

PLACE-FREE AND PLACE-BASED EDUCATIONAL PREFERENCES AMONG
RURAL HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

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ABSTRACT

Rural schooling and rural communities are interdependent to a degree not seen in suburban and urban contexts. Thus, the threat to the sustainability of one inevitably affects the other. One of the variables in their sustainability may be educational practices (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; White & Reid, 2008) that influence the likelihood of rural high school graduate outmigration (Corbett, 2007; Huang, Cohen, Weng, & Zhang, 1996). Considering the body of literature that testifies to the strong influence school administrators have in schools (Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000; Prestine & Nelson, 2005), understanding the preferences in educational practices by rural school administrators is worthy of study. This study sought to understand the relationship between preferences in educational practices and length of tenure in the context of American historical and political streams among nine rural high school principals in a Rocky Mountain state. The maximum variation sampling strategy created three Administrative Roots Groups (shallow, moderate, and deep). Data was analyzed inductively using the constant comparative analysis method. A moderately strong positive relationship between tenure and preferences for place-based education (PBE) was found. This suggests that strategies need to be implemented to decrease rural high school principal turnover. Additionally, the twin findings that principals felt that their communities were often too small or too homogenous for PBE and that state standards did not allow for PBE suggests that the orientation needs to be incorporated into educational leadership programs (especially in light that none of the principals recalled

being exposed to PBE in their educator programs). Also, it appears that better dialogue is needed from state and federal education agencies about acceptable instructional practices in our present standards-based environment.

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CHAPTER 1: STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

A number of dialectics exist in the purposes of American schooling, and their presence is proper and natural to an institution central to American goals, dreams, and possibilities. One dialectic, central to this study, is represented in the comment by an informant in Corbett's (2007) study that "in my day there was [*sic*] a lot of fishermen out there that's educated... [but] they kept their roots rather than using their wings" (p. 128). Rural schooling that encourages students to only use their wings may be undermining the sustainability of rural communities through student out-migration (which tends to be a one-way pipeline for those students experiencing higher education). At the same time, "Youth want to get out and experience what they have not known before. Often after experiencing life out there, many of them come home to their roots" as a study participant stated. It may be claimed that a single instructional activity can promote roots or wings or both (thus we are not dealing with a zero sum game). This study intended to understand how the dialectic between roots and wings played out among rural high school principals for themselves and academically talented students.

The American educational system, in the words of the historian and novelist Wallace Stegner (1962), has presented a world that has "neither location, nor time, geography nor history" (p. 29). Such rootlessness results in a system that does not honor *place*, one's local history, economy, geography, ecology, or politics. This place-free orientation is not a recent phenomenon. In their efforts to control the multitude of school

districts a century ago, state education bureaucrats “turned their attention toward the primary tool of the trade—the textbook—to standardize classroom practice” (Manzo, 2000, p. 124). Manzo’s claim is in accord with Goldstein’s (1978) finding that students are accompanied by the textbook for 75% of the school day and 90% of homework (Goldstein, 1978). English (2000) and Haas and Nachtigal (1998) remind us of our place-free tradition in their claim that we have had a textbook-based national curriculum in place since the earliest days, beginning with the *McGuffey Reader*. The widespread homogenization of learning materials results in the homogenization of learning itself. The fact that we don’t recognize the predominance of place-free learning simply illustrates its ubiquity.

What has changed significantly in the past several decades is the intensity of globalization in the form of networked capitalism, which is transforming and flattening the world (Friedman, 2005). In the field of education, globalization has brought a series of reports (tending to have ominous titles), beginning with *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and continuing with *Rising Above the Gathering Storm* (National Academy of Sciences [NAS], 2007) and *U.S. Education Reform and National Security* (Council on Foreign Relations, 2012) that have communicated that the preeminent role of the United States in world affairs is threatened, in part, due to its insular educational system.

American public schools are responding, illustrated by the mantra “going global”. Schachter (2011) recently illustrated this shift in the claim that many schools are “embed[ding] international perspectives in all content areas, from social studies to the arts, and... mak[ing] extensive use of online learning to interact with students and

teachers in other countries” (p. 1). It appears that Wallace Stegner’s description may not be quite true of contemporary schooling. Today, our place-free orientation is slowly being “re-placed” by privileging globalized notions of location, time, geography and history. Our place-free educational system, combined with globalism, has resulted in a neglect of *local* place in public education. Interpretations and the wording of the Common Core State Standards Initiative [CCSSI] may exacerbate this neglect. The CCSSI calls for educational excellence in terms of student skills and knowledge for future “success in postsecondary education and the workforce” (CCSSI, n.d., FAQs), but makes no call for students’ skills and knowledge to be applied to future success in their communities (such as invigorating civic or community participation). These three (place-free educational system, globalism, and CCSSI) collectively paint the picture of an educational system increasingly conceived around economic competitiveness that in a global context promotes interactions with the people in distant places more than the people in our local communities (Howley & Howley, 1995). Aristotle claimed long ago that the habits we form from childhood make no small difference, but rather they make all the difference. If his claim is correct, there may be significant implications for students and communities as childhood habits are not being developed in the context of interacting with local places but instead in the context of interacting with distant spaces or the future context of postsecondary education or the workforce.

Our place-free educational system, globalism, and the CCSSI contribute to our zeitgeist that is in harmony with a conception of human nature that is fulfilled by economic endeavors in which people are post-geographic (or in other words place-free) (Lindsay, 2011) and “can reside almost anywhere that provides an income” (Orr, 1992, p.

130). There may be advantages to such a conception in our present era of globalization where generic traits (speech, clothing, etc.) are often advantageous (Roberts, 2010). The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman has written at length about this zeitgeist and it is reflected in his choice of book titles: *Liquid Modernity* (2000) and *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty* (2006). He claimed in *Liquid Life* (2005) that “the greatest chances of winning belong to people...to whom space matters little and distance is not a bother; people at home in many places but in no one place in particular” (p. 3). Winning is defined in terms of the modern ethos that “privileges mobility, acquisitiveness, and status” (Howley, Harmon, & Leopold, 1996, p. 150). A conception of human nature that is fulfilled by such values confers the pursuit of what has been termed the *happy life*. Orr (1992) calls people in this orientation, *residents*. According to the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (1995), this orientation played a significant role in the creation of the United States, when the founding fathers turned to the English Enlightenment philosopher John Locke. “With Locke’s conception of man...came a logic that suggested government ought to focus on the orchestration of the economy, keeping the peace, and downplaying, at best, the role that citizens might play as political beings” (Theobald, 2006, pp. 317-318).

A different orientation opposes this zeitgeist; a conception of human nature that is based on the *good life* (Howley et al., 1996), which includes recognition of the value of *place*. It envisions people as inhabitants who “bear the marks of their places whether rural or urban, in patterns of speech, through dress and behavior. Uprooted, they get homesick” (Orr, 1992, p.130). Local knowledge and wisdom are valued because they allow inhabitants be better stewards of the land and community (Berry, 1990). Such

inhabitants emphasize that local and voluntary associations contribute to Dewey's (1927) claim that "democracy must begin at home, and its home is the neighborly community" (p. 213). This orientation also played a significant role in the creation of the United States, when the founding fathers turned to the English Enlightenment philosopher Charles de Secondat Montesquieu (Taylor, 1995). The Federalists (including James Madison and Alexander Hamilton) who "carried the day at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia" (Theobald, 2006, p. 319) rejected Montesquieu's central argument that "man is essentially a social and political being and an economic being only secondarily" (Theobald, 2006, p. 320) but embraced his notions of checks and balances associated with the separation of powers in the branches of federal government.

PBE (an umbrella term that includes environmental education, service learning, civic education, Indigenous Education, community-based education and other associated practices) may be viewed as a manifestation of Montesquieu's concept of human nature into instructional practices. This pedagogical approach, in part, "seeks to resist the erosion of place resulting from economic globalization's negative impact on communities" (Eppley 2011, p. 97) through the celebration (Smith, 2002), study, and archiving (Wigginton, 1985) of local knowledge, practices, and issues.

As social constructions, the two orientations of the *good life* and the *happy life* are embedded in the policies, practices, visions, and missions of schools. Thus, they are embedded in the work of the school principal. The school-principal-as-inhabitant prefers place-based educational practices that create "deeper, more authentic membership in the current community" (Howley, Pendarvis, & Woodrum, 2005, p. 20). The school-principal-as-resident prefers place-free educational practices that "educate students to

take their places anywhere in the global economy” (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998, p. vi).

According to Howley et al. (2005) there is a tension between these two orientations for the rural principal. As the acknowledged instructional leader (Hallinger, 2005; Heck, Larson, & Marcoulides, 1990), the principal holds sway regarding the written, taught, and tested curricula of a school. Thus, rural school principals influence the values and future livelihoods of rural students (Corbett, 2007; Hektner, 1995; Huang, Cohen, Weng, & Zhang, 1996) and the sustainability of rural communities (Bartsch, 2008; Ley, Nelson, & Belyukova, 1996; Theobald, 1997). An understanding of the preferences and orientations of the rural school principal may provide insight into understanding the rural schools’ potential for sustaining rural communities.

Keeping in mind the two concepts of human nature previously described and their influence on America’s public education system, as well as the critical role of the principal to influence curricular choices, the central question of this dissertation study was further influenced by two pieces of relevant literature. First, Carr and Kefalas (2009) attempted to understand the exodus of young people from America’s rural heartland in *Hollowing out the Middle: The Rural Brain Drain and What it Means for America*. Investigating the role of schooling in the exodus, a high school principal “concluded that the job of an effective educator was to nurture and send off talented youth, despite the fact that doing so meant the town was slowly committing suicide” (p. 139). Second, Ley et al. (1996) believed a contribution to the rural literature could come from understanding the “expectations of rural teachers associated with duration of tenure in the local school” (p. 141). Considering my interest in educational leadership, rural education, and PBE, I fused the two pieces of literature to create the following central question: How might

rural high school principals' expectations for youth (via their preferences in educational practices) change with duration of tenure? I translated the central question into the following research questions.

1. What are the understandings of, and stances on, PBE held by rural high school principals?
2. What is the relationship between length of administrative tenure in a single community and preferences between place-based and place-free educational practices?
 - a. What factors contribute to rural high school principals' placement of themselves on the continuum of belief between place-based and place-free educational practices?
 - b. To what extent do they feel a tension between these two practices?

Statement of Problem

The historically place-free nature of America's educational system (largely facilitated through the use of textbooks) is now compounded by intensified globalism and, potentially, through the adoption of national standards. Rural school principals acting from a place-free, *happy life* orientation and lacking awareness to critique it may be implicitly communicating to students that their communities are not places of (economic, civic, etc.) possibility but places to be left behind. This may be particularly true for academically talented students. Once they leave, they often do not return. This "brain drain" is well documented in the United States (Carr & Kefalas, 2009; Gibbs, 2005; Howley et al., 1996; Sherman & Sage, 2011) and internationally (Afsar, 1996; Banerjee, 1996, Liaw, 1990) and contributes to the demise of rural communities. This

study addresses a problem at the intersection of intensified globalization, depictions of human nature, as well as the needs of rural communities, youth, and rural educators. In the next chapter I further illuminate this problem in relation to the existing literature: what have others found?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The previous chapter described a problem that threatens the sustainability of rural schools and the communities they serve: The closure of doors to local opportunities via educational preferences that glorify the pursuit of the distant *happy life*. The review of the literature that follows attempts to inform this problem.

Rural Community Sustainability

Historically our “rural young people graduate with a diploma in one hand and a bus ticket in the other” (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998, p. vi). While our young people have some of the highest rates of migration in the world (Heminway, 2002), the inward and outward flows are increasingly lopsided so that rural areas are literally losing millions of young people (Hobbs, 1994; McGranahan, Cromartie, & Wojan, 2010). The bus ticket out of rural communities for educational and employment opportunities tend to be one-way (Besser, 1995; Dupuy, Mayer, & Morissette, 2000); thus, the out-migration to metropolitan and urban areas increasingly undermines the vitality of rural communities. An irreversible death spiral can occur when “Because of reduced enrollment, schools receive less funding, and, with fewer resources, they find it difficult to offer specialized courses and services. Pressures to close or consolidate ... [then] become[s] intense” (Howley, Rhodes, & Beall, 2009, p. 516). The lack of specialized courses and services may then motivate parents with economic capital to relocate. The trends are alarming,

particularly in the Midwest where rural communities “are on the brink of extinction” (Mather, 2008, para. 5).

A confluence of circumstances, some call a “perfect storm”, have either pushed or pulled rural citizens toward more populated areas. These circumstances include the increasing industrialization of agriculture (Thu & Durrenberger, 1998), “frontier” characteristics such as lack of services (McGranahan & Beale, 2002), the current recession (Mather, 2008), bias against rural people and rural life (Berry, 2002; Ching & Creed, 1997; Herzog & Pittman, 1999), bias against rural knowledge and ways of knowing (Eriksson, 2010; Heldke, 2006, Howley et al., 2005), environmental laws restricting growth (Belluck, 2006), urban employment opportunities, and school consolidation (DeYoung, 1995; Howley & Theobald, 1995).

Ironically, one of the most powerful forces pushing rural youth out of rural communities and into more urban areas may be rural schools themselves (Bartsch, 2008; Corbett, 2007; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Howley et al., 1996). Each year, rural schools produce a “bitter harvest, with the well-educated immigrating to metropolitan areas for better jobs” (Herzog & Pittman, 1999, p. 13) and educational opportunities. Gruchow eloquently attests to the “push” by rural schools in his claim that

Nothing in my [rural] education prepared me to believe, or encouraged me to expect, that there was any reason to be interested in my own place. If I hoped to amount to anything, I understood, I had better take the first road east out of town as fast as I could. And, like so many of my classmates, I did. (as cited in Haas & Nachtigal, 1998, p. 2)

There is nothing wrong with preparing students for success in higher education. The benefits to completing higher education to the individual and community are manifold as seen in The College Board report *Education Pays* by Baum and Ma (2007). The executive summary found that completion of higher education is associated with “higher wages.... [and] levels of civic participation, including volunteer work, voting.... [and] lower unemployment and poverty rates and smoking rates” (p. 2). The problem arises (as seen in the quote above) when rural students are exposed predominantly to place-free and/or global-oriented curricula that restrict the context of skill development to future higher education and the workforce. Unaware of the economic (and other) possibilities of place, academically talented rural students leave on the one-way ticket for higher education. Thus, the benefits of higher education accrue not to the rural community but the suburban and urban community.

Some may claim that the move toward urban (and suburban) spaces is simply a consequence of our nature. Theobald (1997) warns about this assumption. He argues that the lionization of consumption and individualism that often accompanies the move is a phenomenon only seen in the last few centuries. The demise of rural agricultural communities is “one of the most striking deformations of industrial capitalism...” (Williams, 1973, p. 300). Some may ask “what difference would it make if we lost rural communities?” Lincoln Brower, a scientist, is frequently asked a similar question about the monarch butterfly to which he rhetorically responds, “What difference would it make if we lost the Mona Lisa or if we lost Mozart’s music? It is part of our culture” (as cited in Apsell, 2008). His response is apropos to the loss of America’s rural communities, which has been well documented. Carr and Kefalas (2009) remind us that the center of

our country has long been known as the Heartland. There may be unknowable ramifications now that the vitality of the national “heart” is threatened; this can be seen in Figure 2.1. The figure is striking as it illustrates the extent of outmigration extending from North Dakota to Texas.

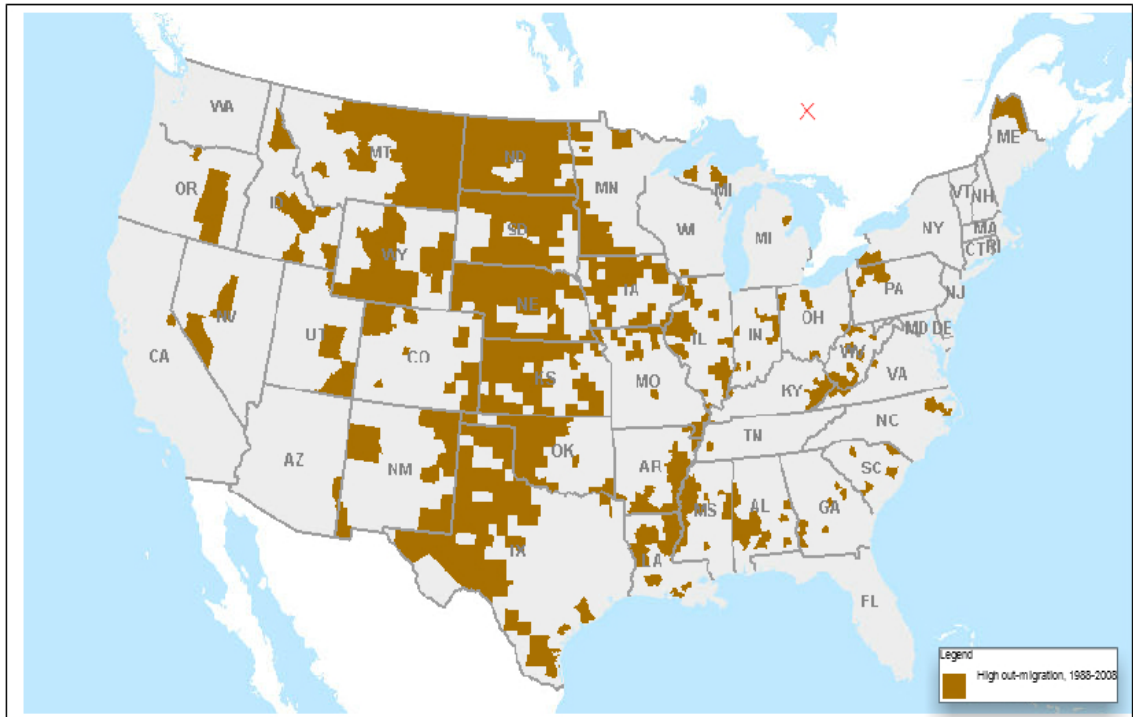


Figure 2.1 U.S. Counties by High Outmigration, 1988-2008¹

McGranahan et al. (2010) found in their study of rural population loss that “Over a third of nonmetropolitan counties lost more than 10 percent of their population over the past 20 years through net outmigration” (p. 39).

