A Rural School/Community: A Case Study of a Dramatic Turnaround and Its Implications for School Improvement

Robert V. Carlson
University of Vermont

ABSTRACT

Valley View is a typical New England small rural community located in northeastern Vermont which recently approved a bond issue to construct a much needed new elementary school. Community approval of this bond issue represented a significant event and a reversal of nearly two decades of school/community turmoil. To better understand the dynamics of the dramatic turnaround a case study was conducted. Reported in this article are the results of this investigation and their implications for addressing rural school/community improvement needs. Current organizational and systems theory were used to isolate significant influences on Valley View and its school. These analyses offer a fresh view at understanding the change process particularly in rural settings.

INTRODUCTION

Policy makers at state and federal levels and concerned citizens continue to call for improvements in American education. Two very recent reports by leading scientific organizations and the National Governors Association (Burlington Free Press, 1989 & Shenon, 1989) outlined their perceptions of serious deficiencies and call for significant changes. Others (Chubb & Moe, 1988), as well, suggest a need for dramatic restructuring or redesign of American schools. As well intended these calls for change may be, it seems at best these advocates appear to suffer from a lack of understanding of the change process or at worst assume the last call for improvement will prevail over all the previous reports, legislative actions, and efforts at school improvement. A need seems to exist in furthering an understanding of how schools adapt to environmental pressure for change and what works at the school/community level. In other words, why is it that some schools and their communities respond to these various reports and legislated actions and embark on needed changes. Further, given the unique conditions of rural education when compared to urban-suburban education (e.g., higher levels of poverty, larger numbers of at-risk students, lower per student fiscal resources, larger percentage of dependent populations, and general isolation), the need to understand how rural school/community adapt and change becomes even more critical.

This community, Valley View, offered promise in understanding rural school/community efforts at improving because of a dramatic turnaround so vividly portrayed by the community's approval of a new school bond issue. It is true that communities across the U.S.A. are annually approving bond issues for new construction. So, this event in of its self is not noteworthy. However, when this decision is placed in a context of troubled school/community relations and previously perceived insurmountable problems, this event becomes more significant. Thus, this case study research was initiated to better understand how one rural community managed to recover from a dismal condition. The case study provided an opportunity through the use of contemporary organizational and systems theory to surface some plausible explanations for the dramatic improvements. The analyses described in this article offer insight into the subtleties and complications of local school/community improvement and help appreciate the difficulty of mandating and/or influencing local school/community improvement efforts.

The case study reported herein was designed to explore in some depth how one rural school/community adapted and changed over time. The methodology used for this case study (Stake & Easley, 1978 and Wolcott, 1980) included several lengthy visits to the school during the spring of 1988. The visits were

1Robert V. Carlson Professor of Education and Director of Ed.D. Program in Educational Administration,
University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405.
devoted to conducting interviews, observations, and securing related documents. The interviews were conducted with the school principal; nearly all members of school staff including teachers, secretary, custodian, cook, and aides; the superintendent of schools; school board members; and selected members of the community. The interviews were semi-structured and queried each person in regards to their perception of what was the nature of school and community prior and since the 1984-85 school year, what factors contributed to the observed changes, and who were the key persons in the turnaround process. In all 23 persons were interviewed.

The remaining portion of this article provides more background on the rural school/community studied, its experiences with trying to turn things around, an overview of the theory used to analyze the case situation, the results of these analyses, and the implications of these results.

**VALLEY VIEW COMMUNITY***

Valley View is situated in northeastern Vermont on the southwestern border of area described by Vermonters as the Northeast Kingdom. A term which over the years has come to denote an impoverished section of the state somewhat isolated from the economic and social development experienced in other parts of the state. And unfortunately, the term is often used pejoratively to described backwardness and people of lower socio-economic status. Valley View, although on the border of the area, shares many of the characteristics of the Northeast Kingdom and has been subject to the same negative perceptions.

