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School and Community, Community and School:
A Case Study of a Rural Missouri Setting

by

Melia K. Franklin

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
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School and Community, Community and School:

A Case Study of a Rural Missouri Setting

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University of Nebraska, 2011

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How do a school and a community interact? This question guided this dissertation examining one rural school and community. The purpose of this case study was to investigate the relationship between the rural Marceline R-V School District (a K-12 school system) and its community, Marceline, Missouri.

The framework for this study included the time-honored theories of Ferdinand Tonnies, with the contemporary work of Joyce Epstein and Mavis Sanders. With structure provided by Bolman and Deal, this document examined both the school and community.

This study included artifacts and documents of both the community and school. Documents and artifacts included yearbooks, newspaper articles (school and community), photographs, school board and city council minutes, and other city and state records. In addition, twenty-three residents were interviewed. The interviewees fell into two distinct tiers. In tier-one, interviewees were identified because of a leadership role or job they held in either the community or school district: school administrators, school board members, businesses owners, church officials, the city manager, and city council members. Upon conclusion of the first-tier interview, participants were asked to identify additional school and/or community leaders who may or may not hold titles. These

interviewees were identified as second-tier interviewees. Those second-tier participants were asked virtually the same questions asked of tier-one participants.

Additionally, in order to more fully analyze the school and community using the theories of the aforementioned sociologists and researchers, I created a parent-category, sub-category system for coding all elements of the research. The categories were community-centered, family-centered, school-centered, student-centered, *gesellschaft* (society), and *gemeinschaft* (community).

Analysis of the data revealed four themes: consolidation, desegregation, minorities, and parochial education. Beyond the basic premise that one would not exist without the other, the influence of the town's heritage and mutual history was undeniable. Marceline, the school, decided how it would react to state-driven educational mandates because of the community. The school shaped the community by offering a means of achieving *gesellschaft* (society) through *gemeinschaft* (community).

Table of Contents

Chapter 1—Introduction	1
Statement of Problem.....	1
The Community	3
The School District	5
Research Questions	8
Significance of the Study	8
Chapter 2—Review of Literature.....	11
Rural Setting	11
Interactions between School and Community	13
Defining Community and Society	16
Expanding Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft	18
School and Community as Organizations.....	20
School-Community Connections	22
Patterns of Leadership.....	24
Summary	25
Chapter 3—Research Methods	27
Introduction—Purpose of the Study	27
Research Design.....	27
Case Study	28
Data Collection	29
Participant Description.....	32
Interview Protocol.....	37
Data Analysis	38
Delimitations.....	41

Limitations	41
Role of the Researcher	41
Chapter 4—The Story of Marceline	44
Marceline, Missouri, Historically Speaking	44
Narrative Description of Marceline in 2010	55
Marceline’s Icons	65
Religion in Marceline	71
Social Life and Celebrations	80
Economic Development	83
Surrounding Communities	88
Community Leadership	98
Summary	100
Chapter 5—The Story of Marceline Schools	101
The History of Education in Linn County, Missouri	101
The History of the Marceline R-V School District	103
Narrative Description of Marceline R-V Schools in 2010	114
Academics	119
Activities and Sports	127
Celebrations	130
School Leadership	137
A History of School Consolidation in Missouri	141
Desegregation in Missouri	146
Minorities in Marceline Schools	150
Parochial Education in Marceline	153
Summary of Community and School	157

Chapter 6—Findings	160
Community-Centered.....	165
Family-Centered	166
School-Centered.....	167
Student-Centered.....	168
Gesellschaft.....	170
Gemeinschaft	172
The Standards-Stand Alone	175
Bolman and Deal—Organizational Behavior	177
Marceline Community	178
Marceline Schools.....	180
So What—Linking the School and the Community	182
So What—Linking the Community and School	186
Conclusions—Practice and Future Research	191
Recommendations for Practice	191
Recommendations for Future Research	193
References	194
Appendices.....	203

List of Tables

Table 1	2010-2011 Staff Numbers and Student Enrollment.....	6
Table 2	First-Tier Participants by Community Role and Gender	30
Table 3	Second-Tier Participants by Role and Gender	31
Table 4	Parent- or Sub-category Used for Secondary Coding	39
Table 5	A Comparison in Town Population in 1910 and 2000	93
Table 6	State Credits Required for Graduation and the College Prep Certificate.....	121
Table 7	Unit Breakdown of Marceline's Graduation Requirements	122
Table 8	A+ Enrollment and Participation Numbers	126
Table 9	Foci of Partnership Activities	160
Table 10	Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships	161
Table 11	Categories and Coded Reference	164
Table 12	Parent Category: Community-Centered.....	165
Table 13	Parent Category: Family-Centered	166
Table 14	Parent Category: School-Centered.....	168
Table 15	Parent Category: Student-Centered.....	169
Table 16	Gesellschaft.....	171
Table 17	Gemeinschaft	172

List of Figures

Figure 1	Population Map of Missouri	3
Figure 2	Missouri State Map	4
Figure 3	Population of Marceline and Marceline Township from 1890-2000.....	47
Figure 4	Map of Marceline with Disney Attractions Marked	58
Figure 5	Map of Linn County.....	89
Figure 6	Population of Linn County 1840-2000	91
Figure 7	Commissioners Official Railway Map of Missouri	104
Figure 8	Framework for Analyzing Organizational Behavior	177

