Rural Media Literacy: Youth Documentary Videomaking As A Rural Literacy Practice

By: **Damiana Gibbons Pyles**

Abstract

The author presents research on media literacy in rural youth by conducting a modal analysis of a collection of documentary videos made by rural youths from Appalachia, United States.

Pyles, D. G. (2016). Rural media literacy: Youth documentary videomaking as a rural literacy practice. Journal of Research in Rural Education, 31(7), 1-15. Publisher version of record available at: http://www.jrre.psu.edu

Rural Media Literacy: Youth Documentary Videomaking as a Rural Literacy Practice

Damiana Gibbons Pyles
Appalachian State University

Through an analysis of a corpus of youth-produced documentary video data collected at a youth media arts organization in rural Appalachia, I explore how these rural youth engaged in media literacy practices through creating documentary videos about themselves and their community. Using a theoretical foundation in literacies research, especially rural literacies, I conducted a modal analysis of a set of documentaries produced by rural youth through which I develop a working definition of rural media literacy, a literacy practice that respects the knowledge, identities, and values of local, rural areas and people expressed through rural youths' media literacy productions.

> *I was like 5. Whaddya do when somebody puts you on a stool and for… I mean I've sung on this stage with my parents, and that was scary. You know, I mean they had a tendency to sell out the entire Appalshop Theatre. So it'd be 150 people, sometimes people standing in the back also, like 150 plus. So then you put like a 6-year-old kid up onstage, whaddya do? Ya freak out. There was always an element of pressure because people at home know who I am. (Stacie Sexton, qtd in, Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004)*

While both urban and rural youth filmmakers have similar issues, such as the need to tell their stories in their own ways (Burn & Parker, 2003; Goodman, 2003) or the need to reach an audience outside of themselves (Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009), it is the issues that are particular to the rural context that are the focus of this article. In defining rural vs. urban, it is important to move the discussion away from only geographic or demographic definitions and toward an understanding of how urban or rural is much more about a cultural understanding (Donehower, Hogg, & Schell, 2012; Roberts & Green, 2013). This cultural understanding, however, is often misrepresented when what is understood about rurality is told by those outside the communities, which often leads to a stereotyping of, and oversimplication about, rural people and places (Donehower et al., 2007, 2012; Donehower, 2003).

The concept of *rural social space* (Reid et al., 2010) could be helpful to show the difference between media production by rural youth compared to urban youth. In rural social space there is a recognition that one of the ways in which rural areas are distinct from urban areas is that rurality brings its own particular pressures:

> knowing one's place" in rural social space is far more possible and probable than in the larger population centres [sic] because when everyone knows you and how and where you are situated, spatially and socially, in the community, it is difficult to mistake or to misrepresent one's position. (Reid et al., 2010, p. 271)

Although all youth must make sense of their place and themselves through competing discourses, rural youth do so in relation to discourses both within their community and outside their community (Edmondson, 2003).

In other words, rural youth are more "visible" than their urban youth counterparts. In the quotation at the beginning of this article, Stacie Sexton makes this point clearly when she states, "There's always an element of pressure because people at home know who I am." In her home, her community, Stacie is more visible, quite literally, when she is onstage with her family in a sold-out performance in her local community theater as well as in this youth documentary in which she is shown as she speaks these

---

This research was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

All correspondence should be directed to Damiana Gibbons Pyles, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Appalachian State University, ASU Box 32047, 151 College Street, Boone, NC 28607-2047 (pylesdg@appstate.edu).

The *Journal of Research in Rural Education* is published by the Center on Rural Education and Communities, College of Education, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802. ISSN 1551-0670

words. Her words highlight the tensions rural young people often face as they perform different literacy acts, in this case creating a documentary in a youth media arts organization. In discussing rural youth video production specifically, Reid (2013) states: "When everyone knows you, and knows about how and where you are situated, spatially and socially, in the community, it is difficult to mistake or to misrepresent your position or your perceived potential as a human being in that place" (p. 142). Quite simply, rural youth are not living and creating their sense of themselves within a setting where they could become just another person in a large urban area. Rural youths' issues are not so much about *standing out* among many people to find a sense of who they are; instead, they are about *standing within* their community to find a sense of who they are.

As part of a larger research study examining how young people made documentary videos about their lives, their communities, and themselves (for full discussions of the studies, see Gibbons, 2012; Gibbons Pyles, 2015; Halverson & Gibbons, 2010; Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009), I conducted a study to understand more clearly how rural youth express themselves, especially through media literacy practices in rural areas. I hoped to explore the following questions:

1. What are the features of the literacy practices fostered by a youth media arts organization serving youth in rural Appalachia as shown through the youth media produced?
2. How are these literacy practices distinctly "rural"?

By analyzing the corpus of documentary video data I collected at the Appalachian Media Institute (AMI), I found that the features of literacy practices lead to what I call *rural media literacy*, a media literacy fostered in rural settings.

Context

To explore how rural youth tell stories and engage with other media literacy practices, I was an observer of the Appalachian Media Institute (AMI), the youth media arts part of Appalshop, a longstanding arts organization based in Appalachia.[1] The AMI program that I observed was the Summer Documentary Institute in which a select group of 12 rural youth between the ages of 14 and 22 spent six weeks learning video production and involved in their local community.

Located in a town of approximately 2,000 people, Appalshop began through an economic development project as a way to preserve Appalachian heritage. This project originated in the War on Poverty, a set of programs undertaken in the 1960s by President Lyndon Johnson's administration to battle economic hardships. War on Poverty initiatives offered training to people in underserved areas. In this case, people were trained in a series of documentary video workshops that served two purposes: "accommodating the needs of the community" and "provid[ing] a vocational education" (Charbonneau, 2010, p. 139). Rather than concentrating solely on vocation skills, from early on, Appalshop focused on local needs by making media that represented its rural Appalachian community. This focus on Appalachian culture has expanded over the past 40 years to include a variety of programs from a traveling theater group, which performs original plays based on Appalachian culture; to a non-profit radio station run by community members; to the AMI youth video arts program. From the beginning, part of Appalshop's mission was to educate young people in media so that they could stay in their rural area rather than train them to work in the media industry elsewhere. This priority is still an integral part of their mission.[2]

Literature Review

A number of excellent studies address rural literacies, but additional research is needed on defining how these cultural factors of rurality itself are a factor in literacy, especially media literacy. Researchers have produced several good studies on literacy in rural areas, such as reports measuring rural illiteracy rates (Bailey, Daisey, Maes, & Spears, 1992), studies about home literacies in rural communities (Pawley, 2001), and critical literacies in rural areas (Donehower et al., 2007), as well as seminal studies on literacy practices in rural areas that have changed the ways we think about literacy itself, such as Heath's (1983) exploration of literacy in the South or Purcell-Gates' (1995) studies about low literacy. Yet these studies do not focus how the rural context itself could be a determining factor in literacy. As Green (2013) points out:

> little attention has been given, to date, to the notion that there might be distinctive features of literacy in a rural context, or that literacy and rurality can be brought together differently outside of a hegemonic schooling logic. This indicates that research is urgently needed in this respect, focusing specifically on literacy, rurality and education—rural literacies in Australia. (p. 18)

The same is true in the United States, as stereotypes about rural people have prevailed: "Rural Americans are often

[1]Although I have changed all participants' names for anonymity, the organization's names have been used with permission and the documentary videos' titles have been left as they were originally called out of respect to the documentary videomakers' choices and because they are publicly available.

