to layoff and reduce the hours of hard workers so health care is no longer their responsibility. We can band together and have a voice. There is power in numbers.

The lack of education seems to be another issue Appalachia faces. However, it is not without hope. Education is a right in this country. Every possible opportunity needs to be given to our youth. They are the future of our region. The future of this world. How irresponsible is it to leave our world in incapable hands? To lower the price of secondary education and ensure students are taught not only core, but the history and culture of our region is extremely important in order to give everyone the opportunity to succeed and to give Appalachia the chance to retain its glory.

I am an Appalachian. The future of this region will affect me and my fellow youth an incredible amount, but I can also affect the future. To stay in this region, to educate

others, and do everything in my power to support the growth of my region is my responsibility. I am only one person, but there are countless others who have this same desire. My fellow Robinson Leaders, for one, all have the power to mold Appalachia's future. I pray the changes that need to take place will occur. I am confident our hands are competent and capable of making those changes and saving Appalachia's future.

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Weisenfluh, G., Cobb, J., Ferm, J. and Ruthven, C. 1996. Kentucky's Coal Industry: Historical Trends and Future Opportunities. In, Kentucky Long-Term Policy Research Center (Ed.) Exploring the Frontier of the Future. Frankfort, Kentucky.
Whisnant, D. 1983. A*ll That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
Wiggins, S. and Proctor, S. 2001. How Special are Rural Areas? The Economic Implications of Location for Rural Development. *Development Policy Review* 19(4): 427-436.
Williams, C., Aldridge, T. and Tooke, J. 2003. Alternative Exchange Spaces. In, Leyshon, A., Lee, R. and Williams, C.C. (Eds.), *Alternative Economic Spaces*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 151-167.
Williams, G. 1998. Book review, *Power of Development*, by Crush, J. *Political Geography* 17(1): 119-120.

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Wright, S. 2010. Cultivating beyond-capitalist economies. *Economic Geography* 86(3): 297-318.

Zeiler, V. 2001. Circuits of commerce. In, Alexander, J., Marx, G.T. and Williams, C. (Eds.) *Self, social structure and beliefs: explorations in the sociological thought of Neil Smelser*. Berkley: University of California Press, pp. 122-144.

VITA

AMANDA LEA FICKEY

DATE OF BIRTH: August 5, 1982

PLACE OF BIRTH: Whitesburg, Kentucky

EDUCATION:

BA, History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY. (2004)

MA, Folk Studies (Concentration in Historic Preservation), Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY. (2007)

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS:

Research Positions

Research Fellow, Central Appalachian Institute for Research and Development, Pikeville, KY. (Spring and Fall 2013)

Research Assistance, Advisor: Dr. Gary Shannon, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY. (Summer 2011)

Teaching Positions

Primary Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Robinson Scholars Honors Program
Course Title: Appalachian History and Culture. (Summer 2012)

Primary Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: GEO 261 – Global Dynamics of Health and Disease.
Online Course (Advsior, Dr. Gary Shannon). (Summer 2012)

Primary Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Robinson Scholars Honors Program
Course Title: Appalachian History and Culture. (Summer 2012)

Primary Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: GEO 321 – Land, People, and Development of Appalachia.
(Spring 2010, Fall 2010, Fall 2011)

Primary Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: GEO 160 – Lands and Peoples of the Non-Western World.
(Spring 2009, Fall 2009)

Teaching Assistant, Appalachian Studies Program, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: APP 200 – Introduction to Appalachian Studies.
Instructor: Ann Kingsolver (Fall 2012)

Teaching Assistant, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: GEO 160 – Lands and Peoples of the Non-Western World.
Instructor: P.P. Karan (Spring 2012)

Teaching Assistant, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: A&S 100 – Global Dynamics of Health and Disease
Instructor: Gary Shannon (Spring 2011)

Teaching Assistant, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
Course Title: GEO 160 – Lands and Peoples of the Non-Western World.
Instructor: Andy Wood (Fall 2008)

Other Work Experience

Arts and Culture Outreach Coordinator, The Center for Rural Development, Somerset, KY. (Fall 2007-Spring 2008)

Graduate Assistant, Department of Folk Studies and Anthropology, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY.
Position: Curatorial Assistant, Mammoth Cave National Park.
(Fall 2006-Spring 2007)

Graduate Assistant, Department of Folk Studies and Anthropology, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY.
Position: Curatorial Assistant, Kentucky Library and Museum.
(Fall 2005-Spring 2006)

