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THE APPALACHIAN COMMITMENT OF BEREA COLLEGE: A REVIEW OF HISTORICAL FIGURES, NARRATIVES, AND AN ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMATIC OUTCOMES

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THE APPALACHIAN COMMITMENT OF BEREА COLLEGE:
A REVIEW OF HISTORICAL FIGURES, NARRATIVES,
AND AN ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMATIC OUTCOMES

DISSERTATION

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

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

2022

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE APPALACHIAN COMMITMENT OF BEREAL COLLEGE: A REVIEW OF HISTORICAL FIGURES, NARRATIVES, AND AN ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMATIC OUTCOMES

Since its founding in 1855 Berea College has continuously defined and redefined itself based on eight Great Commitments that collectively shape Berea's mission. All Bereans, from students to alums to Presidents, have a responsibility to review and evaluate the ways in which Berea College is acting on each of its eight Commitments. This study offers a review of Berea's Appalachian Commitment, "To engage Appalachian communities, families, and students in partnership for mutual learning, growth, and service" (Berea College, 2017). The following three articles seek to understand some of the ways in which Berea College leaders have interpreted and acted on this Commitment. More specifically, the three articles examine how Berea College serves as an Appalachian Anchor Institution. Berea leaders have developed and led hundreds of outreach programs and services with the goal of improving community outcomes in Appalachia. This type of commitment, to a specific place and its future, separates anchor institutions from other organizations (Boyer, 1996; Bringle et al., 1999; Dubb, 2007; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Hudson, 2013; Maurrasse, 2002).

Berea is nationally known for being regionally committed and the Appalachian Commitment stands apart from the other seven Great Commitments. There are few higher education institutions that have attempted the type of work it is committed to, and it should be lauded for this work. There is still a need to critically analyze its work and understand how it can improve. This research aims to share some of the untold stories in Berea's history and celebrate the efforts and work they conducted at the college. It also casts a critical lens on the ways that the College shifted its mission towards Appalachian service and the narratives utilized to support that aim. The three articles offer various vantage points for this review, but all three are demonstrations of the ways Berea College acts as an Appalachian Anchor Institution.

The first article shares some of the ways that Berea initially stepped into the anchor institution role. The second is a broad review of how the College could strengthen its work as an anchor institution with asset-based frameworks. The third article shares an example of programming that anchor institutions engage with and describes the outcomes from a

specific project. This research was formed out of an interest in how Berea developed into an Appalachian Anchor Institution as well as a desire to understand frameworks these institutions can use to strengthen their work or to analyze outcomes. There are lessons that can be learned from the ways that institutions like Berea have operated historically, and it is helpful to examine the patterns that persist.

KEYWORDS: Anchor Institutions, Rural Education, Berea College, Asset Framing,
Appalachia

Rebecca Ellen Tucker

08/22/2022

Date

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To my grandfather Dr. Ray Edwin Tucker Sr.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Since its founding in 1855 Berea College has continuously defined and redefined itself based on eight Great Commitments that collectively shape Berea's mission. In an interview about the importance of college missions Ruth Simmons— a college President across three institutions— asserted “Now, here's the important thing to understand about missions. Institutions have certain purposes, and those purposes are reiterated constantly. You hire people who understand the mission. You evaluate people on whether or not they understand the mission and whether they're committed to it” (Simmons, 2022). All Bereans, from students to alums to Presidents, have a responsibility to review and evaluate the ways in which Berea College is acting on each of its eight commitments.

The focus of this study is centered on Berea's Appalachian Commitment, “To engage Appalachian communities, families, and students in partnership for mutual learning, growth, and service” (Berea College, 2017). Berea is nationally known for being regionally committed and the Appalachian Commitment stands apart from the other seven Commitments in scope and allocation of resources. The College has held its commitment to the region for more than a century, which makes it an Appalachian anchor institution. A commitment to a specific place and its future, separates anchor institutions from other organizations (Boyer, 1996; Bringle et al., 1999; Dubb, 2007; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Hudson, 2013; Maurrasse, 2002). The following three articles seek to understand the ways Berea leaders have acted on the Appalachian Commitment and how the College serves as an Appalachian anchor institution. Additionally, this research reviews frameworks these types of institutions can use to strengthen their work.

1.1.1 Positionality Statement

I am a 2009 Berea alumna and, as of 2022, I have worked at Berea College for eight years in its regional outreach work through Partners for Education. I am also Appalachian and as I student I have benefited from Berea's work in the region. As a staff member, I have been intimately involved with the implementation of regional programming. I am not an unbiased investigator in this research, but I agree with Ruth Simmons that all Bereans have a responsibility to understand and uphold its mission.

I am interested in this research because I have a bias toward action, and I am seeking resources that can be utilized by staff and partners with Berea. My experience in this research of learning the history of Berea College's Appalachian service has provided valuable context for my work with outreach programming. Furthermore, I have uncovered tools and resources that are useful for evaluation and improvement of Berea College's service work. The current research on rural, post-secondary anchor institutions is very limited, and there is a need to evaluate the work of institutions like Berea College. My experiences, both as a student and as an employee, add a nuanced perspective that might be difficult for an external, unbiased researcher to achieve.

I hope that my research of Berea College and my dedication to its mission adds to the group that Burton Clark described in *The Distinctive College*. Clark wrote, "All colleges have roles, but only some have missions. Only in some have an internal group and an internal dynamic played an important, even dominating, part in determining performance and place" (Clark, 1992, p. 234). Over the course of a century, small groups at Berea have had a demonstrable influence on the manifestation of Berea's Appalachian Commitment, and I am interested in being a part of that group. These leaders have played

a distinct role in the process of Berea College becoming an Appalachian anchor institution. This research highlights the influence that individuals can have within small, committed institutions like Berea. However, while these leaders shaped the outreach programs on campus and across the service region, they have also shaped the ways that Appalachia has been perceived by the nation at large. Berea leaders have been mobilizing resources for Appalachian communities since 1855, but they have also played a role in uplifting biased, deficit-based narratives about Appalachia. Some of these narratives persist, and this research highlights asset-framing as an alternative framework for College leaders to use when they share stories about Berea’s Appalachian service region.

1.1.2 Defining Anchor Institutions

A commitment to a specific place and a mission to improve the outcomes in that place are the basic components of an anchor institution, and Berea College meets this obligation. The Anchor Institution Task Force defines anchor institutions as “enduring organizations that are rooted in their localities” and specifies that these institutions should harness assets to address community issues related to education, economic development, or health outcomes (*Anchor Institutions Task Force (AITF) | Marga Inc.*, 2009). Goddard et al. further define anchor institutions as “locally embedded institutions, typically non-governmental public sector, cultural or other civic organizations, that are of significant importance to the economy and the wider community” (Goddard et al., 2014). By these standards, Berea College is meeting the expectation of an anchor institution. It is a major employer in the region with more than 700 employees supporting Appalachian Kentucky programs. In its outreach work alone, the College leverages approximately forty million dollars annually with a special focus on education improvement (Berea College, 2020).

The College differs from most urban anchor institutions because of its regional mission as compared to a commitment within a specific neighborhood or town. That said, Berea College is inexorably intertwined with the town of Berea. Elizabeth Peck, the author of *Berea's First Century 1855-1955*, described how the College served as an anchor institution in the town's early history since the College operated the town's only utility company, hospital, fire department, and K-12 school, along with other major municipal functions (Peck, 1955). The College and town operate separately at present, but many partnerships and cross-sector programs are maintained, so it does have an anchor institution function with the town.

The focus of this research is on Berea's regional commitment and its role as an Appalachian anchor institution. The regional approach is more akin to the role of land-grant Universities. The Morrill Act of 1862 established the land-grant system, and it institutionalized the role of colleges or universities in providing direct community service. Named after Senator Justin Morrill, this Act established provisions for the federal government to support various higher education programs at designated land-grant universities. The Act specified that agriculture and mechanical arts should be supported which began a shift in the leading object of post-secondary education away from liberal arts towards practical arts that would produce more mechanics and engineers in the increasingly industrialized nation. It also set the groundwork for the Hatch Act of 1887 which developed into the agricultural extension movement under the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Extension service programs continue to provide direct service to communities today.

While agricultural improvement projects were not and are not a primary focus of Berea's mission, the style of education outreach and community development work

mirrored some of programs with agriculture extension services. For example, Berea College had an Extension Opportunity School that operated from 1925 to 1952 where Berea professors traveled across Appalachia to deliver education and community development programs. Berea's early history of Appalachian service has similarities with the agricultural extension service, and this has influenced the ways it serves as a regional anchor institution presently. However, Berea differs from land-grant institutions because there is not a legislative mandate to carry out this work. The leaders at the college actively choose the programs and services to engage with, and these decisions have led to ebbs and flows of outreach over a century plus of services.

This research shares untold stories of early Berea leaders who helped the College become a regional anchor institution. However, it also casts a critical lens on the ways that the College shifted its mission towards Appalachian service and the narratives utilized to support that aim. In addition to gaining insights into Berea's history, this research is intended to disrupt deficit-based narratives and uplift alternative ways forward. There are lessons that can be learned from the ways that institutions like Berea have operated historically, and it is helpful to understand the story of how Berea College became the anchor institution it is. The three articles offer various vantage points for this review, and all three are demonstrations of the ways Berea College serves as an Appalachian anchor institution. The first article spotlights an individual leader and shares some of the ways that Berea initially stepped into the anchor institution role. The second is a broad review of how the College could strengthen its work as an anchor institution with asset-based frameworks. The third article features an example of the type of programming that anchor institutions employ and highlights the outcomes of a specific project. As a collective, the three articles

guide readers through an understanding of Berea College's commitment to Appalachia while sharing tools and frameworks to shift the narrative toward Appalachia's assets.

1.1.3 Article 1 Introduction: Berea College's Appalachian Service with Helen Dingman

Since its founding in 1855, Berea College has served Appalachia Kentucky. However, it was under the leadership of President William Frost (tenure 1892–1920) that a deeper commitment to the Appalachian region was established. Then, through the guidance of President Hutchins (tenure 1920-39), Berea began stepping into an anchor institution role for Appalachia. Anchor institutions are dedicated to a specific service region and support initiatives to strengthen local communities. This can be seen through the type of programming that anchor institutions implement, and also within the stories of individual leaders. Helen Hastie Dingman is a lesser-known leader in Berea's history, but through her various roles at the College, she pushed the institution to step deeper into its Appalachian commitment.

Dingman first came to Kentucky in 1917 where she joined a cohort of “quare” women who felt called to serve Appalachia. These women supported progressive reform and they worked collaboratively to push their organizations to better serve the women and children of the mountains. Dingman began working at Berea in 1924 and advocated to support families across the region using progressive social work principles. While at Berea College, Dingman oversaw Berea's Sociology Department, conducted site visits of area teachers, established an Opportunity School for adult education, served as Secretary of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, and spearheaded the efforts to conduct the first comprehensive economic and sociological survey of Appalachian communities.

Through a combination of archival research from Helen Dingman’s work and other sources, this article guides readers through an understanding of the influence held by an individual change agent at Berea College. Each generation of servant leaders at Berea innovates to find the best way to steward the College’s resources, and Dingman is an exemplary character in this history. Archival resources include documents related to Berea College’s service to Appalachia during Frost’s and Hutchins’s tenure along with records across multiple programs. Additionally, Helen Dingman wrote hundreds of letters to her family in New York and submitted regular updates to President Hutchins about the Opportunity Schools, the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, and other service projects. The projects that Dingman led at Berea helped influence the type of place-based initiatives that exist today. Her work and leadership helped establish the College as an Appalachian anchor institution.

1.1.4 Article 2 Introduction: Appalachian Narratives and Their Uses

The narratives used by organizations to describe communities can have ramifications. The identity and culture of Appalachia Kentucky have been shaped—and warped—by narratives that were dissonant with the lived experiences of the people who lived there. One of the early purveyors of Appalachian narratives was William Goodell Frost, Berea College’s third president serving from 1892 to 1920, who described Appalachians as “contemporary ancestors” and in need of extensive, paternalistic interventions. Leaders at anchor institutions like Berea College play an important role in seeding and spreading narratives about a place or region. This article guides readers through the evolving narratives the College has used about Appalachian people and the roles of anchor institutions. The purpose of this research is to highlight the ways

marginalized Appalachian communities were frequently described based on perceived deficits and to discuss asset-framing as an alternative framework.

The foundation for this analysis began with *Power and Powerlessness* which presented a case study exploring power dynamics and bias in Appalachia Kentucky (Gaventa, 1982). Gaventa's work emphasized the importance of storytelling to confront bias. This is supported by research from Ivy Brashear and Melissa Newman. Brashear examined the importance of shifting away from the stereotypical narratives about Appalachia in order to uplift communities and economic revitalization in the region (Brashear, 2020). Newman's research reviews perceived self-efficacy, its connection to the economic success of a region, and the need for hope and aspirations in this cycle (Newman, 2019). This research was also influenced by *Appalachia on Our Mind* (Shapiro, 1978), *Uneven Ground: Appalachia since 1945* (Eller, 2008), and *What You're Getting Wrong About Appalachia* (Catte, 2018). Finally, the book *Belonging: A Culture of Place* (hooks, 2008) reinforced the necessity of attributing value to the connections within communities.

According to hooks, there is a need to authentically appreciate Appalachia as a place that millions have called home and not demean it as a place of failure. Berea College—in its efforts and work as an Appalachian anchor institution—has shared biased, deficit-based narratives about Appalachian communities. In the examination of the horizontal history regarding Berea's uses of deficit-based narratives, archival resources were utilized along with *Berea College: An Illustrated History* (Wilson, 2006) and *Berea's First 125 Years, 1855-1980* (Peck, 1955). Additionally, Berea College publications were referenced including *For the Mountains, an Autobiography* (Frost, 1937), *Berea's Appalachian Commitment* (Drake, 1970), *GSTR 210 Reader: Identity and Diversity in the*

United States. Appalachia: Who cares, and So What? (Berry et al., 2017), and *Conditions for Growth: Colleges as Anchor Institutions in Rural Communities* (Gentry et al., 2019).

This latter manuscript by Gentry et al. (2019) was an influential gateway into research about anchor institutions. There is a dearth of research on rural anchor institutions, but there are commonalities between rural and urban settings. For both, deficit-based narratives about service communities are common. It is valuable to recognize that the continued use of these narratives increases the risk of disengaging the people who are purportedly being served. This matters because marginalized communities—in urban centers and rural areas— have experienced a long history of negative bias that has an impact on community self-efficacy and a sense of belonging. Research for this article shares asset-framing and appreciative inquiry as two alternatives for narrative frameworks and concludes with actionable steps that either rural or urban anchor institutions could utilize in their conversations and programming.

1.1.5 Article 3 Introduction: Post-Secondary Attainment of Berea College’s Promise Neighborhood from 2011-2017

During the 2008 Obama campaign, the Promise Neighborhood (PN) initiative was introduced, and Berea College was the first rural recipient of PN funding. A 2010 planning grant of \$500,000 was awarded followed by an implementation grant from 2011 to 2017 for \$28,421,845. This cradle-to-career grant served three rural counties in Appalachia Kentucky. Improving access to post-secondary pathways and successful completion of certifications or degrees is one of the key indicators for PN grantees. This research focuses on assessing post-secondary success outcomes of seven graduating cohorts, 2011 through 2017, from the three high schools located in Berea College’s PN service area. The objective

of this analysis is to report the post-secondary indicators for these students and share methods so that they can be utilized by similar college-access grantees in Appalachia or the nation at large.

As of 2022, enough time has passed that it is possible to review some of the post-secondary success outcomes for this grant. The central questions for this analysis were:

1. What are the in-state college enrollment rates for the 2011-2017 high school graduating cohorts from the Promise Neighborhood grant implemented by Berea College?
2. Of the college-going students from this Promise Neighborhood grant, what are the college graduation rates from two-year institutions, four-year institutions, and certificate programs?

The data for this analysis came from the Kentucky Center for Statistics (KYSTATS), and each cohort was analyzed utilizing federal PN data guidance requirements. The benefit of KYSTATS data is that it is public and freely available to all researchers. Furthermore, this analysis could potentially be replicated among the twenty other 2011 PN implementation sites across the United States with other public data sources. A Tableau dashboard was created with the KYSTATS data, and it has been uploaded to Tableau Public where researchers can download the workbook to use with similar datasets.

In its role as an anchor institution, Berea College has been engaged with college-access programming and providing services to regional school districts since the 1960s. The College has been a recipient of GEAR UP, TRiO, and Full-Service Community School funding, all of which include increased post-secondary access as an indicator of success. However, post-secondary readiness or enrollment are only the beginning of a post-secondary success pathway. The research on longer-term outcomes or post-secondary graduation is limited, and to date public research has not been conducted on Berea's long-

term post-secondary outcomes from grant programming. This analysis does not intend to be evaluative of Berea College's implementation of the PN grant. Instead, it aims to fulfill the initial goal of reporting post-secondary success indicators based on the original GPRA (Government Performance and Results Act) guidelines.

1.1.6 Problem Statement

While each article has a different vantage point, all three offer a perspective on Berea College's role as an Appalachian anchor institution. It is uncommon for a college of Berea's size to conduct the level of regional outreach that it is known for, especially within the rural context. Even though the nature of Berea's role is distinctive, there are still potential learnings that other anchor institutions—rural or urban—could consider. These include being authentic and transparent about the justifications for being committed to a community. It is valuable to understand the history of how an institution came to serve and support community outcomes and this context can help with decisions about how this work should carry forward into the future. It is also beneficial to reflect on how individual change agents are empowered or supported to carry out the commitments of an institution. Without these leaders, the underlying drive of an institution has a risk of falling into complacency. The work of anchor institutions will not be achieved within a single lifetime, and there is a need to continually innovate and reflect on methods that will provide better outcomes for the communities being served. Creating opportunities that provide the most utility for the individuals directly impacted by anchor institution programming is a worthy aim. Through analysis, reflection, and study these articles share frameworks and tools that Berea College or other institutions could utilize in their outreach efforts.

CHAPTER 2. BEREA COLLEGE'S APPALACHIAN SERVICE WITH HELEN DINGMAN

2.1.1 Article 1 Abstract

Berea College has provided outreach services to Appalachia Kentucky since its founding in 1855. Yet, it was not until the leadership of William Frost (Berea President 1892–1920) that the commitment to the region was formally adopted as a part of Berea's mission. Since that time Berea has supported a wide range of Appalachian outreach programs. This piece focuses on programs established during the Great Depression era, many of which were led by Helen Hastie Dingman. Across her numerous roles at Berea College, Dingman advocated for progressive programs to support the needs of children and families across Appalachia Kentucky. This review uses archival research of Dingman's regional work to guide readers through an understanding of how Berea College established itself as an Appalachian anchor institution.

2.1.2 Introduction to Helen Hastie Dingman

Many years after Helen Hastie Dingman left Smith, KY she came to realize that the general store was one of the most important institution for her community (Dingman, 1967). She reflected that some of the families from the rural Harlan County neighborhood attended church, a few more sent their children to school, but everyone within walking distance came to her cooperative grocery store. It was the social network of the day, and Dingman believed those networks were vital if Berea College was going to be effective at serving Appalachia. In 1924, when President Hutchins recruited her to the College, he asked "what service work she thought Berea ought to be doing in the region?" Her years in Smith had shaped her ideas about programs that would work best, and she forcefully

shared her opinions on the matter. Hutchins, in response, immediately extended her “an offer to come to Berea and do exactly what she had outlined” (Drake, 1998).

Dingman stayed with Berea from 1924 to 1952, working to exhaustion in service of mountain children and women. Her story is one of many, frankly common, stories of individuals who devoted their careers to the College. As one of the oldest Appalachian Colleges, Berea is known for its commitment “To engage Appalachian communities, families, and students in partnership for mutual learning, growth, and service” (Berea College, 2017). This commitment is one of eight Great Commitments that were first articulated in 1962, and Dingman was one of the foundational leaders who laid the groundwork for this promise.

At Berea, Dingman served Appalachia by leading programs like the Opportunity Schools and Extension Opportunity Schools. Her services continued in her role as a Sociology Professor, where she taught early versions of social work courses. She traveled extensively in Appalachia conducting site visits in schoolhouses to advise teachers on school improvement plans. Dingman also had leadership roles with regional networks like the Council of Southern Mountain Workers. Appalachia at the time lacked formal community institutions, so organizers like Dingman relied on interpersonal networks. One of the more valuable networks for Dingman was the cohort of Progressive women who had been called to serve in southeastern Kentucky.