[2]For more information on Appalshop, see http://www.appalshop.org/.

thought to be illiterate, untechnological, and simplistic—stereotypes we have encountered frequently as those from rural backgrounds and as educators in American colleges and universities" (Donehower, et al., 2007, p. 14).

The demographic shift to urban centers has shifted literacy research to those areas (Green & Corbett, 2013), and much of the research about media literacy in youth media production has also shifted to studies conducted in urban areas. Indeed, there have been excellent studies of how young people create documentary videos in cities, such as Burn and Parker's (2003) analysis of how youth produce their own video productions in London. There are studies that examine how youth of color create media in urban areas, such as Bing-Canar and Zerkel's (1998) research on how young Arab-American girls have conflicted interactions as they create videos in a community center in Chicago, or Mayer's (2000) look at how Latinos/as created identity in video. Several other studies have researched how young people make media in San Francisco-area youth media arts nonprofits (Fleetwood, 2005; Jocson, 2009; Soep, 2006) and community centers affiliated with universities (Hull & Nelson, 2005; Nelson, Hull, & Roche-Smith, 2008), as well as in nonprofit organizations in New York City (Goodman, 2003).

Few studies, however, have focused exclusively on rural youth media production. In discussing how rural Australian youth were part of a making a documentary about their experiences as rural youth, Reid (2013) makes a strong case for documentary videomaking as a literacy practice, namely the 3D Model of Literacy (Green, 2013; see also Cormack, 2013; Durrant & Green, 2000; Green & Beavis, 2012). Reid (2013) asserts that in addition to learning the operational skills of documentary videomaking, such as "storyboarding, casting..., [making] decisions about contextualizing background and lead in shots" (p. 147), youth also demonstrated the cultural and critical dimensions by "deciding on the style and pace of, and then directing, rehearsing, and timing the reading of the voiceoever text" (p. 147). She summarizes by stating that "in this way, participants [were] involved in an ongoing sustained literacy experience over time," and "[they] were being taught and were practicing and operationalizing new skills and knowledge with a discourse and practice" (Reid, 2013, pp. 147-148). In addition, previous research suggests that, unlike urban youth who create videos primarily about themselves, rural youth create videos about their communities and/or themselves primarily as members of their communities. Unlike the urban youth, the rural youth feel compelled to tell their communities' stories in their media as well as or instead of their own stories (Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009). Making media in rural places, then, places additional pressures on these youth (Reid, 2013).

What is recognized, however, is that "rurality" has specific connotations as a marker of identity. Donehower, Hogg, and Schell (2012) discuss how

> the word *rural* functions for many as a marker of identity, regardless of demographic criteria or current location. People may self-identify as rural or identify others as rural, and by so doing invoke a chain of associations and ideologies. Individuals who were raised in areas that meet demographic definitions of rural may explicitly reject that term as an identity marker, only to reclaim it later in life—even if they settle in an urban area. (p. 7)

On the one hand, some rural people take "being poor" as an identity marker along with "being rural" (Howley & Howley, 2010) as many in rural areas confront high rates of poverty (Howley, Harmon, & Leopold, 1996) and high rates of mobility in and out of these areas, exacerbating issues in already financially strapped regions (Schafft, 2006). On the other hand, this broadened definition also brings new meanings to the idea of sustainability as it incorporates the sustainability of one's own identity as a rural person by focusing on the local (Albert & Jury, 2005; Comber & Cormack, 2013; Khattri, Riley, & Kane, 1997; Schafft & Jackson, 2010). For others this work combines focusing on sustainability of the land as well as literacy practices (Somerville, 2013). In creating media, the youth participants in AMI are making visible these markers of identity as rural Appalachians, which comes with its own "chain of associations and ideologies," some of which they accept, and some they reject. The documentaries show this push-pull, as will be discussed in the findings.

Data Sources and Collection

AMI data were collected as part of a larger research study involving at four different youth media arts organizations across the United States (see Gibbons, 2012; Gibbons Pyles, 2015; Halverson & Gibbons, 2010; Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009). The data collection centered on two key moments (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010) namely the Pitch where the youth decided what their video docuementaries would be about and the time when they edited their documentaries. The observations occurred during the first week of the workshop and one week near the middle of the workshop. As an observer, I collected a variety of data and used a variety of analytic methodologies and tools (see Table 1 below), including semi-structured interviews with the youth participants, the AMI director, the youth director, and the three trainers (teachers) of the summer workshop. I also made observations at two "key moments" (Halverson & Gibbons, 2010) of the workshop,

Table 1

Data Collected, Analytic Methodology, and Tools

Data Collected	Analytic Methodology	Analytic Tools
Semi-structured interviews with facilitators, directors, and youth (Ginsburg, 1997) Publicly available mission statements, curricula, and other workshop materials Fieldnotes of participant observations throughout workshop	Thematic analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994)	NVIVO
Youth produced videos completed during the workshop Videos and other models shown for pedagogical purposes Other video work (both youth and adult video productions) completed before or after the workshop	Documentary analysis (Nichols, 2010)	Transana Quicktime Microsoft Word

namely the beginning of the workshop and later on in the documentary videomaking process.

The data on which I focus for this article were obtained through interviews and the data corpus of the documentary videos. The interviews were conducted on-site at AMI and were with individuals and with focus groups with teachers, directors, and youth. All interviews covered their personal experiences at Appalshop or AMI as well as discussions of the current youth workshop, and all were digitally recorded and transcribed. The documentary videos were from a collection of youth-produced videos from the workshop, video and documentary videos produced by Appalshop documentary videomakers, and documentary videos created by the facilitators when they were youth participants in the same workshop in previous years. The data of the workshop itself— observation fieldnotes and audio recordings of the workshop—are beyond the scope of this article and have been analyzed elsewhere (Gibbons Pyles, 2015).