The community of Valley View sits in a small river valley which parallels a major state highway with a population of approximately 1200 people, has little or limited local job opportunities, and has been known for a high level of unemployment and numbers of families on welfare for several generations. As with the state as a whole, dairy farming at one time represented the major source of employment and income in the area. However, with the dairy buy-out program and lower demand for dairy products, the farms in this area have declined significantly (Carlson, 1988). As will be observed later in this article, the decline of the number of farms impacted the community and school in a variety of ways.

Several persons described Valley View of the past as lacking in a positive self image and often engaged in polarized politics. As one person described it, "Valley View seemed to epitomize the Hatfields and McCoys phenomenon." That is, in Valley View whenever one well known family supported an issue, another equally known family took an opposing stance. This ensured some level of debate and division over local issues especially those concerning the school. A condition that often resulted in impasse and neglect of important needs of the school.

More recently, in the last five years, the community has experienced a demographic shift. Many new families have moved into the area partly encouraged by lower land values, zoning requirements of only one acre lots, and no on-site sewage regulations. It is a common perception of the school staff and community members that these new families are more educated and see the importance of having a good school for their children. Population growth and shifts in employment opportunities have resulted in a larger percentage of local persons having to commute to other neighboring communities, in some cases up to 75 miles away.

According to the rural community typology developed by Nachtigal (1982), Valley View can aptly be described as a community in transition. Many original community members have been forced to change their life styles or move away because of fewer opportunities to operate or work on a farm. Those who have chosen to stay have found ways to support themselves by operating auto repair jobs, carpentry, logging, or sought employment in neighboring communities. Added to the mix of long term residents has been recent move-ins which have come in two waves. The earlier in-migration occurred in the 1960s by many who sought the simpler and back-to-earth life styles. These earlier new residents provided some stress between long term residents and new entrants. The next wave occurred in the early 1980s and is continuing. It is this latter wave that in many ways shifted political influence away from the long term, conservative element of Valley View. In part, this second wave helped set the

**VALLEY VIEW ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

The Valley View Elementary School is located near the center of town and is a K-6 facility whose original building was constructed around 1900. After the last one room school closed in the early '60s, all the

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*Valley View is a pseudonym for purposes of confidentiality.*
Carlson

children of Valley View and North Valley View were assigned to this school. It is basically a wooden frame structure which had one addition built in the mid-1970s. Up to a month ago and just prior to moving to their new school facility, the village school housed just under 140 students, grades kindergarten through sixth grade. However, it was not until the early '80s that physical education was added to the curriculum and had to be conducted in the classroom or at the town hall, a quarter mile away. Further, it was not until the spring of 1985 that the kindergarten program was approved and had to be housed in a nearby church. Approximately one third of the students, as measured by the mother's education level (non-high school graduate), would be classified low socio-economic status.

In the fall of 1982, the University of Vermont conducted a needs assessment study of Valley View and discovered many serious problems. Included in the list of concerns were inadequate space particularly for special subject classes and support services, low teacher salaries, low school budgets to support programs, very weak and negative school/community relations, and poor academic test performance (i.e., 80% of the students, average for three years, scored below the thirtieth percentile). In addition to these problems and subsequent to the needs assessment study, the school experienced major septic and fresh water problems. The following spring (1983), the principal was forced to resign and school/community relations dipped to an all time low. A new principal brought some resurgence of hope, however, this person lasted two years before being forced to resign and again school/community relations became depressed. A sad and demoralizing condition for staff and community existed at the closed of the 1984-85 school year.

THE TURNAROUND

From this all time low in school/community morale came a slow and remarkable recovery of the next two years. Following the resignation of the second principal, a search was conducted during the summer of 1985. With some initial reservations, the board of education agreed to offer the principalship to a woman who grew up in the community and who had many relatives still residing in the community, including her parents. The board also converted the teaching-principalship position to nearly a full time administrative position. Late spring and through the early fall, a group of community members began a quiet, but well organized, campaign to garner community support for a new school bond issue. In October of 1986, by the slim margin of eight votes, the citizens approved the new school bond issue. This success, however, triggered a strong negative reaction among those who opposed the school bond vote and as it turned out, were successful the following January, 1987, by a similar slim margin of 9 votes, to force a recision of the previously successful school bond vote.