This included May Stone, Katherine Petit, Mary Carson Breckinridge, Lucy Furman, and Olive Dame Campbell among others. These women worked to bring Progressive reform to the Appalachian region and “in the context of female Progressives, the efforts of the woman reformer in Appalachian resonated with issues that animated

women throughout the nation” (Messinger, 2010). They helped introduce social service programs to Appalachia and they focused on similar issues as other Progressives across the country. This included better construction and sanitation of schoolhouses, along with training teachers as community leaders, adult education programs, and instructing families on child welfare. These women often had an intense focus on education so their connections to settlement schools, mission academies, local schools, and colleges consequently became the implementation sites to test and expand Progressive social work ideals. Their work helped establish these sites as strong institutions that could serve as centers for the community. Despite being called “quare” or “fotched-on,” this cohort of women was steadfast in their commitment to the Appalachian families. It is also clear that they leaned on each other for support. Olive Dame Campbell was especially close to Helen Dingman, and their correspondence was candid and encouraging. In 1923 Campbell wrote to Dingman urging her to join Berea’s faculty and to support Progressive causes. In Campbell’s letter she declared, “if you should happen to have decided on Berea, My! Couldn’t you help them to understand the significance of things” (O. D. Campbell, 1923)

Campbell’s note was a few short years after the installment of Berea’s fourth President William Hutchins, who served from 1920 until 1939. President Hutchins likely recruited Dingman because of his familiarity with her work in Harlan County. The first record of their meeting was at a Smith community Fourth of July celebration in 1920 where he delivered a speech. Hutchins was on his inaugural trip in the Mountains shortly after being sworn in as Berea’s president the preceding May. In a letter to her family, Dingman wrote that they were honored to host him and that “he was fine and talked to a packed house.” Her letter was more eloquent in describing the food and ice cream her cooperative

grocery store had purchased for the event (Dingman, 1920). Hutchins’ account of the day details just how impressed he was with Dingman’s work in the community (Hutchins, 1920). After describing Dingman and her accomplishments with the general store— along with the ice cream— he reflected that “The women [of Smith] are wonders... I was not especially impressed by the men” (Hutchins, 1920).

2.1.3 Appalachian Service Transitions

Hutchins came to Berea College succeeding his former professor William G. Frost, and he wanted to move the institution’s Appalachian service in a different direction. Berea History Professor Richard Drake described the transition between the two as the College’s evolution from the “medieval” to the “modern” (Drake, 1998). Frost served from 1893 to 1920 and directed extensive fundraising based on Berea’s commitment to Appalachia. He increased the college’s endowment by a factor of six during his tenure, see Table 2-1.

Table 2-1. Resources amassed to advance Berea’s Programs (Frost, 1937)

	1893	1904	1915	1920
<i>Supplies on Hand</i>	\$ 9,821	\$ 456,803	\$ 1,350,800	\$ 2,397,510
<i>Material equipment- cost</i>	\$ 3,864,651	\$ 9,252,920	\$ 26,741,405	\$ 24,596,286
<i>Increased Realty values</i>		\$ 3,123,011	\$ 3,123,011	\$ 6,948,700
<i>Endowment</i>	\$ 3,128,830	\$ 16,613,108	\$ 32,125,643	\$ 19,375,116
<i>Hall estate- productive</i>			\$ 55,039,208	\$ 103,899,381
<i>Pledges and wills</i>				
<i>Total</i>	\$ 7,003,302	\$ 29,445,842	\$ 122,136,956	\$ 171,114,392
<i>Debts</i>	\$ 848,853	\$ 627,038	\$ 1,335,251	\$ 3,022,379
<i>Effective worth</i>	\$ 6,154,449	\$ 28,818,804	\$ 120,801,705	\$ 168,092,013

*All amounts converted to 2022 dollars (US BLS, n.d.).

While Berea had always served Appalachia in some manner, it was Frost's work that firmly established the College as an institution focused on serving the Mountains. Frost's major concern for Berea had been to meet Appalachian students at their level of need, be it elementary, vocational, industrial, normal, collegiate, or adult education. This was in line with the Hatch Act of 1887 which established systems to support practical applications of agricultural science. Frost instituted practical rather than "classical" education programs and Henry Shapiro—author of *Appalachia on Our Mind*— writes that the President sought "to establish [Berea's] credentials as an essential center to the neighborhood which it sought to serve" (Shapiro, 1978, p. 153). Shapiro also writes that many areas of Appalachia lacked institutions of community, such as banks or hospitals, but also the institutions which created community like social clubs or newspapers. Frost wanted Berea to become an anchor institution for the region and he developed campus programs to serve all everyone, especially in practical arts. His outreach programs were similar to a lecture circuit, and he focused on bringing students to campus rather than sending the campus experience to the region at large.

Hutchins, in contrast, wanted to ensure that Berea's college graduates would become the future leaders for the region. His leadership centered on improving Berea's collegiate experiences and he gradually phased out elementary and adult education from the core curriculum. During his tenure, Hutchins established Berea as an accredited, high-performing, liberal arts college, something that Frost had opposed out of a desire to keep the College sheltered from external influences (Wilson, 2006). Hutchins pushed Berea's Appalachian service towards external programming, and he hired leaders like Helen Hastie Dingman to take charge of this work.

2.1.4 Dingman's Work Prior to Berea College

Hutchins gave Dingman freedom to develop Appalachian service programs in the ways she thought Berea ought to be serving, and her background prepared her for the challenge. Like many of the other Progressive women who came to Appalachia in that generation, her childhood was spent in the Northeast. She was a native of Spring Valley, New York, born in 1885 as the fifth of ten children. Her physician father sparked an early interest in social work through his willingness to treat patients regardless of their ability to pay (Messinger, 2010). In 1916, she had been teaching at Dana Hall School in Wellesley, Massachusetts, but spent a summer on a mission trip to Rocky Fork, Tennessee just south of Johnson City. Her time there was inspiring, and she felt she was “never going to be contented again until [she] got back to the mountains” (Dingman, 1967). She took an appointment from the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church USA. In the winter of 1917, her first mission was to travel to Harlan County Kentucky to choose a site to build a school and community center (Messinger, 2010).

She selected Smith, a rural community in southern Harlan County near the Virginia border. By late 1917 she was writing to her family saying, “I love this job and wouldn't give it up for the world” (Dingman, 1917). In a few short years, she had established a new mission-funded school in Smith and was tasked by the Harlan County superintendent to oversee fifteen other local schools. She also quickly learned the nuances of local politics within her new community. In 1919, for example, during a heated election for a local school trustee, a Preacher accused Dingman of electioneering and interference. Dingman wrote to her sister saying that she and all those who care “about a good school were lying low as br'er rabbit” (Dingman, 1919b). These experiences gave Dingman insight into the political

structures of Appalachian communities, and they shaped her opinions on the ways to conduct effective community service programs.

Dingman was also a founder of Smith's cooperative grocery store—something she was especially proud of—she also taught Sunday school lessons, supported cultural programming, and even built two cottages (Forderhase, 1985). She was also fearless about her Progressive ideals including the prohibition of alcohol. One rainy, summer night in 1919 she teamed up with other Harlan County women to covertly smash moonshining stills (Dingman, 1919a). In her letters to family, there are hundreds of stories about her adventures in Harlan County and these anecdotes help illustrate her style of leadership. While Dingman tended to emphasize the positives of the community, there were frequent setbacks. Ignorance of disease and hygiene meant death was a constant visitor, especially among children. The local schools she oversaw often had unprepared and unqualified teachers. A nearby coal company opened its own scrip-based grocery store, and it brought an end to her beloved cooperative store. Dingman ultimately stayed in Smith for five years, and her life there gave her a perspective on the value of networks and the type of service programs that she thought would be effective in southeastern Kentucky. When President Hutchins convinced her to join Berea's faculty in 1924, she had been working in New York City as an Assistant Superintendent for a home mission board. Despite the pay cut, her letters show that she was excited to return to the mountains she loved.

2.1.5 Opportunity Schools

Dingman's arrival in September 1924 at Berea College set off a series of Appalachian service programs that persisted through drought, war, and the Great Depression. During her first Thanksgiving in Berea, she and Olive Dame Campbell

collaborated to introduce one of Dingman's first programs, the Opportunity School. This was a brand-new, four-week education program that was open to regional adult learners regardless of previous education. The first session was held in January 1925 with 23 participants, ranging in age from seventeen to forty-one. This pilot cohort represented 14 Kentucky mountain communities along with one each from the mountains of Tennessee and Virginia (Dingman, 1926a).

This program was based on Campbell's experiences traveling abroad to study education programs in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. She believed the Danish examples could be successful in Appalachia. Olive Dame and her late-husband John Campbell had an intimate knowledge of the mountain region and its people based on their research when they wrote *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (J. C. Campbell, 1921). During her time in Denmark, Campbell had been especially impressed with a Danish gymnastics program that brought regional young adults together for character building and cultural seminars. The young Danes then returned to their hometowns to become volunteer leaders in local gyms. Campbell's work developed in part from the examination of rural education and analysis of improvement efforts at the time. Reports and surveys from this decade "tended to sidestep the issue of establishing an institutional format in which rural education appropriate to rural life might be offered" (Shapiro, 1978, p. 231). Campbell believed the Scandinavian model might be a solution to this issue.

In 1923 Campbell wrote to Dingman saying "Think what such groups would mean in the mts. – clean wholesome exercise, managed by the men themselves, a means of recreation in a region where there is little chance for development of sports" (O. D. Campbell, 1923). Campbell and Dingman thought the program would be an ideal fit for

Appalachia and they worked to adapt it to celebrate local culture and meet the unique needs of adult learners. The named it the *Opportunity School* and the first brochure promised that “All will meet on an equal footing to gain such ideas and inspiration as will help solve the problems of daily living for present day Americans” (Berea College, 1924). This aligned with Hutchins’s goal of educating individuals who would return to Appalachian communities as leaders. Perhaps it was also a nod to the adult-education spaces Frost had established which were in the process of being closed by Hutchins.

Dingman prepared annual reports about the Opportunity School where she highlighted her vision of how the program could serve Appalachia.

She thought that those “who have long been associated with the mountains have felt the failure of the schools to reach certain groups of young people. Many who left school in the early grades are drifting without any definite purpose in life. When they enter regular schools, they are easily discouraged by the long road to learning and furthermore find little to hold them in the regularly standardized methods. Only those who already have a vision of what education really means have the courage to persist” (Dingman, 1925).

Dingman also hoped the Opportunity School experience would help participants become community leaders and advocates for education. Her experience in the region made her aware of the lack of community institutions and leaders, and she encouraged participants to step into those roles. Throughout the four-week program, participants took courses on literature, science, civil government, home economics, community development, Bible studies, history, and agriculture. Practical instruction was also offered which included penmanship, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Additional programming involved city excursions, group games that everyone could play, and other recreation, of course, including Danish gymnastics. The total expense for the course was \$15 (equivalent to \$238

in 2022 (US BLS, n.d.)) which included all meals, lodging, and activities for the 25-day sessions (Dingman, 1945b).

The Opportunity School was distinct from many other adult education programs of the time, especially since no credits were awarded (Dingman, 1945b). During Frost's tenure, adult students could take classes for credits, but Dingman believed that this was not enough to meet the needs of the adult participants. Instead, she worked to ensure that the program brought teacher and participant "together in a cooperative relationship where each assumes he has something to give and something to get, and that the contribution of each one in the total group has its own peculiar significance" (Dingman, 1945b). Dingman hoped this relationship would help the members become more collaborative as they worked on common problems. She believed that by sharing in the work, between participants and professors, they would deepen their connection to each other. This contrasted significantly with the paternalistic, public lecture style of outreach programming Berea leaders had conducted during Frost's tenure. Dingman's efforts moved the College towards a different mode of upholding its commitment to the region.

While there were not any records found regarding Hutchin's perspective on the program, it continued to operate long past the end of his tenure in 1939. The School carried on from 1925 until 1952 with only one session cancelled due to an influenza outbreak. There are abundant records from Dingman whose annual session reports to Hutchins provided detailed descriptions of the program and the participants. Analysis from 1928 to 1938 shows that there were 325 participants in total, with 168 from Kentucky and a large majority of the remaining 157 participants coming from Appalachian states (Dingman, 1945a). Dingman also wrote about the participants' backgrounds. In 1928, for example, 44

participants ranging in age from 18 to 80 attended, which included “weavers, miners, lumberjacks, carpenters, teachers, farmers, and a minister” as well as two mothers who had raised large families (Dingman, 1928).

Dingman recognized that anyone could become a leader and advocate for their community, and Dingman highlighted the participants who experienced the greatest benefits. While the number of overall attendees was limited, Dingman believed the program nurtured connections that would have broader impacts on families and communities. These relationships were especially valuable during the Great Depression, and Dingman’s 1931 report highlighted the hardships. She wrote that “Drought, unemployment, and bank failures did their best to try to defeat the sixth session of the Opportunity School, but in spite of their combined strength, sixteen students gathered, forming one of the most thoughtful groups we have ever had” (Dingman, 1931). She closed the ’31 report writing,

During this time that is trying men’s faith and courage everywhere, it means a great deal to be connected with an institution like Berea College. Not one of us knows what lies ahead. We may all be called upon for greater and greater sacrifices. Even now I keep asking myself why I should have a job and the security that goes with it when there are so many with better training who have none today. It seems to me that we are only going to be worthy of the trust if we keep open hearts and minds to the needs of others and to all sincere movements that are working for social justice (Dingman, 1931).

Dingman knew that the hardships of the Great Depression were made easier when communities worked together, and she was committed to this form of community development. When the invitation came to expand the Opportunity School beyond Berea’s campus she accepted and swiftly developed the outreach program (Dingman, 1945b).

2.1.6 Extension Opportunity Schools

Once participants from the initial 1925 session returned home, they began sharing positive stories about their experience on Berea's campus. Messages arrived with invitations for Dingman and the Berea faculty to share the lectures and programming in local schoolhouses and churches. Dingman was especially enthusiastic about the prospect of these Extension Opportunity Schools. She wanted to develop the program as a new wave of Berea's Appalachian service work, and she believed that "the by-products for Berea [would be] immeasurable" (Dingman, 1929a). She thought it would bring a clearer understanding of what Berea College could offer since parents would be able to share the experience with their children. The expansion of the Opportunity School program would also push Berea faculty into the field and connect them to Appalachian people and communities, something that Dingman continuously advocated for. She believed this would enlarge Berea's sphere of Appalachian service and help faculty and staff gain a fuller understanding of the communities their students came from. Furthermore, this method of outreach would foster nascent community organizations across the region. If Berea established direct lines of communication and support in these centers, they could encourage better community development efforts.

The structure of each outreach session was like the campus program, though only three days instead of a month program and typically included lectures, open discussions, group games, and songs. Under Dingman's guidance, the Berea faculty determined that they would only go to communities that had explicitly invited them and also pledged to pay half of the transportation costs. This was usually around \$65 dollars per session (equivalent to \$1,139 in 2022) (US BLS, n.d.). The requirement for communities to pay

half of the travel expenses— and the added obligation that Berea faculty were expressly invited— was a departure from earlier versions of this type of outreach work. During President Frost’s era, there had been an assortment of outreach programs including traveling libraries and stereopticon lectures (Hughes, 1984). Berea faculty had also hosted “people’s institutes” which involved a team of Berea professors traveling across the region lecturing on “agriculture, sanitation, temperance, better homes, and improved rural schools” (Hughes, 1984, p. 34). Those events had been freely available to the public, but Dingman was adamant that communities share the expense. She believed the Extension Opportunity Schools would be more successful if communities were equal and active partners rather than passive participants.

Dingman wanted each community to play a part in the program and developed a format that would support this aim. The community leaders who had sent the invitation were responsible for advertising the event, and Dingman designed the sessions to be flexible when it came to open discussions. One of the more successful Extension Opportunity Schools was in the Carr Creek Community of Knott County. The Opportunity faculty first traveled there in 1927, and over the course of their three-day visit, they hosted games, songs, and eleven lectures with attendance averaging nearly 100 participants at each. An attendance rate that many present-day Appalachian community programs would be pleased to achieve. The Saturday night program was set to conclude with a marshmallow toast, but a group of community members quietly approached Dingman. They asked, “we want to hear [the morning lecture] again, do you ‘low [sic] if we don’t go to the marshmallow toast [the professor] would be willing to stay in and lecture some of us?” (Dingman, 1945b). Dingman could not refuse such a request and so “thirty-eight people,

young and old, stayed in and listened attentively to a talk on international problems while outside a gay and happy party was going on (Dingman, 1945b). In the following year, 11 Carr Creek community members attended the January session on Berea's campus.

Dingman and the Carr Creek leaders organized another session for the community in 1930 and it met equal success. However, Dingman also learned that not all participants had been keen on the program. A fellow by the name of "Long John" approached a Berea faculty member and stated, "I've worked against this school but I want you to know that from now on I'm for it and all the good that can come to this community" (Dingman, 1930a). After learning this sentiment, community members opted to immediately hold an open discussion to review the merits of the School. While a public forum can set the stage for tense conversations, the Carr Creek members "waxed rather sentimentally" with one man stating, "Berea College came to Carr Creek that it might have life and might have it more abundantly" (Dingman, 1930a). This level of trust and transparency between Dingman's leaders and the community was the type of engagement that Dingman sought to achieve with all her programs. An open community forum of this sort would have been extremely unlikely during a lecture circuit from Frost's tenure. Dingman would have recognized the value of supporting Carr Creek. The Opportunity School was a community-building exercise that helped establish the Carr Creek group as leaders. The Community went on to establish a high school (closed in 1974) and an elementary school that still operates today in the Knott County School District.

This was the type of Appalachian service Dingman wanted Berea to be involved in. The Extension Opportunity Schools nurtured deep community relationships which were fundamental to the success of the program. Dingman helped focus Berea's outreach work

on activating relationships with communities rather than passive-style programming that did not require discussion or interaction. The programs that Dingman championed helped build and establish community improvement organizations across the region and connected them with others seeking similar outcomes. It is this level of community engagement that strengthened the groundwork for Berea College's Great Commitment to Appalachia. Indeed, this is the type of community service work that helped Berea College become an Appalachian anchor institution.

2.1.7 Other Examples of Appalachian Outreach in this Era

The Extension Opportunity Schools also aligned successfully with other community service programs across Berea's campus. In the early 1930s outreach work had become so normalized that it was "difficult to differentiate between the regular [campus] activities and those designed for community improvement" (Wolford et al., 1935). In 1935 Dingman served on the Special Committee for Extension and authored a report detailing the general, ongoing community service activities. For example, in the Medical and Health Department Berea staff provided x-ray work for a tuberculosis clinic and conducted community visits in Jackson County to examine eye conditions and perform tonsillectomies. The Music Department supported junior bands and orchestras in the area. Also, Berea faculty often served as commencement speakers or filled preaching appointments in nearby communities. The committee highlighted the Agriculture Department and the College Library for their noteworthy contributions.

The Agriculture Department sponsored canning demonstrations and they sold breeding stock with a goal of improving stock in Berea's territory. Additionally, the College was intentional about securing all cream and milk from local sources (Wolford et

al., 1935). Also, as early as 1924 the Agriculture Department began hosting programs for local farmers on behalf of the University of Kentucky (UK) Extension Service. The County Extension Agent—a Berea alum— valued the partnership saying, “Berea College is our strongest cooperator” and the UK “Farm Extension program could not go on without the aid which the College gives it” (Wolford et al., 1935). UK’s Extension Services is another example of an anchor institution with a regional approach, and this approach matched the unique needs of rural Appalachia.

Berea’s Library Department also used this approach and received special praise for its outreach programs. Berea’s librarians had been lending wooden-box “traveling libraries” since the 1890s to one-room schoolhouses and local Sunday schools. This program evolved from boxes into book mules, book wagons, and later into book cars and bookmobiles. In 1935 the Department worked with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) program— one of the many work-relief initiatives from Roosevelt with the New Deal. The Berea team supplied collections of books to the FERA workers doing adult education programs in the area. Later in 1938, they furnished books to the W.P.A.’s Pack Horse Library Project (Peck, 1955). Throughout the decades of Library programs, rural teachers were a continuous beneficiary. In addition to the book sets, they could also be loaned pictures and other teaching materials to supplement their instruction (Wolford et al., 1935). Dingman, predictably, was deeply involved with Berea’s program that served teachers and she also used Extension Service approaches.