List of Photos

Photo 1	Marceline County Club House, circa 1914.....	52
Photo 2	Marceline Sign at the Junction of 5 and Hwy 36.....	56
Photo 3	Early Marceline.....	59
Photo 4	Kansas Avenue, 1905.....	59
Photo 5	Uptown Marceline, circa 1950s	60
Photo 6	Kansas Avenue, 2010.....	60
Photo 7	Ripley Park, circa 1909.....	63
Photo 8	Ripley Park, 2006.....	64
Photo 9	Early Marceline Depot.....	67
Photo 10	Marceline Depot and Lunch Room, circa 1920	67
Photo 11	Catholic Church before Rock-front was Added, circa 1910.....	76
Photo 12	Methodist Church, circa 1910.....	77
Photo 13	Christian Church	79
Photo 14	One Marceline Family Store, circa 1930	85
Photo 15	Central School, circa 1909.....	106
Photo 16	Marceline Ward School, circa 1908.....	107
Photo 17	Aerial View of Central School and 1929 High School.....	107
Photo 18	Park School, circa 1950s.....	108
Photo 19	Marceline High School, circa 1929	110
Photo 20	Marceline High School, 2009	110
Photo 21	Disney Elementary 2011	112
Photo 22	Walt and Roy Disney visit Marceline, Missouri Park School in 1956.....	120
Photo 23	Black Student Featured in <i>Marceline Mirror</i>	149

Photo 24	St. Bonaventure School, circa 1938.....	153
Photo 25	Father McCartan School, 2011	154
Photo 26	Advertisement from <i>Marceline Journal-Mirror</i>	185

List of Appendices

Appendix A	Urban-centric Categories	203
Appendix B	Framework for Analyzing Organization	206
Appendix C	Foci of Partnership Activities	208
Appendix D	Standards for Family-School Partnerships.....	210
Appendix E	Tier-One Interview Questions.....	212
Appendix F	Tier-Two Interview Questions.....	214
Appendix G	Cover Letter for Participants.....	216
Appendix H	Letter of Informed Consent.....	218
Appendix I	Findings of External Audit.....	221

Chapter 1

Introduction

Rural schools have long held a special place in my heart. Although I was raised primarily in urban areas, my mother's childhood stories of her education in rural Iowa filled my imagination with vignettes of classrooms where children not only knew one another, but they often knew one another's parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Hers was a school without guards or security measures, of harmless pranks, and Friday night football games. To be fair, the stories she told were highly idealized and possessed a dreamy quality of a far away place in another time. But, they represent my introduction to the rural school.

Fast forward more years than I care to share, after teaching stints in urban and suburban schools, I find myself teaching school in a rural community. Being part of a rural district has provided both insight and an opportunity to create a doctoral study that is meaningful and useful both to me and the community it represents. As a resident of the city of 2,558 people and a teacher within the district that houses a little over 600 students, I have access to both school and community members who will address me warmly and on a first-name basis. This study represents a participant observer's snapshot of one school and one community that I hope will aid other rural schools and communities, as well as Marceline, Missouri.

Statement of Problem

Current educational research tends toward urban centers. According to Coladarci (2007), editor of the *Journal of Research in Rural Education*:

Rural education research is a considerably smaller enterprise than many other branches of educational research—surprisingly so, when we consider that roughly one in five public school students attends a rural school, and almost one third of all public schools are located in rural areas. (p. 1)

In 2010 the state of Missouri was made up of 523 public school districts. Of those 523, 376 were considered rural (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2007). Well over half of the schools in the state were rural. While this statistic alone justified the study of a rural Missouri school district, when combined with the lack of research examining the affects of the rural school on the rural culture (and vice versa), the justification doubled.

Where copious research existed was in school-community relations and building school-community partnerships. Entire organizations, like the National School Public Relations Association and the Public Relations Society of America, existed to aid schools trying to sculpt a relationship with their communities. The number of “How-to” books for school administrators to reference as they evaluated their own community relations programs grew exponentially over the years. A quick Amazon.com search revealed no fewer than 590 hits for books about school and community connections.

Although the school-community relationship was well-explored and research on that topic was copious, purposeful studies examining rural schools and communities and the interaction between the two was not. Given research done by Sanders (2006) recognizing that school-community relations were of significance in “different community contexts and school demographics” including the rural school (p. 62), the topic of rural school and community relationships deserved attention.

Thus, the purpose of this case study was to investigate the relationship between the rural Marceline R-V School District (a K-12 school system) and its community, Marceline, Missouri.

The Community

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, residents in the state of Missouri numbered nearly six million (see Figure 1). Tucked into the southeast corner of Linn County in north-central Missouri, was Marceline, a town with a population of 2,558 people (see Figure 2). When the rural population spread over two additional counties (Chariton and Macon) was included, the population of the township of Marceline swelled to 2,989.

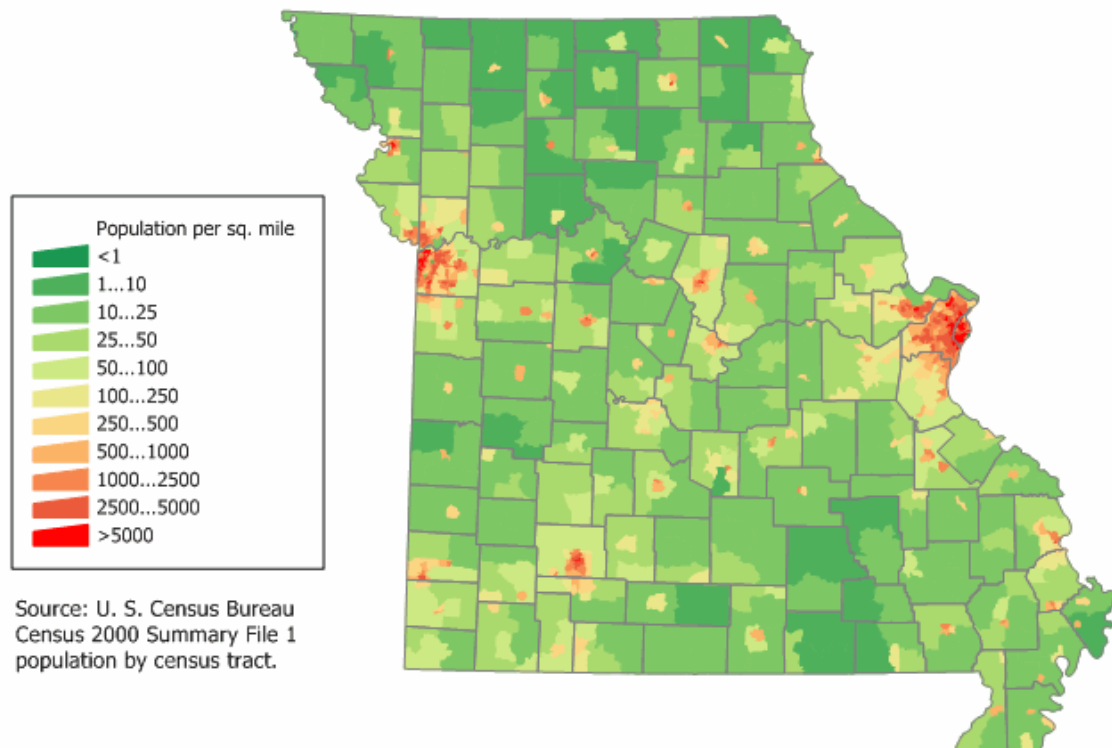


Figure 1. Population map of Missouri.