Just prior to the second vote and rejection of the school bond vote, the governor of Vermont made a visit and speech in Valley View promoting a funding plan for schools in Vermont. The pro-school bond group had hoped her appearance would prove helpful to their cause. However, this was not the case. In fact, at the town meeting in March and while the state legislature debated the governor's proposal, the community postponed to May a vote on the school budget pending the outcome of the newly proposed education funding bill.

The pro-school bond group struck upon a plausible strategy that they perceived would help their cause. They suggested, and the community approved, expanding the school board membership from three to five members. And in the subsequent board election, two members of the school bond opposition group were elected to the school board and a third member of this groups was narrowly defeated. This strategy brought the opposition within the inner circle and thus they were forced to confront the major school issues as accountable insiders rather than unaccountable, critical outsiders. A second break came to the pro-school bond group when the legislature approved increased state funding for annual operating costs and reimbursement for indebtedness from 20% to 60%. To cap off the event, the governor was invited back to Valley View at which time she signed the new state funding legislation. Subsequently the new school bond proposal was expanded (added 1500 sq. ft. to original proposal) and a campaign was conducted over the summer and prior to the October vote. In October (1987), the new school bond passed by a margin of 35 votes.

While the community members were engaged in the debates and three major bond votes, the new principal was in the process of restoring confidence in the operation of the school. Soon after her appointment, she met with faculty and solicited input on concerns and needed improvements. She acted...
## Table 1

### A List of Factors and Sub-factors Which Influenced the Valley View Turnaround

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.0</th>
<th>Negative History</th>
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<th>Shifting Demographics</th>
<th>3.0</th>
<th>Community/School Board Leadership</th>
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<th>Educational Leadership</th>
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<th>State Level Changes</th>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>Two unpopular principals and their forced resignations</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Influx of &quot;back-to-earthers&quot; in the 60s</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Expansion of school board to five members and the election of two anti-school bond partisans</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Removal of unpopular principals</td>
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<td>Increase in foundational level of state aid for annual budget</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>Community complaints and petitions</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Influx of new families and persons in the '80s who reflected a higher value for education</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Creation of a nearly full time (80%) principalship</td>
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<td>Effective building level leadership by new principal</td>
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<td>Increase in reimbursement for bond indebtedness (20% to 60%)</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>School septic and water problems</td>
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<td>Closing of farms and exodus of anti-school partisans</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Hiring of former resident as principal</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Coaching by and support of district superintendent</td>
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<td>Establishment of a new &amp; more rigorous Public School Standards</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>Resentment towards out-of-towners</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Emergence of a bedroom community and commuting to neighboring communities for employment</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Linkage of a variety of interest groups or persons who supported different school needs (e.g., Kindergarten, special subject classes, support services, etc.) to the school bond effort</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Staff inservice, curriculum and instructional improvement</td>
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<td>Property tax rebate program</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>Teacher unionization</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Minimal local zoning requirements</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Development of mutual respect among school board members</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Teacher support and leadership</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Governor's personal visits</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>School physical plant deficiencies, e.g., no physical education or support services space</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>General economic improvement in the state and this region of the state</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Purchase of local school buses</td>
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decisively on several bones of contention and quickly garnered support of the staff. She supported the school board’s decision to buy their own buses (an issue of many community members who complained of frequent bus breakdowns and inordinate delays) and to install two way radio communications. Also, the principal addressed another troublesome issue involving school visitation privileges that caused tension with the community. Previously, under the former principals, parents were discouraged from visiting the school and experienced some harassment. The new principal ended the sign-in procedures and openly invited parents and others to visit the school. To reinforce the desire for positive school/community relations, she initiated a monthly newsletter that was distributed to all members of the community. Within a short period of time the new principal established very positive relations with the staff, school board, and the community. The divisiveness that seemed to be so much a part of the previous school/community experience has been, for all intents and purposes, put to rest. Much of this change grew out of the positive and effective leadership of the principal and the support of the faculty and staff.