2.1.8 Dingman’s Field Trips

From the moment she returned to Kentucky as a Berea faculty member, Dingman began going on “field trips” to schoolhouses taught by Berea graduates. The first field trip

in her diary was in September 1924, the same month that she came on staff. She visited Three Point, a community six miles or so north of her beloved Smith. Meeting with Berea's Normal School graduates might have started with President Frost who made it a point to visit Berea graduates during his travels in the region (Frost, 1937). Dingman, however, collaborated with other faculty and developed a systematic evaluation plan for these field trips. Dingman's records have details of hundreds of classroom visits. At each, she would track the number of registered students, the number present that day, the education level of the teacher, and their salary. Dingman would also describe the teaching style of the instructor, their demeanor, and their plans for the school community. She went on to record the condition of the school building, the toilets, and the playground. She would use this information to make suggestions about school improvement plans and encourage the teachers to seek professional development experiences. These procedures were like the agriculture improvement plans that UK's Extension Services conducted with farmers across the state. Both UK and Berea served as early, regional anchor institutions for the Commonwealth and continue to do so into the present era.

Each fall Dingman and Berea faculty would observe 40 to 50 Berea Alumni-teachers across five to eight counties to provide targeted support. This included efforts to help the teacher "improve the quality of the school life and work, and to help the teacher see the social side of the school and the need of making it function as some center of community interest and influence" (Wolford et al., 1935). Dingman viewed this work as a privilege, and she was confident that supporting the area schools was a necessary service for the College to provide (Dingman, 1927). She wrote that Berea was "an institution dedicated to the particular service of the mountains" and for it to fulfill this service it must

keep education in “reach of the poorest boy or girl from the mountains” (Dingman, 1927). Dingman believed firmly that supporting teachers and giving them resources to improve their schools was key to this work. Dingman understood that Berea could not be the sole anchor institution for the region, and she encouraged schools and teachers to step into these roles. She directed Berea’s resources to help improve not only the teacher quality but the infrastructure for community development as well.

Dingman knew that Berea would not be effective as the sole anchor institution for the region. When Dingman and other field workers brought their observations back to campus they used their experiences as discussion topics in their education courses. Dingman wanted her students to recognize that different communities required different place-based approaches to programming. In a 1927 article from *Women and Missions*, she described how it is impossible to make truthful generalizations about the needs of Kentucky women in each community. She compared the “women who lived in the county seats on good roads” to those in “communities remote from railroads” or those in “the mining camps” (Dingman, 1926b). Dingman reviewed the different experiences of women across the region and discussed how they would benefit from place-specific programs.

Dingman’s writings never alluded to the Appalachian region as a place with a singular culture that could be served with a single programmatic approach. She also never retreated from difficult conversations or tensions, and in her Field Trip diaries she often vented about local corruption or inept leadership. Her work and writings contrast with the paternalistic writings and passive outreach led by Frost in the 1900s. Dingman’s programs seem to be more aligned with the aspirations of Appalachian communities and people.

2.1.9 Professional Development Course for Regional Teachers

One of these programs was a professional development course for regional teachers. Berea's academic standards for teachers had been shifting around the time Dingman came to the College due to state requirement changes. In 1922 the Kentucky legislature began requiring two years of education beyond high school to receive a normal school certification. Hutchins attempted to update the Normal School Department, but in 1931 it consolidated with the college (Wilson, 2006, p. 113). One byproduct was that any teacher who graduated from Berea also had to meet the college-level requirements. Hutchins believed the higher level of education "created a new and innovative opportunity for educational service" among the Berea graduates who returned to their Appalachian hometowns as teachers (Wilson, 2006, p. 113). While Dingman recognized that the Berea graduates after 1931 would have a higher level of education, the existing teachers across the region needed professional development. However, she knew that they would be unlikely to pay for additional credits because, as she put it, "the mountains are full of teachers who in earlier years have secured life certificates and who therefore are not working for professional credits" (Dingman, 1926a).

Dingman had high expectations of these teachers and the ways they should be serving their students. She viewed teachers as pillars within their communities and believed they had the capacity to become Progressive reformers with their students and families. She also believed their schoolhouses could serve as community anchor institutions. She developed a version of the Opportunity School for regional teachers that aimed to inspire them to be advocates for community engagement. In 1933, with the Great Depression still

gripping the nation, Dingman and other faculty invited regional teachers to Berea's campus for an intensive two-week professional development experience.

Dingman wanted teachers to recognize their capacity as community leaders, and the brochure for the program declared that the "teacher is the heart of the school problem of rural America, and the school problem is the heart of the educational problem of millions of rural children" (Berea College, 1933). The course promised to "stimulate rural teachers and help them enrich their school and community life." Dingman hoped the teacher-participants would develop their schoolhouses into a center of interest and influence in their communities. Dingman thought Berea's role in improving schools and teachers was critical to regional development. She wrote that the "mountains are calling for trained teachers to take an all-round education to the children in the little schoolhouses" and that it was Berea's job as an anchor institution to develop them (Dingman, 1927). She shared the hope with Hutchins that Berea's graduates would return to the mountains as community leaders. However, she also wanted to ensure that Berea was preparing students to be sent out and "take their part in the world of affairs" because "the strength of the mountains is needed in the cities, on the plains, and beyond the seas" (Dingman, 1927).

2.1.10 Council of Southern Mountain Workers Magazine and Regional Survey

Looking beyond Kentucky, Dingman worked to help the broader nation take interest in Appalachia. Her work with the Council of Southern Mountain Workers (CSMW) was at the forefront of these efforts. The Council's mission was to support education and community development in the Appalachian region. It had been established in 1912 under John Campbell's leadership who served as executive secretary until his death in 1919 when his wife Olive Dame Campbell assumed the role. During Dingman's era, the two main

initiatives were a quarterly magazine *Mountain Life and Work*, and an annual conference of Appalachian leaders (Jones, 1991). Dingman provided guidance to both initiatives when she was elected executive secretary of CSMW and the magazine's editor in 1929, positions she held until 1942 (Dingman, 1929a).

Dingman was confident of the magazine's value and in 1931 she reported that it was the only resource she was aware of that was "gathering material that deals with [Appalachia] as a whole" (Dingman, 1931). It had a national audience and President Hutchins encouraged Dingman to curate positive stories about Appalachian leaders. While CSMW and the magazine were not solely controlled by Berea College, the organization was based on Berea's campus, and according to research of the magazine, the organization had a distinctly Berean lens (Mitchell & Schnyder, 1989). This contributed to the broader perception that the College was one of the primary authorities on Appalachian issues.

The magazine was only one portion of CSMW's work for the indefatigable Dingman, who also organized its annual conference. The 1930 Conference was Dingman's first, and she was thankful that she could collaborate with Olive Dame Campbell. She anxiously wrote to her friend saying "Dear Olive; I get so scared making decisions all alone about the conference program. I am again going to bother you for some help" (Dingman, 1930b). The pair went on to design the 1930 conference in a way that advocated for the first, comprehensive survey of Appalachia.

Dingman and Campbell were interested in getting facts and statistics about the region's schools and communities, so they collaborated with the University of Kentucky's Dean Thomas Cooper on the project. As early as 1929, Dean Cooper was writing to other

Appalachian institutions to gauge interest in supporting the survey. In a letter to the President of the University of Tennessee, Cooper wrote,

Miss Helen Dingman of Berea College has discussed with me the interest on the part of several of the social organizations and religious bodies in making a survey of the southern mountain region... We are doing a great deal of work in the mountains, but even with the numerous small investigations we have made, we lack the body of facts that is desirable (Cooper, 1929).

At the 1930 CSMW conference, Dingman arranged for Cooper to facilitate a conversation about the potential for “*An Economic and Social Study of the Southern Appalachians.*” Cooper asked participants to discuss the following questions,

1. What problems are involved and what fields of research should be developed?
2. Is exact information essential as a basis for the solution of the educational and spiritual problems of this area?
3. What part should the churches and denominational schools take in the study?
4. What may such a study mean to state and government? (Dingman, 1930c)

These are the types of conversations that anchor institutions initiate and they helped guide the project. In 1933 it became the first comprehensive economic, sociological, and educational survey of Southern Appalachia.

Throughout this project, just as Dingman had done in her other work with Berea, she urged a focus on Appalachian children and families. Dingman and Campbell advocated for the survey to serve as the basis for planning how to spend education funds allocated to the region (Dingman, 1929b). In contrast, Dean Cooper and his counterparts were primarily concerned about farm management practices, soil studies, and forestry economics research. Dingman was influential in ensuring that the survey included a complete study of the schools in each community. The final proposal required surveyors to “locate each school within the community; the number of rooms, number of teachers, number of pupils, number of grades taught, number of months in session” and to “locate all schools now closed”

(Dingman, 1929c). This list of survey questions was remarkably like the observations Dingman made in her Berea field trips and it is evident that her efforts played a role in the final survey design. Large-scale projects that require numerous partners and years of planning are difficult to maintain, but anchor institutions can sustain them even when enthusiasm ebbs and funding sources are scarce. Without Dingman's persistence, and Berea's resources, it is unlikely that this survey would have been conducted.

2.1.11 Echoes of Dingman's Work Today

One of the most astonishing notes about Dingman's life and work at Berea College is that it was quite ordinary in comparison to the other faculty and staff. Her name receives scant mention in the history of the college, nor do the programs and services she organized. These stories shared thus far about Dingman's service are a small sample from her twenty-eight-year career at Berea. There were other examples of her work with the College including her leadership in the nascent Kentucky Conference of Social Work and the Southern Mountain Handicraft guild. She also dedicated time and service to Berea students in classes such as Family Welfare, Child Welfare and Social Case Work. Furthermore, Dingman did not limit her experiences to the mountains and found opportunities to travel. In 1936 she toured Shanghai, China with her friend Olive Dame Campbell. In a report to President Hutchins, she wrote about the value of attaining "far flung horizons occasionally in order to consider our own jobs in their proper perspective" (Dingman, 1937). Helen Dingman was a remarkable leader in the history of Berea College and her perspective on Appalachian service helped shape the College's role as a regional anchor institution.

This work also continues today in new iterations. While Dingman’s Opportunity School program ended in 1951 it was re-invented in 1987 under the direction of First Lady, Jane Stephenson (“Foundation and Expansion,” n.d.). The *New Opportunity School for Women* (NOSW) supports Appalachian women who did not receive the education or job skills they needed to create better lives for their families and themselves. In the summer of 1987, 14 women came to Berea’s campus for the inaugural, intensive three-week residential program. Dingman would have found the curriculum familiar in the ways it addressed self-esteem, wellness, career, education, arts, culture, and community. NOSW operated within Berea College for nine years at which point it became a separate, standalone organization. It continues to serve the Appalachian region with campuses in Kentucky, North Carolina, and West Virginia (“Foundation and Expansion,” n.d.).

There are other programs that bear similarities to Dingman’s efforts. The education outreach conducted by Partners for Education at Berea College includes professional development of teachers along with direct services to students. During Dingman’s era this type of professional development would have happened on Berea’s campus, but at present these programs are more likely to occur elsewhere. Another consistent factor is the way that Berea continues to attract devoted leaders like Dingman who have the ability and perspective to successfully organize Berea’s Appalachian outreach programs. One of Berea’s roles as an anchor institution is to continually find and support leaders like Dingman. The College succeeds as an where it provides the space for these leaders to build relationships, networks, and to listen and learn from communities. It is through the labor of these leaders that Berea College’s Great Commitment to Appalachia lives on.

CHAPTER 3. APPALACHIAN NARRATIVES AND THEIR USES

3.1.1 Article 2 Abstract

The narratives used by service organizations to describe communities have ramifications. The identity and culture of Appalachia Kentucky have been shaped—and warped—by narratives that were dissonant from the lived experiences of the people who lived there. Some of the early purveyors of biased, deficit-based Appalachian narratives were leaders with Berea College, an anchor institution for the region. Leaders at anchor institutions play a key role in seeding and spreading narratives about their service area. This article guides readers through the evolving narratives that Berea College has used about Appalachians and the roles anchor institutions play in choosing narratives. The purpose of this research is to highlight ways that Berea College has described Appalachian communities based on deficits and to discuss asset-framing as an alternative framework.

3.1.2 Introduction to Berea College’s Appalachian Commitment

“All colleges have roles, but only some have missions. Only in some have an internal group and an internal dynamic played an important, even dominating, part in determining performance and place” *The Distinctive College* by Burton Clark (Clark, 1992, p. 234).

It was a loss to Burton Clark’s readers that Berea College was excluded from his distinctive college list. For more than a century this small college in central Kentucky has been committed to providing educational opportunities to low-income students, supporting them with work experiences, and motivating its campus towards service to others. The college holds a steadfast dedication to gender and racial equality while also creating a community centered on sustainability. These commitments alone make Berea College a distinctive liberal arts college, but the added commitment to the Appalachian region is what

differentiates Berea as an anchor institution. However, in this role, Berea College has mobilized resources as well as prejudiced narratives about Appalachia. Anchor institutions should be models for sharing the complex, aspirational stories about their service regions. The study shares evidence of the deficit-based narratives used by Berea College as well as narrative choice among anchor institutions at large. This research concludes with actionable steps related to narrative choices which can support better outcomes for the communities these institutions serve.

Berea College holds a Great Commitment “To engage Appalachian communities, families, and students in partnership for mutual learning, growth, and service.”(Berea College, 2017). Indeed, service to Appalachia is a principal element of Berea’s origin story. Leaders at Berea have developed and led hundreds of outreach programs and services with the goal of improving community outcomes in Appalachia Kentucky. This type of commitment, to a specific place and its future, is what separates *anchor institutions* from other organizations (Boyer, 1996; Bringle et al., 1999; Dubb, 2007; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Hudson, 2013; Maurrasse, 2002). Berea has served as an anchor institution to Appalachia Kentucky for more than a century.

Berea College leaders have played a role in mobilizing resources for the region, but they have also mobilized narratives, at times prejudiced ones, about Appalachia Kentucky. In the 1890s, for instance, President Frost often referred to Appalachians as *contemporary ancestors* and highlighted their neediness in funding conversations. Berea leaders also frequently white-washed Appalachia, which invalidated the experiences which Africans and Native Americans living in the region. There is not enough evidence to say if these narrative choices were due to disdain or a negative perception of Appalachia. It possibly

could be attributed to the systems of funding that College leaders have relied on. Funders and philanthropists often use need-based metrics to make funding decisions, and many of Berea's funding streams have focused on deficits. This research focuses on examples of narrative choices rather than the reasons for doing so, and it is a valuable topic among anchor institutions conducting community outreach. There is a tension when the narratives a community uses about itself conflict with the narratives that anchor institutions use to solicit funds. This matters because there is an ongoing need for anchor institutions to be in trusting and engaged partnerships with their communities. Furthermore, using deficit-based narratives about historically marginalized communities does not generate trust between anchor institutions and people they seek to serve. It is the role of anchor institutions like Berea College to uplift the nuanced, asset-based stories of the communities they serve instead of focusing on the deficits.

3.1.3 A Brief Review of Modern Anchor Institutions

Michael Porter coined the term 'Anchor Institution' as a tool to urge college and university leaders to "create an explicit urban economic development strategy focused on surrounding communities" (Michael Porter, 2002). Porter saw urban governments failing to address the systemic issues of certain neighborhoods and believed that college and universities were better equipped to meet those needs. Porter and others thought universities could best fill this role over local governments for a variety of reasons. In some cases, the universities were designated as land-grant institutions and had direct missions that aligned with community needs. In other cases, universities housed embedded non-profit organizations conducting community-based programming that could theoretically respond more efficiently than governmental entities.

Universities serving in ways that Porter suggested is generally traced to the 1960s. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. and Gavin Luter share an overview in their work *Anchor Institutions: An Interpretive Review Essay*. During the 1960s as the United States deindustrialized its economy, populations abandoned urban centers for the suburbs. Business or organizations with minimal infrastructure followed the suburban population growth, disinvesting in city cores. The remaining institutions were those with large, fixed assets that could not easily be deserted. Taylor Jr. and Luter write that many of these organizations had been established with a sense of mission, which was particularly true for higher education institutions and medical centers. As the conditions of poverty in the city cores worsened throughout the 1970s and 80s, these “eds and meds” worked to fulfill their missions, but also improve their ability to recruit faculty and students by playing a part in addressing the chronic issues of poverty in city centers (Taylor Jr. & Luter, 2013).

3.1.4 Narrative Choices of Modern Anchor Institutions

Cantor, Englot, and Higgins in *Making the Work of Anchor Institutions Stick: Building Coalitions and Collective Expertise* describe why it is important to be unified with community partners about goals. The authors review the steps taken by Syracuse University to serve as an effective anchor institution, and they write that “too often, universities contributed to exacerbating the troubles of our urban communities.” The authors believe that “many urban universities managed to amass enough contiguous property to essentially co-exist side by side with, rather than connected to, those [communities].” They write about the need for anchor institutions to move past one-off programs or other short-term projects and to work towards authentically engaging all community members in the art of community development (Cantor et al., 2013).

Syracuse University leaders employed different narratives to convince various stakeholders to invest in their programming. For example, among internal university leaders, Cantor et al. write that “programs were selected for their potential to advance priority areas of scholarly distinction while enabling the faculty to create learning environments.” When it came to soliciting funding partners there were narratives about workforce education, whereas residents were engaged with narratives that the project needed the “knowledge and expertise of community members” (Cantor et al., 2013). Each narrative choice might be true, but it is unclear what framework University leader were utilizing in this work. It is the responsibility of anchor institutions to use narratives in ways that best serve those directly impacted by the outcomes. The authors affirm the need to be aligned in these efforts and write that the essential step in “making the work of universities as anchor institutions stick is creating a model of reciprocal, participatory engagement” (Cantor et al., 2013). Narrative choices have an impact on engagement prospects among the populations served by anchor institution programs.

The ramifications of not centering the needs of those directly impacted are seen in *The Road Half Traveled University Engagement at a Crossroads* by Stephen Dubb. He reviews ten case studies of engaged urban universities attempting to focus on community development work. Dubb writes that some interventions introduce a risk of neighborhood gentrification to the point that low-income residents were forced out of their communities. It is a choice to make community interventions inclusive or exclusive and anchor institutions can further choose to examine the social costs and benefits of their programs.

An example comes from the *Analysis of Social Costs of Gentrification in Over-the-Rhine: A Qualitative Approach* by Shireen Deobhakta. The author demonstrates methods

to “incorporate the voices of all the actors involved in the process of gentrification” including those who are frequently “conspicuously missing from the decision-making table” such as “longtime residents, social service organizations, advocacy groups, and the displaced and homeless” (Deobhakta, 2014). Deobhakta highlighted the adversities faced by residents because of exclusionary practices by anchor institutions. Dubb wrote that universities often found it difficult to contact neighborhood residents, so it is useful to examine why these difficulties exist and consider tools that can be used to overcome them. Anchor institutions have a commitment to long-term outcomes and therefore have a role in ensuring that their efforts do not cause harm to the residents who are often named as alleged beneficiaries of programming.

Much of the research about anchor institutions has been focused on urban centers. This is affirmed by Cecilia Orphan and Kevin McClure who wrote about the sparse research of Appalachian anchor institutions in their 2019 article *An Anchor for the Region: Examining a Regional Comprehensive University’s Efforts to serve its Rural, Appalachian Community*. Orphan and McClure write that they “could not find any studies examining Appalachian” colleges or universities serving as anchor institutions (Orphan & McClure, 2019, p. 3). In their research, they conducted a case study of an unidentified Appalachian university to analyze how rural higher education organizations that act as anchor institutions support initiatives that strengthen local communities. One of their recommendations is to encourage organizations to take ownership of their roles as anchor institutions (Orphan & McClure, 2019). They write that literature on anchor institutions suggests that colleges, universities, and other community organizations do not universally accept their anchor institution roles.

Orphan and McClure believe that recognizing this role is essential for rural regions, and especially for Appalachia because of the historic dearth of institutions in the region. Moreover, there is also a need to consider what Amin and Thrift (1995) describe as “institutional thickness” which is the presence of a wide variety of firms, organizations, centers, colleges, and others. As a collective these institutions form the foundation for “growth of particular *local* practices and collective representations in social networks” (Amin & Thrift, 1995, p. 101). While numbers and diversity are necessary for the establishment of institutional thickness, it also requires a consistent interaction within the network. This creates patterns among the coalition and has an end result of a “collective representation of what are normally sectional and individual interests” as well as a “mutual awareness that they are involved in a common enterprise” (Amin & Thrift, 1995, p. 102). In essence, this is the shared narrative that organizations in a community hold about themselves and the area they serve. Anchor institutions have a distinct role in maintaining “institutional thickness” since they are longstanding, stable organizations and they help hold the collective story about a place. In Appalachia, anchor institutions often directly support community organizations, and they also play key roles in fundraising and grant writing. Berea College has a sustained history in this work, and there is an opportunity to analyze its practices through the decades.