Positionality

Given the issues inherent in research in rural areas (Green & Corbett, 2013), a brief discussion of positionality is useful. I grew up in a rural area, and I conducted almost all the research in the rural sites in the study. Not all rural areas are the same, however, and I did not pretend otherwise in my relationship with the people in this organization. Though self-identifying as "rural" did help to build some relationships, my research team and I were not members of Appalshop. Our relationship with this youth media arts organization could have proven difficult, in part because of a long-standing mistrust of outsiders who had exploited the people of this region for many decades. For this reason and others, to maintain a good working relationship with the participants and to maintain a good comfort level for everyone, I strictly maintained an observer role and was careful to respect the youths' and adults' boundaries, such as not recording fieldnotes during conversations about sensitive issues.[3] These practices helped to ease some

[3]Right before the workshop ended, one of the youth participants passed away suddenly for medical reasons. Her death, of course, a great personal tragedy for all who knew this young woman. It also meant, however, that their video was not fully finished before she passed away. Her group finished it and screened it after her passing. I mention this situation to speak not only to the strength of her group to persevere, but also to the fact that they saw themselves as part of a larger community of AMI and finished the documentary video out of respect to everyone,

tensions and build good relationships (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2013).

Data Analysis

Analysis of Interview Data

Documentary analysis is the focus of this article, but I include interview data to understand the cultural dimension of the participants' media literacy. Therefore, I briefly describe the interview data analysis. First, I began by transcribing the interviews; then, to analyze the interview transcripts, I used Gee's discourse analysis. Stemming from new literacy studies, this method of discourse analysis focuses on discourses as ways of "knowing, acting, and becoming" (Gee, 2008) in any linguistic event. In other words, communicating with one another in a social setting goes beyond what one says, does, or shows in a documentary video; it also is determined by who the people show themselves to be linguistically (Gee, 2000, 2004) as they create the videos. To see how participants are using their discourses, I determined the microstructure of the interview data by breaking the data into lines, each line holding one piece of information, and grouping those lines into stanzas, which are collections of lines. In this way, I could find the information in the interviews that was *informationally salient*—the part of sentence that carries the most weight of the meaning (Gee, 2005, p. 120). By grouping the information in this way, I could see the larger structure of the information in the interviews, which led to themes.

Analysis of Documentaries

For this article, the main focus is an analysis of the documentary videos produced by the youth. I will focus on three documentary videos from AMI that illustrate a range of the documentaries produced by documentary videomakers at AMI over time. The first two, *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster* (Pigman, Roberts, & Watts, 2000) and *Banjo Pickin' Girl* (Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004), are short documentary videos that were produced by the youth director and some of the teachers when they themselves were youth participants in AMI. The last, *Mountain Majesty* (Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon, 2008), is a documentary video that was produced by the youth during the workshop that I observed. Through analysis of these documentary videos, I gained a sense of the youths' cultural environment as they produce their documentary videos. Also, I traced both the documentary elements and the content of the arguments made in AMI through time and through different documentaries, which provides a concrete example of how rural media literacy has been fostered in this rural organization over time.

Based on the characteristics of expository documentary videos (Nichols, 2010), I created a transcript for each of the three videos to describe what is occurring in them in terms of documentary features. In the transcripts, I began by noting which of the following components were present: documentary elements (voiceover, interview, video footage, archival video, archival photo/documents, b-roll, and other), commentary, image(s), and themes. While watching and re-watching each documentary, in a table, I transcribed the commentary word-for-word. I also "transcribed" the images as they appeared on the screen alongside the commentary to which they belonged. Last, I noted any themes or main ideas that the images/commentary were conveying to get sense of the argument of the documentary as it was building (see Table 1).

Different from documentaries that do not fit distinct categories (Bruzzi, 2006). or essayistic documentaries that attempt to rearticulate what is known to show it in a new light (Corrigan, 2011), the goal of the documentary videos at AMI is not to defy what is known but rather to make apparent for those inside and outside of the community what is already known in this community. Expository documentaries, then, are an ideal mode for organizations intent on telling particular truths to themselves as well as seeking to inform others outside their community about their experiences living in it (Nichols, 2010). The documentary videos at AMI were not, then, critical in terms of questioning shared truths. Instead, they were attempts to build those shared truths through their documentary videos. For Nichols (2010), these types of documentaries are characterized by the use of particular elements: voiceovers; interviews; video footage; photographs; archival footage, photos, or video; and so on. But, more importantly, documentaries are characterized by "engag[ing] with the world by representing it" (Nichols, 2010, p. 42).

There are six modes of documentary: poetic, expository, observational, participatory, reflexive, and performative (Nichols, 2010). AMI's documentaries are exclusively in the expository mode, so I here describe only this mode in detail. Expository mode is characterized by documentaries

including the young woman, although she was no longer with them. This experience is, in part, why I focus on the documentary texts in this article rather than interviews and other sources of data: to avoid possible ethical concerns about misrepresenting someone who can no longer speak for herself. Out of recognition of my own positionality as a researcher from outside their community, I contacted the youth director before submitting this work for publication to make sure that I was being sensitive to issues of ethics as well as representing the workshop process and the documentaries accurately. With respect, and she provided helpful feedback as well as an endorsement of this analysis and findings. This exchange has helped to allay some concerns I have with ethical considerations, but it does not, of course, obviate them.

that are proving an argument. In examining the subjects of the documentaries the youth produced for the workshop that I observed, as well as all the documentary videos produced for the four previous years, I found that all the documentary videos produced by the youth were essentially arguments about local issues in their community and/or stories about rural people in their area (see Table 2 for documentary titles and themes).

A few specific features within expository documentaries characterize this genre of films or videos. First, there are two types of commentary: (1) a voice-of-God commentary in which the speaker is seen but never heard and has a kind of omniscient presence that explains the truth of the argument, and (2) a voice-of-authority commentary in which the speaker is both heard and seen and also has a voice of truth in his/her explanations (Nichols, 2010). Both types of commentary make the argument of the documentary and do so in a way that asserts "truth" in the telling. They are providing an objective yet unquestioned view of whatever is being discussed.

For this analysis, then, the *documentary elements* are rural literacy tools that the documentary videomakers are using to tell their stories. Beyond the presence of these elements, I also looked at what elements were used when and showed them alongside whatever was happening with the commentary, images, and themes. I was interested in what those elements were and with what they were used, in order to get a sense of what the documentary videomakers were doing with the elements. That is, what media tools were they using in their literacy practices, and to what end?

To explore the rural literacies expressed through the documentary videos, I examined how the *commentary* and *images* were used to convey the themes in the argument. In documentaries it is primarily the commentary that spells out the argument, with the images serving as support for the commentary (Nichols, 2010). Therefore, tracing the commentary alongside the images was vital, and with this method I was able to trace the argument conveyed through commentary, supported by images, and assembled with the elements of documentary videomaking. Understanding how all these elements interplayed with one another is what shows how rural literacies are expressed in their documentary videos themselves.