Figure 2. Missouri state map (available at www2.census.gov).

Marceline was a rural community, as was most of the state of Missouri. The principal cities of Missouri included Kansas City (nearly 450,000 people), St. Louis (350,000), Springfield (152,000), and Independence (113,000). Of course, these population totals did not include the vast suburbia that surrounded each city, adding to their size. From Marceline, the nearest city (70,000 or larger) was at least 90 miles away; Columbia was 90 miles, Kansas City was 140 miles, and Saint Louis was 170 miles away.

According to the U.S. Census in 2000, Marceline boasted 1,237 households. Within those households, census information showed that not many Marcelinians pursued

higher education. Eighty percent of residents were high school graduates (or higher) and 12% had a bachelor's degree or more. The median income was a little more than \$28,000 per year. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the town enjoyed a fairly low cost of living. One could purchase a home in town for less than one might spend for an average automobile; \$44,900 was the medium value of a home.

One did not find a great deal of diversity in Marceline. Again, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, 98% of the population was white, and 75% lived in owner-occupied family households. For the average Marcelinian, that meant the person living next door was probably the same race, living in his or her own home, and more than likely in the same economic bracket.

There were opportunities for residents to actively involve themselves in civic activities, including four service sororities—San Souci, Alpha Nu Beta, Sorosis Study Club, and Mother's Study Club. There were also six fraternal organizations—Masons, Oddfellows, Elks, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Knights of Columbus. Other opportunities for involvement included a park and recreation board, a library board, a pre-school board, a city council, and a golf course board, to name a few. Other civic-minded folks might get involved with Rotary Club, Stadium Club, or the Chamber of Commerce.

Of course, any community is so much more than the census numbers that represent it. This dissertation broadened the lens even further.

The School District

The Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE), housed in Jefferson City, Missouri, maintained a website that stored data profiles for every one of

the 523 school districts in the state. These profiles kept the savvy taxpayer up-to-date on each district's expenditures and other data in some detail. Numerous data reports were available: District Fund and Tax Analysis, District Receipts and Expenditures, and District Transportation Costs. Other categories of information included: Pupil Data, Fall Enrollment/Average Daily Attendance/Eligible Pupils Projections, and Staff and Salary Analysis.

Given information from this site, with a total student population hovering in the mid- to upper- 600s, Marceline graduated between 50 to 60 students each year, and about 35% of the student population qualified for free and reduced lunch (below the state average of 40%). Table 1 offered a breakdown of the public school's enrollment of students and staff.

Table 1

2010-2011 Staff Numbers and Student Enrollment

	Schools	Enrollment	
		Certified Staff	Students
Elementary Schools	1	30	271
Middle Schools	1	31	136
Jr. High Schools	0	0	0
High Schools	1	32	219
Total	3	93	626

Available at <http://dese.mo.gov/directory/058109.html> (Department of Elementary & Secondary Education, 2009)

According to DESE statistics, the school staff seemed to have some longevity. The largest percent of teachers had 15 or more years experience under their belts. On average, an instructor teaching a Marceline R-V student had 17 years' experience.

Also available on the Department of Education's website were the school's high-stakes test MAP and EOC scores (the Missouri Assessment Program and End Of Course Tests). The Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) data generated largely by test scores, indicated that Marceline Schools had occasionally struggled meeting AYP. From 2003 until 2006 the district met AYP standards in all areas. From 2007 to 2009 the school had deficiencies in at least one area, usually in communication arts at the middle school level. In 2009 the district did not meet AYP in either Communication Arts or Math. However, the 2010 AYP results showed the district again met federal standards in all areas and was a school of distinction.

As far as disciplinary action went, it appeared there were one or two suspension-worthy discipline incidents each year. Given the data, the offending student was most likely involved in a drug or alcohol incident. That held consistent with the typical suspension-worthy incidents in other districts around the state. The primary difference, when one examined data at the state level, as one might expect, there were violent crimes committed in many Missouri schools. There were none in Marceline, according to the years of online data.

As indicated after examining the initial data regarding Marceline's community, the school district, made up of unique people of various personalities, was more colorful than numerical statistics would show. One purpose of this study was to paint the face of the school and community on the numbers.

Research Questions

As is true of any body of research, one's research questions are vitally important. They drive the focus of the investigation and ground the study. Creswell (1998) recommended one's research question: "reduce her or his entire study to a single, overarching question and several sub-questions" (p. 99). The overarching big-picture question for this study had two facets: does one rural Missouri school's community influence the school, and conversely, does this school shape the community?

Whereas the purpose of the research question was to drive the focus of the study, the sub-questions were the brooms that gathered the tiniest grains of truth into a whole that, in its totality, offered "the rest of the story." Again, according to Creswell (1998), "sub-questions can foreshadow the steps in the procedures of data collection, analysis, and narrative format construction" (p. 105). For this study there were six sub-questions:

1. What is the history of the district?
2. What is the history of the community?
3. Who are the community and school members who shape (or shaped) the culture?
4. What school-community themes emerge as the result of this case-study?
5. What theoretical constructs help us understand the relationship between the school and the community?
6. What constructs are unique to this case?