3.1.5 Historical Analysis of Berea College’s Appalachian Narratives

An analysis of archives, college catalogues, and other primary documents demonstrates the types of narratives Berea College used while fulfilling its commitment to Appalachia. As a private, rural, liberal-arts College with a commitment to serving Appalachia, Berea is a notable outlier among the urban anchor institution cohort. It is also

set apart by its history of regional service that began well before the urban examples from the 1960s and 70s. The 1901-02 College Catalogue was the first to include extension work in the surrounding region as one “of the special Berea ideas” and ten years later, Berea’s constitution was amended to dedicate its mission in service to “the spiritual and material welfare of the mountain region of the South” (*Berea College Catalogue 1901-1920*, 1920).

It should be noted that Berea’s founder, John G. Fee, did not set out to create an Appalachian-centered college. Fee was dedicated to creating a coeducational campus serving Black people and white people, men and women, living and learning together with the shared belief that “God has made of one blood all peoples of the Earth.”(Fee, 1891) College students began enrolling in 1866 and an analysis from 1869 to 1893 found that “slightly more than half of Berea’s students were black” (Green, 2009). Under Fee’s leadership the student body was seen as a beacon of social equality in the nation (Green, 2009). When leadership in this era solicited funds, their messaging centered on equal education opportunities for gender and race (though limited to only Blacks and white people). This type of commitment shows that Berea College has always been a mission first organization, and in its early history it served as an anchor institution among abolitionist colleges. The mission shift from race to region is not the focus of this research. Resources include Lee Krehbiel who authored his dissertation on Berea College’s transition from serving race to region under President Frost, along with Christi Smith who wrote *Reparation and Reconciliation: The Rise and Fall of Integrated Higher Education*. (Krehbiel, 1997; Smith, 2016). Smith included Berea College as one of her focus chapters

It was in the 1890s that the College’s leadership firmly turned Berea’s mission towards Appalachia. This choice can be traced to the leadership with Berea’s third

president, William Goodell Frost who served from 1892 to 1920. Frost began his administration under a reported budget shortfall, and he wanted to increase enrollment and contributions (Krehbiel, 1997). He reasoned that Berea's racial populations should match Kentucky's with six whites for every black, and between 1882 to 1904 enrollment tripled with most of the new students being white (Frost, 1937). Furthermore, Frost began directly tying Berea's story to Appalachia Kentucky rather than the interracial mission promoted by Fee. It was also during this time that racist policies like the 1904 Day Law forced segregation on the College. Indeed, Fee was in despair at the specter of segregation and the shift toward Appalachian service. When he was nearing death in 1901 Fee lamented that "Berea College will then be no more than thousands of other schools in the South" and "the glory is departed" (Wilson, 2006, p. 100).

Frost's leadership intertwined Berea's mission with Appalachia Kentucky. Alongside other Appalachian mission organizations, Frost developed narratives about Appalachia and began publishing them widely across the nation. His 1899 Atlantic article *Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains* is an example of how he defined the region and the type of people who lived there. Using a deficit-based approach, Frost wrote that "Appalachian America is a ward of the nation, such a ward as we have never had before" (Frost, 1899). Frost's writings also indicate that he believed Appalachians were "contemporary ancestors" of America. The intention was to highlight mountain customs and culture that had similarities with prior American generations or other ancestors from the British Isles. Frost believed this approach would charm Northern donors. He also believed Appalachian people needed paternalistic interventions, and that Berea College stood at the ready to implement these programs as long as funds were provided.

He was not alone, of course, in developing this need-based narrative about what represented Appalachia. As early as 1874, the American Missionary Association (AMA) had taken a special interest in the “mountain whites of Kentucky” and included them in their mission work that was akin to the “Chinese on the Pacific Coast,” “Indian missions,” and “colored people”(Green, 2009). Henry Shapiro (1978) writes that the Appalachian narratives in this era centered on neediness. Shapiro attests that those who conducted benevolent work in Appalachia did so because of “an a priori definition of the mountaineers as “needy” rather than out of a simple humanitarian concern for their welfare.” Shapiro’s analysis is that they were doing so because of the “perception of Appalachian otherness” and that there was a desire to integrate “Appalachia into America, by making Appalachia like America” (Shapiro, 1978). The narrative that communities in Appalachia were un-American is a form of cognitive dissonance, but it was an effective story for missionaries and other benevolent actors to use when soliciting funding or developing programming. Shapiro further asserts that “dissonance may be contained by the use of metaphor, as when the mountaineers were called ‘our contemporary ancestors’” since it is impossible to be un-American as well as a representation of American ancestors. These stories are the basis of the prejudiced narratives that have persisted in popular media about Appalachia.

Moving into the Great Depression era, Berea’s fourth President William Hutchins bristled at some of the popular Appalachian stereotypes. A Berea donor once wrote to Hutchins describing Appalachians as “grown men and women with child minds.” Hutchins retorted that “some of the completely illiterate people of the mountains have a wisdom born of meditation and experience quite surpassing the wisdom of the average educated man” (Hughes, 1984). Hutchins admired mountain people and resisted condescending

descriptions, but there were still examples of biases during his presidency. One example is from analysis of the magazine *Mountain Life and Work* which was the organ of the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, later renamed Council of Southern Mountains. The magazine operated on Berea's campus and served as a sort of "press agent" for the College and the region. Each edition opened with the statement that it was "Published... in an interest of fellowship and mutual understanding between the Appalachian Mountains and the rest of the nation." Hutchins wanted a national audience to read positive stories of Appalachian leaders, so the editors often highlighted education or community development projects. However, research on the magazine found that the articles would often play off both sides of Appalachian stereotypes. Articles would contend that the insulting or romantic ideas about Appalachians were inaccurate, but then go about reinforcing the "attractive components of the existing stereotype." (Mitchell & Schnyder, 1989)

There are other examples of discriminating narratives from Berea College leaders. Harriet Simpson Arnow, a famed Appalachian writer, provided a witty example in a letter to a friend that was reprinted in Shannon Wilson's work *Berea College An Illustrated History*. Arnow wrote, "I attended [Berea]...; though only sixteen when I entered, I writhed most of two years under blanket denominations of 'pure-blooded Anglo-Saxon Southern Highlanders.' I knew enough of my own people and those around me, to be certain we were not purebred anything, and certainly not Anglo-Saxon. Do you suppose there is a pure one in the world today?" (Wilson, 2006). It is damaging to community relationships to have divergences between stories residents tell about themselves with narratives being used about them. While a Northern philanthropist of the era might view "pure-blooded Anglo-

Saxons” as an asset worth investing in, locals like Arnow knew this was an untrue representation of the region.

Chad Berry discusses racial narratives in his 2016 essay *Appalachia: Who cares, and So What?* He writes that contrary to many stories, Appalachia was always a tri-racial place after Europeans and Africans joined Native Americans. Berry writes, “The people of Appalachia- our ‘contemporary ancestors’- came quickly to be known as white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant (WASP). Ignored were the Native Americans who had been here for generations and Africans who had forcibly been resettled here. Even other ethnicities from eastern and southern Europe were ignored. Appalachia, in short, became whitewashed” (Berry, 2016). When local advocates like Arnow recognized this type of dissonance it reduces the trust that they hold for institutions that are broadcasting such narratives.

As Berea College lived through World War Two, reintegration in 1954, and then moved into the Civil Rights Era the College continued “to interpret the Appalachian region itself, and it was the birthplace of remarkable scholarship” (Wilson, 2006, p. 152). It was during this time, under Willis Weatherford’s presidency (tenure 1967-1984), that the College formally adopted its Great Commitments, including its dedication to Appalachian service. President Weatherford affirmed the Commitments’ importance and argued that they were what “kept the college unique and could prevent the institution from drifting into a common mediocrity with other college who lacked similar purposes” (Wilson, 2006, p. 174). With Weatherford’s leadership, the College became intimately involved with the design of Appalachian Studies. A requirement began for Berea’s students to take one of the two of the courses offered, either *Appalachian Culture* or *Appalachian Problems and*

Institutions. While the curriculum for these courses was not analyzed, the course titles suggest that they approached the topic from different vantage points.

In the 1970s Berea opened one of the first college-based Appalachian Centers and provided leadership in the development of the Appalachian Studies Conference. The inaugural conference meeting was even held on Berea's campus. Research produced during this era examined Berea College's role in naming and defining the region. David Walls claimed that Berea's President Frost was the first to "give a precise geographic definition to the Southern Appalachians as a cultural region" (Walls, 1977). Walls also reviewed maps produced by Frost where Berea was featured as prominently as Louisville or Cincinnati, see Figure 3-1. Frost mentioned using these maps in fundraising efforts writing



Figure 3-1 President Frost's Map of Appalachia

"the new catalog had a small map showing Berea in the center. It is a cheap device to make a new map with the spot you wish to exploit in the center! But this map fixed attention upon Berea's position between "the Blue Grass" and "the Mountains" (Frost, 1937, p. 73).

Beyond fundraising in that era, these maps are representative of the historical connections between Appalachia and nation at large. Berea College leaders have played a long-standing role as an interpreter about Appalachian culture, values, and problems.

John B. Stephenson served as Berea's seventh president from 1984-1994 and was identified as an Appalachian scholar in the growing field of study. His perspective was a departure from some of the earlier Berea leaders. Early in his presidency Stephenson traveled to various Appalachian communities to discuss Berea's role in service to the region. Stephenson's "encounters revealed a mixture of hope and optimism in one area, shattered dreams and despair nearby" (Wilson, 2006). He supported the development of programs like the Brushy Fork Institute, the New Opportunity School for Women (NOSW), and the Black Mountain Youth Leadership Program (BMYLP). Each of these programs centered on the assets and aspirations of those involved. Brushy Fork Institute provided skill-building workshops for community leaders and connected them with regional networks. NOSW served adult women who needed support with career or education, and the workshops also included self-esteem development. The BMYLP sought to improve cultural literacy around Black students living in Appalachia while also supporting their educational achievements and community service. All three programs were departures from previous iterations of Berea's service programs, and all appear to emphasize the aspirations and assets of those engaged.

Brushy Fork Institute director Peter Hille described Berea College's commitment to Appalachian outreach as a pendulum. Over the century, some leaders had focused on campus development and away from regional service, while others pushed the College to support more external programming. Stephenson was confident about pushing towards

increased community programming because of the Great Commitments. Under Stephenson's direction a Long-Range Planning committee was created to examine each Commitments with a particular concentration on the Christian, interracial, and Appalachian commitments. In 1987 the committee recommended establishing "a special task force to find, develop and/or invent techniques with which to identify high academic and leadership potential among the poor and economically disadvantaged." (Gentry et al., 2019)

This recommendation was the seed for seeking grant funding to serve regional students and it would grow exponentially in the following decades. Rockcastle County was the first community to be selected as a partner and in partnership with Berea College, a pilot project launched that aimed to encourage educational aspirations and enrollment in post-secondary education among the students. The project operated from 1995 to 1999, and by that time President Larry Shinn (1994-2012) had become convinced of its value. Shinn supported the College in developing an "expanded vision that came to be called Partners for Education." (Gentry et al., 2019) This program grew into a portfolio of federal grants including GEAR UP, TRiO Programs, AmeriCorps, Full-Service Community Schools, Innovative Approaches to Literacy, and Promise Neighborhood. These grants have extended Berea's outreach and engagement across 31 southeastern Kentucky counties, directly serving more than 50,000 students annually ranging from pre-kindergarten to college-aged youth (Partners for Education, 2020). Additionally, the College is in partnership to support rural collective impact across the United States to ensure educational success for all rural children (Partners for Education, 2019).

The narrative choice centered on neediness is common within the grant writing requirements. For example, in Berea College's 2011 Promise Neighborhood grant

application, the introduction reads “Many perceptions about Appalachian families have been shaped by the popular media, but movies and television shows have not portrayed Appalachian families in a very positive light, instead focusing on hillbillies and moon shiners living in run-down shacks.” However, instead of transitioning to the assets or aspirations of Appalachians, the writers continue by saying “What is true about families living in Appalachia is that they are united by the high poverty rates that have persisted in the region” (Department of Education, 2019).

The choice to utilize deficit-based narratives has evident power, given Berea’s success in securing grant funding and donation. However, these narratives often paint Appalachia as a united body. One that is homogenously white, universally impoverished, inadequately educated, and poorly informed. These narratives do little to share aspirations of the region and they do not allow space for individuals or stories that do not fit narrative. Furthermore, they do not share any of the underlying systems or inequitable public policy choices that contribute to the suffering of the region. Leaders at Berea College have played a role in promoting this limited view of the region, and these narratives do not represent the full story of Appalachia.

3.1.6 Why does narrative choice matter?

Prejudiced, stereotypical, and other deficit-based narratives about Appalachia exist. There is a significant amount of research already conducted on the subject as well as analyses on the various forms these narratives take and how they have been utilized or exploited (Berry, 2000; Catte, 2018; Green, 2009; Shapiro, 1978; Waller, 1988). In acknowledging that Berea College, in its role as an anchor institution, has utilized deficit-based narratives there is an opportunity to consider why it matters.

Ivy Brashear discussed the importance of shifting away from the stereotypical narrative of Appalachia as a means to uplift community and economic revitalization in the region in a virtual presentation at Berea College's Loyal Jones Appalachian Center (Brashear, 2020). Brashear was speaking from her role as the Appalachian Transition Director at Mountain Association, a community and economic development non-profit serving Eastern Kentucky. Brashear believes that asset-based stories have the power to build solidarity, trust, and hope that will then encourage efforts to invest in community capitals. She encourages community development leaders to think critically about the stories being told and consider who is being excluded. There are critics that believe Brashear is too optimistic about the opportunities for these stories to find traction. However, it is the responsibility of anchor institutions to help build spaces of equity that specifically include those historically marginalized.

Brashear's perspective is affirmed by John Gaventa's analysis in *Power and Powerlessness*. Gaventa examined the manipulative power structures within rural Appalachian communities to understand why the resident population was quiescent despite serious harm and exploitation. His conclusion rested on three dimensions of bias that guided thought and narratives within the community. The first dimension of bias is seen in observable conflict, and in Gaventa's review, oppressive Appalachian leaders controlled the narratives about what was or was not happening. Gaventa writes that "the ruler rules not by solving other's problems, but by having none of his own; others have problems." (Gaventa, 1982, p. 23). The second dimension of bias rested on the mobilization of inequitable public policies such as those related to mineral rights, scrip-based wages, or tax loopholes for land owned by non-residents. Such policies result in a silencing of those

being exploited since the exploitation of their rights had been legalized. Gaventa's third dimension of power lies in the ways we use language, symbols, and other social myths to describe Appalachia. Gaventa summarizes that this can be seen through the glorification of one culture and degradation of the other which leads to the false choice one is better than the other. This last dimension of bias is persistent in descriptions of Appalachia. To counteract these dimensions of bias, it is the responsibility of anchor institutions, community action groups, or other regional leaders to shine a light on the underlying systems of exploitation so they can be disrupted.

All three dimensions of bias work together to form power relationships. Gaventa writes that once these systems are established, they are often self-sustaining. A fitting example of this came during the Johnson administration's War on Poverty when Huey Perry, a Berea alum, worked in Mingo County West Virginia with community action councils. The established leaders in the county infrastructure, however, felt threatened by Perry's work to establish a cooperative grocery store, improve local schools, and investigate electoral fraud. They had such resistance and criticism of the project that they pressured the federal government into an F.B.I. investigation of Perry's work. Perry's book *They'll Cut Off Your Project* details the story and discusses the reasons why a local government—which ostensibly supports the local community—actively worked to halt projects for positive community reform led by residents (Perry, 1987).

In her book *What You're Getting Wrong About Appalachia* Elizabeth Catts reviewed Huey Perry's work in West Virginia writing "For Perry, getting back to community didn't look like preaching the gospel of bootstrapping to the poor. It meant union building and mutual aid. It meant labor and pupil strikes. It meant co-operative

grocery stores. It meant confronting political corruption head on and working to ensure fair elections. It meant holding business operators accountable for providing their employees with adequate wages and safe working conditions. It meant, according to one worker quoted in Perry's memoir, "rubbing heads with dedicated folk for the good of the poor and common people." (Catte, 2018, p. 47). These are the types of stories that anchor institutions can learn from and Catte encourages any group seeking to serve the Appalachian region to learn about ways that people in the past worked to address poverty or inequality. Understanding these narratives acknowledges that persistent poverty in Appalachia has been more of a public policy choice rather than failures on the part of Appalachians suffering from inequitable systems rooted into the communities they call home. There is a need to move past need-based narratives and authentically appreciate Appalachia as a place that millions have called home and not simply demean it as a place of failure. Instead of blaming the people for poverty, anchor institutions can help identify the underlying systems that have caused communities in Appalachia, a place of wealth and tremendous resources, to experience systematic poverty.

Author bell hooks reviews connections to hometowns in her book *Belonging: A culture of place*. She writes that if systems of oppression are to be dismantled and it is important to start with a shared understanding that there is "a sense of meaning and vitality of geographical place." (hooks, 2008, p. 30). She also writes that, "It is not difficult to see the link between the engrained stereotypes about mountain folk (hillbillies), especially those who are poor, representations that suggest that these folk are depraved, ignorant, evil, licentious, and the prevailing belief that there is nothing worth honoring, worth preserving about the habits of being, their culture." (hooks, 2008, p. 67). This perspective was seen in

the *New York Times* when they published Annie Lowrey's article *What's the Matter with Eastern Kentucky?* The article reviewed a nation-wide analysis of six quality of life metrics in which the six of ten lowest scoring counties were found in eastern Kentucky. Lowrey writes "Clay County, in dead last, might as well be in a different country" and one conclusion offered is "that it would be better to help the people than the place—in some cases, helping people leave the place." (Lowrey, 2014).

However, within Appalachian communities, the identity of self and a homeplace are intertwined. Melissa Newman's analysis of economic research by Wuepper and Lybbert from 2017 suggests there is a correlation between perceived self-efficacy—which Newman connects with hope—and the economic success of a region (Newman, 2019; Wuepper & Lybbert, 2017) The stories told about a region, either by insiders or outsiders, contribute to the informal institutions of the place and they have the potential to engender or to extinguish trust. Lowrey's article disregards self-efficacy of those living in Clay County and ignores the aspirations they may have.

This type of narrative choice can also be seen in the ways Appalachian "brain drain" is discussed. The common phrase is that the "best and brightest" leave the community in search of better jobs and opportunities, but what does this imply about the individuals who want to stay in their hometowns? Caryn Vazzana and Jeta Rudi-Polloshka analyzed the factors that affect brain drain from Central Appalachia in their article *Appalachia Has Got Talent, But Why Does It Flow Away? A Study on the Determinants of Brain Drain From Rural USA*. Berea College students enrolled in the Spring of 2008 were surveyed for this analysis and the authors found that job opportunities and the desire to live close to family were the strongest indicators of a student's perceived likelihood of living in Central

Appalachia after graduating from Berea. If these students continually hear narratives about the lack of hope in their home communities, then Newman's research would suggest that these students will not be interested in investing their time or resources in these places. The stories and narratives matter. The examples of this work in action are limited, but the following discussion offers resources that could be beneficial.

3.1.7 Moving to Action

There is a need for anchor institutions like Berea College to break these links and share the complex stories of the individuals who come from Appalachian communities. Anchor institutions, in their commitment to a place and its future, have a responsibility to their communities. In citing the essay *Local Matters* by Scott Russell Sanders, hooks wrote, "It is rare for any of us, deliberate choice, to sit still and weave ourselves into a place, so that we know the wildflowers and rocks and politicians, so that we recognize faces wherever we turn, so that we feel a bond with everything in sight... Once you commit yourself to a place, you begin to share responsibility for what happens there" (hooks quoting Sanders, 2008, p. 67). It can be a challenge, though, to change the engrained ways that stories are told about the region. Anchor institutions have a responsibility for what happens in the communities they serve, and they can use asset-framing or appreciative inquiry as a tool in this work.

Asset-based frameworks continue to expand as practical options for evaluators, leaders, or grant writers to assess their communities and programs. There are also funders who are using these frameworks in their grant-making decisions. The Chorus Foundation for example has funded projects in Eastern Kentucky that seek to build "new cultural power to provide a new narrative and vision of what is possible" (Chorus Foundation, n.d.). These

frameworks center on aspirations and strengths. They can be used within any process, from data collection to stakeholder engagement, as well as in programming or developing evaluation questions. At its core, asset-based frameworks use specific stories to understand and guide choices about programs or services. In community development work, it should be a goal of anchor institutions to maximize the benefits and reduce unnecessary risks or harms placed on communities. These frameworks are resources to help achieve this goal.