Many factors seemed to combine in the successful and final passage of the new school bond issue. Among them were, negative history, shifting demographics, effective school board and community leadership, educational leadership, and state level policy changes. These factors seem to share a mutual causal relationship. Table 1 provides a summary of these factors and their respective sub-factors. However, the listing of factors and sub-factors does not provide a good sense of how these factors interacted with one another over time. The following explication of related organizational theory may help provide this needed perspective.

**ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY**

Much of a person’s daily experience is conducted within the environment of an organization. A workplace in which people direct energy towards a number of pursuits with some hope that these efforts, combined with the efforts of others, make a difference in the larger scheme of things. In schools, and particularly in small rural schools, these organizational experiences are very visible and often under the scrutiny of persons within and without the school. Visible as these daily organizational experiences may be, much can go unnoticed or can be difficult to interpret. What follows are perspectives that attempt to explain organizational dynamics and which may offer a plausible explanation for the phenomenal turnaround experienced at Valley View.

Bolman and Deal (1984) offer four lenses through which organizational behavior can be analyzed and influenced. They suggest the frames of structure, human resources, political, and symbolic as sufficiently broad enough to account for most influences on persons in an organization. Further, Bolman and Deal would argue that no one frame can fully explain or impact desired changes without consideration of the other frames. Figure 1 provides a summary of each perspective and key questions that may be probed to ascertain the presence or absence of the elements within each frame. When taken as a whole, the comprehensive framework offers the possibility of a rich analysis of the events that, for example, contributed to the Valley View turnaround.

It should be kept in mind that although each approach identified in the framework appears discreet, these perspectives are highly related and interact with one another, as the following analysis will demonstrate.

**Structural Lens**

When the Valley View case is examined from a structural point of view, several structural changes occurred that contributed to the turnaround. For example, the expansion of the school board from three to five members was a structural change but also had political impact. As stated previously, this change had the net effect of dampening the criticisms of the school board and forced recognition of the problems facing the community. This example illustrates the point above that the placement of various changes within the respective frames is somewhat arbitrary and that these changes are closely intertwined. While the change of the size of the school board was structural in nature, it had clear political implications and impact.

An additional change was the expansion of the principal's position to nearly a full time position. Previously the principal spent approximately thirty percent of his/her time in the classroom which precluded ample attention being devoted to concerns of the school and community members. Finally, the state level changes of funding and public school approval standards represented structural changes and had influenced Valley View’s decision to build a new school.
**Figure 1**
Framework for Analyzing Organizational Behavior

- What Is The Balance Between Centralized And Decentralized Controls?
- How Is Integration And Differentiation Of Functions Managed?
- What Goals And Boundaries Exist?
- How Is Coordination Facilitated?
- How Are Decisions Made

**Human Resource Lens**

Application of the human resource lens surfaces several observations. For example, the newly appointed principal made a human resource agenda a high priority and visible commitment. During her interview and after her appointment, she indicated the importance of a humanistic approach in working with staff and community. One of her first acts was to invite the staff to a luncheon at a nearby restaurant at which time needs and solutions were discussed. She acted swiftly on these concerns and removed several troublesome situations. She has maintained this spirit of human interest and respect in her monthly newsletter which recognizes students, teachers, and staff members accomplishments and contributions to the welfare of the school. There is clear and wide spread involvement of the staff in school matters and related decisions further reinforcing the human resource approach.

Additional support for the human resource approach was evident in district wide inservice and curriculum development efforts. These opportunities enabled teachers to strengthen their teaching methods and to address weak areas of the curriculum, both of which were concerns raised by parents. Finally, it should be pointed out that the superintendent of schools also supported the human resource approach through his leadership style, coaching of the new principal, and his visible commitment to staff development pursuits.