Findings

Using Media Videomaking Tools to Represent Belonging to the Media Arts Organization

The first characteristic of the media literacy practices of the documentary videos in this analysis is how the youth use the affordances of documentary videomaking tools to show their connection to the rural organization, Appalshop. In particular, almost all the youths' documentaries included both still images and archival video from previous Appalshop documentary videos. For example, using their own footage along with that from Appalshop's professional filmmakers, the youth videomakers blended elements from the youth documentary videomakers and from Appalshop filmmakers' past documentaries in a documentary video called *Mountain Majesty* (Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon, 2008). This documentary video is about Alice Slone, a local woman who had started a rural school in the 1930s, which is still in operation today. Slone was also known as an activist for the local environment and its people. The youth documentary videomakers used documentary elements to take an historical look at a time in this area's history when coal mining companies were bulldozing people's land to discuss how this mining destroyed the land and endangered the people (see Table 3). The videomakers used voiceovers over photographs and video footage as voice-of-authority commentary similar to those in *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster* (Pigman, Roberts, & Watts, 2000), which will be discussed later.

For instance, in one key scene, the youth included Alice Slone's last interview as she told the story of how one woman had to watch her baby's coffin roll down the hill as bulldozers dozed the land near the woman's house (see Figure 1). In this scene, everything works in concert. The commentary is comprised of voiceovers over Appalshop video footage, the video from that footage, and interview video filmed by the youth documentary videomakers themselves. The voice-of-authority (Nichols, 2010), then, comes primarily from the audio and video from the Appalshop film. But for their own documentary, the videomakers highlight Alice Slone's reaction to the story. Through the editing of different scenes from the old Appalshop film with the audio of her voice over the image of the bulldozer, the young videomakers create their argument about how Alice Slone cared for the local people. This use of documentary elements, both their own and others, combined to create a powerful argument against mining in that area.

The use of documentary tools in this way could be seen as a representation not only of literacies but of rural literacies in particular. Youth media arts organizations are spaces in which young people can and do explore their own identities (Fleetwood, 2005; Hull & Nelson, 2005), yet rural youth explore their identities in unique ways. In particular, in their comparison of youth media arts organizations in both urban and rural areas, Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, and Bass (2009) found that while urban youth created documentaries that were focused on themselves as individuals within the organizations, youth in rural media arts organizations also had to create a "viable community identity" (p. 36) in which they used media to express themselves as being integrally

Table 2

Youth-Produced Documentary Videos from AMI (2003-2007)

Year	Documentary videos	Arguments
2007	Back Home	The effect of local men serving overseas in Iraq on families
	Mountain Majesty	Biography of a local woman and her fight against mining
	One Thing	Documentary about safety concerns for rural youth with special needs
2006	Human Canvas	Tattooing as self-expression for rural youth
	Zero Tolerance	Freedom of expression for local youth in schools
	Every Six Days	Teenage pregnancy with rural teens
2005	The Defendant	Young man accused of a crime; justice for the poor
	Dad	Biography of documentary videomaker's father
	Cousin Rabbit	Biography of local painter and retired coalminer
2004	Banjo Pickin Girl	Biography of youth documentary videomaker and her family
	Nobody Sees Me	Suicide and rural youth
	Castle of the Mountains: The Carcassonne Community Center	Documentary about a local rural community center
2003	Struggling to Survive	Rural workers making do on minimum wage
	Old Ways…Holdin On	Consumer culture versus traditional ways in local area
	A Devil's Bargain: The Robinson Dilemma	Documentary about a controversy around a rural sponsorship program

1.1 Archival photo	1.2 Archival documentary video—b roll	1.3 Archival documentary video—interview	1.4 Documentary video—interview

Figure 1. Still shots from a scene from *Mountain Majesty*

tied to their rural community.[4] At AMI, one of the ways in which the youth develop this viable community identity is by using documentary elements to tie their videos to those of AMI and to Appalshop, which creates and maintains a sense of continuity with the organizations' mission and other media. Therefore, within the rural social space (Reid et al., 2010) of youth media arts organizations, these youth are locating themselves as part of the organizations by using the organizations' past footage and by staying in keeping with themes that the organization has explored before—in this case, mountaintop removal mining. By tying their own work to an organization that prides itself on representing rural Appalachia, the youth are self-identifying with this focus on rurality as well.

Using Media Videomaking Tools to Express Belonging to the Local, Rural Community

Rural youth have to navigate a push-pull in the representations of their own communities, and they as rural

[4]The data for this article stem from the larger study in the Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, and Bass (2009) article, but most of the Appalashop and AMI data were collected and analyzed after this article was published.

Table 3

Transcript Excerpt from Mountain Majesty.

Documentary video			**Year**	
Mountain Majesty			2008	
Documentary videomaker(s): Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon			**Role in the rural arts organization/AMI**	
			Youth participants (2008)	
Scene	**Documentary elements**	**Commentary**	**Image(s)**	**Concepts (Themes)**
	Voiceover Interview Video footage Archival video Archival photos/documents B-roll Other			
	Voiceover Archival photos	"Ms. Slone and some people organized a group called Save the Land and People. Ms. Slone was very involved in that group and	BW photo: Slone paddling a canoe BW photo: close-up of Slone smiling	Grassroots organizing to save local environment
	Interview video	really when you talked to her you knew that saving these mountains was more than just a passing thought. It was a passion. She loved this area. She loved the hills. She loved the people.	Video of interview with local shop owner	Dedication to environment and people Love of one's own area and people
	Voiceover Archival photos	She was really determined to do what she could do, I think, to try to preserve it.	BW photo of Slone with a group of students examining plants outside BW photo of Slone with a group of children walking outside	Dedication to service

youth are often visible to their community in ways in which urban youth who are producing media are not (Halverson, Lowenhaupt, Gibbons, & Bass, 2009). Sometimes this visibility connects the youth to their community, but it is not always so straightforward for rural youth to learn to love their community and find their places within it (Reid, 2013). Sometimes, it is more of a struggle as rural youth feel the push-pull of wanting to belong and of wanting to distance themselves from their community (Donehower, 2013b). For example, one of the youth participants, Jake, discussed how being part of the AMI workshop and making a documentary helped him to see who he was as part of his community:

Stanza 1
Line 1
1.1.a: I guess for a long time I didn't want to say…
1.1.b: I wouldn't tell people I was from here.
1.1.c: Like I wasn't proud of the fact that I was from here
1.1.d: This is just where my house was.

Stanza 2
Line 1
2.1.a: Then it became a lot more than that, especially, you know, after doing this sort of stuff.
2.1.b: Especially after the first AMI, I realized this place was really special to me.