Appreciative Inquiry is an example of an asset-based approach that seeks empirical validity while also choosing to focus on the positive aspects of a community or program. Coghlan, Preskill, and Catambas write that appreciative inquiry is a “philosophy and worldview.” It is a process that questions, identifies, and then develops the best of a program, organization, or community in an effort to create a better future (Coghlan et al., 2003). The authors share eight assumptions that form the basis for the process and methods involved in this framework. They write.

1. In every society, organization, or group, something works.
 2. What we focus on becomes our reality.
 3. Reality is created in the moment, and there are multiple realities.
 4. The act of asking questions of an organization or group influences the group.
 5. People have more confidence and comfort to journey to the future (the unknown) when they carry forward parts of the past (the known).
 6. If we carry parts of the past forward, they should be what is best of the past.
 7. It is important to value differences.
 8. The language we use creates our reality.
- (Coghlan et al., 2003, p. 10)

These steps are not prescriptive and are generally used in an evaluative framework. However, these steps can be used to guide conversations and practices towards positive outcomes. These nudges could help encourage and inspire participants to stay engaged with community development efforts or other initiatives being conducted in their area. The

authors go on to share two models that support this process, and based on the literature discussed thus far, the four-I model would fit well with Berea College's anchor institution work, see Figure 3-2. This model lifts four steps toward appreciative inquiry (AI); initiate, inquire, imagine, and innovate. Each of these steps seeks to maintain a postivist focus on the program in question and encourage participation in the process. Leaders with

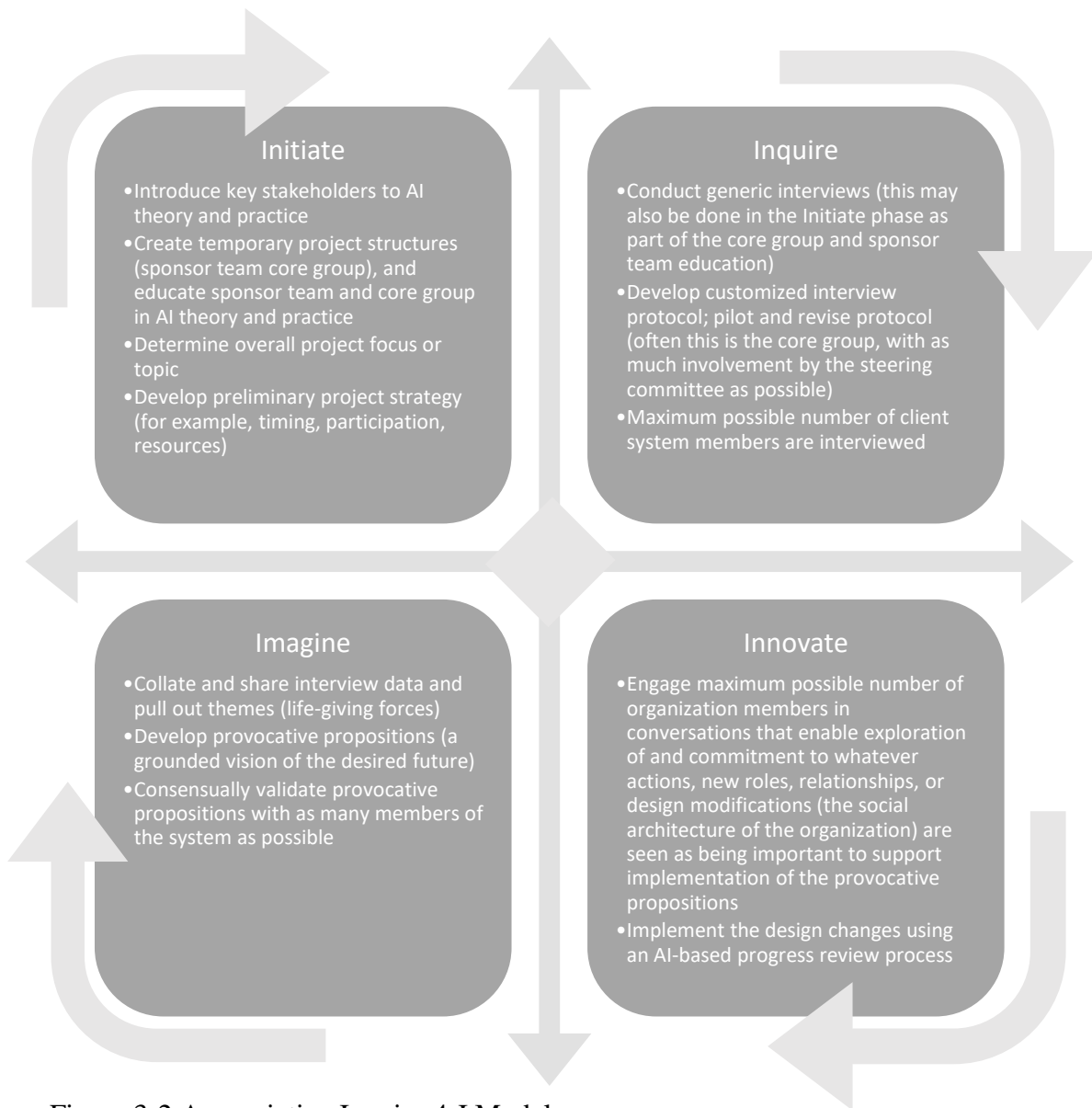


Figure 3-2 Appreciative Inquiry 4-I Model

Coghlan et al. (2003) adapted from Watkins and Mohr (2001).

community development programs are also encouraged to use this framework in a train-the-trainer model where participants become comfortable utilizing appreciative inquiry with other community programs.

Another action-oriented framework that anchor institutions could utilize comes from Trabian Shorters who developed Asset-Framing. Shorters believes this approach creates “fundamentally stronger cases for equity and systems-change” (Skillman Foundation, 2018). Shorters writes that “asset-framing is a cognitive skill for priming associations of genuine ‘worth’ rather than priming fear as our sole motivator for equitable action” (Shorters, 2021). He also created an asset-framing checklist that anchor institutions can use in this work.

- Define people by their aspirations and contributions before noting their challenges.
- In other words, present people with dignity!
- Lead with an aspiration statement instead of a problem statement.
- If you have to include deficit language, try to balance it with aspirational language so it's not a drumbeat of challenge after challenge.
- Use "people first" language. (e.g., person experiencing homelessness)
- Use higher-aspiration verbs like end or eliminate. If you only aspire to address disparities, you're signaling to audiences you're not that interested in ending them.
- Name the source of a problem so that the audience doesn't fill in the gap with personal responsibility.
- Also, try to highlight solutions whenever they exist.
- Be careful about using White people as the comparison group. Doing so can reinforce the thinking that being White is the "default."
(Shorters, 2021)

Both Asset-Framing and Appreciative Inquiry are primarily related to communications or direct engagement with communities. However, there is also a need to reflect on the tools available when using and producing data. The 2021 Data Quality Campaign's guidebook is a one resource and when it comes to data the authors encourage

being clear and transparent about context, proximity, and framing. The authors write that sharing contextual information, including data definitions, gives readers a clear understanding of what they are reviewing. The concept of proximity is in reference to opportunities for continuous engagement with the data. For example, a data visualization dashboard could include contact information, but it is also valuable to hold dependably scheduled listening sessions or other community relation workshops where the data is discussed. With framing the authors want to ensure that data is presented with suggested actions or an explanation about “what will be done as the result of this data to solve the problem” (Data Quality Campaign, 2021).

For the data users, the authors encourage asking questions about the processes related to collection, communication, and data consumption. Each data point on a presentation represents a series of choices about what to collect, definitions, and what is included or excluded. The authors write that data on its own is inherently meaningless, it is people who make meaning out of the data and their interpretations shape decisions about actions. Lastly, the authors believe that data consumption helps drive quality. They write “When data is shared, the public has a vital role to play in the auditing process—identifying errors and missed opportunities—and ultimately, ensuring quality” (Data Quality Campaign, 2021). While it is not easy to create space for open data discussion and review, it provides opportunities for communities and their anchor institution partners to make better, data-informed decisions about their work.

3.1.8 Concluding Reflections on Narratives

Neither appreciative inquiry nor asset-framing will eliminate poverty, they will not remove toxins from groundwater, restore ecosystems ravaged by mountaintop removal, nor

correct for a century of exploitive public policies. Furthermore, these approaches do not seek to end discussion about such issues, they are frameworks that give anchor institutions different perspectives on the work at hand. If it is difficult to conceptualize this work in action, it could be because need-based approaches are so common. For example, the Appalachian Regional Commission publishes annual maps and other indexes that highlight economic distress levels across Appalachian counties. There have been decades of dedicated resources spent tracking the metrics of economic status, but what would it take to track aspirational well-being or perhaps connectedness to community? Would it be possible for the ARC to also publish annual maps with a community aspiration index by county? This perspective shifts the narrative and centers the value that people within communities add to the story.

Anchor institutions have a choice of narratives to use when making community investments. They can choose to highlight the perceived deficits or to encourage narratives that share the value that communities have. There is a need to bring Appalachians to discussion tables because of the strengths they bring. This equity approach should also recognize that some Appalachians will need additional support to fully participate in those discussions. Understanding the complex stories underlying persistent poverty is a needed task for anchor institutions. These stories have layers of exploitation, bias, violence, but also resilience and a commitment to place. Author bell hooks writes, “While rugged individualism predisposes one to arrogance, the ‘soft’ individualism of community leads to humility. Begin to appreciate each other’s goals and you begin to appreciate your own limitations. Witness others share their brokenness, and you will become able to accept your own inadequacy and imperfection. Be fully aware of human variety and you will recognize

the interdependency of humanity” (hooks, 2008, p. 66). Berea College, if it continues to take ownership of its role as an Appalachian anchor institution, has the opportunity and responsibility to choose narratives that uplift this appreciation.

CHAPTER 4. POST-SECONDARY ATTAINMENT OF BEREA COLLEGE'S PROMISE NEIGHBORHOOD FROM 2011-2017

4.1.1 Abstract

Promise Neighborhood grants are typically awarded for a five-year implementation period. This is not enough time to be able to assess post-secondary attainment rates from students who benefited from programming. This research responds to this gap in data reporting and reviews the trends using a [Tableau Visualization](#) (Tucker, 2022). Across the implementation period from 2011-2017, data shows that post-secondary enrollments increased, the rates of certification attainment increased, 2-year degree attainment with two years after high school did not change, and 4-year degree attainment within four years after high school increased. This data should not be utilized to evaluate Promise Neighborhood implementation, and instead should be used as a starting point in considering next steps for evaluation or further analysis.

4.1.2 Introduction to the Promise Neighborhood Initiative

The Promise Neighborhood (PN) initiative was introduced during Obama's 2008 presidential campaign, and during the initial round of funding Berea College became the first rural recipient of a PN grant. Berea was awarded \$500,000 in 2010 as a planning grant and then a PN implementation grant was awarded from 2011 to 2017 at a collective total of \$28,421,845. Promise Neighborhood grants are cradle-to-career initiatives and Berea College implemented the project in three rural counties in Appalachia Kentucky. Two of the key indicators for PN grantees are access to post-secondary pathways and the successful completion of post-secondary certifications or degrees.

This research focuses on assessing two post-secondary indicators for seven high school graduating cohorts, 2011 through 2017, from the service area. The first indicator concerns post-secondary access and the second pertains to success. The key research questions are:

1. What are the in-state college enrollment rates for the 2011-2017 high school graduating cohorts from the Promise Neighborhood grant implemented by Berea College?
2. Of the college-going students from this grant, what are the college graduation rates from two or four-year institutions and certificate programs?

These outcomes could not be reported during the implementation period due to the length of time it takes to complete post-secondary pathways. Furthermore, when grants like PN conclude there are no longer resources to analyze long-term indicators. The objective of this analysis is to report the post-secondary indicators for these students and share methods so that they can be utilized by similar college-access grantees in Appalachia or the nation at large. This study is descriptive in nature and does not aim to be evaluative. There are distinct limits to the ability of this quantitative data to assess the success of PN programs. However, using a literature review of post-secondary programming, possible steps are shared that could be utilized by future studies to evaluate the impact of grants like PN on post-secondary outcomes.

4.1.3 Scope of the Promise Neighborhood Initiative

The Promise Neighborhood initiative is intended to “significantly improve the academic and developmental outcomes of children living in the most distressed communities of the United States, including ensuring school readiness, high school graduation, and access to a community-based continuum of high-quality services” (*Promise Neighborhoods*, 2022). As of 2021, there have been eighty-two grants awarded

at a collective total of \$903,922,138 (Awards, 2021). According to Obama’s Secretary of Education, Arnie Duncan (2009), the concept was based on the Harlem’s Children’s Zone with a philosophy that impoverished communities needed multi-faceted support programs serving residents from cradle to career.

The Promise Neighborhood theory of change centers on great schools within neighborhood recovery work, see Figure 4-1 (*Theory of Change / Promise Neighborhoods*, n.d.). The goal is to effectively serve families with targeted programming in combination with strong academic practices in schools. These supports are differentiated by the needs of students and are intended to improve academic outcomes. PN grants believe the entire community will be strengthened when children are adequately prepared for successful careers or for college. In this effort, grantees are expected to align community resources and organizations to develop collective plans that support the GPRA indicators of the initiative. The result is to ensure that students are prepared for their futures and to transform distressed communities.

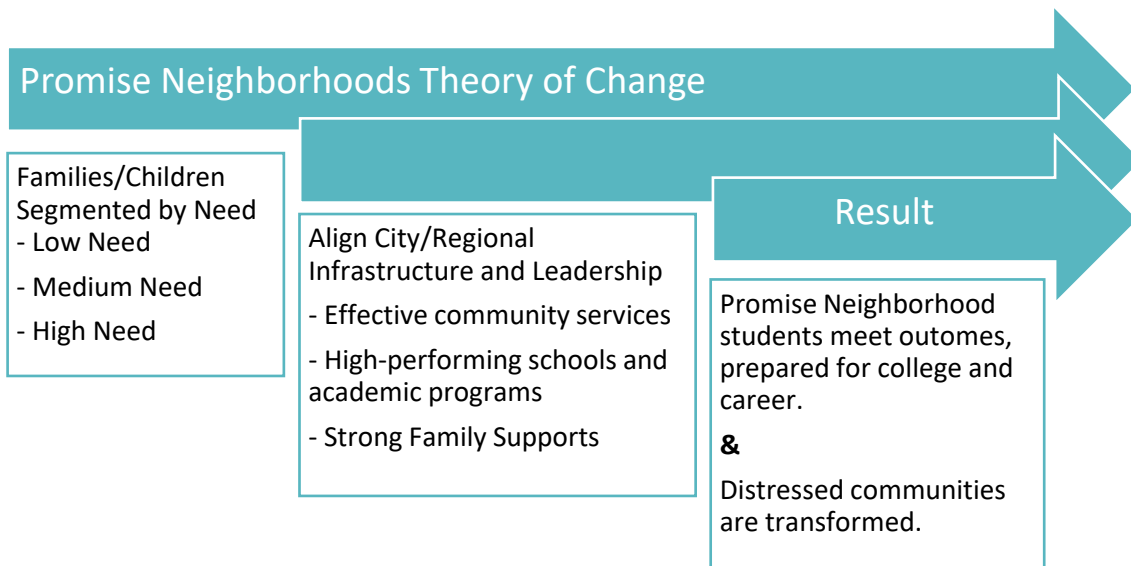


Figure 4-1 Promise Neighborhood Theory of Change

This initiative came with specific reporting requirements so that each grantee could report on changes in community outcomes using comparable indicators. *Measuring Performance: A Guidance Document for Promise Neighborhoods on Collecting Data and Reporting Results* is the two-hundred-and-seventy-page guidance document that instructs grantees on how to report PN’s seventeen Government Performance and Results Act (GPRAs) Indicators (Comey et al., 2013). These GPRAs include definitions for measuring kindergarten readiness, academic proficiency, attendance, as well as the number and percent of post-secondary enrollments along with the completion of 2- or 4-year post-secondary programs.

4.1.4 Scope of Berea College’s Promise Neighborhood Initiative

Berea College’s 2011-17 PN grant was implemented in partnership with Clay County School District, Jackson County School District, Owsley County School District, Save the Children, and other local and regional partners. The map in Figure 4-2 highlights the counties served by this grant, and has additional details of the Promise Neighborhood (*American Community Survey (ACS), 2020*).

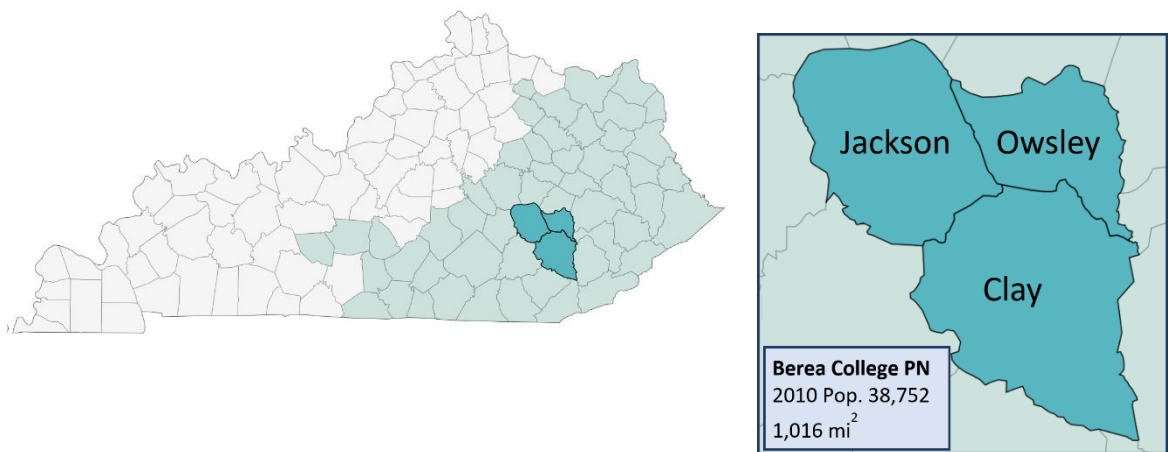


Figure 4-2 Map of Kentucky with PN and Appalachian Counties Highlighted

A full description of the services and scope of Berea College’s PN grant can be found in publicly available grant applications on the Department of Education Promise Neighborhood website (Partners for Education, 2010). The simplified logic model in Figure 4-3 is an overview of the PN services. This grant held school improvement programs at its core and most services centered on professional development, curriculum purchases, targeted tutoring, and assessment preparation. To support this work all students were eligible for “wrap-around” services that included resident artists programs, family engagement activities, health initiatives, and career planning workshops.

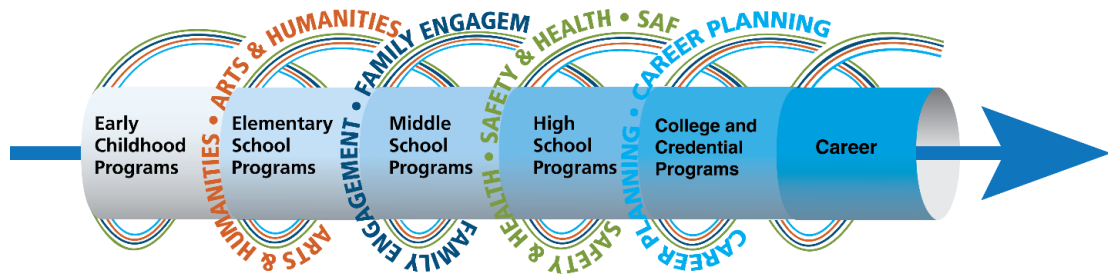


Figure 4-3 Promise Neighborhood Simplified Logic Model

A detailed logic model is in Appendix 1 which highlights the full range of services from cradle to career. The focus, though, of this analysis is within the post-secondary segment and Figure 4-4 provides a logic model highlighting this portion of PN services. This logic model was developed by the author based on her experiences working in Clay County High School as an Academic Specialist with the grant. It is further supported by a Mathematica case study that described the post-secondary success portion of services as follows.

To enhance the community’s existing college access and success efforts, the Promise Neighborhood hired a Post-Secondary Academic Specialist for each high school to provide academic case management to increase graduation, college enrollment, and college completion. The responsibilities of the Post-Secondary Academic Specialists include helping high school seniors apply to college and

facilitating the enrollment process for Promise Neighborhood students accepted to the local community college. The Advanced Placement Training and Incentive Program provides training to both teachers and students to increase Advanced Placement course offerings and exam pass rates (Esposito et al., 2015).