Recognizing that the return of former residents can serve to revitalize rural communities, several of the hardest hit states have started campaigns to encourage

¹ Economic Research Service, USDA. Public Domain

immigration, such as the *Come Home to Kansas* campaign and South Dakota's *Dakota Roots* program. An example of the threat to the sustainability of rural communities can be seen at the local level by the young people leaving Pocahontas County in rural Iowa, illustrated in Figure 2.2. The loss of people ages 20-24 and 25-34 year is punishing in terms of population loss and town and county coffers, which in turn affect the services provided. The demographic distribution of Johnson County, much more sustainable, is shown for comparison.

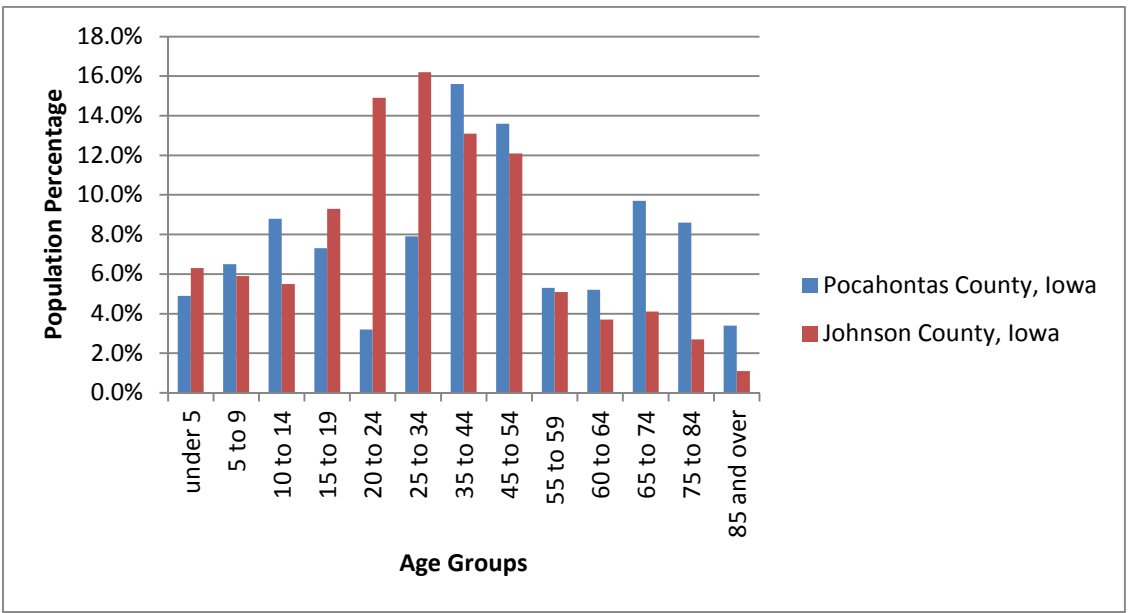


Figure 2.2 Contrast in Population Distribution in Two Iowa Counties²

Forces Creating Present Day American Political and Educational Structure

As described, a perfect storm of circumstances has undermined the vitality of rural communities through population loss. To better understand this phenomenon, I delve into history. Tyack and Cuban (1995) claim educators often ignore history in understanding contemporary educational issues; yet, it is to history that we can turn to

² U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.).

understand the forces that have contributed to the goals and structures of present day American politics and education. Such forces have contributed to the conditions and thinking in rural communities (Kannapel & DeYoung, 1999; Theobald, 2006).

The claim by the sociologist Charles Taylor (1995) provides insight into the present day structure of both American government and education. He claimed that there are essentially two streams of thought that contributed to the formation of America political structure. They are based on the work of the two Enlightenment philosophers, John Locke and Charles de Secondat Montesquieu. Political theory (and thus, government) rests on some conception of human nature. John Locke, “regarded as one of the prophets of the American and French revolutions” (Uzgalis, 2007, para. 7), conceived man as primarily an economic being, even pre-political. To put it simply, Locke believed that “man in a state of nature will first search for food” (Theobald, 2006, p. 317). The founding fathers also looked to Montesquieu, from whom they borrowed the “theory of the separation of powers—Madison referred to him as ‘the oracle who is constantly cited on the subject’” (as cited in Theobald, 2006, p. 316-317). Montesquieu “fundamentally disagreed.... [with Locke and] argued that political participation was human need, a vital component of a fulfilled life” (as cited in Theobald, 2006, p. 324). Montesquieu believed that man in a state of nature will first search for a friend. These two contrasting conceptions of human nature reflect what the social scientist Giddens noted as the “opposing and contradictory pairs of principles which intersect so as to define the particular quality of our contemporary experience” (as cited in Noble, 2000, pp. 213-214).

The work of Locke and Montesquieu has interesting parallels in the two basic social orientations found by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies over a century ago. He explored the clash between two human orientations: small-scale neighborhood-based communities and the large-scale competitive market society. His book, central to this dissertation, was titled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (translated as Community and Society (1887/1957)). *Gemeinschaft* translates to community and describes individuals oriented to community and association concerning more than self-interest. A gemeinschaft orientation parallels Montesquieu's claim that "political virtue is a renunciation of oneself, which is always a very painful thing. One can define this virtue as love of the laws and the homeland" (Cohler, Miller, & Stone, 1989, p. 35-36). *Gesellschaft* describes individuals relating to others primarily through economic transactions. Self-interest trumps community and is in accord with Lockean theory. Tonnies (1887/1957) stated that

Wherever urban culture blossoms and bears fruits, gesellschaft appears as its indispensable organ. The rural people know little of it. On the other hand, all praise of rural life has pointed out that the gemeinschaft among people is stronger there and more alive; it is lasting and genuine form of living together. In contrast to gemeinschaft, gesellschaft is transitory and superficial. Accordingly, gemeinschaft should be understood as a living organism, gesellschaft as a mechanical aggregate and artifact. (p. 35)

For purposes of this study, the orientations previously described will be paired in the following manner: gesellschaft/Lockean and gemeinschaft/Montesquieu. The tension between these two orientations is something that Howley et al. (2005) claim rural

principals continually wrestle. The orientations are certainly not a new phenomenon, each has waxed and waned since the earliest days of America, and Aesop wrote of this in terms of the classic story of the city mouse and the country mouse over 1,500 years ago. These two orientations illustrate the fundamental disagreements we have as Americans about the very purpose of schooling (Merseeth, 2011) and even the purposes of life itself.

How has each orientation fared over time in the United States? In conceiving our form of government, George Washington stated, “We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation” (as cited in Theobald, 1997, p. 23). Early in our country’s history the values held by the majority of our founding fathers (as demonstrated by their reaction to such events as Shays’ Rebellion) translated into a *gesellschaft*/Lockean orientation in the halls of power (Theobald, 1997). Their orientation led to the forming of a robust federal government that was strengthened by a neglect of local community. Thomas Jefferson, a strong proponent of the *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientation, was unfortunately, or conveniently, depending on one’s orientation, overseas at the time serving as the ambassador to France. It appears that Jefferson, as well Montesquieu, lost the battle.

Nonetheless, over fifty years after the American Revolution, the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville found the *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientation flourishing in America. With an outsiders’ perspective, on his nine-month tour of the United States in 1831-1832, he found a vibrant democracy powered by local and active political associations. His classic book, *Democracy in America* (1836/1956), describes the zenith of the *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientation in America; he wrote “Nothing is more striking to an [*sic*] European traveler in the United States than the absence of what we

term Government, of the Administration” (chap. 5). The zeitgeist of this era was destined to flounder due to the increasing powers of the federal government that hampered local community empowerment.

The American federal government has embraced the gesellschaft/Lockean orientation in enacting laws to promote economic activity and safeguard property. While federal government policy has succeeded in this respect, Theobald (1997) claims, “community disintegration is logical and predictable” (p. 66). Several respected authorities claim that the strength of a democracy is strongly tied to the civic health of community (Putnam, 2000; Dewey, 1927). The rising neglect of community and political involvement over the last half century has been documented in detail by Putnam (2000) in *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*.

Why does this matter? What relevance does it hold for a study of rural education? There is a powerful relationship between the form of government and subsequent educational forms (Gutmann, 1987). Pointing to Durkheim (1961), Aristotle (trans. 1958), and Montesquieu (1750/1949), Gutmann argued that the principles and purposes of education are closely intertwined and support the principles and purposes of national government. The goals and structure of the American educational system can only be understood by understanding the goals and structure of the American political system. Theobald (2006) asserts that as a result of the gesellschaft/Lockean orientation we have “an educational system designed to prepare youth for the economic roles they would assume later as adults. This remains the dominant view in the United States today regarding the purpose of education” (p. 318). It appears that this orientation has played a powerful role in American schools.

The Counterproductive Effect of the *Gesellschaft*/Lockean Stream on American Education

Before delving into this topic, I need to explain the organizational model favored by a *gesellschaft*/Lockean orientation. First in industry and then in schools, a hierarchical assembly line model of organization has been used in the United States for the better part of two hundred years. Howley et al. (2005) described this development in their claim that

[I]t was during the industrialization of American that educators, increasingly enamored of the efficiency the industrial model of production was creating, began to agitate for its use as a model for restructuring education. Elwood Cubberly ..., employing the language of industry, made the argument that the role of schools should be one of turning out, efficiently and rapidly, a uniform product (the student) who, in turn, would meet business's demands for skilled workers. (p. 3)

While this model “dramatically increased educational output, it also created many of the most intractable problems with which” (Senge, et al., 2000, p. 31) American education wrestles today.

One intractable problem central to this study is that under this model, in the words of the agrarian advocate Wendell Berry (1990), “local knowledge and local memory...are forgotten under the influence of homogenized ... education (p. 157). Local knowledge and local memory make significant contributions to the fabric of communities (in part by promoting trust). Their loss, exacerbated by the industrialization of American schooling, has significant implications for the community. As an example, the loss of trust has led to increases in liability insurance premiums (Berry, 1990). Trust acts as a social lubricant; Gambetta (1988) claims that “Societies which rely heavily on the use of force are likely

to be less efficient, more costly, and more unpleasant than those where trust is maintained by other means” (p. 221). It appears that communities are strengthened through two important aspects of place (local knowledge and local memory). These two aspects often serve as the focus of place-based educational efforts (Bartsch, 2008; Smith, 2002; Wigginton, 1985).

Schools as Promoters of Standardization

Webb, Shumway, and Shute (1996) claim that a *gesellschaft*/Lockean orientation has led schools to manage children “with statistical quality controls and technological standards... [whom then] exit the system ready to be plugged in as workers” (p. 30). Such an orientation manifested in the No Child Left Behind [NCLB] Act of 2002 has led to enormous pressure on schools to prove students are provided with a “thorough and efficient education ...through improved test scores” (Noddings, 2005, p. 8). Schools have become promoters of standardization. In the extensive Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) video study, Stigler and Hiebert (1999) found an impressive degree of standardization of curriculum and pedagogy across the country in their analysis of instruction in randomly selected classrooms. Such standardization has largely manifested itself in two significant ways, first through the use of textbooks and later through mandates for educational standards.

The most contemporary systemic reform initiative emanating from a *gesellschaft*/Lockean orientation is the standards movement. This effort was primarily initiated by business and industry interests, as well as politicians, and manifested in an increased emphasis on educational standards. Diane Ravitch (1995), one of the architects

of the movement, in her role as United States Assistant Secretary of Education in the early 1990s, stated:

Americans...expect strict standards to govern construction of buildings, bridges, highways, and tunnels; shoddy work would put lives at risk. They expect stringent standards to protect their drinking water, the food they eat, and the air they breathe....Standards are created because they improve the activity of life. (p. 89)

Such thinking drew a parallel between the use of standards to improve teaching and learning and the use of standards to accomplish such tasks as improving bridges. But though we all agree on the purpose of a bridge, we don't all agree on the purpose of public education. The conversation about educational standards has surfaced difficult questions: Exactly what do standards mean? What elements are included in curricula? What is the relationship between standards and responsive educational practices? Who determines standards? How will they be measured? As Jennings, Swidler, and Koliba (2005) ask, "To what ultimate end [do] they point children" (p. 49)?

A common critique of the standards-based movement also includes a fear that learning will be homogenized through a lack of responsive practices, such as those that are place-based. The relationship between responsive practices and standards deserves further attention, especially in light of the impact this reform movement may be having upon the sustainability of rural communities. Kannapel and DeYoung (1999) describe a scenario that suggests the tension between standards and place-based educational practices may be groundless. They stated

[a] student working on a Foxfire-like journal under systemic [standards-based] reform may be undertaking this type of work to strengthen her research,

analytical, and writing skills which may one day be applied by this same student working for an information-age corporation. A student doing the same work under one of the various rural education improvement projects...is doing so to strengthen her own knowledge of and ties to the local community, and to strengthen the local community itself. (p. 76)

In a study of standards-based reform in Maine, Jennings (2000) found that "Implementing state standards forced teachers to question tacitly held assumptions about who taught what, who knew what, and what students should learn" (p. 200), and conversations among teachers regarding standards "justified or reinforced locally responsive and locally designed curriculum" (p. 197). More recently, Jennings et al. (2005) found that "no conflict between standards and place-based education was evident at the policy level and in the classroom..." (p. 63). It appears that the claim that "the standards based movement... equip[s] students to participate [solely] in national society" (Kannapel, 2000, p. 205) may be more rhetoric than substance. What may have substance, however, is how educators *interpret* standards.

There has been a renewed emphasis on standards-based instruction with the adoption of CCSSI standards by nearly all fifty states. The CCSSI document *About the Standards* (n.d.) states these standards:

define the knowledge and skills students should have within their K-12 education careers so that they will graduate high school able to succeed in entry-level, credit-bearing academic college courses and in workforce training programs [and] [a]re aligned with college and work expectations. (para. 4)

While it appears that standards in themselves do not favor particular instructional practices, the emphasis on the development of college and work skills alone may cause educators to divorce skills from community, particularly in places where economic and educational opportunities are limited. The potential divorce of skill from community may be ameliorated by specific educator training for content embedded in context.

The De-Professionalizing of Teaching

Compounding the problem of standardization is the hierarchical assembly-line model of organization for public schooling in the US. This model, adopted by educational policymakers, has resulted in a lack of a framework to translate teacher craft knowledge into a professional body of knowledge. This can be seen in the claim by Chenoweth that “[W]hen a brilliant American teacher retires, almost all the lesson plans and practices that he or she developed also retire” (as cited by Lewis, 2002, p. 6). Snow (2001) described an important element in the work of professionals in stating “Becoming knowledgeable about any complex domain requires a balance between creativity and conformity, between going beyond the known and being constrained by what experts have already discovered” (p.4). As a result of this early neglect, the balance of which Snow spoke has not been struck in the profession as teachers continue to turn to curricular resources developed overwhelmingly by distant “experts.” Margaret Haley, head of the Chicago Teachers' Federation in the early decades of the twentieth century, clearly saw the lack of balance a century ago. “The tendency toward ‘factoryizing education’ she warned, made teachers automatons ‘whose duty it is to carry out mechanically and unquestioningly the ideas and orders of those clothed with the authority of position’” (Bradley, 2000, p. 182).

Al Shanker (1997), identified the source of Haley's criticism a half century later in claiming:

The problem is in the way this whole school system is organized. It's the same as in the auto industry. It wasn't the autoworker who was laying down on the job; it was a stupid assembly line and a rotten design of an automobile and not the worker who wasn't working. (p. 67)

A parallel to such thinking was observed by Eiji Toyoda (the founder of Toyota automobile corp.) while touring an advanced Ford factory:

The workers were treated like parts of the machine. Each person had exactly one task, that could be done one way, and they were managed -- that is disciplined -- as automatons. Toyoda reasoned that Ford would do better if it viewed the workers as team members and focused on helping them to do their jobs better, and rewarding them accordingly. (Galvin, 2006, para. 3)

The assembly line model of organization, it appears, reduces workers to automatons through the use of a hierarchical structure and the neglect of craft knowledge. This is not only true in the auto industry, but also in education. To be clear, fault lies not with teachers but with the "stupid assembly line" model of organization spoken of clearly by Shanker (1997). A number of educators claim that the source of teacher emancipation from the present model of organization will be through the democratization of research: teachers as consumers *and* producers of knowledge (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Stenhouse, 1985)

Understanding the model upon which public schooling has been organized may also shed light on how we view children. Theobald (2006) asserts that our educational system is designed to prepare youth for future economic roles. His claim is evidenced in Kozol's (2005) observations of urban schools of poverty. In a chapter with the undisguised title "Preparing Minds for Markets" he writes, "Children, in this frame of reference, are regarded as investments, assets, or productive units" (p. 94). He then asks, "Is future productivity, from this point on, to be the primary purpose of education we provide our children" (p.94)? As long as the gemeinschaft/Montesquieu orientation remains undermined in American political and educational systems, the response will always be in the affirmative. Such critical questions as "How do public schools serve a democratic society and what does it mean to educate the whole child?" (Noddings, 2005, p. 8) remain unanswered.