Significance of the Study

When a book titled *Is There a Public for Public Schools?* (Matthews & Matthews, 1997) begged a question that seemed nonsensical, an issue worthy of study was

identified. Gone were the days when schools enjoyed an unexamined unanimity with the community and the superintendent's primary responsibility revolved around providing curricular direction, instructional leadership, and balancing the budget. School administrators often found themselves in the unenviable position of defending their schools to ever demanding school-community stakeholders. As Bagin and Gallagher (2001) stated, "The development of sound and constructive relationships between the school and the community is a necessary and natural function of a publicly supported institution in a democratic society" (p. 9).

The newspaper headline read: "Schools Face 'Emergency Situation.'" The ensuing article described student failure and academic decline. The district was compared to "a boat that is leaking and has been taking on water for several years" (Munds, 2010). With the publication of this one article, a school-community issue was born. In the past, press of this sort stalked urban districts—the suburban and rural school had (for the most part) been immune to this kind of probing and negative press. This is no longer the case.

As stated above, the purpose of this case study was to describe the phenomenon of a school-community system in rural Missouri. In doing so, this dissertation was intended to add to a knowledge base about rural education that leads to a deeper understanding of rural schools. This study was intended for school and community members interested in the relationship between a rural community and a rural school. Because the school played a vital role in the part of any community, including the rural community (and maybe even *especially* the rural community), and because the rural school was already grossly understudied, the necessity for this seemed readily apparent.

In the upcoming Review of Literature I defined the concepts used as underpinnings for this research and explored the rural school, community, and the nature of the interactions between them as described by noted educators, sociologists, and researchers.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Rural Setting

Saxe (1975) claimed, “Almost nothing happens in a school that is not or cannot become the community’s business. Little happens in the community that cannot become the school’s business” (p. 9). Presuming this true, then over time schools and communities surely must shape one another, driving home the notion that schools were a reflection of the societies they serve, and change to one altered the other (Commager, 1950). That was what this study examined—historically had one rural Missouri school changed the community in which it was located and had the north-central Missouri community altered the school? With that as a backdrop, this study further examined if the community influenced how the school reacted to state and federal educational mandates.

When one hears the word “rural,” one’s mind swiftly turns to barns and fields, gravel roads, and lonely country-sides. With a phrase so often used, one would assume a definition was easy and forthcoming. Defining “rural” was actually not as easy as it sounded. If one defined rural America by size alone (say 15,000 residence or fewer), one might find oneself comparing that which was truly rural with that which was simply suburbia.

Conversely, if one defined “rural” by distance, the difficulty came in determining how far was “far enough” from an urban center to count. One, but certainly not the only definition, was provided by Beggs, Haines, and Hurlbert (1996). They defined rural places as remote areas that included farming communities, villages, small towns, and

other non-metropolitan locations of populations under 19,000 characterized by attachment to and care of land, multiplex and intergenerational relationships, and strong community ties. This definition was specific enough to eliminate the suburban centers, but general enough to include a variety of communities accurately defined as rural.

A further clarification of “rural” came from the U.S. Department of Education. In an attempt to define the rural school, in 2006 the Institute of Education Sciences came up with a 12-category scale that defined a district by its address and its corresponding latitude and longitude (see Appendix A). Using the Beggs et al. (1996) system (which provided a qualitative view of rural American) in conjunction with the Department of Education’s system (a quantitative view), one could place a country school district into one of three rural categories—fringe, distant, or remote—based upon both the rural school’s population and its proximity to a larger population.

In the earliest years of public education in the United States, nearly all schools were “rural.” Schools and their communities were inexorably linked. In early America, one need only attend the local town meeting to have a say in the daily operation of school affairs. And in truth, it may not have required even that much effort. Since the hierarchical system of school administration fundamentally did not exist until the mid-1800s, really all a concerned local citizen need do was either corner a teacher, or simply show up at the school to insist upon curricular (or other) changes within the school district. Not until the late 1800s did the governance of education cease to be lumped in with all other municipal governmental functions (Campbell & Ramsmeyer, 1955).

Interactions between School and Community

In its earliest days, the rural school belonged wholly to the community—both legally and socially. Theobald and Nachtigal (1995) provided this scenario:

[T]he process of schooling reflected local values, local mores, local ways of being in the world. It was not unusual as late as the 1940s, for example, for small country schools scattered in various locales across the Midwest to add a month of “German school” or “Norwegian school” after the regular school term. In one small North Dakota district, Catholics were dismissed early on Fridays so that the teacher could shift to the Sunday school curriculum. Well into this century, rural places had their own ways. (p. 132)

Plainly the rural school building was the site for “educational, social, dramatic, political and religious” events (Barber, 1953, p. 1).

Overcoming this strong school-community link proved a thorny issue for early school reformers like Ellwood Cubberley (1914), who defined non-urban schools as “rural school problems” (pp. 105-106). Unlike their urban counterparts, rural schools enjoyed complete autonomy concerning issues like curriculum, scheduling, and teacher employment until nearly the 1940s (Tyack, 1974), but may have been found lacking by state and federal governmental agencies who were left to figure out how to direct this vast rural school structure.

Perhaps not much changed the interdependence of the rural district and its community. Yap (2005) maintained, “In rural America, the symbiotic relationship between the health of the school system and the quality of life in the community is particularly strong. The rural school is the center of the community” (p. 28).

Yap (2005) was not alone in this premise; several researchers noted the social and societal importance of the rural school to its community. The school represented a place for social activities like sporting and community events. “The rural school provides local

residents a means of establishing an associational life that is inclusive” (Bryant & Grady, 1990, p. 25). The school created the opportunity for all community members, young and old alike, to participate in activities uniquely theirs and feel a part of something bigger than themselves. This could be easily witnessed on the Friday night football field where fan attendance representing the two teams may exceed the population of the hosting community itself.

This “inclusive” and “associational” life was further compounded when Larson and Dearmont (2002) asserted that the social and professional lives of school employees and other community members overlap in rural communities. In the rural setting, teachers and students may interact with one another on many different levels; teachers may attend the same church as their students, students may sack groceries for teachers at the local store, who may in turn be their neighbors or even relatives.