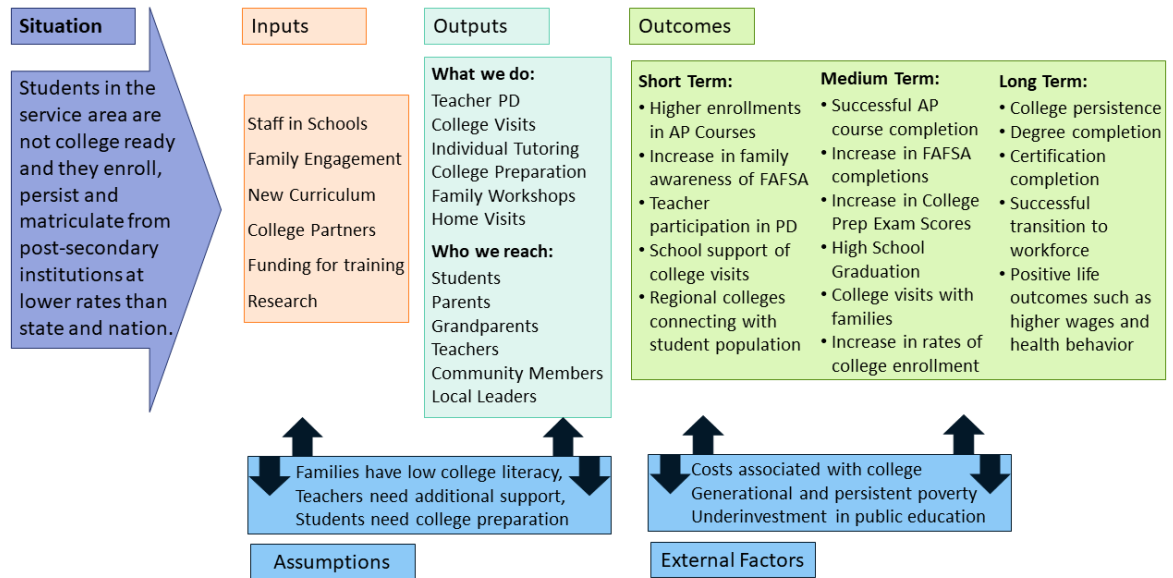


Figure 4-4 Logic Model. Post-Secondary Success with Promise Neighborhood

Berea College has decades of experience with college-access grants supporting regional school districts through TRiO, GEAR UP, and Full-Service Community School funding, all of which include increased post-secondary access as an indicator of success. Despite the long history of grant implementation, the research on long-term post-secondary outcomes remains limited.

4.1.5 Literature Review of Post-secondary Access and Success Grant Programs

Participation and completion of post-secondary experiences have documented benefits for individuals and society (Ma et al., 2016). The 2011-17 PN grant was intended to help students gain access to those opportunities, and Berea College has ample experience with this type of programming. Since the 1960s Berea College has been implementing

TRiO college-access programs. Additionally, Berea was a grantee with the very first GEAR UP (Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs) grant award in 1999. GEAR UP and TRiO grants have been in operation much longer than Promise Neighborhood and there is more literature and research related to those programs.

For example, Bausmith and France (2012) found positive evidence across 173 schools that GEAR UP helped improve college readiness outcomes for economically disadvantaged students. Sanchez, Lowman, and Hill (2016) found that even though GEAR UP students were more likely to come from marginalized or disadvantaged backgrounds, they were similar to their peers in terms of college performance and persistence. Knaggs et al. (2015) conducted a mixed-methods evaluation of GEAR UP. They found that GEAR UP students had higher rates of college attendance and persistence than peers who did not participate. These three articles, like many, highlight college readiness, college enrollment, and persistence and analyze these outcomes across various demographic variables. Many college-access grants, like TRiO and GU, serve their cohorts of students through their first year of college, but typically not beyond. The literature related to longer-term outcomes, such as college matriculation, is much more limited (Bausmith & France, 2012; Knaggs et al., 2015; Sanchez et al., 2016).

Mathematica Policy Research in 2009 conducted one of the few studies that did examine long-term outcomes. Their article *The Impacts of regular Upward Bound on postsecondary outcomes 7-9 years after scheduled high school graduation* found that the TRiO program, Upward Bound, had no detectable effect on college enrollment or on applications for financial aid. The researchers found that Upward Bound participation increased the likelihood of earning a post-secondary certification from a vocational school,

but that it had no discernable impact on the impact of earning an associate's or a bachelor's degree. Upward Bound uses a cohort model for its student population, and the researchers found that "longer participation in Upward Bound was associated with higher rates of post-secondary enrollment and completion" (Seftor et al., 2009, p. XV). It is possible that additional students would have eventually obtained a degree or certificate because at the time of analysis approximately seven percent of the population was still enrolled in post-secondary education. This study highlights the need for sufficient time to pass when it comes to evaluations of post-secondary outcomes. It also shares some of the key variables that could be utilized in a PN outcome evaluation, including applications for financial aid, length of time enrolled in the target schools, certification completion, degree completion, as well as continued enrollment.

The PN initiative differs significantly from GEAR UP or TRiO programs which deliver services to a limited cohort instead of the whole community. Currently, though, the general research about PN grants is very limited, especially among long-term post-secondary success indicators. The majority of PN evaluation studies thus far are related to implementation barriers including community factors (Lash & Sanchez, 2019), effective strategies (Lopez, 2019), or other issues specific to individual sites (Middleton, 2018). There have been several case studies, including the 2015 *Mathematica Policy Research* report that included Berea's site, which were primarily descriptive in nature.

Since the PN initiative was modeled after the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) the literature related to the HCZ was also explored. The HCZ, founded in 1970, and PN are both comprehensive community change programs. They differ from GEAR UP and TRiO programs that typically only serve a select group of students within a school. The majority

of the literature connected to the HCZ is related to its charter schools (Dobbie & Fryer Jr., 2011) or its community health interventions (Nicholas et al., 2005). However, one study that connected the HCZ students with post-secondary outcomes was Marquitta T. Speller's (2015) dissertation. Speller's research was primarily connected to the charter school supplements students received in HCZ, rather than HCZ as a system for comprehensive community change. The study was a qualitative evaluation of 16 college-going students from the 2012 and 2013 graduating cohorts of the HCZ charter school. Speller found that these college students struggled with study habits, managing time, and finances but that they had grit and persistence (Speller, 2015). The post-secondary success metrics were not analyzed for these students.

Most of the literature reviewed so far is based on research in urban areas. There is a rural-urban divide when it comes to research on post-secondary access and success. This is examined by Byun et al. (2015) who found that the main sources of rural versus non-rural post-secondary attainment disparities were primarily the result of lower socioeconomic status and less intensive high school preparation (Byun et al., 2015). Berea's implementation of the PN grant specifically targeted these student populations and further evaluation of post-secondary outcomes could yield valuable information that might shrink this research divide. Additionally, the Rural Education Laboratory conducted a review of evidence-based college access and success programs. They found very few examples of evidenced-based program research that had been conducted in rural sites (Mislevy et al., 2021). There is a need to fully analyze the cohorts benefiting from Berea's PN grant due to the lack of research on rural implementation sites and the similar lack of research for PN grantees.

However, even if data at the individual student level was obtained, there are confusing and unmeasurable variables that should be considered. These variables include peer influences, parental expectations, and non-cognitive knowledge or skills that support students in their transition and success at post-secondary institutions. The importance of these variables was emphasized by Venezia and Jaeger (2013) in their article *Transitions from High School to College*. The authors question the validity of using traditional college entrance exams to assess college readiness and discuss the need to support the development of “habits of mind,” as coined by Costa and Kallick (2000). These include “critical thinking, an inquisitive nature, a willingness to accept critical feedback, an openness to possible failure, and the ability to cope with frustrating and ambiguous learning tasks” (Venezia & Jaeger, 2013, 120). It will not be possible to assess these measures using datasets available for this analysis.

Another potentially unmeasured variable is parental education attainment. Wilbur and Roscigno (2016) hypothesized that the “likelihood of college attendance will vary by both family [socioeconomic status] and generational status, with those of first-generation status and low socioeconomic status at the greatest disadvantage” (Wilbur & Roscigno, 2016, p. 3). They conducted an analysis and utilized data from the nationally representative Educational Longitudinal Study. They found statistically significant results that first-generation college students as compared to non-first-generation students were thirty percent less likely to enroll in a four-year college. They also found that of the first-generation students that did enroll in a four-year college, they were twenty percent less likely to complete their degrees compared to their peers who were not first-generation students (Wilbur & Roscigno, 2016). While parental education attainment is not accessible

in this analysis select student demographics are available including participation in free or reduced-price lunch while enrolled in high school.

There are also confounding variables related to curriculum access across the three targeted high schools. During the implementation period of the grant, there was an expansion in the prevalence of dual-credit opportunities. The original strategies of the grant were aligned with improving Advanced Placement coursework, but during the implementation period from 2011 to 2017 the enrollment trends across the service region moved away from AP and toward dual-credit courses. However, each high school experienced these changes in different ways. Students in Clay County, for example, could be granted permission to drive to Somerset Community College for college coursework, but this was not an option for Jackson or Owsley County students. Those students could only participate in dual-credit opportunities at their schools with teachers that held certifications to teach at both the high school and post-secondary levels.

There are also other, broader challenges that will come with evaluating a Promise Neighborhood site. In 2011 Robin Smith wrote *How to Evaluate Choice and Promise Neighborhoods*. This report was published by The Urban Institute, which provided organizational Technical Assistance for the PN grantees. Since this report was published at the outset of programming, it serves more as a tool kit with suggestions for potential evaluation than a support for the real complications related to evaluating a comprehensive community change program. Smith proposed the possibility of using a lottery system or other techniques to create quasi-experimental design programs.

However, only two years after Smith's report Austin Nichols, also with The Urban Institute, wrote that the strengths of place-based initiatives like Promise Neighborhood

often preclude the use of quasi-experimental design methodology (Nichols, 2013). This was reiterated in conversations with Promise Neighborhood staff, who saw the suggestion of a lottery or any method of systematically choosing treatment groups as potentially hostile to building strong, trusting collaborations with schools and families. Perhaps this inclination was accurate because research from Lopez (2019) demonstrated that trust was considered a key component of successful PN implementation. PN leaders also believed any type of lottery system would be especially difficult to implement in smaller school districts like Owsley County which only has an average of forty-five students per class cohort (*Historical SAAR Data - Kentucky Department of Education, n.d.*).

Nichols's report, titled *Evaluation of Community-Wide Interventions*, raises alternatives to quasi-experimental design techniques. He focuses on ways to consider the spillover effects associated with community-wide interventions. He writes that this is valuable because if we study the frameworks that justify the use of experimental trials or quasi-experimental design, it cannot be justified if treatment is widely applied (Holland, 1986; as cited by Nichols, 2013). One possibility that Nichols raises is to change the unit of analysis from individuals to classrooms or cohorts. This could be effective, but it does limit the types of analysis that can be conducted.

Nichols lifts up another option from Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) in which the evaluator constructs "synthetic control group communities to represent what would have happened in an area if a place-based initiative had not taken root" (Nichols, 2013). This technique is best applied to community-level outcomes, not individuals or families. However, Nichols writes that using this technique as the foundation for analysis could support an evaluation that is not tied to individual treatments, but rather to an overarching

philosophy of results accountability with a spectrum of treatments that are applied where needed. This could be a good strategy when it comes to this evaluation. Kentucky has 120 counties and 171 school districts, so it would be feasible to select communities or school districts that are comparable to the three districts included in this grant.

Ideally, outcomes could be analyzed at the individual student level with data including student demographics, the type and scope of PN services received during the implementation period, and how these inputs are correlated with post-secondary enrollment and success. With the PN grant, Berea College was required to maintain a restricted-use data file with student demographics and services. While this file was not available for this research it could be a viable data source for future researchers. It is also possible for Berea College to request individual student-level post-secondary details from data systems like the Kentucky Center for Statistics or the National Student Clearinghouse. However, these data sources have a monetary cost, and the analysis will require the time and energy of a researcher. Such a study would be worthwhile to conduct given the gap in rural research and the lack of post-secondary outcome research for PN grants. In the interim, the utilization of publicly available data is sufficient, and it provides an overall snapshot of post-secondary success for the impacted student cohorts.

4.1.6 Methods of Analysis for Post-Secondary Attainment

Rates of post-secondary attainment for the 2011-17 Promise Neighborhood have not been reported. As of 2022, enough time has passed that it is possible to review the long-term post-secondary success outcomes for some of these cohorts. Publicly available post-secondary attainment data was obtained from the Kentucky Center for Statistics

(KYSTATS), and cohorts were analyzed with PN data guidance requirements. The central questions for this analysis are:

1. What are the in-state college enrollment rates for the 2011-2017 high school graduating cohorts from the Promise Neighborhood grant implemented by Berea College?
2. Of the college-going students from this grant, what are the college graduation rates from two-year institutions, four-year institutions, and certificate programs?

Tableau, a data analytics and visualization software, was used for this study.

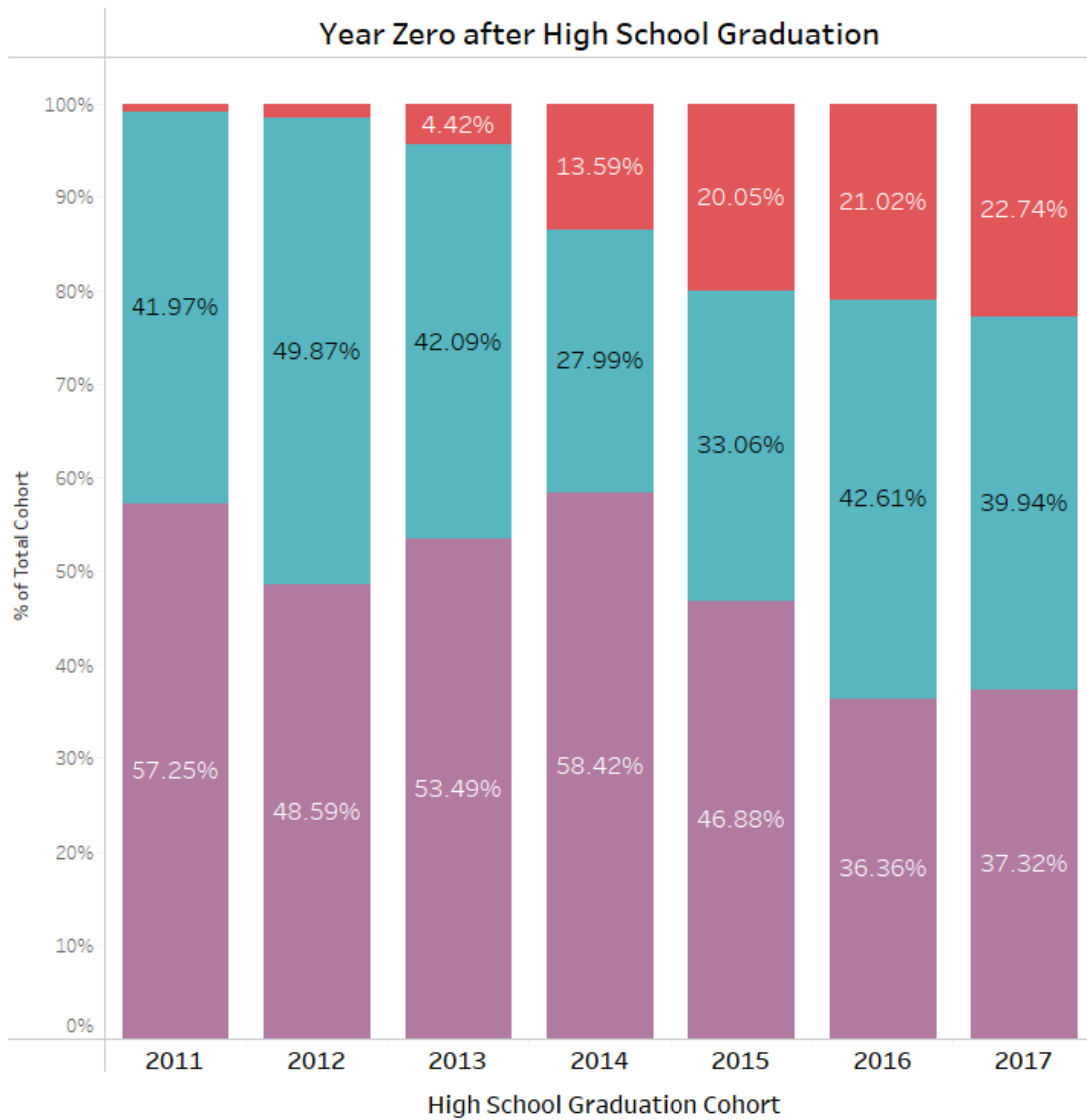
Stacked bar charts were created to show the distribution of education attainment by type within each cohort. The education attainment levels were established by KYSTATS and include bachelor's degree or higher; associate degree; certificate, diploma, or career technical education (CTE) certification; some college; and high school. KYSTATS aggregated these attainment groups by high school cohort and by demographics, when not suppressed.

The data was further analyzed at annual intervals post-high school graduation, starting at year zero, or the same year as graduation. For example, if a student graduating from high school had a dual-credit enrollment they would be counted in the educational attainment group of 'Some College.' Educational attainment in this analysis was calculated by taking the highest degree completed for each individual student and then aggregated by category. The students that enrolled in a post-secondary institution but did not finish a degree were grouped into 'Some College.' Each subsequent year the aggregated counts change as students complete post-secondary programs. There are caveats to this data including the inability to disaggregate data at the individual student level, this dataset only reflects Kentucky enrollments, and attainment data is only available through the 2020 fiscal

year. Additionally, this data does not account for any pre-treatment trends in the outcomes. It is possible that the post-secondary attainment trends are on a trajectory that precedes the PN grant, but since this data is not publicly available prior to 2011 it will not be possible to analyze this question. This is important to consider because if the pre-program trends were already improving it would make the program effects difficult to untangle. Conversely, if the pre-program trends were declining it could speak to a potential success of the program's effects. Furthermore, this analysis does not attempt to compare the outcomes to other localized cohorts. A comparison between the treatment group and other, similar cohorts in the region would be useful. While the state comparison was included in this analysis the trends within the region are more likely to follow similar trajectories. Using the KYSTATS public data set it is an option to conduct this analysis and is recommended as a next step for future researchers.

4.1.7 Findings from Analysis of Post-Secondary Attainment

The following stacked bar charts were created in Tableau and have been made publicly accessible (Tucker, 2022). Using the [Tableau visualization](#) provides a better experience and exploration of this data. Tableau's interactivity and tooltips help explain the data in more intuitive formats and it allows for differentiated analysis based on the needs of the individual. The stacked bar charts aggregate the three school districts served by the Promise Neighborhood and allow for comparisons of education attainment rates for each graduating cohort. Figure 4-5 details the rates of education attainment by category for each high school graduating cohort within the same year of graduation, or year zero after high school graduation.