Committee Membership

Member of Gaines Fellow Thesis Committee (External Committee Member).
Mary Jennings, seeking B.A. in Biology. Advisor: L. Broome, University of Kentucky. Project Title: The Charles Lightfoot Story: Kentucky's Unsung Hero.
(Completed, May 2013)

Member of Gaines Fellow Jury Committee (External Committee Member).
Mary Jennings, seeking B.A. in Biology. Advisor: L. Broome, University of Kentucky. Project Title: Making the Invisible Visible: Kentucky's Unsung Hero.
(Completed, May 2012)

Member of Master's Thesis Committee (External Committee Member)
Nikki Wooton, seeking M.F.A. in Arts Administration. Advisor: S. Meyers, Savannah College of Art and Design (Completed, May 2012)

Thesis Title: Exploring Social Media and its Use by Arts Organizations. (Completed, March 2012)

Conference Organization

Session Organizer, Panel Title, "Fostering Preservation, Museum Education and Oral History Collection in Your Community," at the Citizens' Institute for Rural Design (Organized by the Central Appalachian Institute for Research and Development, funded by the National Endowment for the Arts), Somerset, KY. (2013)

Speaker Organizer, with Lisa Conley. Speaker: Dr. Chad Montrie, University of Massachusetts Lowell. Title of Talk, "Confronting Environmental Mythology, Making a New Environmental Movement", Sponsored by the University of Kentucky History Department, Political Ecology Working Group, Appalachian Center, and Graduate Appalachian Research Community, Lexington, KY. (2011)

Conference Organizer, with Dwight Billings, Shannon Bell, Ron Eller, Evelyn Knight, and Mary Anglin. "Place Matters", Invited Speakers Series held jointly by the Appalachian Studies Program and the Appalachian Center at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY. (2011)

Conference Organizer, with Lisa Conley, Evelyn Knight, and Dwight Billings, University of Kentucky Appalachian Research Community Symposium, Lexington, KY. (2011)

Session Organizer, with Garrett Grady, Paul Lovelace, and Ron Eller, "Critical Perspectives on Economic Development in Appalachia," at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Appalachian Studies, Richmond, KY. (2011)

Session Organizer, with Taylor Shelton and Andy Wood, "Critical Perspectives on Local and Regional Economic Development," at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Seattle, WA. (2011)

Session Convener, "Politics and History in Twentieth Century Appalachia," at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Appalachian Studies, Richmond, KY. (2011)

Session Convener, "Mining", at the University of Kentucky Dimensions of Political Ecology: Conference on Nature-Society, Lexington, KY. (2011)

Conference Organizer, with Lisa Conley, Taylor Shelton, and Garrett Grady, University of Kentucky Appalachian Research Community Symposium, Lexington, KY. (2010)

Session Chair, “Local and Global Economies”, at the University of Kentucky Appalachian Research Community Symposium, Lexington, KY. (2010)

Conference Organizer, with Anne Mareck, Leah Bayens, and Kathy McCullough, “An Evening with the Mountain Keepers,” at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY. (2009)

SCHOLASTIC AND PROFESSIONAL HONORS

Grants and Research Funding

Research Fellowship, Central Appalachian Institute for Research and Development, Pikeville, Kentucky, $20,000 (2012)

College of Arts and Sciences Mini-Grant Research Award, University of Kentucky, PI-Gary Shannon, Co-PI (RA) – Amanda Fickey, $2,300 (2011)

Dissertation Enhancement Award, University of Kentucky, $3,000 (2011)

Oral History Project Grant – Phase 2, Kentucky Oral History Commission, $2,500 (2011)

James Brown Award for Graduate Student Research on Appalachia, UK, $1,500

Barnhart-Withington Endowment Funding Support for Dissertation Research, University of Kentucky, $500 (2010)

Student Senator Sponsored Project Award, with Lisa Conley, on behalf of the UK Appalachian Research Community, $1000 (2010)

Oral History Project Grant – Phase 1, Kentucky Oral History Commission, $1,400 (2009)

Provost’s Initiative for Excellence Grant, Western Kentucky University, $3,000 (2007)

Academic Awards and Scholarships

Selected to participate in the Sixth Summer Institute in Economic Geography, held in Switzerland, July 1-7, hosted by the Department of Geography at the University of Zurich (2012)