Stanza 3
Line 1
3.1.a: This place was my home.
3.1.b: This is where, you know, this is more than the place where my house was.

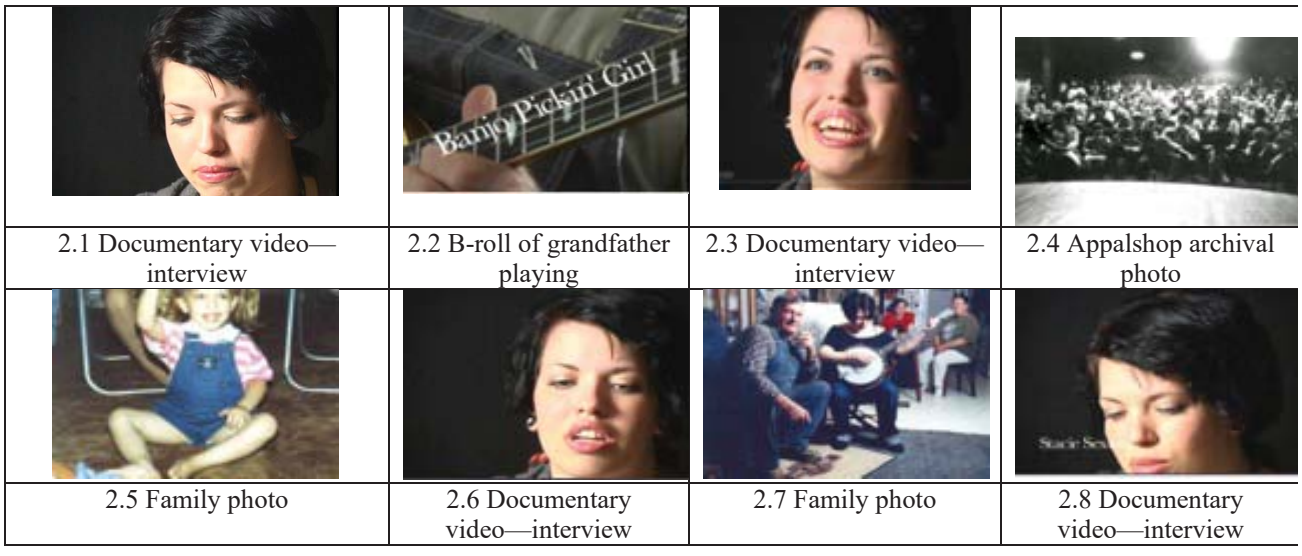
Line 2
3.2.a: This is where my friends and family lived.
3.2.b: This is where my family grew up.

Line 3
3.3.a: This is, you know, this place is me in a sense.
(Personal communication, July 16, 2008)

Through these remarks, one can see that while Jake wrestled with his connection to his place, he was also able to feel he was part of his place through the practice of documentary videomaking itself. He starts this discussion stating that place was "where [his] house was" (Stanza 1, line 1.1.d), and he ends with a shift in perspective to show that "this is more than where [his] house was" (Stanza 3, line 3.1.b). Although to some rural people a sense of selfhood that is tied to their place can be a struggle (Reid, 2013), it can also be a reason to stay in that place (Donehower, 2013). Jake credits this change in perspective to his participation in AMI (Stanza 2, line 2.1.a-b). For Jake, his experience in AMI helped him to re-envision his place in positive ways, and this feeling of belonging helped him to stay not only at Appalshop but also in his rural community.

This focus on the push-pull of one's connection to a rural place and its people is shown in the youth documentary videos as well. For instance, *Banjo Pickin' Girl* (Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004) is a prime example of how individuals are and become a part of the rural place in which they grow up. The argument in this documentary video focuses on how Stacie Sexton tells her story about growing up with a very talented and well-known musical family, and how she must come to terms not only with her father's death but also her place within this family and within her community. The story is told through interviews with Stacie and her grandfather, family photos, and music played by her grandfather and father. For example, in the title intro and the first few minutes of the story, one can tell much about the message of the video (see Figure 2).

Even in the title sequence, one can see the push-pull of being a rural youth, as they often face unique pressures to play particular roles in their small communities—roles often determined by their family's place in the community. For instance, in the documentary video, Stacie describes the pressures to play the banjo like her locally famous grandfather:



2.1 Documentary video—interview | 2.2 B-roll of grandfather playing | 2.3 Documentary video—interview | 2.4 Appalshop archival photo

2.5 Family photo | 2.6 Documentary video—interview | 2.7 Family photo | 2.8 Documentary video—interview

Figure 2. Still shots from a scene from *Banjo Pickin' Girl*

Stacie: I am by no means a master of the banjo, and I never will be. I don't know what I'm going to do when he's gone and I have to play the banjo.
Jake: Do you feel pressured to play the banjo?
Stacie: Horribly.
(*Banjo Pickin' Girl*, Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004)

The video then moves to a close-up on Sexton's grandfather's hands as he plays the banjo (Figure 2.2), with audio of the playing. This image frames the documentary as focusing on the music, particularly music played by this local legend to whom Stacie must live up. This sequence leads into more of the video interview with Stacie, the close-up shot angles of which (Figures 2.1, 2.3, 2.6, and 2.8) make the viewer more focused on Stacie as an individual. The videomakers also use a Ken Burns effect in a close-up photo of Stacie as a young girl. This creative decision (Halverson et al., 2012) is the opposite of the shot angles of the other two photos, the archival photo of an Appalshop performance (Figure 2.4) and the family photo of Sexton playing the banjo next to her grandfather (Figure 2.7). Like the other documentary videos, this piece uses archival photos, but it mixes in other media, such as family photos. The family photos make this documentary seem more personal, but the photos actually serve more to link Sexton to her family and to Appalshop and/or her community through the banjo performances in a move similar to using Appalshop footage in the other youth documentary videos.

What makes this documentary video distinctly rural, one could argue, is that it is decidedly personal and familial as well as familial and cultural, as these rural youth are using media production to "remix" media (Knobel & Lankshear, 2008) to show different self-to-community connections. Previous work has shown how youth can use different modes in their representations of self in youth-produced videos to tell a counter-narrative to the ways in which others can and do represent youth or their community, such as how a young Asian LGTBQ teen represented himself multimodally in a video that he made in a way that pushed back against racist and homophobic discourses in his small town (Curwood & Gibbons, 2010). Stacie is part of something bigger than herself. She is part of her family, her family is part of the rural arts organization, and they are all part of her community—that is the central argument of this documentary. Of the three youth documentary videos, *Banjo Pickin' Girl* (Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004) is perhaps the clearest in terms of spelling out how the personal and individual become entangled in the communal. As Reid (2013) points out, "knowing one's place" (p. 142) in rural settings matters because everything one does is known by everyone else. This situation is something that young people in rural communities must face, when everyone knows everyone else and everyone else's family. This documentary video illustrates this point beautifully.