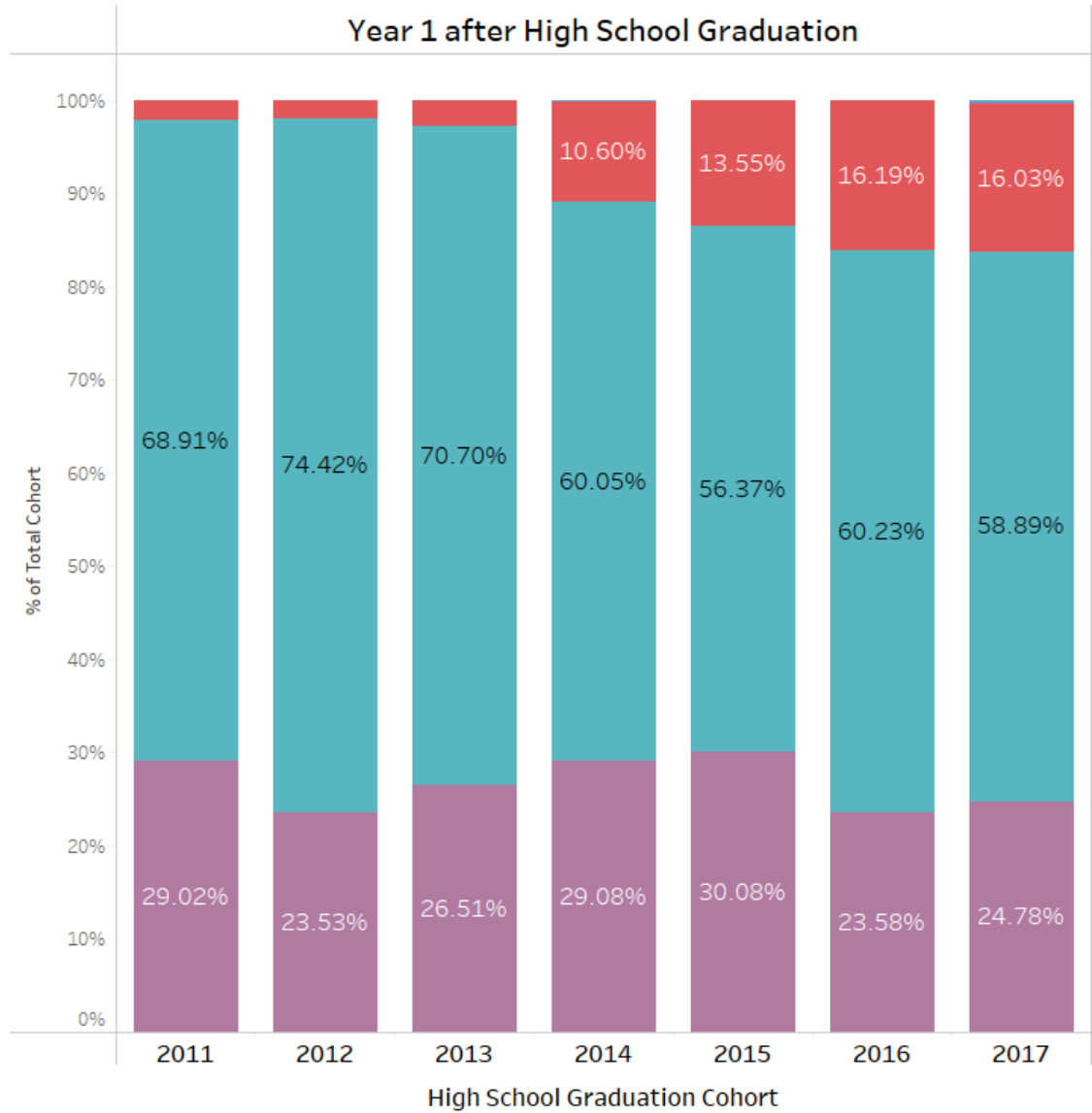
Legend for all Charts

- Bachelor's degree or Higher
- Associate Degree
- Certificate, Diploma, or Career Technical Education (CTE) Certification
- Some College
- High School

Figure 4-5 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year Zero After High School Graduation

Figure 4-5 represents a method for analyzing college enrollments that could have occurred either in the fall semester immediately following high school graduation or in a dual-credit enrollment during the spring semester of the student's senior year. However, PN data guidance requires grantees to report on the rates of post-secondary enrollment within sixteen months following high school graduation, this data is reviewed in Figure 4-6. The rate of post-secondary enrollment within sixteen months after high school graduation in the first implementation year of PN was 70.98% which improved to 75.22% by the final year of implementation. In comparison, Figure 4-7 shares the same analysis for the entire state of Kentucky. The rates of attainment within the PN service area improved at slightly higher rates from the first year of implementation to the last year as compared to the collective rates for the Commonwealth.

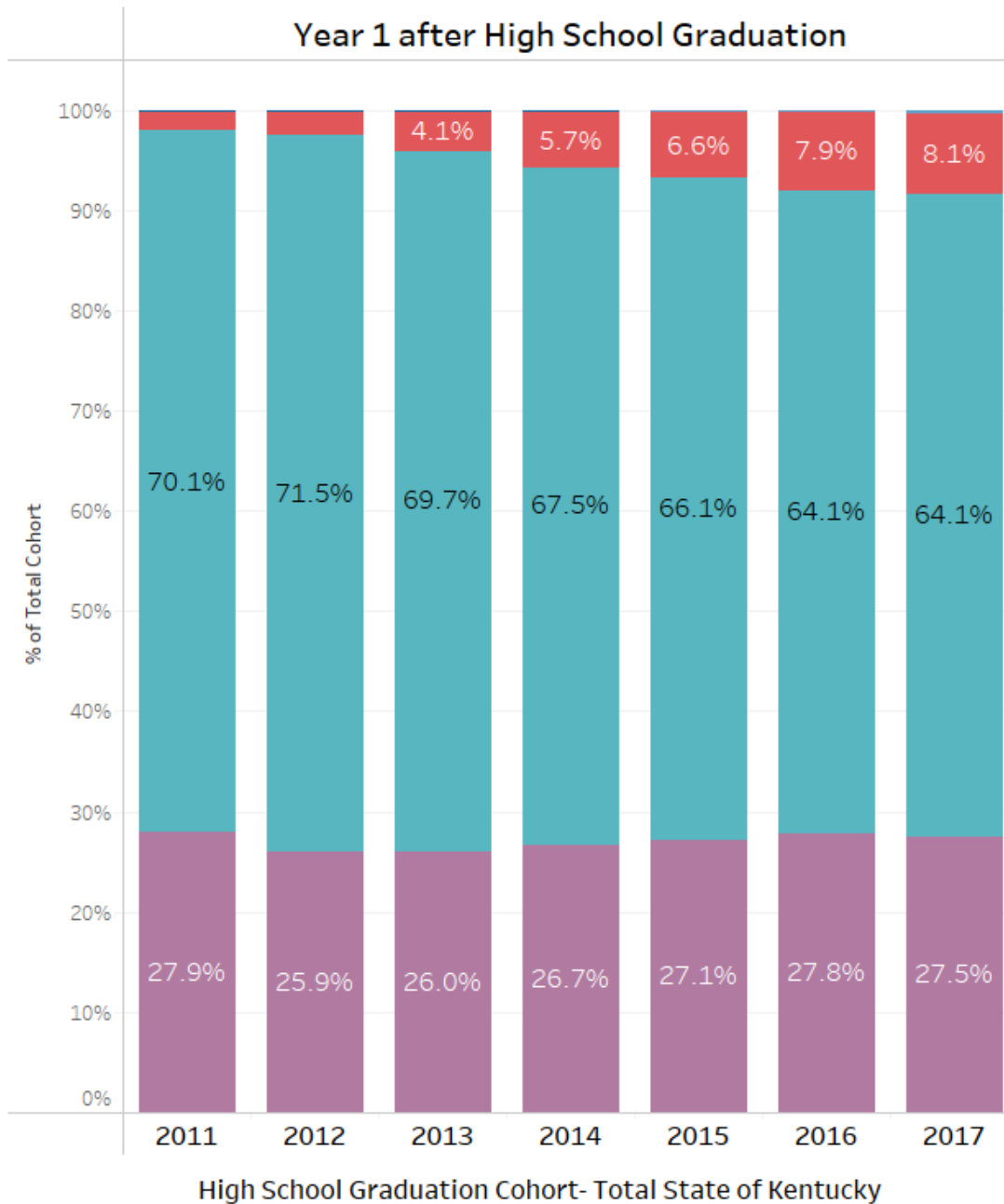
This data is summarized in Table 4-1. The 2011-17 Promise Neighborhood grant proposal states that of the "2009 regional high school graduates, only 41% entered college (195 students out of 419 graduates) as compared to 56.4% of Kentucky high school graduates" (Partners for Education, 2011, p. 9). Based on these findings the rates of post-secondary enrollments increased from the baseline, and then gradually improved across the implementation period.



Legend for all Charts

- Bachelor's degree or Higher
- Associate Degree
- Certificate, Diploma, or Career Technical Education (CTE) Certification
- Some College
- High School

Figure 4-6 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation



Legend for all Charts

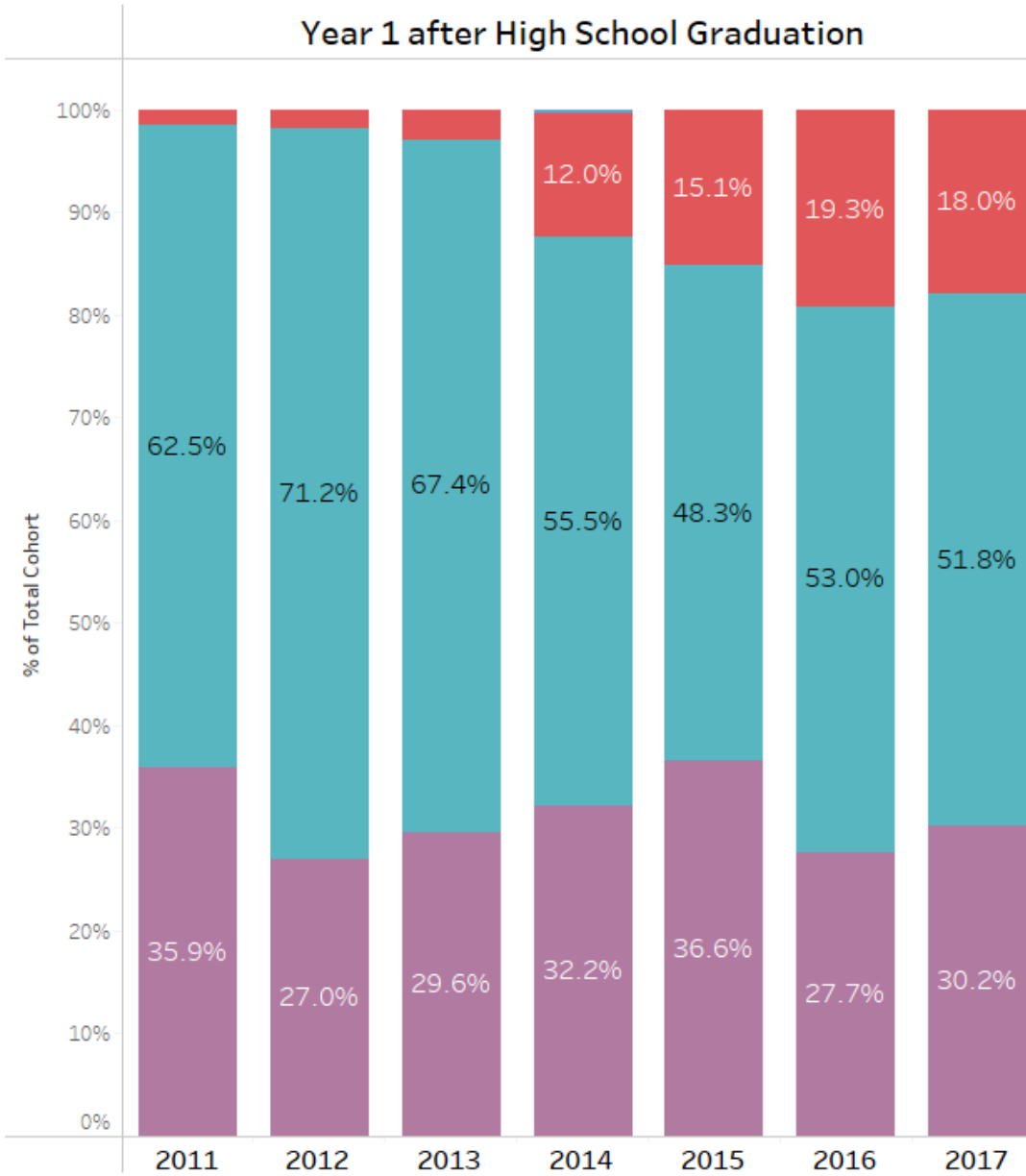
- Bachelor's degree or Higher
- Associate Degree
- Certificate, Diploma, or Career Technical Education (CTE) Certification
- Some College
- High School

Figure 4-7 State of Kentucky Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation

Educational Attainment Rates One Year after High School Graduation	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
PN Only High School Attainment	29%	24%	27%	29%	30%	24%	25%
PN Any Post-secondary Enrollment	71%	76%	73%	71%	70%	76%	75%
State High School Only	28%	26%	26%	27%	27%	28%	28%
State Any Post-secondary Enrollment	72%	74%	74%	73%	73%	72%	73%

Table 4-1 Summary of Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation

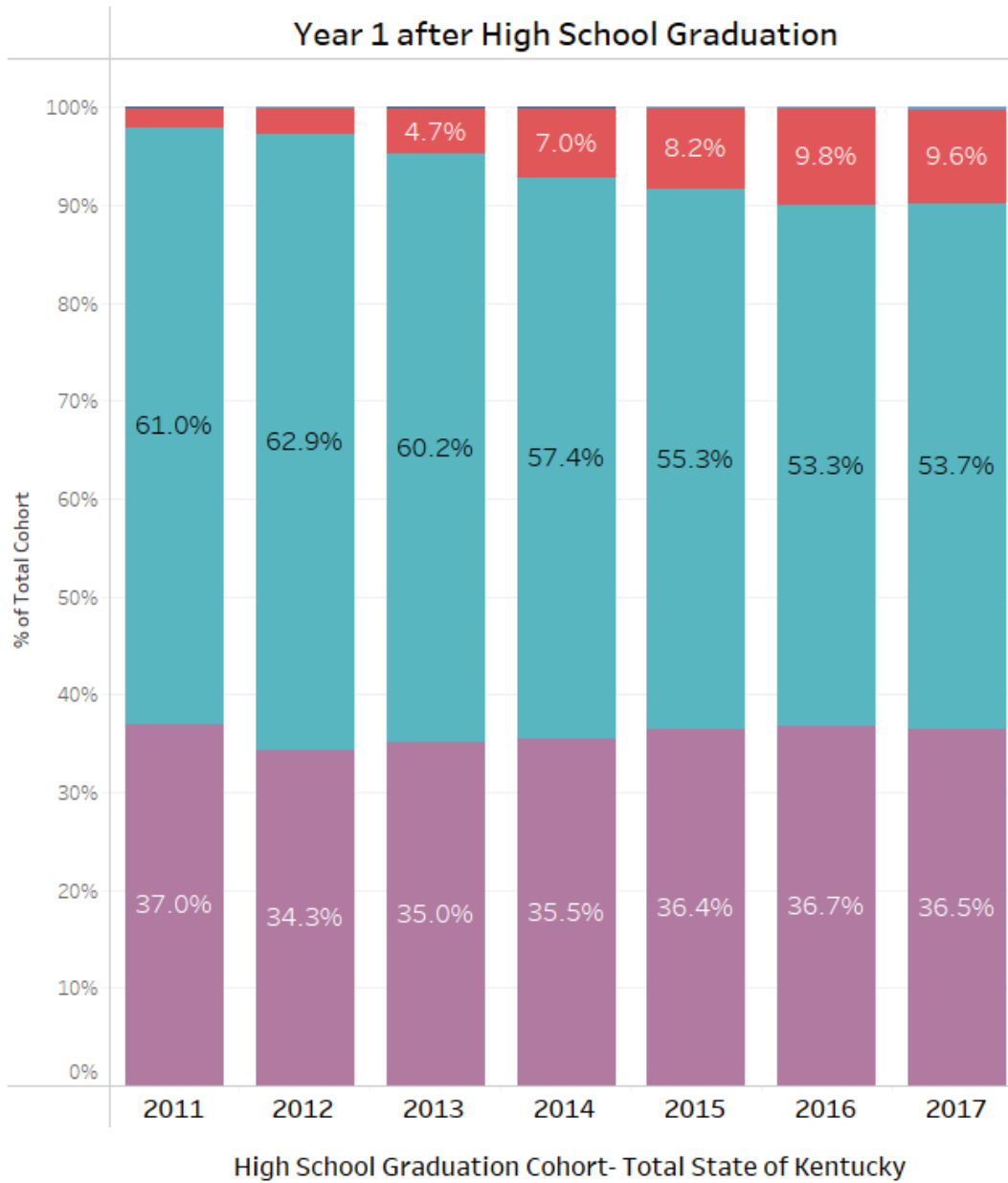
This data can also be examined by certain demographics when not suppressed, and Figures 4-8 and 4-9 show the rates of educational attainment in year one after high school graduation among students who received free or reduced-priced lunch. The Promise Neighborhood initiative was intended to provide targeted services among the highest need students. Comparing attainment rates between students benefiting from the program with the state at large is in line with grant expectations. The educational attainment of free or reduced-price lunch students varied by cohort but improved over the course of the implementation period and was consistently higher than the rates for the state. In comparison, the attainment rates for the entire state’s free and reduced-price lunch students were relatively stable across the same time frame. A summary of this data by cohort comparing the PN with the state of Kentucky is found in Table 4-2.



Legend for all Charts

- Bachelor's degree or Higher
- Associate Degree
- Certificate, Diploma, or Career Technical Education (CTE) Certification
- Some College
- High School

Figure 4-8 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation among PN's FRPL Students



Legend for all Charts

- Bachelor's degree or Higher
- Associate Degree
- Certificate, Diploma, or Career Technical Education (CTE) Certification
- Some College
- High School

Figure 4-9 Kentucky Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation among FRPL Students

Table 4-2 Summary of Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year One After High School Graduation among FRPL Students

Educational Attainment Rates of FRPL Students One Year after High School Graduation	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
PN Only High School Attainment	36%	27%	30%	32%	37%	28%	30%
PN Any Post-secondary Enrollment	64%	73%	70%	68%	63%	72%	70%
State High School Only	37%	34%	35%	36%	36%	37%	37%
State Any Post-secondary Enrollment	63%	66%	65%	65%	64%	63%	64%

This analysis can be repeated for years two through three following high school graduation among these cohorts examined so far. However, the education attainment data is only available through 2020, which limits the analysis of years four to nine following high school graduation for most of the cohorts. For example, the class of 2011 can be analyzed from year zero through year nine, and Figure 4-10 represents the 2011 cohort's

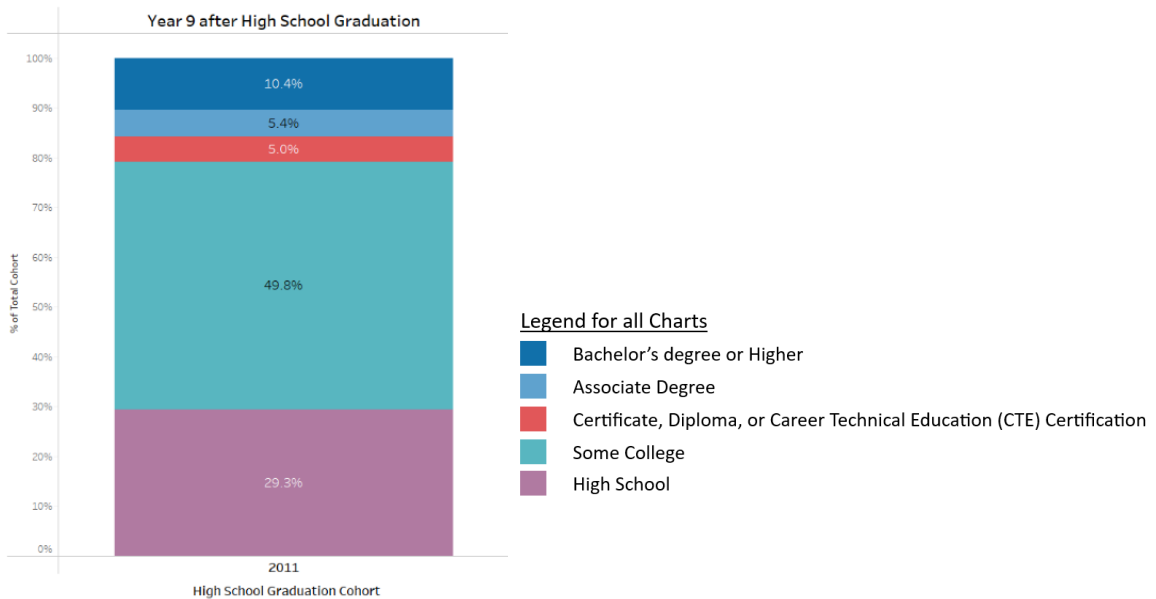


Figure 4-10 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year Nine After High School Graduation among the 2011 Cohort

educational attainment nine years after high school graduation. This study can be updated in future years as data becomes available, but goal of describing the post-secondary attainment rates among college going students in certificate programs as well as two-year and four-year programs is still achievable.

By excluding the students whose highest educational attainment rate was high school (the purple category) the analysis is limited to the college-going students, this makes it possible to analyze achievement rates of these students. Figures 4-11 and 4-12 represent the educational attainment among college-going students two years and four years after high school graduation, note that the 2017 cohort could not be analyzed in Figure 4-12.