Schools as Pipelines

If preparing minds for markets is increasingly the aim of schools, the focus might be most intense at the high school level. In fact, high schools are increasingly referred to as "pipelines" and "launch pads" to higher education. This focus is being manifested in a multitude of ways. As an example, the Oregon legislature is currently considering a bill that would require all high school seniors to complete an application for an institution of higher learning or military service or attend an orientation session for apprenticeship or training program (Melton, 2011). Another example of schools-as-pipelines can be found in the educationally related work of Deloitte Development LLC (2009), a multinational financial services company. Their education survey (subtitled "Redefining High School as a Launch Pad") found that while 48% of low-income high school students believed the

primary purpose of high school was getting students prepared for college, 9% of teachers believed in the same as their primary mission. The company CEO stated in a related audiocast that we need

to ensure students walk away with real learning, that's applicable to college courses, and even further down the line in the work force. If we change the mission of high schools and the metrics by which we evaluate our high schools we can significantly shift teachers' priorities toward increasing college enrollment and graduation rates. (Salzberg, 2009)

Such sentiment is pervasive throughout the \$4 billion Race to the Top Fund (2009), a competitive grant contained within the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, which requires participating schools to reorient educational practices to maximize success at the post-secondary level for graduates. In a related article, Schramm and Zalesne stated (2009) that high schools "must now show how they increase both college enrollment and the number of students who complete at least a year of college. In other words, high schools must now focus on grade 13" (para. 2). Educators at all levels engage in political action (English, 2000) and moral action (Henderson & Kesson, 2004) as they select what will be included in the taught curriculum. Focusing on higher education may further reorient the educational experiences of high school students from their present place to the distant future.

Schools as Promoters of Individualism

A gesellschaft/Lockean orientation also manifests in a focus on individualism. Strike (2004) states that the lack of shared educational values (as a result of the

individualistic pursuit of the limited resources of higher education and economic attainment) results in schooling that tacitly communicates to students the following:

You are free to conceive your lives as you choose. You may understand human flourishing as it is understood in your religion or your culture. In this school we do not tell you what life is for or what education is for. We do not agree among ourselves about this. We merely provide you with knowledge that is likely to be of value to you whatever life you choose. It does not matter who or what you want to be, you are probably going to need to know how to read, some mathematics, a bit of science. Moreover, the welfare of society depends on your knowing enough of these things to be a productive citizen. But what you value in life, what you think these bits of knowledge and skill are for, is up to you. (p. 225)

Relationships in schools operating from a gesellschaft/Lockean perspective function similarly to banks or shopping malls, where "people come together and engage in forms of cooperation in pursuit of ends that remain essentially private ends" (Strike, 2004, p. 225). Such schooling is a reflection of our society in which families have devolved, at least to some extent, to simplistic economic relationships (Berry, 1990). What are the potential ramifications of such economically-oriented relationships? Carey (2006) states "in a series of experiments, psychologists found that subconscious reminders of money prompted people to become more independent in their work, less likely to seek help from others or to provide it. They became reluctant to volunteer their time and stingy when asked to donate to a worthy cause" (p. 12).

Privileging individualism may have negative consequences. Urban Prep, a Chicago all-male, all African-American, charter school has achieved the rare success of

100% of their graduates the last two years being accepted into baccalaureate programs. The founder and CEO of Urban Prep stated that the students "recognize that with college they [the students] will have very different lives that will be transformative for them and their communities" (Ahmed-Ullah, 2011, p. 1). The rural literature has found that college experiences often lead to one-way tickets for graduates of rural communities and thus threaten their sustainability (Besser, 1995; Gibbs, 1998). In a related study, Hektner (1995) found rural high school youth (especially males) more conflicted about decisions between family/community attachments and career/higher education aspirations than suburban or urban high school youth. His "urban ... [Chicago sample] contain[ed] a mostly Hispanic population, with Blacks and other Whites making up the remainder. Although the neighborhood [was] poor, gentrification [was] beginning there, and it [was] not plagued by the degree of violence and hopelessness found in other, more impoverished, Chicago neighborhoods" (p. 5). It might be that future Urban Prep graduates (carrying their portable higher education credentials) prefer amenity-rich urban areas to their present impoverished neighborhood. Schooling that privileges individualism makes the preference for amenities over community an easy one.

Privileging individualism not only appears to have negative consequences for students but also for educators. After a lengthy career as a practitioner, Barth (2006) is convinced that the "nature of relationships among the adults within a school has a greater influence on the character and quality of that school and on student accomplishment than anything else" (para. 1). Lagemann (1989) wisely noted "One cannot understand the history of education in the United States in the twentieth century unless one realizes that Edward L. Thorndike won and John Dewey lost" (p.185). Thorndike along with other

evangelistic administrative progressives such as Charles Judd (see Cubberly, 1916) valued “professionalism, merit, and efficiency ... [as a means] to reshape the schools into economically functional institutions and to insulate them from democratic politics” (Katznelson & Weir, 1988, p. 86). Such social efficiency thinking of the administrative progressives had little use for the construct of community among teachers, for as Lagemann (1989) noted

Although both Dewey and Judd thought experimentation was necessary in education....Dewey saw teachers and researchers as more alike than different, wanting both to be skilled students of education, Judd believed that the professionalization of education, and therefore, the improvement of education required that teachers and researchers fulfill distinct functions. Teachers should teach, in the process transmitting subject matter, organizing classrooms, and approaching children according to knowledge generated by researchers. (p. 205).

A “persistence of privacy” (Little, 1990) inhabits public schools in which isolationism has become so normal that “we claim it as a virtue called “academic freedom” (Palmer, 1998, p. 142). The isolationism exists between schools (Barth, 2006), between teachers (Dufour, Eaker, & Dufour, 2005; Stewart & Brendefur, 2005; Lewis, 2002), and due to instructional practices, between students (Delpit, 2006). Rowan found that “studies of teacher collaboration under naturally occurring conditions suggest that teachers focus the bulk of their interactions on relatively narrow issues of materials, discipline, and the problems of individual students, rather than on acquisition of new knowledge and skill” (as cited by Elmore, 2000, p. 17). The end result is teacher relationships that Dufour (1997) has described as mimicking “independent contractors”.

The *Gesellschaft*/Lockean Stream in the Rural Context

According to Alan DeYoung (1995) "American rural schools have historically been involved with adapting children to the world of work, first as rural populations flocked into regional population centers, and today as they are challenged to create career-oriented rather than place-oriented citizens" (p. 265). Rural scholars claim that rural schools have existed as pipelines to urban America for well over a century. What is unique about the present era is the reduction from a multitude of purposes to an explicit focus on reorienting high schools as pipelines to higher education. One of the end results is that the "curriculum and other programs in rural schools have become less relevant to the life of rural students" (Howley et al., 2005, p. 36). DeYoung's claim is supported by a number of rural advocates (Corbett, 2007; Howley et al., 1996) and while there certainly is some resistance by the community to this orientation (Porter, 1996; Gibbs, 1995), others claim that rural folk are willing contributors to the orientation (Ley et al., 1996; Berry, 1990). For a rural high school to act as an efficient pipeline out of the community, teachers must play a major role (Ovando, 1984). In light of the lack of preparation for the rural context such as learning how to incorporate the community into instructional practices, "rural school educators are often oriented toward linking students to the larger society and world" (Kannapel & DeYoung, 1999, p. 70). They have a powerful influence among students and legitimize post-secondary choices. Teachers' striking positionality is described by Corbett (2007), who stated that a sizable group of his students

did 'go on' and pursue post-secondary education, never to return to the community. These youth were considered by the teachers to have been the success stories of the school system. It seemed as though the further away a

student went, the more pride teachers took in the part they played in the process.
(p. 3)

Educational hostilities toward rural places are summarized by Berry (1990) who noted, "The child is not educated to return home and be of use to the place and community; he or she is educated to *leave* home and earn money in a provisional future that has nothing to do with place or community" (p. 163). Rural schools as "pipelines" and "launch pads" to higher education may be detrimental to rural communities because as a tacit rule, post-secondary education serves as a one way ticket for rural students (Besser, 1995; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998).

Place-Free Educational Practices

The gesellschaft/Lockean stream has led to a standardization of rural education that disregards local history, issues, and culture, in essence, *place*. These practices are particularly harmful in the rural context because, in the face of societal bias and a world that is increasingly homogenized in terms of nature (Preston, 2007), language (Onishi, 2010; Superville, 2001), media (Bagdikian, 1997), business, and culture (Lancy, 1993), rural students need to hear a voice central to their lives that states their unique place has value. The lack of such a powerful voice in terms of sustainability contributes to rural unsustainability and results in Wallace Stegner's (1962) simple claim that he was "educated for the wrong place" (p. 24). This standardization is accomplished, in part, through the triangulation of standardized curriculum, generic textbooks, and standards-inspired high-stakes tests (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998). Such practices are place-free. They are counterproductive because they disregard the importance of place in children's identities (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2003; Aitken, 2001; Nabhan & Trimble, 1994) and

promote a place-free orientation that translates into students who are often ignorant of the local knowledge and wisdom necessary to make meaningful contributions to their community. Such ignorance was found in a study by Kraak and Kenway (2002) of coastal youth in Australia. They found that the youth, unaware of the possibility of an intellectual life in their rural community,

mimicked the [values and beliefs of the] middle class suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney.... Thus many Paradise residents- the young people in particular- [felt] as if they and their town [were] missing out. The lack of the golden arches within the Paradise landscape [became] a symbol of Paradise's inadequacy for many young residents. (p. 150)

Place-free educational practices are likely to be counterproductive in *all* contexts, whether rural, suburban, or urban because they may contribute to an insidious individualism that is contrary to the civic and social purposes of American schooling.

Place-Based Educational Practices

Place-based practices are consistent with a *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientation. These practices have a loose definition, but the aim is “to ground learning in local phenomena and students’ lived experiences” (Smith, 2002, p. 586). Place-based practices attempt to merge the world inside and outside the classroom, for which Dewey (1902) strenuously called. These practices may lead to “reading the world” (Freire & Macedo, 1987) rather than “reading the textbook” which, according to Goldstein (1978), occupies three quarters of students’ time in the classroom. Howley et al. (1996) emphasize that place-based educational practices are differentiated by zeroing in on what has historically been defined as living the *good life*- “living well in a particular place” (p. 150). Here I

will describe two powerful examples of place-based educational efforts, one recent and one in place for over four decades.

The Foxfire cultural journalism project (<http://www.foxfire.org>) started in 1966 in southern Appalachia area with a student-initiated publication that served to archive the otherwise lost wisdom of the community. It is still flourishing as a national model of place-based educational practices. Elliot Wigginton (1985) wrote the project is not about learning that grandpa can make a stool from a log or spending all day making homemade soap but that the work brings about for students “an understanding of family- who I am and where I’m from and the fact that I’m part of a long continuum of hope and prayer and celebration of life that I must carry forward” (p. 75). Wigginton (1985) reported that feelings of inferiority and shame regarding local history, culture, and even accent were replaced by pride among student participants.

A prominent and recent example of PBE that combines high levels of rigor, high levels of success in higher education, and community sustainability can be found in the collaboration between the Llano Grande Center (<http://llanogrande.org/>) and the Edcouch-Elsa Independent School District in southern Texas. The U.S. Department of Education convened a Voices In Action: National Youth Summit in early 2011 to share innovative practices that have led to increased college graduation rates. The Llano Grande Center was invited based on their promotion of “community-based, locally influenced brand of teaching and learning [that] has made the difference in creating college success [with] more than 85% of the students who have gone through the program hav[ing] earned their college degree” (LG Students Heading To DC, 2011, para. 1-2). One area teacher reported that since the community “became the focus of their

school studies....approximately 20 of his students have been accepted by Ivy League colleges and universities. Some graduates are now returning to the Llano Grande region to make their own contributions to the community” (Smith, 2002, pp. 587-588). This work illustrates that experience with higher education does not have to result in a one-way ticket for rural students. More importantly, this work illustrates that public schooling is not a zero-sum game: a plus for policymakers interested in creating college-going cultures and a plus for sustaining communities and families.

Administrative Life in Rural Schools

Rural Educator Bias

A body of research has accumulated that testifies to the strong influence school administrators have in schools (Prestine & Nelson, 2005; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000; Hallinger & Heck, 1996). The literature suggests that principals influence learning in a number of ways, particularly in the area of teacher goal-setting (Brewer, 1993). As Hallinger (2005) noted, the principal, as instructional leader creates “clear, measurable, time-based goals focused on the academic progress of students....in collaboration with staff” (p. 225). These administrators are also the product of numerous normalizing influences: dozen of years of formal public education, four-six years of university-based preparation, and obtaining educational certificates from state departments of education likely to be operating from a gesellschaft/Lockean orientation. A number of rural scholars claim rural educators are actually overtly or covertly biased against attachment to family and community (Corbett, 2007; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Howley et al., 1996). To be effective, rural school leaders need to look carefully at themselves for bias related to

poverty and rural places (Howley et al., 2005). Some rural leaders communicate disappointment in graduates who remain in or return to their local community after high school graduation. Budge (2006) conducted a case study of the influence of rurality and a sense of place on leaders' beliefs about purposes of local schooling. Bias against the local surfaced in the comments by multiple rural leaders (and is mirrored in the findings by Corbett, 2007). One leader claimed that graduates unwilling to leave are motivated by a "[F]ear of the big world." (p. 6). Another leader felt that while some graduates attempt "[postsecondary] school... [they] aren't quite sure, so they come back and that saddens me" (p. 7). Webb et al. (1996) cite a fictional rural high school teacher who "was surprised by the narrowness of the experience of the young people in West Plains... [and] how isolated from reality or the rest of the world students here seem" (p. 3). This scholarship emphasizes the influence of a broader cultural view of rural experiences as disabling, inferior to urban experiences.

High Turnover

Research has uncovered alarmingly high teacher turnover rate, finding that about half of all new teachers leave the profession within five years (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 2003). Table 2.1 displays new high school principal turnover among six school district types in Texas (Fuller & Young, 2009). While only one state's data, the finding that only a quarter of new rural high school principals are still in the job after five years represents a turnover rate that is approximately *double* that for teachers nationally. Moreover, a similar rate of turnover was found by Fullan (2007) among Vermont administrators where "22%... employed in the fall of 1984 had left the state's school systems by the fall of 1985" (p. 158). High turnover rates among school

administrators do not bode well for educational reforms, regardless of their stripe.

Authentic, whole-school reform can only occur where there exist stable and effective administrators (McAdams, 1997) who have been in place for at least five years (Fullan, 2007). Just as a Japanese bonsai tree is created by cutting the roots and so stunting the growth, the frequent turnover of school administration stunts school reform.

Table 2.1 New Texas High School Principal Retention Rate by District Type³

School District Type	One Year	Three Year	Five Year	Ten Year
Major Urban	80%	63%	34%	10%
Sub: Affluent/White	82%	66%	39%	15%
Sub: Poor/Minority	77%	56%	33%	12%
City/City Fringe	82%	67%	37%	11%
Small Town	77%	55%	28%	7%
Rural	74%	53%	25%	7%

Part of the reason is trust and trust only develops over time with stable relationships; just as community is impeded by lack of trust (Berry, 1990), leadership is impeded by lack of trust. An administrator with a modern/postmodern stance, ready for the inevitable move, may only develop shallow roots for place. The literature appears to be silent as to whether such administrators can promote the development of roots in others while limiting their own. Webb et al. (1996) claim "...leaders 'teach' who *they* are. A person who is not mindful cannot help another become mindful" (pg. 17). The implication of their claim is that principals with a gesellschaft/Lockean orientation may communicate associated values through preferred instructional practices that are likely to be place-free.

³ "Tenure and retention of newly hired principals in Texas," by E. Fuller and M.D. Young, 2009, University Council for Educational Administration, p. 13. Copyright 2009 by E. Fuller. Reprinted by permission.

Negotiation Between Place-Based and Place-Free Educational Practices

Historically, one thing that differentiated rural principals from their metropolitan and urban peers was “overlapping duties related to the relationship between rural schools and the community they serve” (Howley et al., 2005, p. 6). The work to simultaneously sustain the student and community has been called a critical leadership of place (Budge, 2006). Such leadership at the high school level, as I have suggested, may be threatened by gesellschaft/Lockean pressures in the form of standards, accountability measures related to the performance in higher education by graduates, and organizations promoting schools as “pipelines.” In a recent publication, *Hollowing Out the Middle: The Rural Brain Drain and What it Means for America* (Carr & Kefalas, 2009) the perspective of one rural high school principal may be indicative of others; “The principal maintained ...that the job of an effective educator was to nurture and send off talented youth, despite the fact that doing so meant the town was slowly committing suicide” (p. 139). Such a “pipeline” perspective, if widely held, may contribute to the lack of sustainability of rural communities.

How exactly do rural high school principals negotiate the space between place-based and place-free educational practices? The limited research that has been conducted in this area among rural principals suggests that they generally hold a gesellschaft/Lockean orientation (Budge, 2006; Carr & Kefalas, 2009; Corbett, 2007). The gap in the literature appears to be whether the orientation *changes* with tenure. This gap provided the impetus for this study, which was to understand the relationship between preferences in educational practices and tenure among nine rural high school principals. These preferences were set in the context of American historical and political

streams of thought. The conceptual framework below reflects the thinking as a result of the literature review. The arrow thicknesses reflect relative influence upon the purposes of schooling as envisioned by rural high school administrators.