University of Kentucky Woman’s Club Endowed Fellowship, $2,000 (2011)

Love of Learning Award, National Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, $500 (2011)

Carl A. Ross Graduate / Undergraduate Research Paper Award, Appalachian Studies Association, Paper title: Rendering Regional Development Technical: An Examination of "Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964", $100 (2011)

Honorable Mention Category, Economic Geography Specialty Group Graduate Student Research Award, Association of American Geographers (2011)
Student Government Association Graduate Student Scholarship, University of Kentucky, $500 (2010)

Scotland: A Learning Journey, International Economic Development Program Participant, University of Kentucky College of Agriculture (2010)

Edith Schwab Memorial Scholarship Recipient, $1000 (2009)

Scholarly Honor, National Honors Society: Phi Kappa Phi, Western Kentucky University Chapter (2007)

Scholarly Honor, National Honors Society: Gamma Beta Phi, Western Kentucky University Chapter (2007)

Potter College of Arts and Letters Outstanding Graduate Student, Western Kentucky University (2005-2007)

Outstanding Student in Folk Studies Award, Western Kentucky University (2005-2007)

Mary Z. Yeager Scholarship, Western Kentucky University, $1000 (2004)

Scholarly Honor, National History Honors Society: Phi Alpha Theta, University of Kentucky Chapter (2004)

Teaching Awards

Certificate for Outstanding Teaching, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Kentucky (2011)

Women in Geography Education Award, National Council for Geographic Education (2010)

Travel Awards

Travel Scholarship, Summer Institute in Economic Geography Funding Committee, $750 (2012)

Graduate School Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $400 (Summer Institute, International Travel) (2012)

Appalachian Studies Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $200 (2012 ASA Meeting) (2012)

Graduate School Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $400 (2012 AAG Meeting) (2012)
Appalachian Studies Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $200 (2011 ASA Meeting) (2011)

Graduate School Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $400 (2011 AAG Meeting) (2011)

Graduate School Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $400 (2010 AAG Meeting) (2010)

Kentucky Oral History Commission Travel Scholarship, $200 (2009 OHA Meeting) (2009)

Graduate School Travel Award, University of Kentucky, $400 (2009 SEDAAG Meeting) (2009)

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Fickey, A. 2013. Speaking a new economic language in Central Appalachia, A response to Take Back the Economy: An Ethical Guide to Transforming Our Communities, by Gibson-Graham, J.K., Cameron, J. and Healy, S. *Journal of Social and Cultural Geography* (under review).

Fickey, A. and Hanrahan, K. 2013. Moving beyond Neverland: Reflecting upon the state of the diverse economies research program and the study of alternative economic spaces. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* (forthcoming).

Fickey, A. 2012. Moving from Place to Place: Exploring the Complexities of Being an Academic and Activist in/for Appalachia. *PRISM: A Journal of Regional Engagement* 1(1) Article 6: 65-71.

Grabbatin, B. and Fickey, A. 2012. Service-learning: Critical traditions and geographic pedagogy. *Journal of Geography* 11 (6): 254-260.

Fickey, A. 2011. "The focus has to be on helping people make a living": Exploring Diverse Economies and Alternative Economic Spaces. *Geography Compass* 5(5): 237-248.

Fickey, A. 2011. The Messy and Complex Politics of Cultural Intervention. *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 16(1/2 – Spring/Fall 2010): 115-118.

Fickey, A. and Pullen, E. 2011. Maintaining Sanity in Graduate School: A Brief Commentary on the Significance of Informal Networks. *The Geographical Bulletin* 52(2): 64-66.

Fickey, A. and Pullen, E. (Guest Editors). 2011. Introduction to Special Issue – Maintaining Sanity in Graduate School. *The Geographical Bulletin* 52(2): 63.

Fickey, A. and Raitz, K.* 2010. County to Commonwealth in KDL's Kyleidoscope Themed Collection - Building a New State. Kentucky Virtual Library's Kentuckiana Digital Library - Kyleidoscope Initiative: http://kdl.kyvl.org/kyleidoscope/newstateky/1780-1800.html.

Fickey, A. 2010. Commodifying My Culture: An 'Appalachian' Reflects on Her Role in Sustaining a Limited Discourse of Appalachia. *disClosure* 19: 35-37.