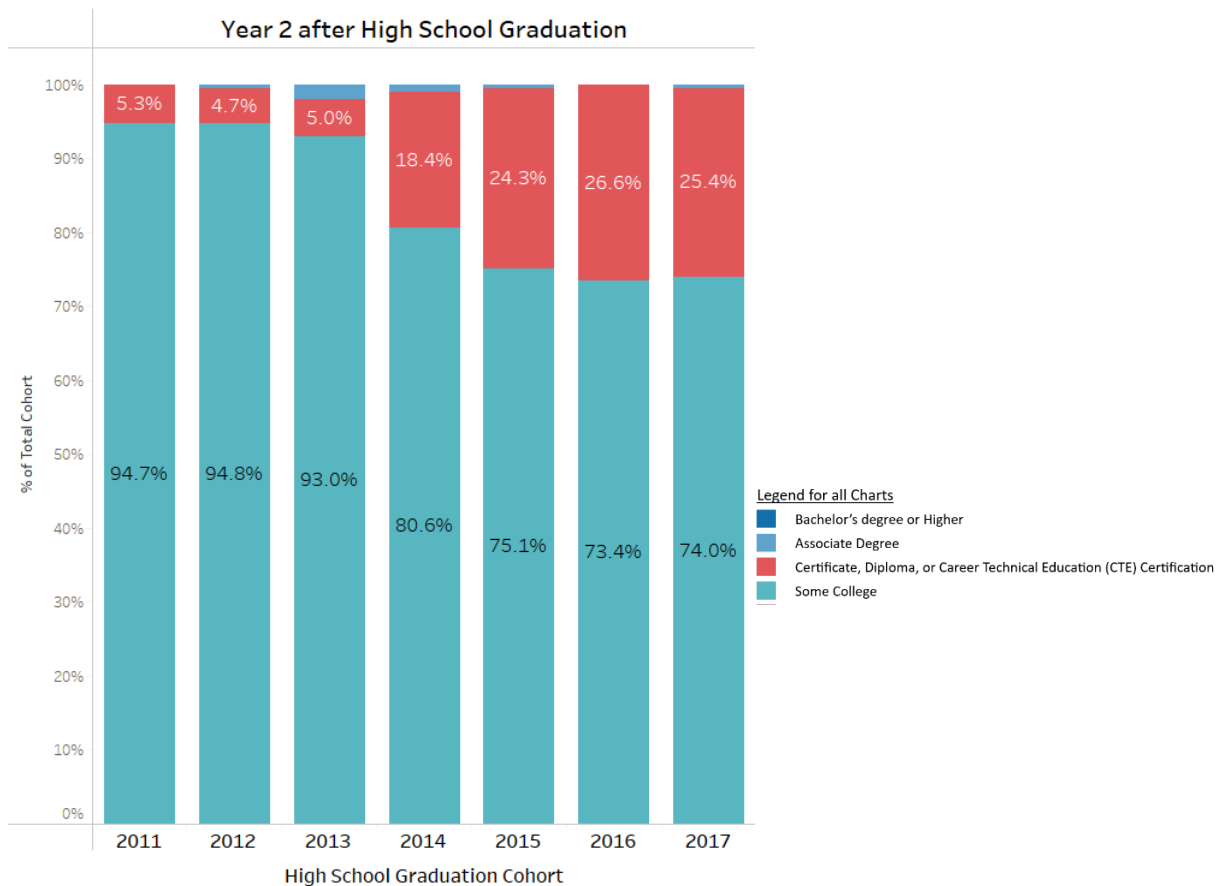


Figure 4-11 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year Two After High School Graduation

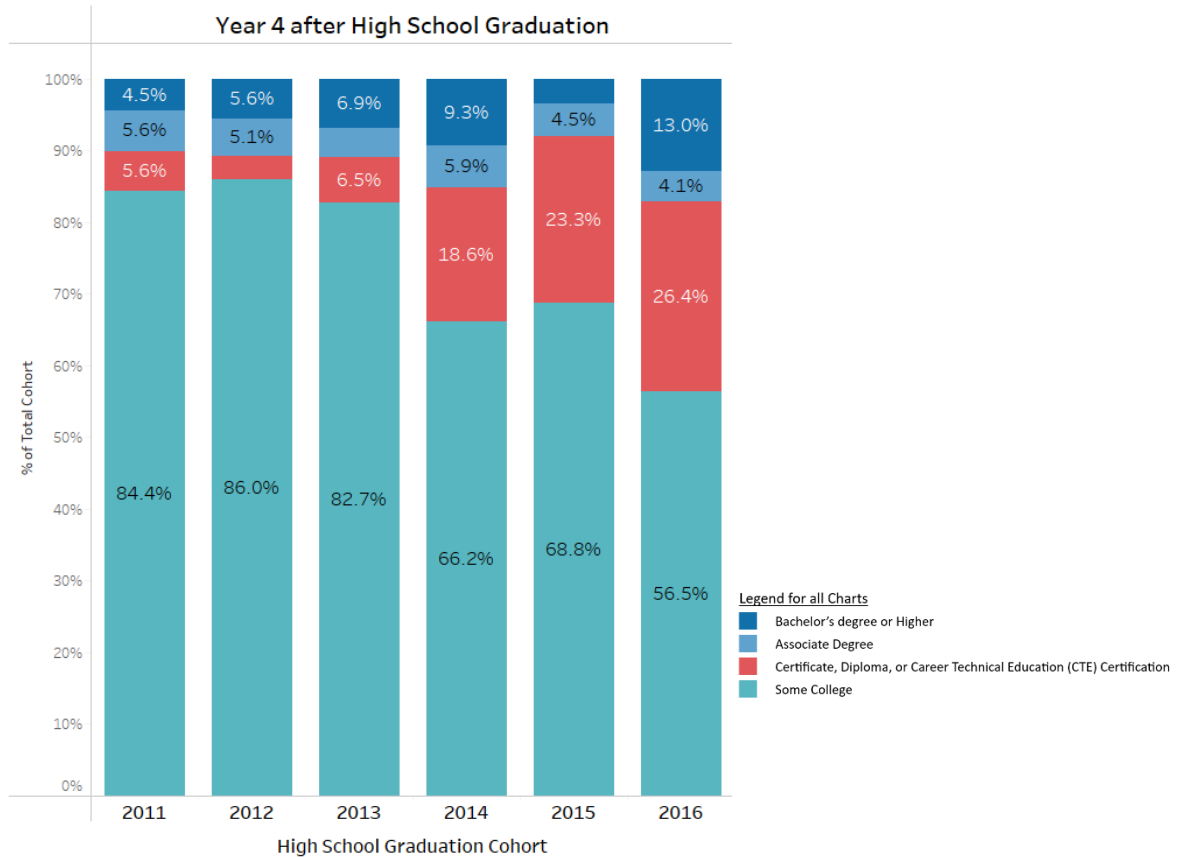


Figure 4-12 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year Four After High School Graduation

Based on these findings, the rate of Associate degree attainment two years after high school graduation was low and stable across the implementation period. The largest change among college going students by cohort in the second year after high school graduation was the completion of certificates or CTE degrees which improved from 7% of the cohort in 2011 to 22% of the cohort in 2017. The rates of bachelor’s degree attainment in the fourth year after high school graduation had some variability starting at 11% of the cohort in 2011 and improving to 17% of the cohort by 2017. The data from Figure 4-11 and Figure 4-12 is summarized in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3 Post-Secondary Attainment Rates in Year 2 and 4 After High School Graduation among College Going Students

Year 2 after High School Graduation	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Some college- no degree attained	92%	95%	93%	83%	79%	78%	78%
Certificate/Diploma or CTE Attained	7%	5%	4%	16%	19%	22%	22%
Associate Degree Attained	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Year 4 after High School Graduation	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Some college- no degree attained	75%	82%	79%	64%	64%	56%	*
Certificate/Diploma or CTE Attained	7%	3%	6%	16%	19%	21%	*
Associate Degree Attained	7%	5%	6%	6%	6%	6%	*
Bachelor's Degree Attained	11%	10%	10%	14%	11%	17%	*

Beyond the caveats described so far, an additional limitation is that rates of attainment are only captured at the highest level. For example, if a student attained a two-year degree and then later a four-year degree, only their four-year degree would be included in the data set. This limits the ability of researchers to calculate the actual rates of specific degree program completions among enrollees. Finally, this data is not an attempt to provide an evaluative perspective of the implementation of the PN grant. It aims to be descriptive in nature and to share a methodology for calculating post-secondary attainment with these cohorts. Based on the caveats discussed and the data guidance requirements created by the Department of Education for reporting Promise Neighborhood indicators, any evaluative assumptions made based on this analysis or visualization should be avoided.

4.1.8 Next Steps for Analysis

There is still a need, though, to evaluate the outcomes of the implementation of the PN grant and understand the actual impact on post-secondary outcomes. The utilization of publicly available data is a valid method for examining the aggregated post-secondary attainment rates. From this data, it can be determined that the rates of post-secondary enrollment increased during the implementation period and the rates of four-year college completion among college-going students also increased. However, the question remains if the results can be attributed to the implementation or to other variables. Based on the available literature, one option for evaluation could be to select similar communities in Kentucky and compare post-secondary success outcomes between groups. Before moving into this stage of evaluation this author recommends sharing the data and Tableau visualization with staff and partners at Berea College. There is a need to first understand what the data is and is not saying before making the decision to compare the cohorts with other student groups. It would also be helpful if this initial analysis could be replicated among any of the twenty other 2011 PN implementation sites. The Tableau workbook has been made freely available for this purpose (Tucker, 2022). Sharing experiences and understanding of local data creates an opportunity for comparing evaluation options and developing the next steps for analysis.

There is certainly a continued need to examine and evaluate the implementation of programs like 2011-2017 Promise Neighborhood program. Berea College has since received two more Promise Neighborhood grants which have similar issues with understanding their long-term post-secondary success outcomes. There is a need to develop other post-secondary success indicators that can be measured within the life cycle of the

grant. Analysis at the individual student level, combined with service implementation data, could shine a light on short-term variables that have strong correlations with future education attainment rates among rural students. These analyses and evaluations could improve the implementation of community programs like Promise Neighborhood.

CHAPTER 5. SUMMARY OF THE THREE ARTICLES

The three articles shared in this study provide individual perspectives on ways Berea College demonstrates its commitment to the Appalachian region and its role as an anchor institution. This small college is distinctive for the level of resources and programming it conducts in the region, and these articles help readers understand the history of this commitment. The first article is a presentation of one leader's path within Appalachian service, the second takes a retrospective view of Berea's Appalachian story, and the third analyzes an outcome of the Appalachian commitment.

As mentioned in the research of Orphan and McClure (2019) it is important for organizations like Berea to take full ownership of their roles as anchor institutions. There is a need for them to play their role in the improvement of community outcomes as well as to help create the necessary "institutional thickness" that brings groups together with a shared vision. Based on this research of Berea's work it is evident that the levels of outreach have varied over the decades, and at present its regional commitment is shifting. A substantial portion of Appalachian service work takes place under Partners for Education (PFE), a grant-funded arm of the College. PFE directs and maintains a portfolio of grants that provide direct services to 50,000 students and leverages approximately forty million dollars a year in service of their educational outcomes (Berea College, 2020). However, in 2022 the College and PFE began the process of separating in order to establish a new non-profit that will operate outside of Berea's leadership. The new organization is Partners for Rural Impact (PRI), and it will continue to provide direct services to Appalachia, but it will also serve as an advocate for rural policy across the nation.

Berea College will continue to provide outreach programming in Appalachia Kentucky—notably Brushy Fork Institute and Grow Appalachia— but this is greatly reduced in scope and scale. From my position as a Berea alumna and employee, it seems that Berea is shifting away from its regional anchor institution role. The programs and services that PFE conducted shaped Berea’s commitment to Appalachia in the present era. If it is no longer part of the College, then the question remains on what this will mean for Berea’s ownership of its role as an anchor institution. Likewise, there is also an outstanding question about Partners for Rural Impact and if it will be able to take up the mantel as an Appalachian anchor institution. PRI will soon become a national organization with a remote workforce working on behalf of rural populations across the United States. If an anchor institution is defined as committed to a specific place and its future, how does this translate into the type of work that PRI will conduct? In all of these questions, is valuable to regard the research included in these articles. Organizations like PRI and Berea College should take into consideration how leaders are empowered, the types of narratives that are uplifted, and how to measure long-term outcomes of programs. The research from all three articles are expressions of commitment and could be applied to any organization. The following summarizes potential next steps based on the inquiry shared thus far.

5.1.1 Considering Next Steps from Article 1: Berea College’s Service to Appalachia Kentucky with Helen Hastie Dingman

One of the most astonishing notes about Helen Dingman’s life and work at Berea College is that it was quite ordinary in comparison to the other faculty and staff. Her name receives scant mention in the history of the college, and the programs and services she organized seem to be forgotten. However, her work established Berea as a valued partner

in community development across the region. The Opportunity Schools, Extension Opportunity Schools, teacher development sessions, and her work with the Council of Southern Mountain Workers were the foundation for many of Berea's outreach programs today. Individual leaders have power and influence within small institutions like Berea College, and Helen Dingman's story speaks to the success that these leaders can have. This research will be shared with Berea's leadership and with the New Opportunity School for Women to honor and celebrate Dingman's leadership.

Even so, readers should consider the ways that these leaders are developed and supported in their organizations. Dingman evidently had freedom to develop programming, but there is also evidence that she did not have much autonomy in her work. In 1933, for example, Dingman was invited to write a book about "the Southern mountain conditions and trends and opportunities" for the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada (Dingman et al., 1933). However, President William Hutchins informed Dingman that if she opted to join the project, she would have to do so during her summer vacation hours, and he could not support the project during her normal work. Dingman did not feel that she could "clear the way in [her] for the time and effort that such an undertaking demands" and had to decline the project (Dingman et al., 1933). Her perspective on rural education could have been an excellent resource of the era. Institutions like Berea College succeed when their leaders succeed. It is valuable to recognize how to support leaders and provide them the support needed to create those successes. It is the responsibility of the College to authentically support its leaders because it is through their labor that Berea College's Great Commitments live on and thrive.

5.1.2 Considering Next Steps from Article 2: Appalachian Narratives and Their Users

Appalachian anchor institutions like Berea College have a role to play in uplifting lived experiences and asset-based narratives from the region. Choosing to emphasize strengths or aspirations creates a foundation of trust that will support long-term relationships. Taking the time to develop and understand the complex stories that underly persistent poverty is an important task for anchor institutions. In Appalachia, these stories have layers of exploitation, bias, violence, but also resilience and a commitment to place and region. There is a need to celebrate what Appalachians contribute to the nation at large and to consider how to best partner with the region moving forward.

This research can be used as a guide to develop asset-based narratives within programs and products. It can also be a resource for understanding the nuances of narrative choices in Appalachia. This region is the recipient of hundreds of community outreach programs and there could be an opportunity to evaluate those that use asset-framing as a central tenant compared to those that do not. Finally, this research is intended to be shared and utilized. It will be submitted to the Journal of Education Outreach and Higher Education. The Journal seeks to critically examine challenges and opportunities related to reporting the impact of work from organizations like Berea College. The lack of public research on rural anchor institutions makes Berea a prime candidate of discussion.

5.1.3 Considering Next Steps from Article 3: Post-Secondary Attainment of Berea College's Promise Neighborhood from 2011-2017

A key next step for the analysis of Berea College's 2011-2017 Promise Neighborhood grant is to share the data publicly and host discussions about the findings. Berea College is a leader among college-access grantees and the methods used in this

analysis could be replicated among other programs. There are also opportunities to compare the outcomes from the students who received grant services with those from other Appalachian school districts who were not in the service region. This could allow for a limited evaluation of the Promise Neighborhood's effects.

There is certainly a continued need to examine and evaluate the implementation of programs like 2011-2017 Promise Neighborhood program. Berea College has since received two more Promise Neighborhood grants which have similar issues with understanding their long-term post-secondary success outcomes. There is a need to develop other post-secondary success indicators that can be measured within the life cycle of the grant. Analysis at the individual student level, combined with service implementation data, could shine a light on short-term variables that have strong correlations with future education attainment rates among rural students. These analyses and evaluations could improve the implementation of community programs like Promise Neighborhood.

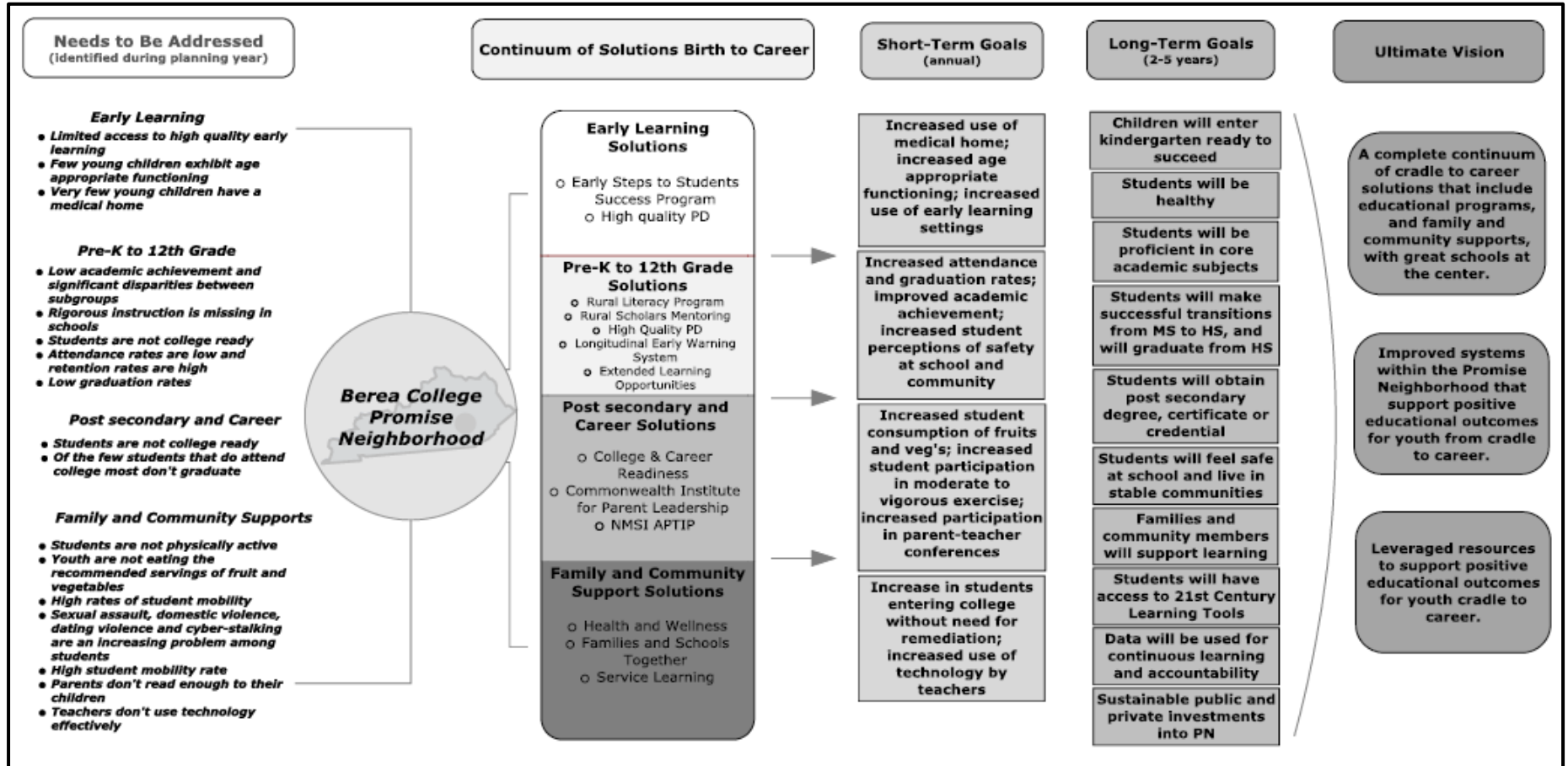
5.1.4 Final Thoughts and Reflections

Berea is a unique, distinctive College that currently serves as an anchor institution for the Appalachian region. However, the Appalachian Commitment is only one of Berea's Great Commitments, and similar research could be conducted on any of the other seven commitments. Bereans have a responsibility to examine the ways the College fulfills its mission and there is a need to review the work across the spectrum of its eight commitments. An examination of Berea's history in each commitment would provide a valuable perspective, along with a review of the leaders and analysis of current programming would serve as a viable method for this examination.

As a collective this body of research attempts to understand the ways that Berea College serves and fulfills its Appalachian commitment. The first key finding was the value and power of individual leaders. Helen Dingman was a true change-agent at Berea and her efforts had a lasting influence on the type of outreach program that the College became known for. The next significant finding was the importance of narrative choice, along with the ways that Berea College has contributed to need-based stereotypes that have plagued Appalachia for more than a century. The final consideration is in the tools and resources used to analyze long-term outcomes of an outreach program. The research conducted on the Appalachian commitment has provide valuable context for Berea's current outreach programming and the resources shared will continue to be useful in the evaluation and improvement of its role as an anchor institution.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1. BEREA COLLEGE PROMISE NEIGHBORHOOD LOGIC MODEL (PARTNERS FOR EDUCATION, 2011)



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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2021-Current Berea College. Associate Director of Data and Evaluation

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2011-2013 YBM SISA. English Instructor

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