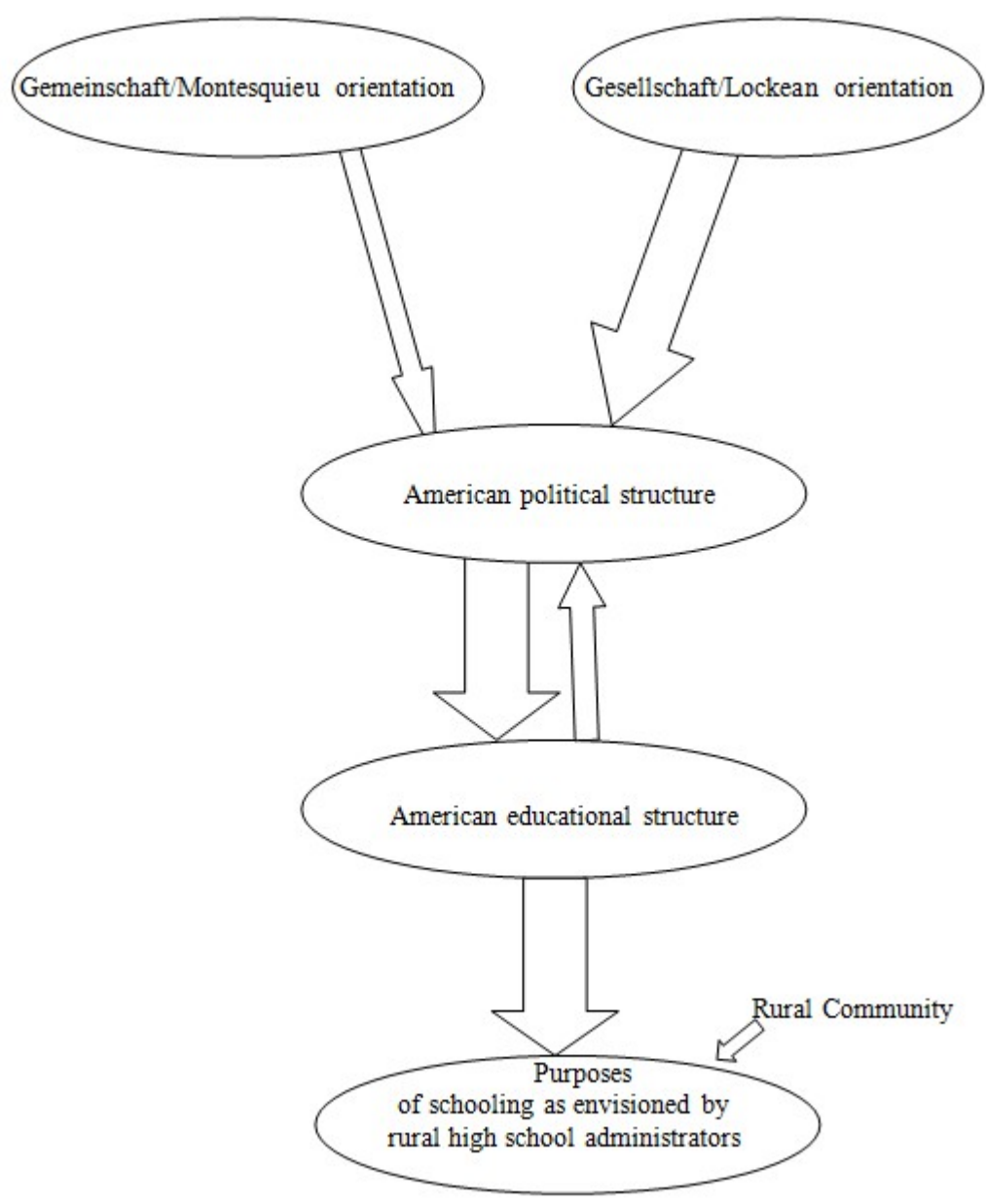


Figure 2.3 Conceptual Framework: The forces that contribute to the purposes of schooling as envisioned by rural high school administrators

Our life experiences inform our perspectives, and our perspectives inform our professional practice and theory. There is little scholarship related to what factors influence rural high school principals' preferences in educational practices. What life experiences influence where principals place themselves on the place-free, place-based continuum? Do rural principals with rural upbringing tend towards place-based educational practices in the name of sustaining the community? Has the recent effort to reorient the purposes of high school as a pipeline to higher education had an influence? As a number of rural advocates have noted, the survival of rural communities and their schools are intertwined. The current dominance of place-free educational practices frequently translates high school diplomas into one-way tickets for rural graduates. This dissertation study endeavored to answer such questions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to understand the relationship between preferences in educational practices and tenure among nine rural high school principals. These preferences were set in the context of American historical and political streams of thought. The research questions that emerged from that purpose were:

- 1) What are the understandings of, and stances on, PBE held by rural high school principals?
- 2) What is the relationship between length of administrative tenure in a single community and preferences between place-based and place-free educational practices?
 - a. What factors contribute to rural high school principals' placement of themselves on the continuum of belief between place-based and place-free educational practices?
 - b. To what extent do they feel a tension between these two practices?

Study Design

Like Freidson, I was interested in studying something that resists statistical description: “the assumptions, behavior, and attitudes of a very special set” of people (as cited in Maxwell, 1992, p. 294). Namely, the tensions, preferences, and understandings expressed by rural high school principals. Qualitative research was best suited for those wonderings (that resist statistical description). In their discussion of examples of case

studies, Miles and Huberman (1994) mentioned that a “case may...be defined by a role” (p. 26) and then “a case can be defined *temporally*” (p. 26). This dissertation case study sought to combine the two: how the role of the principal (in preferring certain instructional practices) might change temporally (in term of duration of tenure). A thick description was provided through an analysis of interviews together with member checks and peer review. Thick description goes beyond the thin description of simple reporting in that it “describes and probes the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations, circumstances of actions” (Denzin, 1988, p. 39).

Participant Selection

The definition of rural varies, but for the purposes of this study I used the criteria adopted by the Idaho Legislature. Idaho Code 33-319 (2009) states that a school district shall be considered a rural school district if it meets one of the following two criteria:

(1) There are fewer than twenty (20) enrolled students per square mile within the area encompassed by the school district’s boundaries; or

(2) The county in which a plurality of the school district’s market value for assessment purposes is located contains less than twenty five thousand (25,000) residents, based on the most recent decennial United States census. (p. 1)

There are 115 school districts in Idaho. Based upon the criteria set by the legislature, 100 districts (87%) can be defined as rural. Ley et al. (1996), in a study implication, surmised that “teacher ‘connectedness’ to the local community may influence expectations for rural youth” (p.141). Duration of tenure is one way to view educator connectedness. The sampling strategy for principals allowed for an examination

of the association(s) between increasing administrative tenure (“physical roots”) and preference for place-based educational practices (“psychic roots”).

The actual sampling strategy used was maximum variation, which Miles and Huberman (1994) state is to “Document diverse variations and identif[y] important common patterns” (p. 28). This strategy was applied to recruit nine rural high school principals in the following categories: The Shallow Administrative Roots Group (which averaged .3 years of experience per district), the Moderate Administrative Roots Group (which averaged 7.3 years of experience per district), and the Deep Administrative Roots Group (which averaged 13.3 years of experience per district). The sampling strategy was thus successful regarding maximum variation in tenure (see Table 3.1). This study needed some measure to assess the physical rootedness of the principals. That measure was found in the “Average Administrative Tenure Per District” and calculated as total years of administrative experience divided by the number of school districts employed. Three principals were selected for each group to allow some comparison in tensions, preferences, and understandings. Theory that emerges from such a strategy delimits “relevant boundaries and make the credibility of ...theory considerably greater” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 231) because, as key informants they range greatly in tenure and “are individuals who have special knowledge or perspectives that make them especially important in obtaining the emic perspective” (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2005, p. 310).

Table 3.1 Maximum Variation Sampling Results for Study Participants

Study Participant	Average Administrative Tenure Per District	
Ms. Cambell	0	Shallow Administrative Roots
Ms. Sage	1	
Mr. Power	0	
Mr. Johnson	4	Moderate Administrative Roots
Mrs. Alberts	9	
Ms. Forest	9	
Mrs. Davis	13	Deep Administrative Roots
Mr. Mozzle	15	
Mr. Sunny	12	

Regarding specific recruiting strategy, I contacted the state association of school administrators for assistance in recruiting rural high school principals with tenure characteristics needed for my sampling strategy. An association leadership conference for principals at a local university was used to recruit principals for the Shallow and Moderate Administrative Roots Groups. Association staff introduced me to potential recruits during the conference lunch. The first table happened to be occupied solely by women. As a result, five of the nine participants were women. The sampling strategy resulted in a gender representation that likely does not reflect the state population, but as gender data was not available it was not possible to determine whether the sample was skewed. Association staff also assisted in identifying potential Deep Administrative Roots principals. A total of ten qualifying principals were contacted for recruitment (one dropout made it necessary to recruit a substitute). Participants represented districts almost equally from the northern and southern parts of the state.

Data Sources, Analysis, and Display

Data Sources

Yin (2009) describes major sources of evidence commonly used in case studies. They include documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. As I was interested in my “interviewee’s opinion or attitudes.... corroborating these opinions or attitudes against other sources would not be relevant” (Yin, 2009, p. 109). Thus, the use of interviews as the primary source of evidence was appropriate. Data was collected by two means, the standardized open-ended interview (see Appendix A) and the Continuum Completion Activity (see Appendix B); each is described below. The interview was immediately followed by the continuum placement activity. The rationale for that particular order was that participants needed a working knowledge of place-based and place-free educational practices to complete the Continuum Completion Activity. The working knowledge emerged during the interview.

The standardized open-ended interview took an average of 50 minutes to complete, always in the privacy of the principals’ offices. I worked from Glesne’s (1999) statement that “interview questions tend to be more contextual and specific than research questions” (Glesne, 1999, p. 70). I emailed the interview questions to the principals a week prior to the meeting. The interview audio was recorded and transcribed (some transcriptions were completed using a professional service, and others were completed by the author). Standardized open-ended interviews “consists of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words” (Patton, 2002, p. 342). While additional interview questions emerged from the core questions in the context of each situation, the common core questions provided

comparability. In consideration of the time constraints on most principal's daily schedule, the structured, open-ended "interview is highly focused so that interviewee time is used efficiently" (Patton, 2002, p. 346). Glesne (1999) discusses categories of interviews. Life history interviews focus "on the life experiences of one or several individuals" (p. 69) while topical interviewing "focuses more on a program, issue, or process than on people's lives" (p. 69). My interview questions were designed to bridge these two categories; namely, how the backgrounds of rural high school principals informed their preferences between place-free and place-based educational practices.

The Continuum Completion Activity took about 10 minutes to complete and focused on the relationship between the two variables in which I was most interested: administrative tenure and preferences in educational practices. Recognizing that both tenure (ranging from zero-fifteen years) and educational preferences (ranging from place-free to place-based) would fall along a continuum, I created two parallel continuums that allowed for a visual understanding of the relationship between the two variables. While a search of the relevant literature found discussions of educational practices that ignored place (Berry, 1990; Corbett, 2007; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998), there appeared to be no explicit use of a term to describe these practices. For the purposes of this study, such a term was needed to anchor one end of the educational practices continuum. As a result, I created the term place-free educational practices. Based on the literature review, place-free educational practices were considered "context-free educational practices emphasizing curricular resources created at a distance, such as textbooks and Internet which, increasingly, promote the embedding of an international orientation that values communication with those afar. Students become equipped with the economic and social

knowledge and skills to become residents of society and the world” (Bauman, 2005; Schachter, 2011).

The other end of the continuum was anchored by the term place-based educational practices, which again was based on the relevant literature (Gruenewald & Smith, 2008; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Howley et al., 2005). The term I created was “place-based educational practices are context-dependent practices that use students' local community as a primary resource for learning. The goal [of place-based practice] is to equip students with the economic, political, historical, and social knowledge and skills to become contributing inhabitants of their communities.” The principals were instructed to indicate three things on the continuum: 1) indicate on the continuum where their school educational practices presently generally were, 2) indicate where on the continuum they would prefer the school to be, and 3) indicate their placement on the administrative tenure continuum. Once the continuum was complete, I asked the last interview question (which was “Thinking of all the influences upon your beliefs, such as upbringing, NCLB, teacher and administrative training programs, can you explain what caused you to place the “x” there?).

Upon an initial analysis of the transcripts, a surprising conflict arose repeatedly from the principals regarding (state or common core) standards and whether they allowed for PBE. Follow-up conversations about this matter occurred via email due to the significant distances to and between participants and the participants' demanding schedules. Communication from six of the nine participants was coded (the other participants either did not respond or their responses lacked specificity or relevance) and contributed to findings in the next chapter.

Data Analysis

As the goal was not to contribute to previous theory or confirm earlier research, but to understand the preferences, perspectives, and beliefs of rural high school principals, data analysis was primarily inductive. Codes therefore conformed to the data rather than the reverse. Data analysis was conducted using constant comparative analysis. In this method, data “is coded into emergent themes or codes. The data was constantly revisited after initial coding, until it was clear that no new themes are emerging” (Hewitt-Taylor, 2001, p. 39). This method is consistent with the claim by Hammersley (1981) that the quality of data analysis depends on the repeated, systematic searching of the data. Codes emerged as I proceeded with the constant comparative analysis and were used to identify important chunks of meaning at different times during the study. Miles and Huberman (1994) remind us that whether coding occurs early or late in a study, it is more important that the “codes...relate to one another in coherent, study-important ways; they should be part of a governing structure” (p. 62). Codes were then collapsed into higher levels of ideas- subthemes. Sub-themes that displayed exclusivity and survived disconfirming evidence were accepted as themes. Chapter four includes a number of “umbrella” themes that incorporate subthemes. In general, themes were only accepted when supporting evidence appeared in a majority of the data. However, as the researcher in a qualitative study, I am the primary instrument for data analysis and thus was cognizant of the caveat provided by Hewitt-Taylor (2001), citing Morse, who emphasized by focusing on quantity “it is possible that numbers alone will become the focus, with the loss of subtle nuances of meaning and individual views, which are the strength of qualitative research” (p. 41). On more than one occasion, what was absent appeared to be

as significant as what was present in the data. As an example, regarding the influences (such as upbringing, NCLB, teacher and administrative training programs) that the participants cited as causing them to prefer certain educational practices (in the Continuum Completion Activity), only one described pride surrounding her rural upbringing. This was in spite of the fact that the majority (eight of nine) enjoyed such an upbringing.

The final step “transcends factual data and cautious analysis and begins to probe into what is to be made of them” (Wolcott, 1994, p. 36). In the disconfirming process, I did not discard or ignore extreme data (as arose especially in the coding of Mr. Johnson). My transcripts were not edited and I coded for all major themes regardless of harmony with my views. Moving to the next level in abstraction, I developed interpretations (by coalescing themes) that allowed for understanding how rural high school principals negotiate the space between student, school, and community in the form of supporting place-based and place-free educational practices.

Data Display

Upon multiple reviews of the codes and interviews as related to the constant comparative analysis, I developed a conceptually clustered matrix. Such a matrix is useful when “you’re trying to understand the meaning of a general variable... and how it plays itself out across different cases” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 195). This type of data display was used to understand the clustering of educational practices remarks (see Table 4.1). I also employed a case-ordered effects matrix (a type of cross-case display) to illustrate the relationship between the magnitude of change from present educational practices (towards either place-based or place-free) and length of tenure (see Figure 4.1).

In other words, the matrix captured the difference between principals' beliefs about the current use of educational practices along the continuum and their desired use of such practices.

Validity

Validity is synonymous with trustworthiness and is of course an important aspect of research. Regarding validity, Glesne (1999) cited Stoller who was told that "You must learn to sit with people....You must learn to sit and listen. As we say in Songhay: 'One must kill something thin only to discover that [inside] it is fat'" (p. 32). I interpret this statement to mean that the trustworthiness of my analysis is dependent on having the patience to truly sit and listen; this leads to understanding. Patience allows one to go beyond superficial understanding.

Validity and understanding are inextricably related (Maxwell, 1992).

Understanding in turn is dependent upon seeing the world from the participants' perspective: wearing new lenses in the "emic" perspective. As interviewing formed a significant part of this study, I remained acutely aware of the special threats that interviewing poses to internal generalizability. Interviewing is a social interaction and as the interviewer I was aware of "how the chosen tactics may... [affect] what the interviewee" says (Dexter, 1970, p. 34). My tactics were chosen with the goal that the participants would speak freely. As an example, I constantly monitored my speech to not communicate a bias in terms of my own preferences in educational practices. To see me as "one of their own," I communicated a completion of my own educational leadership program and emphasized my Idaho roots. Lastly, I communicated at the onset and completion of the interview an assurance of anonymity and confidentiality. Validity was

further addressed by the following procedures: triangulation (of data sources and analysis) and positionality.

Triangulation

Triangulation is an important aspect of research that provides the reader with an assurance of the findings. Triangulation is well known to geologists and journalists in that increasing data sources increases confidence in their findings. The same applies in qualitative research. Triangulation of analysis was conducted using member checks and peer review.

Member checks, or participant feedback, were used to enhance validity and to cross check findings and interpretations. Described here, member checks were conducted at a few critical points in the dissertation study. During the interview process, I rephrased participant statements in the inevitable situations where the meaning of the statement was not clear to me. I looked to the participants for confirmation that my interpretation “rang true.” I submitted to each participant an electronic copy of the interview transcript for their review. I asked that they read the transcript and contact me if errors were found. None of the participants contacted me about this. I also sent each participant the following email:

[T]o increase the validity of my study I am conducting what is known as a Member Check- to seek that my Results (Ch. 4- attached) and Interpretations and Conclusions (Ch. 5- attached) have reflected your perspectives. Of course I used a pseudonym for your real name. In the study your name is [pseudonym]. Please read the two attached chapters and let me know if I have reflected your

perspectives. Also, let me know if you see any ideas and/or interpretations that I overlooked. Take care, and thanks again for participating in my study.

Despite multiple emails, only four principals responded and three included cursory responses such as “Everything looks great to me- Good Luck!!!” Only Ms. Cambell provided in-depth feedback. Glesne (1999) reports that important aspects of member checks include “(1) verify that you have reflected their perspectives; (2) inform you of sections that, if published, could be problematic for either personal or political reasons; and (3) help you to develop new ideas and interpretations” (p. 152). While I ensured that all of the participants were included in these aspects of member checks, their lack of, or vague, feedback was an issue.

I submitted the Results (Ch. 4) and Interpretations and Conclusions (Ch. 5) chapters to an educational peer for review and evaluation. The peer reviewer felt that “Chapter 5 also needs to show a strong connection to chapter one and also a definite conclusion to show that the dissertation accomplished what it set out to do.” Like the member check, the peer review adds “points” to the triangulation process. With additional points, comes increasing confidence that claims and conclusions are in the “place” that I claimed.