Popular Magazines/Newsletters/Open Source

Fickey, A. 2012. Exploring Eastern Kentucky's Craft Industry. *History Burgoo*, presented by the Kentucky Historical Society (open source, online publication). Published online June 22, 2012: http://www.historyburgoo.com/historyburgoo/2012/06/since-the-mid-twentieth-century-central-appalachias-regional-economy-has-suffered-due-to-decreases-in-extractive-industri.html.

Fickey, A. and Rieske-Kinney, L. 2011. Cultural Industries and Invasive Species: Ecological Threats to Handicraft Production in Central Appalachia. *anthropologies* (open source, online journal) Issue 8: http://www.anthropologiesproject.org/2011/11/issue-8.html

*REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION: Fickey, A. and Rieske-Kinney, L. 2011. Cultural Industries and Invasive Species: Economies Threats to Handicraft Production in Central Appalachia. *The Lady Slipper: A Publication of the Kentucky Native Plant Society* 26(4): 12-17.*

Fickey, A. 2011. 'Haste Ye Back': Studying Abroad in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. *The Geographer: The Newsletter of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society* (Spring Issue): 24.

Fickey, A. 2006. Local Chert Home Built by Dr. Frank Moxley. *Landmark Report* XXVI (1): 7-8.

Book Chapters

Fickey, A. and Samers, M. 2013. “Thinking about Appalachia: A study of limited economic imaginings and a re-thinking of ‘development’.” In, *Place Matters* (Volume I), P. Obermiller, S. Scott, and C. Berry (eds), Champaign: University of Illinois Press (anticipated press, under review).

Fickey, A. 2012. New Foreword, The Handcraft Revival in Southern Appalachia, 1930-1990. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press: xvi-xxiii.

Book Reviews

Fickey, A. 2011. Book Review—Magical Marxism: Subversive Politics and the Imagination, by A. Merrifield. *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* 5(1): 86-87.

Fickey, A. 2011. Book Review—Key Concepts in Economic Geography, by Aoyama, Y., Murphy, J.T., and Hanson, R. *Journal of Economic Geography* 11(6): 1083-1084.

Fickey, A. 2011. Book Review—Interrogating Alterity: Alternative Economic and Political Spaces, by Fuller, D., Jonas, A.E.G., and Lee, R. (eds.) *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101 (5): 1177-1179.

Fickey, A. 2010. Book Review—Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes, by Ross, M. (ed.) *Western Folklore* 68(2): 264-266.

Fickey, A. 2008. Book Review—Handmade Tales: Stories to Make and Take, by Casas, D. *Voices: The Journal of New York Folklore* 34(3-4): 44-45.

Media Reviews

Fickey, A. 2011. Media Review—Spike TV’s ‘Coal’, producer Beers, T. *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 17(1&2 – Spring/Fall 2011): 271-273.

Consulting Studies and Reports

Fickey, A. 2013. Research Report – Regionalism in theory and practice, or a plea for Appalachian Studies. Central Appalachian Institute for Research and Development Report: (to be submitted December 2013).

Fickey, A. 2010. Evaluation Report – Mini-grant Training Session. Kentucky Entrepreneurial Coaches Institute.

Fickey, A. 2010. Evaluation Report - Foothills of Eastern Kentucky Eco-Agro-Tourism Development Agency 2010 Entrepreneurial Workshop. Foothills of Eastern Kentucky Eco-Agro-Tourism Development Agency and the University of Kentucky Cooperative Extension Service.

Fickey, A. 2010. Evaluation Report – E-Discovery (Entrepreneurial-Discovery) Program. Kentucky Entrepreneurial Coaches Institute.

Fickey, A. 2010. Fieldnote Transcription Analysis – 2010 Development Forum. Kentucky Craft History and Education Association.

Fickey, A. 2007. Interview Transcription Analysis – Made to be Played: Traditional Arts of Kentucky Luthiers. Kentucky Folklife Program.

Fickey, A. and S. Schmidt. 2007. Interview and Transcription Analysis – Great Onyx Job Corp Oral History Project. Mammoth Cave National Park.

Fickey, A. 2007. Preservation Report – Analysis of James Maurice Ingram's Architectural Drawings and Buildings, Architectural Survey Project. Warren County Preservation Office.

Fickey, A. 2007. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination for Hindman Ben Franklin Building," Hindman, Kentucky. National Historic Register, August 2007.

Fickey, A. 2007. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the Bolen Building," Hindman, Kentucky. Listed on National Historic Register, August 2007.

Amanda Lea Fickey
October 19, 2013