**Political Lens**

It is clear from this case study that politics played an important role in contributing to the turnaround. The quiet and subtle politicking that swirled around the respective school bond votes was probably school/community politics at its best. That is, there was broad based involvement and the involved parties used
various strategies to win voter support. There were two visible groups of citizens, one in favor of the bond issue and the other in opposition. The opposition to increased school expenditures, whether the school budget or new construction, held sway for a considerable length of time. A well conceived strategy and related tactics effectively upset this balance of power and resulted in the first positive new school bond vote. And as often is the case in politics, one successful action engenders a strong, counter action. In this case, the counter action was successful in rescinding the first school bond vote. Although the recision vote was a setback for the pro-school bond groups, it did not lessen their commitment and gave birth to the idea of expanding the school board membership, a stroke of genius that a number of persons identified as extremely effective and pivotal to garnering more support for the pro-school bond issue. However, it by itself may not have carried the day. Yet, when linked to other factors, particularly state aid changes, it had a significant impact.

**Symbolic Lens**

According to Bolman and Deal (1985) and Frost et al. (1985) the culture of an organization and its symbols are difficult to comprehend. Persons in organizations tend to go about their daily experience very often unaware of how the culture and its related symbols, stories, rituals, and beliefs influence their behavior. They simply take these for granted and do what seems natural. However, when taken from a broader and more distant point of view, the culture of a school and its community can be quite revealing. For example, when the school board decided to purchase its own school buses as opposed to continuing a contract arrangement, this contributed to local pride. As one parent stated it, "We now have our own buses with the name of Valley View printed in large letters on the side. I like seeing that."

Some caution is needed when suggesting a prevailing culture and implying that this is shared by many members of a social group. However, it is not uncommon for persons (e.g., teachers, parents, and citizens) living in rural areas to describe their school in terms of "family." That seems to be the case for many in Valley View and the family metaphor suggests a sense of nurturing and caring for one another that has a way of taking the sharp edge off school/community conflicts. As one board member described it, "We may be in disagreement over the school bond issue but we try not to personalize these differences and when we are at the ball game we are cheering for our team together." Teachers talk about when another teacher is ill or a particular child may be having a rough day, there is a visible concern shared and an effort to help one another. Some of this mutual concern and caring is revealed in the school’s mission statement, “Quality and equality - excellence for all.”

There are many dimensions to a rural school/community’s culture which influence, in very subtle ways, the beliefs and behaviors of its members. Valley View was no exception to this phenomenon and in many ways its culture provided very subtle but sustained influence which eventually enabled the various sides on the school bond issue to accept a superordinate goal of family unity.

The Bolman and Deal framework and accompanying lens provide a number of insights concerning the dramatic turnaround in Valley View. However, as powerful and comprehensive as the four lenses are in viewing an organizational experience, there are additional plausible areas of explanation not suggested by the Bolman and Deal framework. For example, the history of past experiences and its contribution to the life cycle of the Valley View school/community is not addressed. In addition, the Bolman and Deal framework at best isolates a number of potential elements but does not provide a means of tracing the interactive effect of these over time. The notions of organizational life cycles, autopoiesis, and mutual causality, which follow, fill these gaps.

**ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY**

Fullan (1982) includes history in his discussion of fifteen factors that influence educational change. He suggests that the history of past success with change efforts will influence future change initiatives. However, Carlson (1985) found that accumulated past negative experiences in a rural school can also have a positive affect on future change efforts. The historical experience of a similar school/community appeared to have resulted in an influential number of persons expressing the feeling of "enough is enough." They accumulated enough negative experiences so that there was a sense that it was time to turn things around, even if this necessitated compromising or being more assertive than normally would be the case. This phenomenon of near desperation becoming a motivator to act may in part be explained by the notion of organizational cycles.
According to Kimberley and Miles (1980) and Freeman (1982) organizations go through cycles of birth, growth, development, and decline. It is clear Valley View was in an extended long term decline cycle. The turmoil of two forced principal resignations in a relative short span of time sprinkled frequently with petitions, negative votes, and an inordinate number of complaints were outward signs of this decline. It seems that things could not get worse. As one board member put it, “I know things are better now because I hardly get any phone calls. Back then the phone never stopped ringing!” Thus, a potential additional factor that contributed to the turnaround was the negative history and long period of decline in Valley View. At the risk of sounding deterministic, rebirth seemed inevitable. Fortunately there were persons and other factors that guided this rebirth which links to the concepts of autopoiesis and mutual causality.