Positionality

Reflecting on one’s positionality at the outset of any research enhances the credibility of the findings. I take the interpretivist line of inquiry that insists “...researchers are no more ‘detached’ from their objects of study than are their informants” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 8). I am an advocate for diversity in the world whether it is terms of educational practices, language, or biology. Diversity increases the

ability of a system to respond to challenges. Fullan (1997) stated “Homogenous cultures by definition have less diversity, but they are also more boring. Heterogeneous cultures contain the seeds of creative breakthrough.” (p. 32). My strong defense for the importance of place and the development of roots in communities is in contrast to my own life experience. In my K-12 experience, I lived in seven different communities spread across four states. The number seven continues in that I have lived in seven different residences since 2002. The lack of accord between my defense of place and my own transient lifestyle is something that I cannot explain. Although much of my life has been spent in metropolitan or urban locales, I appreciate the tranquility, hardiness, and pace of rural places that Aesop’s country mouse similarly found lacking in the city. Rural places seem to retain certain quiet in a world that is increasingly loud.

Closer to this study, I believe that one’s education includes all the learning that occurs during the waking hours and necessarily includes learning about one’s place. Schooling is the particular learning that occurs bell to bell in a school day and may or may not include learning about one’s place. Mark Twain reminds us that education and schooling are not the same in the famous aphorism “I have never let my schooling interfere with my education”; Graff (1981) even claimed that schooling “may be said to dilute, even pervert the richer concept of education” (p. 271). Even so, in this dissertation study, I universally used the word “education” and not “schooling” to be in harmony with the vast majority of educational literature and not appear contrarian to my participants.

Lastly, my positionality means that I strive to add to the voices of other educators who claim “that the top priority of schools is to serve the public good” (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998, p. vi). My conception of serving the public good does not dismiss

outright the global economy and conversations with people in China but asserts the importance of linking them to the local economy and conversations with people in the community. Serving the public good is grounded in an understanding that our participatory democracy is strengthened by the collective voices of civic associations. Such associations are important because they can counter the “influence [of the rich or famous] in the political process” (Gutmann, 1998, p. 4). This interpretation of serving the public good may be especially germane in light of the recent Supreme Court decision, *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010), that allows for unlimited spending by independent entities (such as corporations, the wealthy, and unions) in election campaigns. The public good can be served when civic associations counteract the influence of unlimited spending.

This sums up the “how” the study was conducted. The next chapter will discuss “what” was found.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The central purpose of this study was to understand the relationship between preferences in educational practices and tenure among nine rural high school principals. These preferences were set in the context of American political streams of thought. In what follows, I discuss the findings that emerged from those activities organized into themes. The methodology employed by this study found four exclusive but related themes 1) Understandings of Place-Based Education, 2) Too Small, Too Homogenous 3) Expectations for Students: Go On, and, 4) Relationship Between Tenure Roots and Preferences. Below I describe each theme with supporting data.

Understandings of Place-Based Education

The formal authority vested in the principals' administrative position (as the instructional leader) influences what educational practices are viewed as legitimate in the school environment. Nelson and Sassi (2005) claimed that the nature of a principal's knowledge acts as a powerful lens on "what they are able to appreciate...in their schools" (p. 9). Their claim is significant in light of the finding that none of the nine principals claimed to have heard formally of PBE, and none could recall the term being discussed in their teacher or administrative program. The interview question that best addressed this topic was strategically placed early in the interview to prevent learning about PBE becoming conflated with prior knowledge of PBE. The actual wording of the question was: "What is your understanding of place-based education? Was this term ever

discussed in your certification courses, teacher or administrative?” Interestingly, Mrs. Alberts explained that she was exposed to the term “place-based” by a former professor, but it had a different meaning than in the current study. She recalled that the professor claimed that

as an administrator you need to decide between place or position...[further, he] said when you are an administrator and you finish your degree, you have to decide if you are willing to - if you are place-based and you only want to stay in the same community because that is where your family is and that is where you are from, you may not have the roles to go up the ladder as you want to but if you take position based...you may have to move somewhere but you have the position you want.

Her definition of place focused on *physical* roots. The present study attempted to understand place-consciousness in the context of the relationship between *physical* (in terms of tenure) roots and *psychic* (in terms of preferences in educational practices) roots.

The principals’ declaration of a lack of knowledge or understanding of PBE was belied by the fact that all of them contributed strong perspectives over the course of the interview. (The strong perspectives though were not informed by place-based literature or research). Mr. Sunny illustrated this in stating

You know, I Googled that this morning. I looked at that and it was actually the first time I had heard of that reference even though I was a little disappointed I didn’t. Going clear back in the 1900s...I didn’t have any understanding of that before in my training or either I have forgotten it.

He then almost immediately stated, “even though we don’t call it place-based education... there is a community service piece ... we have done for 13 years”. Ms. Cambell added that “[I] never heard the term before. The concept is pretty common in elementary education.” Only Mr. Sunny and Ms. Cambell claimed an inchoate understanding of the term at this stage of the interview. In inquiring about principals’ knowledge or understanding of PBE, I did not describe particular pedagogical practices such as service learning, outdoor education, or environmental education; rather, I consistently used the over-arching term “place-based education.” Nonetheless, as principals began to understand the term, their perspectives related to PBE were revealed.

One principal in preparation for the interview asked his peers at a district administrative meeting if anyone was familiar with the term PBE; none of the administrators claimed familiarity with the term, but it was guessed that it “must be the new buzzword” in education. In reality, the principals’ responses regarding their administrative programs (completed in the last two decades in the state) suggest that PBE was completely absent from these programs. The next subtheme (that state-determined standards exclude PBE) makes sense in light of the omission of PBE from their administrative programs.

PBE and State-Determined Standards

An initial analysis of the interview transcripts found an unexpected introduction by the principals regarding the relationship between PBE and state determined standards (including CCSS), specifically whether the participants believed that standards allowed for inclusion of place-based practices in schools. The emphasis on standards-based instruction has increased nationwide with the recent adoption of the CCSSI standards in

more than forty states, including Idaho. A state level effort, the initiative is coordinated by the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers. Related to this initiative, there has been an increase in demand that teachers defend instructional practices in terms of identifying and satisfying educational standards. The principal, as instructional leader, influences instructional practices. Thus, the interpretation of standards by the principal may influence instructional choices. This caused me to pursue this topic beyond face-to-face interview. Significant distances to and between participants made face-to-face interactions unfeasible and thus follow-up discussions about this topic occurred via email. This subtheme emerged from subsequent communication with six of the nine participants (the other participants either did not respond or their responses lacked specificity or relevance).

While the CCSSI website claims that their standards “will not keep local teachers from deciding what or how to teach” (CCSSI, n.d., FAQs), five of the six principals communicated that that standards either partially or totally exclude PBE. The surprise here was that the three principals that felt that educational standards totally exclude PBE were not those who hesitated about the orientation earlier in the interview. All three, Mr. Power, Mr. Sunny, and Mr. Mozzle were the *only* principals that provided unmitigated praise of PBE (see Table 4.1, Participants holding only positive views of PBE). Mr. Power emphasized a homogenizing effect of standards in his position that “Idaho is going to the common core standards, and the same stuff that is going to be learned by other kids in the United States so I do understand that is [the direction of] education,... regardless of whether I agree with it or not, it is what is reality.” Mr. Mozzle stated that “Standards do replace place based education, and they do not take into account local populations or

industry. Standards are strictly content oriented, and [provide] very little room for any ‘hands on’ instruction.”

Table 4.1 Conceptually Clustered Matrix of Place-Based Educational Practices Remarks

Grp.	Participant	Positive Remarks about PBEP	Negative Remarks about PBEP
Participants holding only positive views of PBEP	Mr. Power	There are so many real-life practical applications to math and science that these kids could take in a place-based program that would prepare them for higher education.	None.
	Mr. Sunny	One of the components [of our senior project] is community service, which I strongly support. You really have to do that to make it relevant to the kids. And so place based relevancy is something I believe in.	None.
	Mr. Mozzle	I think what they learn on the local level would translate right into what they would be getting taught in college	None.
Participants with dueling views of PBE	Ms. Forest	[PBEP] is going to be able to tie knowledge much more effectively because the knowledge is lasting if it's from their home. But finding the resources and time for this type of instruction is difficult	You can't limit the curriculum to just our area because there is more out there than just our area.
	Mr. Johnson	I see the value of [PBEP] if are teaching a biological concept to be able to make the connection, if you are teaching environmental science, let's talk about dairies.	[PBEP] are inadequate because we have to teach the big picture because we are such a mobile society. You know most of our biggest and brightest, or best and brightest are going to leave and so we need to teach the big picture and I do embrace the common core standards
	Ms. Cambell	PBEP is relevant in ways to students because it involves people they know, people they've heard of, people they may be related to. And see what they are living is the - is the results of historical, economic factors of the past	I don't want education here to be so Place-based that our students couldn't choose to go anywhere in the world if they wanted to.
	Mrs. Alberts	Some community involvement, bring some community pieces in and integrate that in the curriculum.	If you are too place-Based, I think, you could become just too, narrow, especially here, with so little racial diversity. The world is flat, and do a bigger perspective on it

	Mrs. Davis	There is a lot of stuff you could do that would be really interesting and kids would get to have it really hands (such as the packaging plants and the sewer plant).	PBEP “might hamper students’ success in college because we are talking [present town] and maybe if we are living in Boise and there is a lot going on.”
Participant holding only negative view	Ms. Sage/1	None Stated	PBEP “would prevent them from succeeding in college. We are such a small community. There is not much diversity. I think [it] would definitely limit their knowledge base of what you know, what’s going on around the [country, world].”

Two principals claimed educational standards partially exclude PBE. Mr. Johnson emphasized the influence of textbooks and the common core standards in claiming that

It depends on the content area, teacher, etc. in regards to the use of the textbook.

For example, some PTE [professional technical education] courses such as food science and plant science rely heavily on the text book whereas agricultural mechanics not so much. The common core standards are being adopted by our state. This is a nationwide push and will steer schools away from place based curriculum. For example, there is a tremendous emphasis on technical reading and writing in the language standard. Standards don't specify how it will be taught but what will be taught.

Ms. Forest believed there were issues in incorporating placed-based instruction in the context of CCSS and advanced classes (and simultaneously described the reality of small schools) in the claim that

With so much emphasis on the core curriculum and the need to offer more and more advanced classes in the areas of math and science, it becomes very difficult to include place based education. In a small school system the teachers are

expected to teach 5 or 6 different subject areas [and] provide differentiated instruction necessary for adequate yearly progress. When do they have the time to incorporate place-based education? It becomes extremely difficult.

Of the responding principals, only one clearly communicated a belief that educational standards do not exclude PBE. Ms. Cambell emphasized that the individual school environment and the professionalism granted to teachers are important variables. She believed that

standards are definitely changing the face of instruction. I do not think most of the standards exclude place based education. There are likely a few that a creative teacher would not be able to meet in a place based manner, but I cannot think of any at present. Sometimes placed based education would not be the best or most efficient means of instruction that met a standard, but again, I believe that depends entirely on the flexibility and creativity of the teacher- Is s/he willing to creatively plan that carefully, or is it just easier (though not necessarily more effective) to stick to the book? If schools have professionals with high standards for themselves, then teachers should be in charge of making instructional decisions about how to best meet a standard, but I do believe that with creativity, most could be met in a place based manner.

While a majority of principals voiced theoretical support for PBE to various degrees, there was a consistent belief (regardless of the degree of support for place-based practices) that standards did not allow for PBE for this small sample of rural high school principals. Even the allowance described by Mrs. Cambell would require a creative educator and a supportive administrator. It is unknown whether this view of

incompatibility is held by a significant portion of school administrators in the region. As noted in Chapter 2, Jennings et al. (2005) did not find standards to inhibit the use of place-based practices; however their study was limited to teachers and did not include school administrators. Viewing standards and PBE as mutually exclusive is in harmony with the next subtheme, dueling views toward PBE.

Dueling Views Towards Purposes of Education

While the Continuum Completion Activity (Appendix B) indicated that the principals were monolithic in their preferences, the interviews suggested their views were more nuanced. Together, the two data sources provided a more complete picture of the thinking of the principals. A majority of the principals held dual views (representing the *gesellschaft*/Lockean and *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientations) towards the purposes of education that appeared to almost literally “duel” in the course of the interviews. Such dueling perspectives appeared at the individual level evidenced by an internal conflict voiced by a slight majority of principals and when analyzing the group. Dueling perspectives can be seen in the different levels in Table 4.1. Comments by Ms. Cambell were indicative of others. She described a history class on the region including a local Native American tribe that was a district requirement saying,

When you study like that [place-based] you get to know characters and people.... it is more relevant in ways to students because it involves people they know, people they've heard of, people they may be related to. And see what they are living is the - is the results of historical, economic factors of the past.

She then quickly responded to her own comment as if having an internal dialogue, “But I don’t want education here to be so place-based that our students couldn’t choose to go anywhere in the world if they wanted to.”

The dueling also appeared at the group level. As mentioned in the previous subtheme, the interviews revealed that three principals (Mr. Power, Mr. Sunny, and Mr. Mozzle) were monolithic in their support for PBE (two of which acknowledged the challenges in changing the current educational paradigm). Mr. Mozzle and Mr. Sunny, the two senior principals who averaged 14 years of experience, were in harmony with the first year principal, Mr. Power. Ms. Sage, in her second year of administration, made only negative remarks. Her remarks focused on the idea that the “knowledge base” associated with PBE would not prepare students for the world of higher education. With over a decade of total administrative experience in multiple districts, Mr. Johnson believed the writing was on the wall regarding the demise of PBE due to the combined forces of globalism and common core standards. He put it simply, stating that PBE is “inadequate because we have to teach the big picture because we are such a mobile society.”

The results from the Continuum Completion Activity illustrated a lopsided dueling. Seven of eight principals indicated a preference towards the place-based orientation from present school practices. Figure 4.1 illustrates the direction and relative magnitude of their preferences using a simple metric; Zero representing present practices, one representing a moderate shift, and two representing a significant shift away from current practices. The perspectives by Mr. Sunny and Mr. Johnson illustrate the poles on the educational practices continuum. Mr. Sunny was the only principal who communicated a monolithic preference for PBE from the two data sources (the

Continuum Completion Activity and the interview). He preferred the greatest shift towards PBE and promoted the incorporation of community elements into senior projects. He stated

I don't think [educational practices that provide for success in higher education and those that embrace the community] are mutually exclusive. I don't think – I think you can do both. In fact, I encourage teachers to bring in relevancy when they can -- into the curriculum. I think that is part of the preparation thing. One of the struggles you have with kids is breaking away from the textbook and actually doing collecting data and analyzing the data and those kinds of things so we have in social studies, mathematics, and science and even in English. That, to me, prepares kids for college whereas being given the calculus homework perhaps does as well but they both have their place.

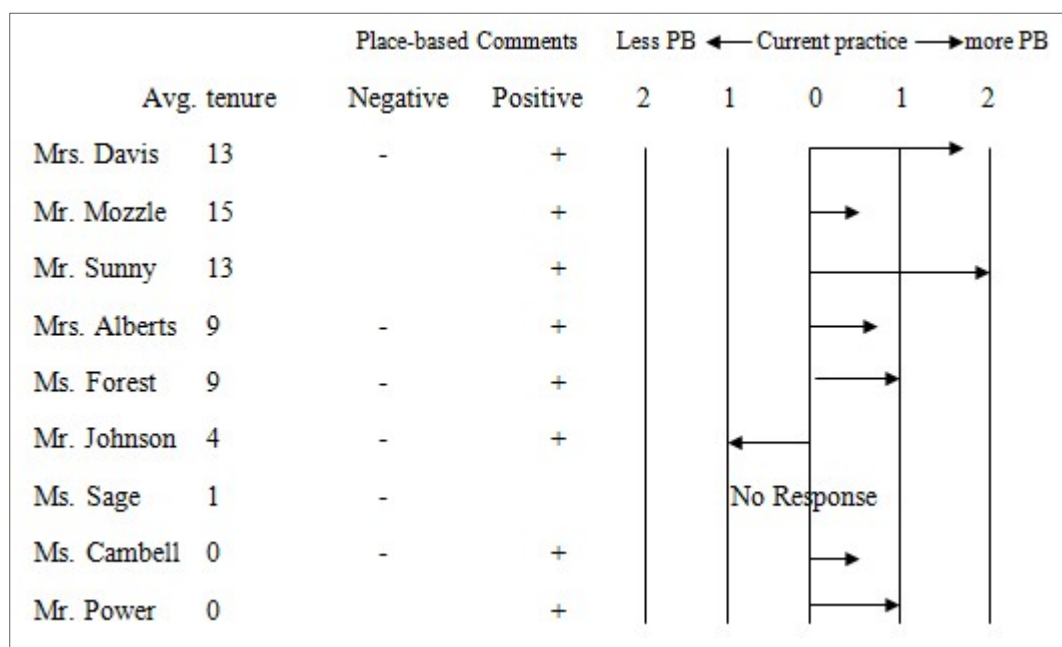


Figure 4.1 Magnitude Gap Between Preferences in Educational Practices and Actual Current Educational Practices

Mr. Johnson communicated a near monolithic preference in multiple ways towards place-free education and was the only principal to prefer such a shift from present practices (see Figure 4.1). His views, he reported, were informed by research, a word he used multiple times during the interview. No other principal used the word more than once. As mentioned previously, seven of eight principals indicated a theoretical preference towards the place-based orientation. They saw the value of place in the curriculum. This theme is marked by its theoretical nature, but when theory turned to practice, four principals viewed their rural communities from a deficit perspective and thus not appropriate for PBE. The transition from theory to practice provides the opportunity for the next theme.

Too Homogenous, Too Small

While all the principals appeared to value residing and working in their rural communities, four of the nine principals viewed those same communities as deficient in some way. PBE was of limited use because their communities were either too small or too homogenous. In other words, PBE *would* be more acceptable if their communities just had more people or had more ethnic or racial diversity.