Using Media Videomaking Tools to Advocate for Their Rural Community

Given that AMI facilitators try to help the youth participants not to simply reproduce the same stories that have been done before by Appalshop or AMI, the youth do not mimic the other documentary videos. Instead, they use the tools of documentary videomaking to take their own stances on issues, to make their own arguments about local issues in their rural area. In addition to feeling that they must make arguments about local issues that affect their local community, the youth often feel that they should be advocates for that community.

In discussing how she had felt when she was a youth participant at AMI the year before, one of the trainers, Susie (a psuedonym), described how learning how to make a documentary led to making one that was about a local issue:

Stanza 1
Line 1
1.1.a: The week we picked final projects,
1.1.b: [another youth participant] went home
1.1.c: and she came back the next day with like a news clip about coal liquid

Stanza 2
Line 1
2.1.a: We even watched like *Sludge* in Harlan County and just other movies [from Appalshop] about like how coal affected this area.

Stanza 3
Line 1
3.1.a: And so, when that came up,
3.1.b: we were like, "Well, this is our chance to show what it's like; but it's still happening, and it's just going to get worse."

Line 2
3.2.a: Our biggest thing is we wanted to make like some kind of change;
3.2.b: and we didn't want to wait for it.
3.2.c: We wanted it now.

3.2.d: We wanted to be able to see that we had affected something now.
(Personal communication, 2008)

Susie tied herself to her organization when she referenced other Appalshop documentaries (Stanza 2, line 2.1.a)

such as *Sludge* (Salyer, 2005), a film made by Appalshop filmmaker Robert Salyer, which linked her to both AMI and to Appalshop. What is more informationally salient (Gee, 2008) in this interview, however, are the instances where Susie mentioned wanting to be an advocate for her community. As a youth participant, Susie had wanted to "make some kind of change" (Stanza 3, line 3.2.a) in her community by raising awareness with the documentary video she participated in creating. Using these media tools in the documentary video, she wanted to "be able to see that [they] had affected something" (Stanza 3, line 3.2.d) in her community.

In these documentary videos, rural youth are advocates in that each of the documentary videos produced at AMI takes this focus on the local, rural place and its people and uses the features of documentary to voice their own versions of truth about what is happening to their community's land and people. For instance, one documentary video that focused on local issues is *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster* (Pigman, Roberts, & Watts, 2000). This video was produced, in part, by the youth director when she was a youth participant in AMI. *Blood Stained Coal* makes an argument against coal mining through an historical documentary about mining explosions that happened in the 1970s in a coal mine near their town. The documentary presents a moving, though understandably dark, story about how people were killed and the emotional toll it took on the families and friends of those killed.

Through the use of documentary elements, the documentary videomakers of *Blood Stained Coal* show the emotional toll the mining disaster had on the people in their rural area. For example, right after a discussion of the deaths in the first and second explosions, the documentary cuts to archival photographs from the funerals (see Figure 3). Each of these archival photos focuses on images of grief—from the two close-up of the crying women (Figures 3.1 and 3.2), to images of caskets (Figures 3.2 and 3.3), to the image of the distraught woman carrying a folded American flag (Figure 3.4). These images highlight the grief felt by the people who had lost loved ones in the mining disasters. The documentary videomakers surround the images with commentary from interviews themselves. However, rather than using voice-of-God or voice-of-authority commentary (Nichols, 2010) to make sense of these funeral images, the only sound is banjo music, causing one to focus more closely on the images of grief. This creative decision (Halverson et al., 2012), the absence of spoken commentary, furthers the argument that these deaths devastated those who remained. This moment leads into a clip that features the emotion of grief—an interview with a widow who discusses how the mine disaster devastated not only her family but also the community. This voice-of-authority commentary follows the images of those featured in the documentary video and comes from one of those community members, rather than via a direct word from the documentary videomakers.

Another way in which the videomakers are advocates is by highlighting stories about local leaders. Sometimes raising the visibility of local people who make a difference in their own rural communities works to encourage others to become rural leaders. For instance, in *Mountain Majesty* (Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon, 2008), the documentary videomakers show Alice Slone as a model for activism

Figure 3. Still shots from a scene from *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster*

in her rural community. In one scene, the filmmakers use interviews and archival photos to show how Slone cared about her community (see Table 3).

In the commentary, the interviewees tell about how Slone created an organization of local community members called Save the Land and People, whose goal was to preserve environment. The commentary states, "[Slone] loved this area. She loved the hills. She loved the people. She was really determined to do what she could do, I think, to try to preserve it." The videomakers pair this commentary with black-and-white images of Slone in natural environments, such as paddling a canoe and interacting in a nature with students from the rural school she founded. The voice-of-authority of the local shop owner speaks to Slone as a local activist worth emulating, and the images of Slone in nature and as a leader/teacher in those environments bolster that argument visually.

While urban youth can focus on their own communities, these rural youth are advocating in a way that is distinct to their rural area as they engage in literacy practices that draw attention to rural communities that are under attack from the outside by resource-extraction companies whose business practices negatively impact the land and its people (Howley & Howley, 2013; Somerville, 2005, 2013). This approach is certainly evident in the discussion around the topics the youth choose at AMI as they use their media to have voice and to give voice to those in their documentary videos (Gibbons Pyles, 2015) as well as in the documentaries they produce, e.g., the documentary videos about coal mining. These rural youth felt compelled not only to represent their community but also to represent their community's struggles. They highlighted local advocates from the area, and through their media production, they became advocates themselves.

Discussion

Rural Media Literacy

Given these features, how do these documentary videos illustrate *rural media literacy*? While acknowledging that rural youth navigate their own, sometimes shifting, understandings of their own place with their communities in those media, rural media literacy could be defined as the use of media tools by rural people to find and represent their place within their community and to advocate for the sustainability of its land and people through their media productions.

In this study, I found that the youth began by representing their belonging to AMI and Appalshop. They then extended that representation to their belonging to the larger community. Not only did these rural youth express themselves as "signs, symbols, and texts" in "competing discourses" (Edmondson, 2003, p. 14), they represented themselves as people representative of and responsible for their local community. To them, literacy is local (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), as the focus on the local, rural community—its people, culture, and environment—permeated every documentary video, no matter the topic. While this emphasis on the local stems, in part, from the mission of Appalshop and AMI, the concept is not forced on the youth; the youth take it up in through the subjects of their own documentary videos, as well as in the values expressed in their videos. For example, documentary video themes all focus on challenges in their area, such as the difficult historical times featured in *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster* (Pigman, Roberts, & Watts, 2004) and stories about influential local people, such as Alice Slone in *Mountain Majesty* (Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon, 2008).