This reciprocal-impact phenomenon described by the above-mentioned Saxe (1975), Yap (2005), Bryant and Grady (1990), and others through the years may have been especially true since in smaller communities societal stakeholders had fewer outlets for flexing their collective muscles. Peshkin (1982) found that schools served as “social and cultural centers.” Schools offered the smaller, rural community a place for “sports, theater, music and other civic activities” (p. 163). Additionally, he noted: “that schools serve as symbols of community autonomy, community vitality, community integration, personal control, personal and community tradition, and personal and community identity” (p. 163). Although that may seem a lot to hang on one institution, in a small rural community the school may be the one outlet that offered the above-mentioned

entertainment and may be the only opportunity some community members had to enjoy the fine arts.

It was not difficult to find in a rural community people who strongly identify with the local school mascot, further solidifying the school-community bond. Signs proclaiming a community as the “Home of the fighting _____” (fill in the mascot) adorned many a road sign, welcome sign, and water tower across the United States.

Obviously, the rural school had long existed as a unique cultural and educational experience, but given the aforementioned scarcity of rural educational research mentioned by Coladarci (2007), rural education was not a topic that received much attention from researchers. As discussed, numerous studies stated that there certainly *is* a relationship between school and community, and that in order to fundamentally change a school, one must involve the community stakeholders. However, I was unable to find any who explored the nature of this relationship, bringing me to the purpose of this study.

The impact of this information had never been more relevant as I consider rural education in Missouri. Missouri was unique in the sheer number of rural schools. In 2010, unlike neighboring states, there were 523 public school districts in the state of Missouri. Of those, three were truly urban: Saint Louis, Kansas City, and Springfield. Saint Louis lay on the eastern-most boundary of the state, Kansas City on the western-most edge of the state, and Springfield in the far southwest corner. Approximately 147 public school districts were suburban or small cities, leaving around 376 rural districts to make up the remainder of school districts across the state.

When these numbers were compared to those from bordering states Nebraska and Iowa, the difference was immediately clear. Iowa had 361 public school districts with

only one truly urban district, Des Moines. Nebraska had 254 public school districts. Lincoln and Omaha served as urban centers (NCES, 2007). The number of school districts in Missouri nearly equaled the number of public schools in Iowa and Nebraska together (615 districts). Missouri only had 92 fewer districts than the two border states had collectively.

Defining Community and Society

Just as defining “rural” proved difficult, defining both “community” and “society” were equally nebulous. These often used, but poorly defined abstract nouns, are just like other intangible nouns—the exact definition depended upon the user. Often community was defined in terms of a location, a town, or a neighborhood. Sociological theory had traditionally defined community as a somewhat fluid organization. It could change and morph as individuals moved in or out. However, the definition of community varied depending upon the sociologist doing the defining.

Maciver (1920) offered a compelling definition of community: “A community is a focus of social life, the common living of social beings” (p. 24). Other notable sociologists felt that community was far more than just the collection of human beings. They saw an association, a relationship, or connection. Durkheim (1920) clarified community as social attachments based upon a common system of beliefs and social practices that link individuals to a social structure (Morrison, 2006, pp. 161-162). Furthermore, he held that religious and family associations have the most intense relations (Morrison, 2006, p. 177).

Sociologist Clifford Cobb (1992) wrote, “In a community, people take responsibility for collective activity and are loyal to each other beyond self-interest.

They work together on the basis of shared values. They hold each other accountable for commitments” (p. 2). In his research he insisted that schools must be viewed as communities rather than as bureaucratic elements of society. Highly effective schools, he maintained, were built upon personal relationships; they were a community based on their shared vision (p. 23). Another sociologist, Sergiovanni, also went on record calling for schools to view themselves as communities rather than organizations that fall into the realm of society. When viewed as a community, the school built a kinship. Cooperation, trust, intimacy, and responsibility grew as a result (1994).

By sociological definition, society did not retain the same fluid-like qualities community did. No matter who might move into or out of a society, it would largely stay the same. Offices and systems were put in place to ensure its stable nature despite its members. For example, even though a school *community* might be devastated by the death of a teacher, the school’s *society* need only to replace him or her for the wheels of the school system to continue to turn. Garfinkel (1967) defined society in terms of the rules that governed daily life, including shared background knowledge and social structures (ch. 2).

In *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920), John Dewey gave this definition of society: “Society is the process of associating in such ways that experiences, ideas, emotions, and values are transmitted and made common” (p. 207). Emile Durkheim argued that society was not the sum of its individual members, but a reality in itself based on the general will (Hughes, Sharrock, & Martin, 2003, pp.146-149). From Marx’s theories of society as little more than work and production, to Freud’s belief that society

came together as religion and morals converge with the oedipal complex, clearly, society was a multifaceted concept.

The study of community and society as social phenomena was obviously not new. Tonnies (1957) developed theories in which he explored the concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (first published in 1887 and most recently posthumously in 2001).

“Community” (*gemeinschaft*) as a sociological concept, was characterized by a common identity, personal relationships, and a strong identification with traditional sentiments.

“Society” (*gesellschaft*), on the other hand, was characterized by formal institutions defined by impersonal relationships.

Using Tonnies’s premise as a theoretical setting, this study examined the norms of a single community in terms of both *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. In other words, I made sense of the relationships among the residents of the community and the employees and students who were part of the school, and also the relationships among institutions that would include the school, city and state government, and organizations such as the state department of education, and federal education offices and institutions.

Expanding Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft

To better understand the work of Ferdinand Tonnies (1957), it helped to reflect upon a quote provided by his student, Friedrich Paulsen (1908). In his text, Paulsen remarked: “In ancient times social life was dominated by the State, i.e., the sovereign city. Hence, the goal of education was to render the rising generation fit to serve the city efficiently in peace and war” (p. 344). Given the understood dominance and pervasive nature of society in this quote, I better understood *gesellschaft*. The purpose of education, according to Paulsen, was to create a human fit to serve that which was greater

than him or herself, that was, society. Literal translation from German to English also offered some insight. If one translated “gesell/e”, one found synonyms like “journeyman, fellow, companion, or mate.” The connotation was collegial and desirable.