Too Homogenous

Two principals expressed concern that the lack of ethnic and racial diversity makes their communities unsuitable for PBE. Ms. Sage felt that “there is not much diversity [in our community]. I think it [PBE] would definitely limit their knowledge base of...what’s going on around the” country. Mrs. Alberts stated “I think if you are too community...and Place-Based, I think, you could become just too, narrow, especially

here, with like so much generic [*sic*]. I mean...we have like, 10 black kids and a couple of Asian kids.” She went on to say that her beliefs were influenced by travel and being raised in areas with significant ethnic diversity and was comfortable with that diversity. It was in that context that she discussed the diversity of the present community:

Yeah, I think it is primarily that I want our students to be more prepared, to have a bigger cultural experience so if - and I came from [city in the Puget Sound area in Washington State], and I went to school in California, and there is diversity everywhere, socioeconomic diversity, cultural, ethnic, just a ton of diversity that I grew up with, I was totally comfortable with it. Now, coming here, my own kids and my students...are really ethnocentric; it is a very ethnocentric...community here. Now, there is some cultural differences as far as like slang, rednecks and hicks and the loggers and the you know, the old fashion, ‘I’m going to’ - NRA - ‘shoot you with my gun if you cross my county line.’ And then there is another [group that provides] polarity here. But that diversity isn’t what prepares them for the rest of the world.

Interestingly, this participant, influenced by travel and lived experience with ethnic diversity, was also the only principal who freely used derogatory terms for rural residents.

Too Small

Three principals (Mrs. Davis, Ms. Sage, and Ms. Forest) communicated that there was a direct relationship between the population of a community and its worthiness for intellectual study. While they described the benefits of rural living, they questioned their community’s ability to foster or allow an intellectual life. This is consistent with a study

by Budge (2006) of rural leaders, “who described their own attachment to place...[in terms of the] many opportunities for recreation and renewal” (p. 5), but not in terms of intellectual opportunities. In a discussion about her curricular preferences, Ms. Forest emphasized the intellectual deficits of small town life in her statement that “[I] think [our curriculum is] more nationally based at this point in time because we are so small, and because our students don’t get the opportunity to get out to the other areas, we really utilize a lot of what we are given textbook wise.” Mrs. Davis summarized this stance in a powerful way, claiming that

[P]lace-based education might hamper students’ success in college because we are talking...[identifies present small town], Idaho and maybe if we are living in Boise and there is a lot going on, but it will just depend on your place and even more so...[naming two small local communities], or something that is even smaller.

This view, that the possibility of an intellectual life is associated with community size and reaches its zenith in urban or metropolitan areas, has consequences for rural students. Gruchow commented on this when he wished he had known “that a great scholar of natural history had made a full and satisfying life in my town...I did not know until long after I left the place that it afforded the possibility of an intellectual life” (as cited in Haas & Nachtigal, 1998, p. 2).

The notion that these rural communities were too homogenous or too small to afford inhabitants an intellectual life was indicative of participants’ deficit view of their local communities. Ironically, considering their rurality, most of the communities had great *natural* diversity and abundant wildlife populations. Richard Louv, in *Last child in*

the woods (2005), described a student who “told me that every time she learns the name of a plant, she feels as if she is meeting someone new. Giving a name to something is a way of knowing it” (p. 41). Such a construct argues that ecological knowledge can enhance one’s view regarding what a specific locality has to offer. Principals who believe their communities are too homogenous and/or too small may make particular curricular choices to ensure that their graduates successfully “go on” to metropolitan or urban areas that include their conceptions of diversity and population size. To “go on” is explained in the next theme.

Expectations for Students: Go On

According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, the verb educate comes from the “Middle English, to rear, from Latin *educatus*, past participle of *educare* to rear, educate, from *educere* to lead forth” (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>). An education necessarily expects students to go *somewhere*. The expectations by the study participants for somewhere can be summed up in the phrase “go on”. Most likely by coincidence, the J.A. and Kathryn Albertson Foundation, an Idaho-based foundation, is currently funding a major campaign aimed at increasing higher education enrollment titled “Go On” (see <http://www.go-on-idaho.org/>). While it was beyond the ken of this study to determine the influence of the campaign on principals’ beliefs, there was a certain harmony between the two: to succeed students must go on for postsecondary training; to do otherwise is to fail. Unlike suburban and urban youth “continued schooling in rural communities... represents taking the first steps toward severing important ties to place, community, and family” (Corbett, 2007, p. 18). This was something not acknowledged by the study participants.

The principals were asked “what your expectations for students are once they graduate high school?” Most identified the goal of creating “career-oriented rather than place-oriented citizens” (DeYoung, 1995, p. 356), represented by the two quotes below.

Mr. Johnson responded that he expects that

Students are prepared for and having the skills to fulfill their post-secondary plans. In education we say “you have to go to college”. Our philosophy is that you have to have a skill. Students need to have some kind of post-secondary training, whatever that looks like.

Mr. Mozzle was more direct that opportunities lie elsewhere in his pronouncement that

Our main focus I think is to try to encourage kids to go on some level whether it would be technical training, on-the-job training, college, military or whatever but they need to pursue more training than just the high school education. Locally, there is nothing here, job-wise, education-wise, I mean besides [names sizable town nearby]. But our area alone, there is nothing here to keep them here. So we try to encourage them to go somewhere and at least further yourself, better yourself in some way.

While multiple principals mentioned the catchall phrase that graduates should “contribute to society,” only Mrs. Davis (the principal of the alternative school) suggested that graduates should contribute to their community. She explained, “I think that number one is we are putting out a product, a student of character that can give back to the community....I could say that they go on to college, but that is really not my expectation given where they come from.” All of the other principals emphasized that

graduates should “go on” (six actually used the phrase) for post-secondary training or education. At a minimum, graduates were expected to enroll in an internship or Associates degree program. Ideally, students would go on to complete a Bachelor’s degree. Ms. Sage exemplified the sentiment saying

Myself [and a couple of the other teachers] really encourage the kids to - even if they are not interested in a four-year university, you know, go on to a technical school....We definitely...try to encourage them to, you know, look beyond just their high school graduation and their high school diploma.

Principals’ responses to the interview question “What would you say to a student that wanted to remain in the community after graduation?” revealed that none would dissuade graduates from remaining in the community after graduation, but again, with the suggestion that they get some post-secondary training or education prior to engaging in fulltime employment. One participant, Mrs. Alberts, provide a caveat to the notion that it would be “ok” for students to remain in the community after high school. Her response to students who wished to remain in the community after graduation, she explained, would depend upon the students’ socioeconomic status:

If it is a family in the middle or high upper social economic status, I would talk to the parents and talk to the student and talk about opportunities and ways to even get out of [town], for a little bit.... For economically disadvantaged students with the aptitude they could do the welding program, diesel mechanics, or dentistry hygienist, or something else that they really like.

Accountability measures on the horizon for the nation’s high schools may increasingly mean that they will need to “show how they increase both college

enrollment and the number of students who complete at least a year of college” (Schramm & Zalesne, 2009, para. 2). In order to gain insight into a possible connection between accountability, higher education, and preferences in educational practices, during the interview I asked participants the following: “Do you feel that schools have to choose between educational practices that provide for success in higher education and those that embrace the community? Why or why not?” While all the principals affirmed the relevance of PBE to students’ lives, responses to this question were more nuanced. Four clearly communicated no choice had to be made, two were ambivalent, and three communicated that PBE would not prepare graduates for higher education. The contrast in perspectives were illustrated by the responses provided by Mr. Power and Mr. Johnson; Mr. Power claimed

You know, I wouldn’t think so. And, I would say that because there are so many real-life practical applications to math and science that these kids could take in a place-based program that would prepare them for higher education. I don’t think you would have to choose between the two. I think that they could coincide. I think it would take a lot more work, or maybe I shouldn’t use the term more work ... it would require change in education I think to be able to do that. Because you know, traditional education, you have a textbook, you teach out of the textbook, and I think education is slowly trying to get away from the textbook being the curriculum. Because it shouldn’t be the curriculum.

Mr. Johnson's response to the same question incorporated standards and student mobility, as he countered Mr. Power charging that

Well, first of all we are required to teach state standards, which is contrary to this philosophy [PBE] you are talking about. Not only that, the state is going to the common core standards. And, there is a value in making the connection to the community. We do a lot of things with the community. One of the most powerful things we do is we we'll have a group of kids have lunch with the senior citizens. We, a lot of our clubs and organizations do service-type projects. Plus, you know, if are teaching a biological concept to be able to make the connection, if you are teaching environmental science, let's talk about dairies on that. I see the value in that, but you still have to teach the big picture because we are such a mobile society. You know most of our biggest and brightest, or best and brightest are going to leave and so we need to teach the big picture and I do embrace the common core standards. We get kids from out of state and we have kids who move out of state, and they need to be prepared for that.

Ms. Forest was more ambivalent in claiming that

You can't limit them to just our area because there is more out there than just our area. However it's a known, it's where they live, what they see, they are going to be able to tie knowledge to it much more effectively that's going to be lasting knowledge if it's from their home.

The following subtheme resulted from my particular interest in the participants' conceptions about the purposes of schooling for talented students.

Talented Youth and “Go On”

Related to the “go on” conversation, a majority of the principals fully supported the claim that the job of an effective educator was to nurture and send off talented youth. Ms. Sage stated simply “we think about that all the time.” Mr. Johnson said “our...best and brightest are going to leave, and so we need to teach the big picture.” Multiple principals took obvious pride in their top achieving students and cited top universities in which recent graduates are attending; Lortie (1975) found that high “student achievement reassures teachers about *their* achievement” (p. 124); the same seems to apply to the study principals. On a tour of the school, one principal and I passed multiple students in the hallway. The only student he introduced me to was the school valedictorian. Another principal stated that in a typical graduating class there would be “3-5 [students]...going out of state. We have kids that go to Harvard, Yale, Stanford and that’s your 3-5, your scholars”. His comments suggest that he believes there is a relationship between being a scholar and migrating out of the state for higher education. This lends credence to Corbett’s (2007) claim that we should understand “schools as travel agencies for those who can afford the tickets” (p. 271). Only one principal, Ms. Cambell, a first year principal, communicated a strong defense of her rural community regarding the problem with talented youth outmigration asserting,

If it means training students and then sending them out into the world so that there is no pool of strong leadership, individuals with skills and talents and high training in rural communities, no. I don’t see that as... [part of my job]. I have a different picture of that because rural communities need strong people in them. They really are the backbone of Idaho....And if all people enjoy overall their

childhood and then leave forever, all that means is that we have a mass exodus into suburban America or urban America. So no, I wouldn't agree with that.

That's not my mission. I don't see that as my job at all.

While Ms. Cambell claimed that it was not her mission at all to send off talented youth, the findings from this study (such as the next theme Relationship between Tenure Roots and Preferences) suggest that due to the fragility of her position as a new principal, she lacks the leverage or roots to change practices to incorporate place.

This subtheme suggests that there was the recognition of the reality of particular pedagogies for talented youth and simultaneously an endorsement of such pedagogies by the participants. Mrs. Alberts' claimed "AP classes wouldn't be Place-Based. For calculus students, they have to go through the textbook of the skills they need for going on to Higher Ed," and Mr. Johnson, explained, "We teach a lot of dual credit courses, you know, it depends on the course. Like in calculus, man they have to follow that textbook to pass the final because that is the way the department is." Mr. Johnson explained that the local college determines textbook choices in dual credit courses; "We are mandated to take the local college final for Calculus and Pre-Calculus as well as use the same textbook." For the sake of simplicity, I will pair Advanced Placement (AP) and dual credit curricula as AP/dual credit for the remainder of this dissertation study.

The principals' comments that it is necessary and proper for academically talented students to be exposed to place-free AP/dual courses in high school appears to be aligned with other variables that are similarly pushing such students in this direction. Parents may be contributing to this phenomenon due to the potential financial rewards, something not be dismissed in our current economic malaise. The financial rewards are coming in the

form of the subsidization of AP/dual credit course fees by some states and school districts (Welch, 2011). It is not unheard of for academically talented students to initiate their college careers as sophomores and even juniors (due to the accumulation of college credits and/or testing out of introductory courses). Increasing efforts by educators, parents, and educational organizations to funnel their academically talented students into the higher education pipeline may mean that those rural communities are increasingly threatened, as the pipeline is known in rural lore (Besser, 1995; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998) and rural research (Dupuy et al., 2000; Lucas, 1971) to be one-way.

The views of Mr. Johnson regarding standards and the expectations of talented youth deserve further discussion in that they epitomize the *gesellschaft*/Lockean perspective and thus the halls of power in American education. He emphasized repeatedly that his views were influenced by the literature he had read and “[what] the business world is telling us.” He described research regarding the sustainability of rural communities and academically successful students in the following statement:

There is some research that has been done that businesses, before they come into a community, they look at the type of education system that is there because they want educated people to work for them, and so you know, if we are going to help the area and help the economy and help industry, we need to keep our educated people here.

The resulting exchange was striking considering the contradiction between Mr. Johnson’s perspectives voiced earlier in the interview and his professed beliefs about the need to retain talented youth in rural communities. When asked “It sounds like you do encourage those best and brightest students to go to college. Do you have conversations

with the best and brightest students about returning to the community after higher education?” Mr. Johnson responded “About coming back. Not necessarily. You know our conversations right now are you need to have a skill once you leave.” Huang et al. (1996) found a strong relationship between coursework and rural outmigration, and Ley et al. (1996) found that rural schools “in subtle and not so subtle ways...are inviting our children to leave, to become nomads” (p. 140). The theme here suggests the invitation is subtle via coursework and expectations.

There may be an interpretation of standards that is contributing to the future nomadic life of rural students. The term “standards” was often uttered in the same breath by the principals with “student skills” but not “community,” especially in the case of Mr. Johnson. The pairing of standards with skills, but not community, makes sense in light of the CCSSI statement that their standards are “aligned with college and work expectations.” College and work places naturally need skilled individuals. The initiative however, makes no inclusion of standards aligned with the expectations for community or civic participation. Palmer (1998) stated that teachers are encouraged to “dismiss the inward world...and master technique but not to engage their students’ souls” (p.19). It is possible that this stance towards standards (as focusing exclusively on skill development among students) may become widespread among principals. If principals as instructional leaders are promoting this dismissal among teachers, the gulf between educational practices and community may increase. Earlier in this chapter, I cited the conception by Mrs. Alberts regarding “place-based”; she thought of it in terms of administrators making positional decisions based on place or climbing the positional ladder. It appears that her conception has interesting relevance to this conversation. Due to the relationship found

between *physical* roots and *psychic* roots in the next theme, rural advocates interested in fighting the dismissal between technique and the inward world, between community and instructional practices, may promote policies that encourage principals to remain in *place*.

Relationship Between Tenure Roots and Preferences

My hypothesis prior to conducting this study was that there would be a direct relationship between *physical* roots and *psychic* roots. A principal with a long history with a particular community (physical roots) would communicate a strong preference for educational practices that revolve around sustaining that community (psychic roots), and inversely, rookie principals would communicate a strong preference for place-free educational practices. Figure 4.2 illustrates my hypothesis, essentially nine parallel lines with administrative tenure and preferences in educational practices perfectly tracking each other. Figure 4.3 illustrates the actual results and, collectively, suggests that my hypothesis was partly correct.

The comments by two new principals, Mr. Power and Ms. Sage, disagreed with my hypothesis; he made only positive comments about PBE, while she made only negative comments about PBE. They are both just beginning their administrative careers. For most of the principals, it seems that the pull of the *gesellschaft/Lockean* and the *gemeinschaft/Montesquieu* orientations resulted in selecting the middle ground regarding preferences in education practices, as seen in Figure 4.2.

The reluctance to take a strong stand was countered by the results of the Continuum Placement Activity. All six of the Shallow Roots and Moderate Roots principals communicated a preference for either shifting present practices slightly or

moderately; five of them towards place-based. Mr. Johnson, a Moderate Roots principal, communicated a moderate shift towards place-free educational practices. However, two of three principals with long tenure roots, Mrs. Davis and Mr. Sunny, communicated a preference for a significant shift towards place-based practices. Long tenure is naturally accompanied by at least satisfactory job evaluations and some leverage in changing educational practices. It may be that they feel safe in communicating strong preferences. This certainly appeared true with Mr. Mozzle, the principal with the longest tenure. He was the only principal to curse federal education policy, stating “I think the Race to the Top and No Child Left Behind are a bunch of bullshit.” Principals with shorter tenure may be wary of communicating a significant shift in educational practices, which tend to be place-free.

Influences upon Preferences

As mentioned, a moderate relationship was found between tenure and preferences in educational practices. Upon completing the Continuum Completion Activity, I inquired about the influences upon those preferences. Mr. Johnson, the only principal to communicate a preference for place-free educational practices, stated that his preferences are based on “where I feel where we’re headed, as not only as a nation but the world. You know, there needs to be that global aspect to it. And we are a mobile society and even if we are not physically mobile, [we are] through technology.” Collectively, the principals cited nine influences upon their preferences.