Moreover, these literacies are distinctly rural in that the youth are not only showing their ties to local areas; they are also showing their ties to the cultures of their rural communities through their rural literacy practices. In this way, the documentary videos produced via Appalshop and AMI are similar to the "storylines of communities" that Somerville and Rennie (2012) describe as they discuss how beginning teachers see themselves as part of (or separate from) the rural communities in which they teach. Somerville and Rennie's (2012) analysis of the storylines the teachers use to describe their community is similar to what the young people's documentary "storylines" tell about their views of their community. In particular, these young people see their community as "comfortable places of closeness and belonging" (Somerville & Rennie, 2012, p. 201). Jake, for example, discussed how he saw himself as part of his rural community after going through the AMI workshop. This representation of the local is also visible in documentary videos themselves. The most common form of commentary was voice-as-authority commentary in which the viewer hears interviews with local people over images. The documentary videos, then, are local documentary videos made by local youth about the rural area and about their place and people, and the documentary videos themselves show this focus in how they are produced.

A second way in which these literacies are rural concerns their focus on sustainability. Sustainability, a key tenet in rural literacy (Donehower, 2013a; Donehower et al., 2007), figured prominently in these documentary videos and AMI participant interviews. Most often, the documentaries addressed economic and environmental sustainability via discussion of the devastation of coal mining, which is both the region's main source of good jobs and its greatest environmental threat. But just as the definition of sustainability of rurality had to expand to include the self (Donehower et al., 2012) as "people may

self-identify as rural … and by so doing invoke a complex chain of associations and identities" (p. 7), so too must literacy broaden when analyzing these documentaries, as one sees instances of sustainability in terms of the people themselves. In *Mountain Majesty* (Worley, Branson, Sexton, & Dixon, 2008), the youth videomakers focused on a local woman who fostered sustainability in both the rural area through her activism and the rural people with her school, which still teaches rural youth today. Although it highlights the push-pull of rural identity, *Banjo Pickin' Girl* (Blair, Sexton, & Watts, 2004) is also about a young woman's worries about fitting into her family's musical legacy and her community. Struggling with one's identity within a community is something any rural person must face when he or she decides to stay in his or her rural area (Donehower, 2013b), and it is this self-definition with one's rural community that is notable in these rural youths' documentary videos.

Finally, in the making of these documentary videos, like many rural people, the youth must learn not only to see their community anew but also learn to be a part of it. How the youth interact with the documentary videos they make, as well as with the documentaries, photos, and other texts that Appalshop and AMI already produced, is determining much of the meaning those documentaries have within their particular place. More than once in these documentaries, the youth' experiences in Appalshop or AMI have allowed them come to terms with their sense of place. In their interviews, one can see how these youth have come to see themselves as part of the community, such as Jake re-visioning his connection to his local area. One also sees this connection in the documentary videos, namely with the use of Appalshop's documentary videos and archival photographs in all the documentary videos in *Blood-Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster* and *Mountain Majesty*. These connections are also shown through the strong coherence between documentary videos in both genre conventions and the expository mode—and also in the themes that run throughout the documentaries, such as coal mines' devastation of the land or the need for Appalachians to tell their own stories via interviews or images.

Therefore, rural media literacy has three foci: (1) a focus on the cultural dimension of media literacy practices, in particular on belonging to the local, rural communities and their people; (2) a focus on rural youth as both individual and part of their own communities; and (3) a focus on sustainability of that local area and of the rural youth's own media representations of their identities as rural people. Each of these different foci interplays with the others, and the youth video documentaries sometimes emphasize one focus over the others. But together, these three foci give us a greater understanding of how media literacy is fostered in rural areas when young people are taught to produce media, in this case documentary videos, about themselves and their communities.

Conclusion

While not all rural areas are the same, my study of these media literacy practices in Appalachia is a strong start in understanding how media literacy is being fostered in rural places. This research shows how one group of rural people is teaching its youth to create stories about their communities and themselves, and how the youth take charge of telling their own stories in their own ways through their documentary videos. By understanding the key features of rural media literacy as media literacy practices that focus on local communities and their people in ways that are sustainable and that allow youth to be both individual and part of their communities, one can begin to see how these young rural people began to make connections outside of themselves first by connecting to their youth media arts organization. Rural youth then began to find a place for themselves within the wider, rural community through exploring and representing its people and issues in their documentary videos. Learning to represent their own ties to their rural place helped the rural youth to better understand themselves and their place in their community. Exploring this dynamic can show how media literacy can be fostered in ways that recognize the many cultural components to rurality, which can help to broaden what is meant by literacy to understand more thoroughly how rurality can impact media literacy practices.

References

Albert, M., & Jury, M. (2005). "That was then, this is now": Place, time, and shifting experiences of rural literacy. In B. Maloch, J. V. Hoffman, D. L. Schallert, C. M. Fairbanks, & J. Worthy (Eds.), *Fifty-fourth yearbook of the national reading conference* (pp. 103-116). Oak Creek, WI: National Reading Conference.

Bailey, G., Daisey, P., Maes, C., & Spears, J. D. (1992). *Literacy in rural America: A study of current needs.* Manhattan, KS: Rural Clearinghouse for Lifelong Education and Development.

Barton, D., & Hamilton, M. (1998). *Local literacies: Reading and writing in one community*. London, UK: Routledge.

Bing-Canar, J., & Zerkel, M. (1998). Reading the media and myself: Experiences in critical media literacy with young Arab-American women. *Signs*, *23*, 735-743. doi:10.1086/495286.

Blair, M., Sexton, S., & Watts, H. (2004). *Banjo Pickin' Girl*. [Streaming Video]. Retrieved from http://ami.appalshop.org/banjo-pickin-girl/.

Bruzzi, S. (2006). *New documentary: A critical introduction.* (2nd Ed.). New York: Routledge.

Burn, A., & Parker, D. (2003). *Analysing Media Texts*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

Charbonneau, S. M. (2010). Branching out: Young Appalachian selves, autoethnographic aesthetics, and the founding of Appalshop. *Journal of Popular Documentary Video and Television*, *37*, 137-145. doi:10.1080/01956050903218125

Comber, B., & Cormack, P. (2013). High-stakes literacy tests and local effects in rural schools. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, *36*(2), 78-89.

Cormack, P. (2013). Exploring rurality, teaching literacy: How teachers manage a curricular relation to place. In B. Green & M. J. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp. 115-134). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Corrigan, T. (2011). *The essay film: From Montaigne, after Marker*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Donehower, K. (2003). Literacy Choices in an Appalachian Community. *Journal of Appalachian Studies, 9*(2): 341-62.