“Gemein” on the other hand translated to synonyms like “common, low, mean.” That does not necessarily mean that the family and community connections were undesirable. However, understood in the context of a sociologist who believed the purpose of schools was to advance society, one can better see how the familiarity of the community and family (although warmer and perhaps cozier) did not necessarily serve a greater societal good. In fact, add the “-schaft” suffix to “gemein” and the new word translated to “community” or “communion”; whereas, “gesellschaft” as a whole word translated to “society” or “corporation.”

Ultimately, Tonnies (1957) examined the link between an individual’s relationship with an association (gesellschaft-society) that was bigger than himself and his kinship ties (gemeinschaft-community). While Tonnies believed society represented the greater good, he doubted the community’s desire to create a cohesive society and that only if the agrarian community saw the benefits of society (such as education) would it willingly put the warm kinship ties of community aside for social order.

Although his work was first published in 1887, Tonnies gesellschaft and gemeinschaft found its way into current educational and sociological research (Barter, 2009; Cornelius-White, 2008; Li, 2004; Mahan, 2010; Sergiovanni, 1994). This reoccurrence further proved Tonnies tried-and-true theory was as applicable today as it was in the 1880s.

School and Community as Organizations

Another model for examining organizational behavior came from Bolman and Deal (2008). They suggested a framework with four lenses with which to view organizational behavior. Those lenses were structural, human resources, political, and symbolic (see Appendix B).

They explained that reform most often came from the study of and changes to elements of the “structural” lens, but that a true understanding of organizational behavior came only when one combined a study of the four lenses together. The structural lens, despite its prominent and even over-used position, played a part in the focus on a group with its emphasis on rules, roles, and policies (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 15).

The human resources lens examined needs, skills, and relationships. This oft-ignored lens became particularly important when the work done by sociologist Robert Putnam (2000) was taken into consideration. His research offered a correlation between social capital (resources born out of relationships and community involvement) and child welfare.

According to Putnam, the connection between social resources and a child’s well-being was high, second only to poverty in the effect it had on children’s lives (2000, p. 297). With this understanding, it was vital there was an understanding of what kind of social capital—or human resources—both a community and a school district provided for children.

The political lens provided by Bolman and Deal (2008) inspected the law-of-the-jungle mentality by examining power, conflict, and competition. This allowed those looking through the structural lens to further study an organization’s power brokers,

examining the level of trust (or distrust) within a district (or community), and looked at the constructs set up inside the organization for those in positions of power to utilize (p. 15).

The final framework was the symbolic lens. Of the four, this lens was probably the most overlooked. This lens allowed a researcher to examine an organization's heroes, ceremonies, history, and stories. When used in combination with the other lenses, a clear definition of the overall organizational values emerged (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 15).

There was value in linking the structure Tonnies (1957) created and the approach provided by Bolman and Deal (2008). Tonnies's research separated the characteristics of community and society; Bolman and Deal (2008) examined organizational behaviors. By dovetailing them, this study portrayed accurate organizational behaviors of both the *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft* of the school district and its community. With a lucid image of both, I inspected the relationship between the two.

Other school-community sociologists provided a model for examining the types of relationships that existed between a school and a community. Sanders (2001, 2006) offered the foci needed to best examine school-community partnerships. She suggested different rationales for a variety of partnerships that "can be student-centered, family-centered, school-centered, community-centered, or any combination of these" (p. 4) (see Appendix C).

Joyce Epstein, director of the Center on School, Family, and Community Partnerships at Johns Hopkins University, identified and developed six national standards for Family-School Partnerships (Epstein et al., 2009, pp. 58-59). Those six standards—Welcoming All Families into the School Community, Communicating Effectively,

Supporting Student Success, Speaking Up for Every Child, Sharing Power, and Collaborating with Community—provided a scale to measure the degree to which schools and their communities work together (see Appendix D).

If the links between community and school were as closely bound as researchers proclaimed, there should be an overlap in societal norms and school norms by examining both entities. It may also be true, that one could make assumptions about rural American schools beyond this one district, examining how the society and community interact with the school.

School-Community Connections

A General Accounting Office (GAO) report to Congressman Charles Rangel (Shaul, 2000) identified a set of common elements found in school-community connections:

- Services and activities tailored to community needs and resources, with the flexibility to change as community needs change.
- A value for and encouragement of parent participation and individual attention from caring adults.
- An understanding that support for the family is integral to improving outcomes for children and youth.
- Active roles for parents, students, community residents, and organizations in guiding policy and practices through such entities as advisory committees.
- A continuing emphasis on the importance of collaboration and communication among school and community partners. (p. 6)

Sam Redding in his article, *The Community of the School*, defined the best school-community relationship as one that “operate[d] on the basis of shared values, trust, expectations, and obligations rather than tasks, rules and hierarchies” (Redding & Thomas, 2001, p. 1). Without a doubt, Redding’s theory paralleled the GAO report.

One benefit Redding and Thomas (2001) identified as a result of a shared relationship (which might be defined as *gemeinschaft*) was “achieving intergenerational

closure.” The example he provided was of students who sit side-by-side in the classroom interacting with one another day after day, while the parents may never meet despite the fact their children were well-connected. By building a strong school-community *community*, the children benefited with a “village” to raise them and the adults benefited by being able to communicate the experiences of childrearing and an increased sense of camaraderie (p. 12).

As a point of proof, in the 1980s researchers examined private schools, and concluded they more effectively educated students of all socioeconomic groups and races than public schools do. Ultimately, they determined that student success was largely obtained, not because of a per student expenditure (which was actually lower), but because the schools provided a *community* for teachers and students alike (Cibulka, O’Brien, & Zewe, 1982, p. 13; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987, p. 229).