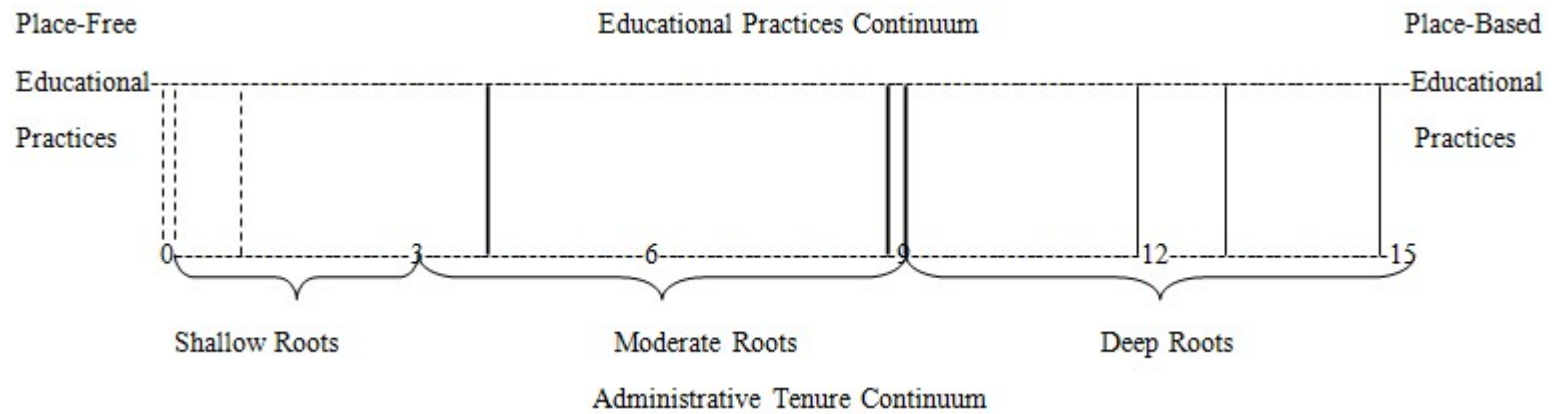


Figure 4.2 Educational Practices and Administrative Tenure Continuum: Predicted Results

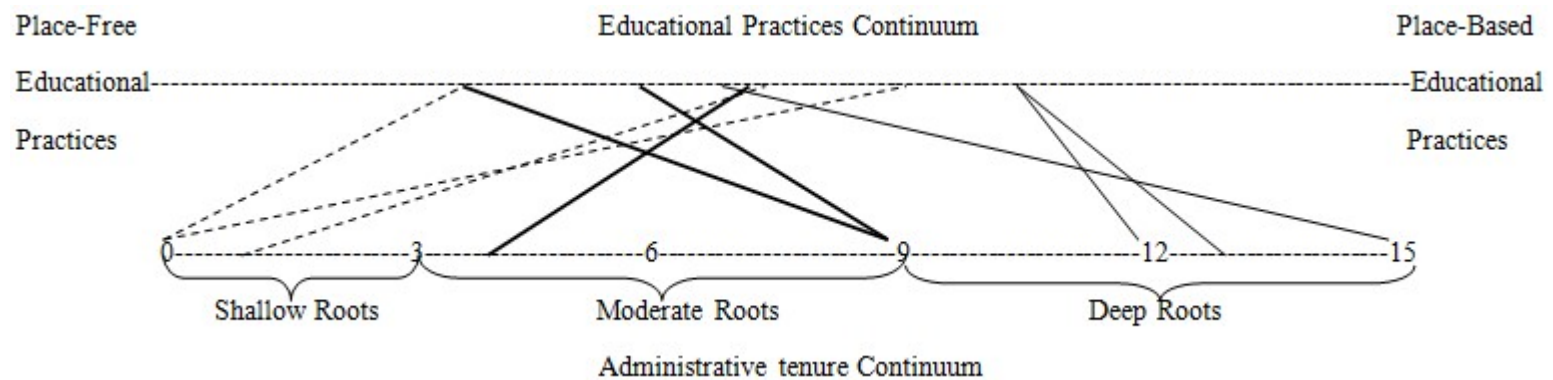


Figure 4.3 Educational Practices and Administrative Tenure Continuum: Actual Results

No single influence was found among a majority of principals regarding preferences in educational practices. The four most frequent influences (with number of principals citing) were: experiences as a teacher/administrator in seeing what works with kids (4), NCLB (3), increased globalization (2), and their own rural upbringing (2). Mrs. Davis exemplified the most frequent influence in stating that

[I] think all of those [upbringing, NCLB, teacher and administrative training programs] play a part in this, but I think probably the main one will be my experience -- my experience of working with kids and what I have seen to be successful, and that is probably the biggest one.

As a researcher, I was constantly aware that what participants did not say could be just as significant as what they did say. Although seven participants described a rural upbringing, only two made any mention of it as an influence on their preferences in educational practices. Mr. Mozzle mentioned it only in passing, but Mr. Power affirmed the influence of his rural childhood saying

One of the big things is my upbringing. I lived in a small community of about 800 people; that's how I grew up. I knew all my neighbors. There was...the history, the things that went on in our little town, you know, kind of ingrained in you. It's important, and it's something that I have that I value the sense of community and learning about community and using those skills to become part of that.

Of the six Shallow and Moderate Roots principals, Mr. Power was the most vocal about the importance of place in educational practices. Most likely not by coincidence, the importance of place was also seen in his childhood.

Summary

Four exclusive but related themes emerged from this study: 1) Understandings of Place-Based Education, 2) Too Small, Too Homogenous 3) Expectations for Students: Go On, and, 4) Relationship Between Tenure Roots and Preferences. Below I describe how the themes (and subthemes) collectively answered the research questions.

Regarding the first research question, none of the principals could recall being formally exposed to PBE and only two claimed familiarity. That meant that neither were they familiar with the research supporting PBE nor could they cite the imprimatur of their educational leadership programs or the state department of education to promote PBE stances. The understandings were thus based not on research or programmatic support but on opinions and experiences (such as seeing what works with kids). This resulted in the majority holding stances that were conflicted as seen in the subtheme Dueling Views towards Education. Even the three principals that were unreserved in their support for PBE (Mr. Power, Mr. Sunny, and Mr. Mozzle) were conflicted in their belief that the orientation is contrary to standards. The only principal that didn't appear conflicted was Mr. Johnson, the sole principal to favor place-free practices and the sole principal to emphasize that his views were research-based.

The second research question strove to understand the relationship between length of tenure and educational preferences. It appeared that there was a moderately strong relationship. The greater the length of tenure, the more likely principals were to communicate a preference for a shift in present educational practices toward place. If such a relationship is widespread, it may be of interest to advocates for rural communities

and rural schools. Seven of eight participants indicated this preference (with Mr. Johnson preferring place-free).

The second part of research question two sought to identify the factors used by the principals to place themselves on the continuum of preferences between place-based and place-free educational practices. Although a number of factors were cited, no single influence was found among a majority. The fact that only one principal made a strong statement for rural communities in the context related to preferences in educational practices is puzzling.

The last part of research question two sought to understand the extent to which the study participants felt a tension between place-based and place-free educational practices. Howley et al. (2005) claim such a tension is inherent in the work of rural principals. The Continuum Completion Activity, the Expectations for Students: “Go On” theme, and the positive comments about PBE (found in eight of nine transcripts) communicated little tension. Several themes though did communicate a tension (such as Understandings of Place-Based Education). The fact that all of the principals in this study supported the idea that students should “go on” after high school (with no comment regarding the severing of rural ties or research related to rural out-migration of academically talented youth) suggests that little tension was present in terms of a possible conflict between serving the needs of the local community and those of the broader society.

The next chapter explains how these results link to what is already known in the literature and what new knowledge or understanding has been created. Lastly, implications of the study are posed. This study raises many interesting questions while attempting to answer a few.

CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Howley et al. (2005) claimed that a tension exists in the work of the rural principal between the paired orientations that informed the conceptual framework for this dissertation: the *gesellschaft/Lockean* and *gemeinschaft/Montesquieu*. The *gesellschaft/Lockean* orientation conceives human nature as fulfilled by what has been termed the *happy life*. Such a life is focused on individual economic good where “space matters little and distance is not a bother; [such] people [are] at home in many places but in no one place in particular” (Bauman, 2005, p. 3). Educational practices along this orientation emphasize the development of student skills for the global economy that are divorced from community or application to specific places.

The *gemeinschaft/Montesquieu* orientation, on the other hand, conceives of human nature as, in the words of Montesquieu, making a “virtue...[out of the] renunciation of oneself” (as cited in Cohler et al., 1989, p. 35-36) in favor of sustaining the community. This has been termed the *good life*. Educational practices along this orientation also emphasize the development of skills; however, the critical difference is that such skill development emphasizes “creat[ing] deeper, more authentic membership in the...community” (Howley et al., 2005, p. 20).

Schools play a powerful role in communicating values and beliefs to students (Corbett, 2007; English, 2000; Theobald, 1997). One channel through which this is done is the continuum between the *good life* and the *happy life* (which is reflected in the

Continuum Completion Activity in Appendix A). I would argue that schools cannot teach skills in a vacuum, but in *some* context, while students “who understand...ideas in the context of their daily lives have a head start in dealing with the issue that their lives present” (Koch, 2013, p. 106), most schools limit the context of skill application to worksheets and textbooks and increasingly, the Internet. Schools are continually (sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly) assisting students as they attempt to answer the simple but powerful question raised by Haas (1992): “what can I become?” A related question that schools also assist students is: “in what context can I use the skills developed in school?” I believe that context matters. When schools communicate that skills are only useful in the context of interacting with China (or the workplace or higher education), they do so at the expense of disallowing students to conceive of applying those skills in the context of the local community. In what follows, I will briefly summarize why this topic matters.

First, this topic matters because the school principal matters. He/she influences schooling through a number of pathways such as “(1) purposes and goals; (2) structure and social networks; (3) people; [and] (4) organizational culture” (Hallinger & Heck, 1996, p. 171). Through such pathways, principals influence the powerful dynamic between students’ aspirations and learning (Huang et al., 1996). While Haas (1992) claimed that the cause and effect relationship is unidirectional in that “Young people’s aspirations guide what students learn in school” (p. 1), it may be argued that the relationship is bidirectional; what students learn in school may guide aspirations. This is supported by the claim that rural schools “educate students to take their places anywhere in the global economy and ignore the fact that *anywhere* usually means *elsewhere*” (Haas

& Nachtigal, 1998, p. vi). Rather than opening all doors to all opportunities, learning in rural schools opens some doors and closes others. This in turn influences the sustainability of rural communities as youth are a vital resource that cannot be exported without consequences.

Second, this topic matters because rural communities matter. The first statement to introduce this dissertation in the abstract claimed that “Rural schooling and rural communities are interdependent to a degree not seen in suburban and urban contexts.” Associated with this claim, Kannapel and DeYoung (1999), found that (due to application of the “one best system” paradigm over the last century) “rural schools have lost much of their uniqueness and, consequently, many of their strengths” (p. 67). In pairing these two statements, the loss of uniqueness of rural schools means the loss of *uniqueness* of rural communities due to their interdependency. They have not lost all their uniqueness, and I believe some can be brought back to life.

Third, rural communities have accumulated hard-earned knowledge of place that schools can work to preserve. Such knowledge (some would say wisdom) can take the form of sustainable agricultural practices. Pollan (2009) stated that “Urban conservationists.... are all farming by proxy” (para. 13). Although most Americans are far removed from rural life and farming life, I would extend Pollan to claim that all of us are farming by proxy due to an activity we engage in daily: eating. As such, we all have a vested interest in sustaining the wisdom of place found in rural communities. Suburban and urban communities and their schools would do well to take note of wisdom of place in the examples of powerful collaboration between rural schools and their communities (for examples see Bartsch, 2008; Kerski, 2001; Wigginton, 1985). Such work has

dissolved “the isolation of the school, its isolation from life” that Dewey (1959) warned us about. All schools (whether rural, suburban, or urban) would benefit by heeding Dewey’s warning.

Lastly, this topic adds a voice to the literature that raises concerns regarding the individualistic notions of the purposes of public schooling (especially around academically talented students) in America. Such an expansion is important because such notions lead to “community disintegration [that] is logical and predictable” (Theobald, 1997, p. 66). A parallel to this expansion can be found in our history a century ago. Charles Taylor was called before a House committee in 1912 to respond to allegations about the effects of Taylorism on American workers. Taylor proceeded to describe

one of his favorite yarns, the one about the science of shoveling. ‘The ordinary pig-iron handler’ is not suited to shoveling coal, Taylor said. ‘He is too stupid.’ But a first-class man, who could lift a shovelful weighing twenty-one and a half pounds, could move a pile of coal lickety-split. ‘You have told us the effect on the pile,’ an exasperated committee member said, but ‘what about the effect on the man?’ (Lepore, 2009, p. 5).

Like the thinking of the committee member, this topic asks that we think of educational practices not only in terms of the effect on the student, but the effect on communities, rural and otherwise.

The maximum variation sampling strategy for tenure allowed me to create three groups (Shallow Administrative Roots, Moderate Administrative Roots, and the Deep Administrative Roots) to understand the relationship between the variables physical roots (represented by the administrative tenure continuum) and psychic roots (represented by

the educational practices continuum). The sampling strategy paired with the interview questions and the continuum placement activity allowed me to understand the degree to which the two variables corresponded with each other.

The two interpretations that follow are at a level of analysis above the themes in the previous chapter.

Despite Professed Practice, a Preference for Place

Despite the fact that study participants reported current educational practices were largely place-free, almost all (seven of eight responding) communicated they would prefer more place-based educational practices be used in their schools (as seen in the subtheme *Dueling Views Towards PBE*). For this group, the magnitude of the shift in preference was found to be moderately associated with duration of tenure (see Figure 4.1). These two findings appear to be new to the literature and are interesting in light of the finding that none of principals had ever been formally exposed to PBE in their teaching or administrative training programs. While some principals objected that their communities were too small or too homogenous for PBE, the findings collectively suggest an inchoate interest for learning about and moving towards such practices, but they may very well not know how. Mr. Sunny touched on this issue when he stated:

[I] think the relevancy of education -- I would like to see as much more of that.

And I do think there should be more of a community and school, but unfortunately the problem is that [current] training doesn't prepare us for that. So there is a disconnect between what the preparation is for teachers and for administrators and what we provide.

It appears that school administrative programs focused on the rural context have been essentially nonexistent or superficial not only in Idaho, but much of the United States (Herzog & Pittman, 1999; Stern, 1995). Such preparation could include data on migration patterns of the rural college going population, as a number of authors have found that experiences in higher education often result in one way tickets (Besser, 1995; Corbett, 2007; Dupuy, et al., 2000), which in turn contributes to the decline of rural communities.

The absence of place-based preparation is not unique to the United States; Gibson argued that “the pervasive attitude in Australian policy documents appears to assume no need for specialized training or selection practices for rural, remote, or isolated teaching personnel” (as cited in White & Reid, 2008, p. 4). White and Reid (2008) identify the influence of educator programs on practice in their claim that

... teacher education can help the nation to resist the effects of rural decline ... and thereby help to sustain healthy rural communities and economies. While rural economy and teacher education might not be usual bedfellows, we have strongly argued ... the need for them to be carefully and purposefully linked. (p. 9)

The same might be said for linking educational leadership and rural community development. Such a link might foster in aspiring leaders the ability to view rural communities and rural students through a different lens than did four of the participants in this study. These four principals, while theoretically supporting PBE, believed their communities were too small or too homogenous as a subject of study rigorous enough to prepare students for their future. Leadership preparation focused on the rural context could challenge dominant cultural perspectives regarding rurality, shifting from one of

deficit to one that respects and honors the funds of knowledge found in local, rural places (Avery & Kassam, 2011; Heldke, 2006; Johnson, Finn, & Lewis, 2005). Such a shift holds the possibility of preparing leaders capable of supporting a rigorous education that *does* prepare students for the demands of higher education and may very well lessen the dueling views towards education described earlier.

The previous chapter included two specific and powerful claims (within the Understandings of Place-Based Education theme) of the inadequacies of PBE from the participants' perspectives: lack of rigor for higher education and inconsistency with content and performance standards. Specifically addressing such claims in preparation programs might legitimize PBE. The place-based efforts at the Llano Grande Center for Research and Development (described in the literature review) in southern Texas has been a win for policymakers, parents, and others interested in high academic achievement and a win for the community in that college-educated students are returning to the region to contribute their skills and perspectives. A number of educators have asked the simple and provocative question “[P]lace-based pedagogy, ‘world-class’ standards--are they mutually exclusive” (Gibbs & Howley, 2000, p. 2)? The success of the Llano Grande work illustrates they need not be.

Some participants believed PBE to be inconsistent with state educational standards. Among the six respondents, three claimed a complete incompatibility, two claimed a partial compatibility, and only Mrs. Cambell claimed no compatibility issues between PBE and standards. The fact that the three PBE advocates (Mr. Power, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Mozzle) communicated an incompatibility between standards and PBE is troubling. If this perspective is commonly held by high school principals holding PBE

preferences, responsive practices could be threatened. A number of authors such as Jennings (2000) and Jennings et al. (2005) found no incompatibility issues between place-based practices and standards. It may be useful for rural educators to witness the products created by students engaging in exemplary place-based practices (such as the Foxfire Project and the Llano Grande Center) to observe the possibility of rigor. Jennings et al. warn that states not sensitive to the local “may ultimately create a tension that did not previously exist between teachers’ implementation of standards and their beliefs about good pedagogy, including place-based curriculum” (p. 64). The same may be claimed about administrators not sensitive to the local.

The finding that preferences for PBE increase with tenure appears to be new to the literature and suggests that with long tenure strong preferences for place-based practices can develop. Then again, the field of educational administration is plagued by high turnover, which may mean principals would rarely develop a preference for place-based practice as a result of staying in one place over time. Recall the conversation with Mrs. Alberts about PBE in the previous chapter. She recalled that a former professor claimed that

As an administrator you need to decide between place or position You have to decide if you are willing to...stay in the same community because that is where your family is and that is where you are from, [the consequences may be that] you may not have the roles to go up the ladder as you want to[I]f you take position based...you may have to move somewhere, but you have the position you want.

I initially thought her comment irrelevant, but find it now actually quite significant. Infusing *place* into educational leadership programs may encourage

principals to elevate place over position. This finding has implications for retaining rural principals.