**AUTOPOIESIS AND MUTUAL CAUSALITY**

According to Maturana and Varela (1980) living systems have the ability to self-create or self-renew. As stated by Morgan (1986), “They (Maturna & Varela) coined the term autopoiesis to refer to the capacity for self-production through a closed system of relations. They contend that the aim of such systems is ultimately to produce themselves: their organization and identity is their important product” (p.236). The theory being ventured is that organizations and their environment are one in the same. As with a rural school and its community, these two entities are so intertwined that they often reflect one another. Further their link with the state, for example, is equally intertwined. It is often a mistake, according to this theory, to focus upon the system as an entity without exploring and understanding its interaction with its environment. As Morgan states it, “It (the system) interacts with its environment in a way that facilitates its own self-production, and in this sense we can see that its environment is really part of itself” (p. 236).

To fully appreciate the nature of the system, it is necessary to trace a circular pattern of interactions. Where this pattern begins or ends is difficult to determine. In any regard, to better understand the Valley View turnaround, it requires a tracing of linkages and their spiraling interactions. As Bateson (1972) suggests wholes evolve as complete field of relations that are mutually determining and determined. Therefore,

**Figure 2**

**Mutual Causal Relationships of the Major Factors which Influenced the Valley View Turnaround**

![Diagram showing the mutual causal relationships of the major factors which influenced the Valley View Turnaround.](image-url)
Carlson

The Rural School/Community

to analyze a school separate from its community, from its state, and from the larger society, is to overlook how the school is influenced and in turn manages these influences. To understand what happened in Valley View from an autopoietic point-of-view, requires the identification of random changes that reverberated throughout the various linkages or nested systems associated with Valley View school in a mutually interdependent manner. As Morgan states it, the notion of mutual causality "...requires that organizational members acquire a new way of thinking about the circular systems of relations to which they belong, and that they understand how these relations are formed and transformed through processes that are mutually determining and determined" (p.247).

Figure 2 illustrates the previously identified factors which influenced Valley View's successful turnaround in a mutual causal way. As can be observed, the factors are arrayed in such a manner to suggest how each factor influenced and was influenced. The diagram attempts to show the degree to which the factors influenced one another and whether the relationship was predominantly negative or positive. This is not to suggest, however, that the factors presented cover all the possible influences or the various permutations of mutual influence. At best the interconnections shown begin to illustrate the notions of autopoiesis and mutual causality and as a consequence, begin to generate discussion of how school level changes may be influenced. It seems the conventional wisdom that the "voters only approved the bond after the new 'foundation' state aid was passed..." (Dunbar, 1989) is overly simplistic. At best the increase in state funding offers a partial explanation and does not properly reveal the complex web of circular relationships which are mutually interdependent.

IMPLICATIONS OF ANALYSES

Clearly the experience of one rural school/community does not justify dramatic changes in strategies for improving rural education. On the other hand, as this case so well illustrates, a single change of increased state funding, not to deny its importance, can not of itself ensure local school improvements, or can a deluge of national reports claim similar influence. However, in various ways, increased state spending and national reports along with many other important influences combine to impact schools in many and unique ways. As with preparing a meal for an honored guest, the quality of the food alone does not guarantee a memorable event. In any event, a few implications are suggested.

First, as Richmond (1987) suggests, changes in systems can be understood by examining the system's characteristics following a triggering event. That is, often the nature of a system determines the response rather than the nature of the triggering event. For example the Valley View departure of two principals under rather difficult conditions in a short period of time did not per se cause the turnaround effort to become mobilized. However, this event along with others caught the attention of many members of the school and community. Subsequently, the system (Valley View) had characteristics that enabled it to respond in the manner that it did.