Robert Putnam in his book, *Bowling Alone* (2000), maintained that community involvement in America has steadily diminished. While activism was high in the 1940s and 1950s, from the 1960s to the present, Americans were no longer joining civic organizations: library boards, Boy Scouts, or bowling leagues (hence the clever title). However, as discussed earlier in this dissertation, social capital (which Putnam defined as resources born out of relationships and community involvement) was a significant factor in the livelihood of children (p. 297). In the end, Americans and American youth were missing the common experiences that built *gemeinschaft*, or community, both at home and at school.

Redding and Thomas (2001) provided some historical perspective on the decline of *gemeinschaft* in schools over time. In the early one-room schoolhouse students shared

a common experience. The *entire* experience was common from curriculum to lunch to recess. In fact, many of the students likely shared a familial relationship with one another. Over time, as schools grew and one-room schools were consolidated, the students were separated into grades and moved into separate classrooms, and the common experience was diminished. Furthermore, as students were pulled in or pushed out for special education, or special tracked classes for reading or math, the common experience (and the sense of community-gemeinschaft) diminished even further (pp. 14-15).

Interestingly, in recent years there has been a new drive in education to try to recapture the common experience. One can hear it in the “guaranteed and viable curriculum” advocated by Robert Marzano (2003) in which every child should share a *common* curriculum across classrooms and across grade levels. Advocates of this movement however do not necessarily see the common experience provided by the school itself. State-level high-stakes testing and common-assessments have provided the “guaranteed” part of the common experience. Textbook companies and other curriculum development companies have been tasked with providing the common and viable “curriculum.”

Patterns of Leadership

Leaders, in schools or in communities, have the unique ability to guide individuals to take action. According to Cuban (1988), “Leaders are people who shape the goals, actions, and motivations of others” (p. xx).

Despite studies that identified the “traits of the great man” in the past (Koch, 1939; Theremin, 1963), newer research suggested that no one model, type, or style fits

every situation (Avolio, 2007; Hazy, 2007; Lichtenstein Uhl-Bien, & Marion, 2006). The qualities a comprehensive leader must possess as recommended by these researchers integrated various theories, styles, molds, and models.

In her book, *A New Breed of Leader: 8 Leadership Qualities that Matter Most in the Real World*, Susan Bethel (2009) maintained, too, that no one model for the “super leader” existed and that the strongest leaders thrived through shared power and leadership. She suggested characteristics that defined strong leaders—even though leadership may be shared amongst several individuals to build upon mutual strengths. The qualities she identified were competence, accountability, openness, language, values, perspective, power, and humility (pp. 1-2).

The mark of success for a leader, whether s/he operated in conjunction with a school board or city council, was the ability to build *gemeinschaft* for the purpose of advocating *gesellschaft*. Patrons must see the school or community as an organization worthy of being followed to order to attain something bigger or better than what could be accomplished alone or within a family clan.

Summary

With the paradigms provided by sociologists and educators, the tools necessary to explore the inter-connected nature of a school district and its community were in place. Of special interest was the application of earlier rural school research provided by Bryant and Grady (1990), Peshkin (1982), Tyack (1974), and Yap (2005). These researchers found that there was indeed a reciprocal impact between a school and its community.

Paradigms abound from research done by school-community sociologists like Bagin and Gallagher (2001), Epstein (2009), and Sanders (2006). These researchers

provided the models necessary to thoroughly examine the school and community when one coupled the above sociologists and researchers' impact of school and community with the sociological constructs provided by Tonnies (1957) and Bolman and Deal (2008).

Using the background information and models for looking at organizations provided by the Review of Literature in Chapter 3, I moved from theory to practical application to order to study the school and community of Marceline, Missouri. Chapter 3 outlined how this research came together to produce this study.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

Introduction—Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the relationship between the rural Marceline R-V School District (a K-12 school system) and the community of Marceline, Missouri and in doing so to describe the phenomenon of a school-community relational system in rural Missouri.

Schools have historically been vitally important in every community, including the rural community, and because the rural school was already understudied, the necessity of this research became readily apparent.

Of course, the end result was that this research may aid in a deeper understanding of rural schools. Additionally, this research should aid the Marceline school district and others like it to better understand their own history and the way they formed relationships with their communities.

This study was intended for school and community members interested in the relationship between a rural community and a rural school.

Research Design

The research design of this dissertation was a single-site case study focused on a school district and its community in north-central Missouri.

The conceptual framework used in other studies that guided this research included the work of sociologists Tonnies (1957) and Bolman and Deal (2008). Using the standards established by Tonnies combined with the more recent work of Bolman and

Deal provided the stability of the tried-and-true with the cutting-edge advantage of more recent work.

Of special interest was the application of earlier rural school research—research provided by Bryant and Grady (1990), Peshkin (1982), Tyack (1974), and Yap (2005)—and the sociological constructs provided by Tonnies (1957) and Bolman and Deal (2008). Paradigms from research done by school-community sociologists like Bagin and Gallagher (2001), Epstein et al. (2009), and Sanders (2006) provided the models to examine school and community.

Another conceptual model came from an older, but notable social history from anthropologist Elvin Hatch's *Biography of a Small Town* (1979). His smart method of dividing his field research into both historical and current findings organized his work and provided a rich narrative, non-fiction view of a small town that was both informative and readable.

Finally, a study completed by Bonnie Hotz-McMahon (2003) provided a model for selecting research participants in her case study in which she examined marketing strategies of successful schools.

Case Study

According to Creswell (1998), the case study explored a system “over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (p. 61). For this study a “bounded system” that was limited in both time and place was selected. The site of the case study focused on Marceline R-V Schools and the community of Marceline, Missouri from the inception of the township through 2010.

Furthermore, Yin (1989) offered the recommendation that within the structure of the case study, one should examine six types of data—documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts—all of which were readily available for this case study.

Through data analysis of the above information in the context of the bound case study itself, “issue relevant meanings will appear” (Creswell, 1998, p. 249). Specific attention was paid (as is the case with the case study) to patterns and correspondence between categories.