Donehower, K. (2013a). Connecting literacy to sustainability: Revisiting literacy as involvement. In J. Duffy, J. N. Christoph, E. Goldblatt, N. Graff, R. S. Nowacek, & B. Trabold (Eds.), *Literacy, economy, and power: Writing and research after "Literacy in American Lives"* (pp. 97-110). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Donehower, K. (2013b). Why not at school? Rural literacies and the continual choice to stay. In B. Green & M. J. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp. 35-51). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Donehower, K., Hogg, C., & Schell, E. E. (2007). *Rural literacies*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Donehower, K., Hogg, C., & Schell, E. E. (2012). *Reclaiming the rural: Essays on literacy, rhetoric, and pedagogy*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Durrant, C., & Green, B. (2000). Literacy and the new technologies in school education: Meeting the L(IT)eracy challenge? *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, *23*(2), 89-108.

Edmondson, J. (2003). *Prairie Town: Redefining rural life in the age of globalization*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fleetwood, N. R. (2005). Authenticating practices: Producing realness, performing youth. In S. Maira & E. Soep (Eds.), *Youthscapes: The popular, the national, the global* (pp. 155-172). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, *25*, 99-125. doi:10.2307/1167322

Gee, J. P. (2004). *Situated language and learning: A critique of traditional schooling literacies*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (2005). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (2008). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (3rd ed.). London. UK: Routledge.

Gibbons Pyles, D. (2015). A multimodal mapping of voice in youth media: The pitch in youth video production. *Learning, Media, & Technology.* DOI: 10.1080/17439884.2016.1095209.

Gibbons, D. (2012). Developing an ethics of youth media production using media literacy, identity, & modality. *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, *4*(3): 256-265.

Ginsburg, H. P. (1997). *Entering the child's mind: The clinical interview in psychological research and practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Goodman, S. (2003). *Teaching youth media: A critical guide to literacy, video production, & social change*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Green, B. (2013). Literacy, rurality, education: A partial mapping. In B. Green & M. J. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp. 17-34). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Green, B., & Beavis C. (2012). *Literacy in 3D: An integrated perspective in theory and practice*. Melbourne, Australia: Australian Council for Educational Research Press.

Green, B., & Corbett, M. J. (2013). Rural education and

literacies: An introduction. In B. Green & M. J. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp. 1-16). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillian.

Halverson, E.R., & Gibbons, D. (2010). 'Key moments' as pedagogical windows into the digital video production process." *Journal of Computing in Teacher Education, 26*(2): 69-74.

Halverson, E.R., Lowenhaupt, R., Gibbons, D., & Bass, M. (2009). Conceptualizing identity in youth media arts organizations: A comparative case study. *E-Learning and Digital Media*, *6*, 23-42. doi:10.2304/elea.2009.6.1.23.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Howley, C. B., & Howley, A. (2010) Poverty and school achievement in rural communities: A social-class interpretation. In K. A. Schafft & A. Y. Jackson (Eds.), *Rural education for the twenty-first century: Identity, place, and community in a globalizing world* (pp. 34-51). University Park: Pennsylvania State University.

Howley, C. B., Harmon, H. L., & Leopold, G. D. (1996). Rural scholars or bright rednecks? Aspirations for a sense of place among rural youth in Appalachia. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, *12*(3), 150-160. Retrieved from http://jrre.vmhost.psu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/12-3_5.pdf

Hull, G. A., & Nelson, M. E. (2005). Locating the semiotic power of multimodality. *Written Communication*, *22*, 224-261. doi:10.1177/0741088304274170

Jocson, K. M. (2009). *Youth poets: Empowering literacies in and out of schools*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Khattri, N., Riley, K.W., Kane, M.B. (1997). Students At Risk in Poor, Rural Areas. Journal of *Research in Rural Education, 13*(2): 79-100.

Knobel, M., & Lankshear, C. (2008). Remix: The art and craft of endless hybridization. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, *52*, 22-33. doi:10.1598/JAAL.52.1.3

Mayer, V. (2000). Capturing cultural identity/creating community: A grassroots video project in San Antonio, Texas. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *3*, 57-76. doi:10.1177/136787790000300104

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nelson, M. E., Hull, G. A., & Roche-Smith, J. (2008). Challenges of multimedia self-representation: Taking, and mistaking, the show on the road. *Written Communication*, *25*, 415-440. doi:10.1177/0741088308322552

Nichols, B. (2010). *Introduction to documentary* (2nd ed.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.Pawley, C. (2001). *Reading on the middle border: The culture of print in late-nineteenth-century Osage, Iowa, 1860-1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Pigman, J., Roberts, J. & Watts. N. (2000). *Blood Stained Coal: The Scotia Mine Disaster*. [Streaming Video]. Retrieved from http://ami.appalshop.org/blood-stained-coal-the-scotia-mine-disaster/.

Purcell-Gates, V. (1995). *Other people's words: The cycle of low literacy.* Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reid, J.-A. (2013). Rural boys, literacy practice, and the possibilities of difference: Tales out of school. In B. Green & M. J. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp. 135-154). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reid, J.-A., Green, B., Cooper, M., Hastings, W., Lock, G., & White, S. (2010). Regenerating rural social space: Teacher education for regional-rural sustainability. *Australian Journal of Education*, *54*, 262-276. doi:10.1177/000494411005400304

Roberts, P., & Green, B. (2013). Researching rural places: On social justice and rural education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *19*, 765-774. doi:10.1177/1077800413503795

Schafft, K. A. (2006). Poverty, residential mobility, and student transiency within a rural New York school district. *Rural Sociology*, *71*, 212-231. doi:10.1526/003601106777789710

Schafft, K. A., & Jackson, A. Y. (2010). *Rural education for the twenty-first century: Identity, place, and community in a globalizing world.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University.

Salyer, R. (Director). (2005). *Sludge*. [Streaming Video]. Retrieved from Appalshop Media.

Soep, E. (2006). Beyond literacy and voice in youth media production. *McGill Journal of Education*, *41*, 197-214.

Somerville, M. (2013). Place, storylines, and the social practices of literacy. *Literacy, 47*: 10-16.

Somerville, M. (2005). Re-thinking literacy as a process of translation. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, *32*(1), 9-21.

Somerville, M., & Rennie, J. (2012). Mobilising community? Place, identity formation and new teachers' learning. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *33*, 193-206. doi:10.1080/01596306.2012.666075

Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple case study analysis*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Worley, C., Branson, M., Sexton, M., & Dixon, T. (2008). Mountain Majesty. [Streaming Video]. Retrieved from http://ami.appalshop.org/mountain-majesty/.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.