The implication of systems dynamics is that changes are not necessarily caused by external conditions. Further, the notion of the separation between external and internal orientations tends to be arbitrary at times. Rather, the changes observed in a system result from the nature of the system how it adapts or does not adapt to triggering events. As in Valley View, accumulated negative experiences with the school and community motivated some individuals to work for a change. The school/community had qualities, such as indigenous leadership, that enabled it to embark on a series of efforts at improving the school. Like it or not, there does not seem to be a quick, universal, or predictable way to improve education. As this case seems to demonstrate, many factors influence the possibilities of change in a very interactive and mutual causal way. These unique qualities call out for the development of more differentiated and integrated strategies. As Monk and Haller (1986) state it, "...our study of the problems in small rural schools reveals considerable variation from one district to the next. That variation makes a single, standard solution chimerical" (p. 99). The case reported in this paper portrays the unique and subtle factors of one school/community as it coped with a range of serious problems.

Second, the Valley View experience does not undercut the cry of many for leadership at the grassroots level, particularly at the school superintendent's level (Stephens and Turner, 1988). Valley View simply and persuasively demonstrates that educational leadership needs to be linked with community leadership and other factors to be fully effective. The lesson suggested here is the need for educational leaders to
appreciate the phenomenon of interdependence and the need to develop the capacity to identify helping and hindering forces.

Finally, there continues to be a need to study rural school change from a variety of perspectives. The case study method coupled with other forms of rural research may help in further identifying what seems to work in rural settings and why. A merging of the micro and macro observations may facilitate the development of workable strategies and theories aimed at rural school problems and subsequent improvement.

**SUMMARY**

As stated at the beginning, calls for reform can have little or no effect on schools no matter how meritorious the documented needs. School improvement, particularly in rural areas, is complex and intertwined with many factors, least of which is the nature of the rural community. The Valley View case study provided an opportunity to explore the web of relationships in one rural school/community in some depth. This case and subsequent analyses help in understanding how various factors interact over time and contribute to many needed changes.

The Valley View experience offers hope to many desiring rural school change. Leadership both at the school and community levels, a sense of desparation, population shifts, and state support or policy changes, can combine to make rural school improvement possible. How to put these ingredients together in a proactive way remains to be determined. In the meantime, it may be reassuring that places like Valley View exist and the laws of the status quo can be broken. Score one for optimism.

**NOTES**

1. It was at the end of this school year when conditions reached a very demoralizing condition and served as a time marker for contrasting prior conditions with the new conditions which resulted from the dramatic turnaround.

2. Two concerns were discussed by the board of education. One concern was the hiring of another female administrator since the most recent principal was a woman and among many problems surfaced in her principalship was her strained relationship with male members of the school staff. The second concern was the implications of hiring a person whose mother was recently board president and defeated in a recent school board election.

3. Valley View receives approximately 50% state aid funding.

4. Not previously mentioned but during this same period of time the State of Vermont established a new set of public school approval standards which raised many questions about Valley View Elementary School’s likelihood of compliance.

5. Borrowing from the theory of systems dynamics (Forrester, 1971 & Richmond, et. al., 1987) that some influences (positive feedback) tend to reinforce or maintain the existing direction of the behavior (e.g., the negative history reinforcing community & school board leadership) while other influences (negative feedback) reverse the direction of the factor (e.g., shifting demographics changing the direction of history).

6. It may be obvious but an analog would be in explaining the breakage of a wine glass because it was dropped on a hard floor. No doubt the hard floor contributed to the breakage but was not the cause per se. A more accurate explanation would be that the glass broke because of the fragile nature of glass and thus could not absorb the hard blow. The breakage was not caused by being dropped on the floor but rather the intrinsic qualities of glass interacting with the floor. If the glass was made of pewter, for example, it would only have bent.

**REFERENCES**