Retaining principals is a difficult problem to overcome because the challenges tend to be systematic and structural. Fuller and Young (2009) believe that principals quit their positions due to accountability pressures, complexity and intensity of the job, lack of support from central office, and compensation. Duke (1988) interviewed four principals that at the time were considering quitting. They cited their dissatisfaction with “relationships with superiors....policy and administration, lack of achievement, sacrifices in personal life, lack of growth opportunities, lack of recognition and too little responsibility, and relations with subordinates” (p. 309). The additional challenges for the rural principalship (including consolidation and busing, declining enrollment, funding inequities, and declining facilities) make understandable Beeson’s (2001) subtitle that the “successful rural school principal must be part innovator, part negotiator, and part magician” (p. 22). Howley and Pendarvis (2002) cited similar forces and made the following recommendations for recruiting and retaining rural administrators: “publicize the satisfactions of administration, encourage applications from women and minorities, increase salary and benefits, and provide access to relevant professional development” (p. 5). The present interpretation may have relevance to recommendations one and four.

While this interpretation focused on the practices and preferences of the principals for themselves and their communities, the next interpretation focuses on their preferences for (and the reality of) the schooling of their academically talented students.

Inside-Outside Forces Contributing to the Place-Free Academically Talented Student

Rural schooling has long directed rural students to the demands of urban America and at the same poorly prepared students to make meaningful contributions to their communities (Corbett, 2007; Howley et al., 1996), due in part to place-free schooling. This interpretation suggests that the forces contributing to the place-free nature of schooling to which academically talented students are exposed may be increasing. According to the rural education literature, such an increase may likewise increase the threat to the sustainability of rural communities through the well-known phenomenon of rural “brain drain” (Artz, 2003; Carr & Kefalas, 2009). The dire situation is summed up by the title alone by Stricker’s (2008) paper: *Dakota Diaspora: The Out-Migration of Talented Youth from one Rural Community*. Below I describe the inside-outside forces contributing to the place-free academically talented student.

Outside Forces

It appears that place-free schooling among talented students may be increasing by these two outside forces: a) increasing facilitation of AP/dual credit coursework by better technology, and b) increasing subsidization for AP/dual credit coursework by state departments of education. These two factors may be exacerbating the perfect storm of variables that are already threatening rural sustainability (described in Chapter Two).

The large increase in high school students enrolling in AP/dual credit courses has implications for the questions at hand. At the national level, The College Board (2011) reports that over a nine year period from 2001, the number of high school seniors leaving high school having completed an AP exam increased by 197% from 432,343 to 853,314.

At the state level, Welch claims that “Technology advances have spurred on dual credit enrollment in Idaho over the past half-decade. At CSI [College of Southern Idaho], students are taking 2,165 dual credit classes this semester, up from 1,016 in fall 2005.” That amounts to an increase of 216% and reflects closely what is happening at the national level (at 197%). In addition, Idaho recently increased funding by over \$800,000 to high school students for dual credit fees (Welch, 2011).

Inside Forces

As described in the subtheme “Talented Youth and Go On,” the study principals described the reality of, and their preferences for, the schooling of academically talented students. This study found a harmony in the two: academically talented students should be exposed to an AP/dual credit curriculum (that depend heavily on the textbook, and increasingly the Internet) to prepare them for the demands of higher education.

The combined inside/outside forces directed at academically talented rural students present a juggernaut that threatens the sustainability of rural schools, and thus, rural communities. A rural advocate poetically stated that “the beauty into which you were born into is often the beauty you never see” (as cited in Wigginton, 1985, p. 53). Such thinking is reflected by “small town...residents [who]...complain that ‘there is nothing here’” (Heldke, 2006, p. 152). It doesn’t have to be that way. Through the incorporation of PBE, schools (rural and otherwise) can be a force that directs students to the beauty of the places where they were born. School administrators are in a key position to provide such leverage. The implications below include a description on how such leverage may be obtained.

Implications

This section is divided into implications associated with theory, practice, and further research.

Theoretical

Howley et al. (2005) stated that the shift in “the locus of power in rural schools away from the local community and toward state capitols and the federal government, [has resulted in the implicit endorsement of] the *gesellschaft* over the *gemeinschaft* as the cultural norm for public education” (p. 23). But this study suggests a different locus of power: comments by the participants and the cited literature suggests that actors external to the local community, such as The College Board and local institutions of higher learning, may be increasing their influence over rural schooling for academically talented students. While the present result may be the same (the shift from the *gemeinschaft* to the *gesellschaft*), there may be future theoretical implications in such a shift of power.

A retrospective examination of the conceptual framework cited in the literature review (p. 36) found it to be simplistic. Only two factors were envisioned to influence the purposes of schooling by rural high school administrators. They were the American educational structure (a large arrow indicating large influence) and rural communities (a small arrow indicating large influence). The study unexpectedly found that values and beliefs related to globalism were also a factor. Also, the Influences upon Preferences subtheme found that the two most common influences were experiences as a teacher/administrator in seeing what works with kids (cited by four participants), and NCLB (cited by three participants). It was a surprise that only a third of the participants

cited NCLB, the most significant federal legislation related to public education in the last quarter century.

The conceptual framework appeared to correctly reflect the relative influence of the *gesellschaft*/Lockean and *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientations. The themes Too Homogenous, Too Small and Expectations for Students: Go On found an “emphasis on the econom[ical] [roles]and downplaying, at best, the role that ... [students] might play as political beings” (Theobald, 2006, p. 318); viewpoints in harmony with *gesellschaft*/Lockean. In addition, although eight of the nine participants enjoyed a rural upbringing, only a few made strong statements (such as Ms. Cambell and Mr. Power) in support of the *gemeinschaft*/Montesquieu orientation.

Practical

A certain legitimacy comes with instructional practices that are formally acknowledged in educational training programs. Considering the significant doubts expressed by the study participants about the practical legitimacy of PBE in rural places (such as the subthemes in Understandings of Place-Based Education and the theme Too Homogenous, Too Small), an argument can be made for a practical implication associated with school leadership training programs.

School Leadership Training

Winters (2010) stated that a number of policies have been advanced to sustain rural communities such as building “up local recreational amenities, student loan forgiveness programs, better K-12 education, improving infrastructure and access to high-speed internet, and economic development strategies” (p. 20). The themes and

interpretations found in this study suggest that a practical implication for sustaining rural schools and rural communities may be found in improving training programs for future rural school leaders. As stated earlier, none of participants cited rural education literature or research as sources of influence upon their preferences in educational practices (in the subtheme Influences upon Preferences). Also, none of the principals communicated a concern about the outmigration of academically talented students (except Ms. Cambell), which they are likely contributing to as “inside forces” cited earlier. Although rural education literature has found that the higher education pipeline, once entered, often serves as a one-way path from rural communities (Besser, 1995; Corbett, 2007), the participants’ responses make sense in light of their lack of awareness of this threat to the sustainability to rural communities.

Training programs for future rural school leaders might focus on the incorporation of PBE in terms of successful practices elsewhere (such as the efforts by the Llano Grande Center and others described in Gruenewald and Smith, 2008). The lack of training in PBE means that principals are not able to envision the possibilities of rigor, relevance, and relationships of *place* and thus not able to respond to this trend, which contributes to rural brain drain. Incorporating PBE into administrative training and professional development may allow the preferences for self and student to be in accord. Such an incorporation would allow rural high school principals to have the understandings and knowledge to expand their call to academically talented students from “go on” to “go on and come back to contribute someday.” By incorporating PBE into the school curriculum, students themselves may be more interested in returning; returning not to a place of deficit but to a place of promise. This is a reminder (from the

opening passage of this study) that schools can encourage students to use both their wings *and* roots.

Further Research

Based on Findings

Four avenues of future research are described here based on findings.

First, this study was limited to principals' preferences in educational practices, not on how they actually *influenced* educational practices. Nonetheless, the transcripts reflect a few hints as to how principals do influence educational practice. As an example, one instructional practice that emerged in interviews with Mr. Sunny and Mrs. Alberts related to PBE was the senior project. The influential nature of the projects can be seen in his claim that they sometimes determine the direction of graduates' careers and "sometimes they determine what career they are not going to do, which is okay too." Mrs. Alberts communicated the importance of career development but not community in the project when she stated that

In their senior year they are doing a whole career research paper.... it is going to be part of their senior project type thing. So I guess my expectation... [is] that every student will go on to some post-secondary plan, will follow through with their plan.

It might contribute to the field to understand the nature and pathways of how principals (with either place-based or place-free preferences) influence schooling.

A second implication for future research relates to the manner in which the Common Core State Standards [CCSS] influence teaching and learning in rural schools.

The CCSS typically emphasize skill development “aligned with college and work expectations.” Skill development, in theory, is neutral. It can support the growth of individuals or the health of communities. Mr. Power affirmed his rural upbringing in stating that “[I] value the sense of community and learning about community and using those skills to become part of that.” Mr. Johnson, on the other hand, said (in regard to students nearing graduation) “Our conversations right now are [about the] skill[s needed] once you leave.” Both principals contemplated the importance of skill development; however, for different purposes. While a few standards efforts such as Vermont (see Jennings et al., 2005) have infused *place* into standards, most have divorced the two (such as the CCSS). It would benefit the field to understand how educators are contextualizing skill development in public education arena increasingly dominated by the CCSS.

A third implication may be found at the intersection between sociology and education. Due to the nature of the study, the issue of migration frequently arose. The psychology and population of America is founded much on the idea and action of migration and movement; indeed the famous poem *The New Colossus*, inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty, describes the statue as the “mother of exiles.” Increasingly, migration and movement is in the digital form. Ms. Forest commented on this in stating that the district has

Pushed technology hard and part of that is because for the first time in history you could work from, I mean, if you chose to stay in this community, you could still work from home in this community, or a small business or whatever and not have

to commute. And maybe go and -- we do have parents that fly to California for a week, a month and the rest of the time they are working here.

What are the implications for rural schools and communities and civic participation associated with the radical freedom that comes with Internet and digitized work?

The last implication relates to the sources of feedback that high schools are using to improve teaching and learning. The transcripts show that three principals communicated that feedback came in particular forms, specifically from businesses and higher education. Two representative comments included “I know here, we look at the scores of our students that come back to us from [institutions of higher education in Idaho]. How are our kids performing? What classes are they being required to take as far as remedial courses? These are all important things for us to consider” and “[W]e are constantly hearing from...businessmen that...are hiring our kids out of high school and they are saying...they are coming to us with no responsibility.” What are the potential implications for rural teaching and learning when the sources of feedback are from businesses and higher education? How are those implications different when the sources of feedback are from the community? Finally, to what degree are schools biased in their preferences for particular forms of feedback?

Based on Lack of Findings

In contrast to the kind of coursework preferred for talented students, Ms. Cambell made the claim that PBE could flourish in alternative schools in the form of hands-on activities because “for those students that is the best way for them to learn.” The lack of findings (in terms of corroborative data) meant that I could not make any claims about

rural principals' preferences for, or belief in, a bifurcation in the curriculum (place-free AP/dual credit curriculum for talented students, place-based curriculum for alternative or low-achieving students). There may be significant implications for the sustainability of rural communities if such preferences are widespread among rural educators. Such preferences may allow alternative or low-achieving students to "learn to stay," but allow academically talented student to "learn to leave."

Limitations

A limitation of this study (in terms of applications to educational policy or practice) arises as no attempt was made to determine causation between preferences in educational practices and tenure and so could not answer these two questions: Do preferences for place cause principals to stay put, or does staying put cause principals to develop preferences for place? Our current economic recession may have implications regarding the latter question. The recession may be encouraging principals to stay put because there are fewer administrative opportunities elsewhere (due to reductions in budgets or older administrators putting off retirement in light of their personal financial situation) and poor real estate market for home sellers. In staying put, rural administrators may become more invested in the community, and in turn, promote place-based educational practices.

The strategies used to recruit the study participants may mean that they were not representative of rural high school principals at large. As a result, generalizing the findings to rural high school principals is problematic. As an example, all of the Shallow and Moderate Administrative Roots principals were recruited from a state leadership conference for principals at a university in southwest metropolitan Idaho. Two facts of

this recruitment strategy provide study limitations. One is that significant travel issues to the conference likely dissuaded some remote principals from attending, and thus this group did not have an opportunity for recruitment. Second, the attending principals displayed initiative and organizational participatory characteristics that may not apply to the population of rural high school principals at large. Those characteristics may have some influence on preferences in educational practices.

Lastly, the findings from this study should be understood in the context of the positionality subtheme described in the Methodology chapter. A primary tenet of qualitative research rests on the idea that the researcher's values, beliefs, and biases (in other words, her or his "position") influences the lens through which study data is interpreted. In agreement with the "constructivist viewpoint ... [I] *constructed* [themes and interpretations] out of [participant] stories" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 10). My belief in diversity (vs. homogeneity) and the inherent value of rural places may have led me to overlook some data and focus on others. The strategies of peer review and member checks (and others) suggested that my position was a valid one. Further research could determine or suggest whether the position I took as researcher is widespread.

Conclusion

Jasper noted in *Restless Nation: Starting Over in America* (2000) that

[I]f we do not ask why or how place matters to humans, we can never see what Americans might be missing in their nomadic disregard for it, what roots might mean for individuals and communities. Americans hold on to placelessness with a peculiar but proud embrace. (p. xii)

Jasper's claim about our cultural disregard for place appears to reflect and is reflected by a predominant disregard for place in American education (DeYoung, 1995; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998); such a disregard has significant consequences for the choices by rural students, and thus, rural communities (Ley et al., 1996; Theobald, 1997). PBE does ask the questions raised by Jasper. If these questions are not raised by America's educators, then who should ask them?

The novelist Anne Michaels (1998) stated that "If you know one landscape well, you will look at all other landscapes differently. And if you learn to love one place, sometimes you can also learn to love another" (p. 82). Her quote illustrates a core belief in my definition of PBE. While one's community is worthy of stewardship and intellectual study, more importantly the quote communicates that *all* communities are worthy of stewardship and intellectual study. Albert Einstein said "The problems of today will not be solved with the same consciousness that created them." On the surface the two quotes may not have ties, but they do, and those ties are significant to this study. The lack of knowledge regarding PBE may limit the "consciousness of [these educators]...about the *significance* of place and its relationships to other places and social practices" (White & Reid, 2008, p. 8). Considering the influence principals have in schools, they may pass on this limited consciousness in their curricular recommendations to school faculty. This may in turn contribute to the rural problem as students answer the question crucial to themselves and their communities: What can I become? The problems of today that result from placelessness can only be solved by a consciousness that returns to place. PBE is a way of return. According to Theobald (1997), the ideal place for this return is in the rural school. I agree.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

Participant: _____ District: _____ Start: _____ Finish: _____

Interview Questions
1. What are your expectations for students once they graduate high school? What would you say to a student that wanted to remain in the community after graduation?
2. In one book I read, the rural principal “maintained ...that the job of an effective educator was to nurture and send off talented youth” What do you think of that statement?
3. What is your understanding of place-based education? Was this term ever discussed in your certification courses, teacher or administrative?
4. Do you feel that schools have to choose between educational practices that provide for success in higher education and those that embrace the community? Why or why not?
5. There has been an increasing emphasis by various organizations and initiatives to reduce the traditional multiple purposes of high school to focus on preparing students for the demands of higher education. What do you think of this reorientation? Has this emphasis influenced your ideas about the purposes of schooling?
6. Based on your perspective, what are the top purposes of rural schooling?
7. I wanted to ask about the “x” you placed on the educational practices continuum. Thinking of all the influences upon your beliefs (such as upbringing, NCLB, teacher and administrative training programs) can you explain what caused you to place the “x” there?

APPENDIX B

Continuum Completion Activity

Appendix B: Continuum Completion Activity

Script: Based on what you believe to be the purpose(s) of schooling in this community; put an “x” on the continuum below between place-based and place-free educational practices. Place a dot on the continuum below to indicate present educational practices.

These context-free educational practices emphasize curricular resources created elsewhere, such as textbooks and Internet, which increasingly promote the embedding of an international orientation that values communication with those afar. Students become equipped with the economic and social knowledge and skills to become residents of society and the world.

These context-dependent educational practices emphasize the use of local created curricula which promote the embedding of a local orientation that values communication with the community. Students become equipped with the economic, political, historical, and social knowledge and skills to become contributing inhabitants of their communities.

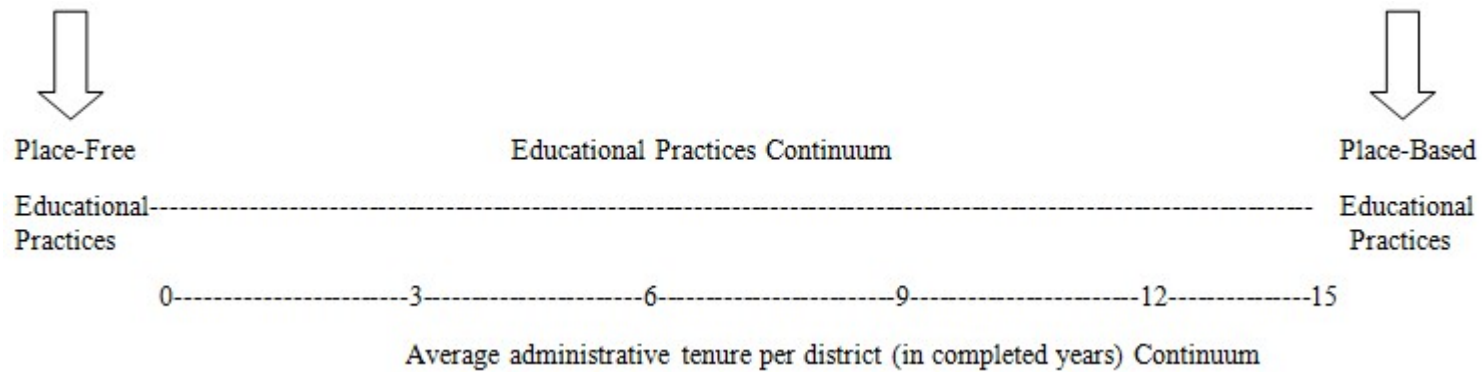


Figure B1 Average administrative tenure per district (in completed years) Continuum