Data Collection

Data collection came in two forms. First, I examined existing data and documents in the form of records and artifacts. Those included (but were not limited to) yearbooks, newspaper articles (school and community), photographs, school board minutes, city council minutes, and other city and state records (both bound and online). Some rather unexpected documents came into my possession, like when one interviewee produced a self-published memoir from his first-grade teacher. I found old photos and postcards and took photographs of current structures in order to include them in this document to further help the reader visualize the narrative descriptions given of schools and town structures.

Second, I interviewed and observed stakeholders as they were revealed through research by collecting field-notes and using observational protocols. The interviewees fell into two distinct tiers. In tier-one, interviewees were purposefully identified because of a specific leadership role or job they held in either the community or school district: school administrators, school board members, businesses owners, church officials, the

city manager, and city council members. Some of the identified leaders held two roles. For example, a school board member might also serve as a local business leader, or a city council member might also own a local business (see Table 2).

Table 2

First-Tier Participants by Community Role and Gender

Community Role	Male	Female
Identified City Council Members/City Manager	4	2
Identified School Board Members/Administrators	5	3
Identified Church Leaders	5	0
Identified Business Leaders	3	3
Actual Interviews Held		
City Council/City Manager Participants	3	2
School Board/Administrators Participants	5	3
Church Leader Participants	2	0
Business Leader Participants	3	3

These participants were asked to provide specific demographic information: name, position, number of years in this position, educational background, specific questions regarding school-community relationships and other information that was of interest to someone studying school-community relationships (see Appendix E).

Upon conclusion of the first-tier interviews, participants were asked to further identify additional school and/or community leaders who may or may not hold titles. The value of this stratification was that in tier-one, currently identified leaders gave input and

focus to the study. Through their input, knowledgeable former leaders, teacher leaders, or key school and/or community stakeholders emerged. Those second-tier participants were asked virtually the same questions asked of first-tier participants (see Appendix F).

All interviewees (both first-tier and second-tier) were first approach via U.S. mail and were presented with a cover letter, the list of questions, and the consent document (see Appendix H) before an actual interview date was set, allowing him/her sufficient “think time.” A week after those documents all participants were contacted via telephone, emailed, or visited in person to set a date for the interview. As is evident from Table 2 and Table 3, most identified participants agreed to be part of this study.

Table 3

Second-Tier Participants by Role and Gender

Community Role	Male	Female
Identified City/Community Members	3	0
Identified School Members	3	0
Identified Church Members	0	0
Identified Business Members	2	0
Actual Interviews Held		
City/Community Participants	2	1
School Participants	2	0
Church Participants	0	0
Business Participants	1	0

The interview itself was conducted at a place of the interviewees choosing. These included offices, the school, living rooms, or other local venues at which time the researcher audio taped the interviewee's responses as well as collected any written responses from the subject.

Participant Description

The first-tier participants were all elected officials, church officials, business leaders, or in a position of authority such as the city administrator or school administrator. The second-tier participants were simply those identified by first-tier interviewees as those who might possess knowledge that would be of interest to one studying the school and community.

Both first-tier and second-tier interviewees are represented by pseudonyms in the list below.

- Aaron was a 76 year-old white male. He had a bachelor's degree and business experience. He had always been employed in a Marceline business. He was originally from Marceline and graduated from Marceline schools, as did his children.
- Angela was a 64 year-old white female. She had some post-high school education. She had extensive on the job training. She was from Marceline and graduated from Marceline as did her children.
- Benson was a 69 year-old white male. He had a high school education. He was self-employed for his entire career. He was retired. He was not born in Marceline, but did graduate from there, as did his children.

- Billie was a 71 year-old white female. She had some post-high school college training. She was self-employed for most of her career in an uptown business. She was retired. She was from Marceline and graduated from Marceline schools.
- Brent was a 29 year-old white male. He had a bachelor's degree and was employed in the publishing industry. He was from Marceline and graduated from here.
- Carl was a 53 year-old white male. He had some post-high school training and was employed by a local publishing company. He was not born in Marceline, but did graduate from Marceline schools, as did his children.
- Christopher was a 62 year-old white male. He had a graduate degree and extensive experience in schools. He had been an administrator in both the public and private sectors. He was not from Marceline, nor did he go to school there.
- Collin was a 58 year-old white male. He had some post-high school training. He had been a businessman on Main Street in Marceline for over 30 years. He was originally from Marceline, graduated from Marceline schools, as did his children.
- Darrell was a 74 year-old white male. He had a high school education. He was employed by the railroad for his career. He was retired. He was born in Marceline, graduated from here, as did his children and grandchildren.

- Duncan was a 55 year-old white male. He had a master's degree and worked in the Marceline schools for over 30 years. He was not from Marceline and did not graduate from Marceline. His children did, however.
- Elise was a 68 year-old white female. She had a high school education and was employed by one of the largest local businesses for all of her career. She was retired. She was not native to Marceline, and did not graduate from here, but her children did.
- Eric was a 55 year-old white male. He had an advanced degree and was employed by one of the community's largest employers. He was not born in Marceline, nor did he graduate from Marceline, but his children did.
- Frank was an 85 year-old white male. He had a high school education. He had served in the military and had owned several businesses in Marceline. He was not native to Marceline and graduated from a local private school, but his children graduated from Marceline's public schools.
- Jessica was a 37 year-old white female. She had a master's degree and had been employed both by the school district and an uptown business. She was native to Marceline and graduated from Marceline schools.
- Lucas was a white male in his mid-30s. He had a bachelor's degree and had served the community as a minister for six years. He was not from Marceline and did not graduate from Marceline schools.
- Margaret was a 62 year-old white female. She had some post-high school training and had years of experience as a school employee and in a small

Marceline business. She was from Marceline and graduated from here as did her children.

- Marvin was a 58 year-old white male. He had some post-high school training and was employed in the publishing industry. He was from Marceline and graduated from Marceline, as his children did.
- Ruth was a white female in her mid 60s with some post-high school training. She was employed by the school district for many years. She was not native to Marceline and did not graduate from there, but her children and grandchildren did.
- Samuel was a 62 year-old white male. He had a master's degree and served the Marceline Schools for over 40 years. He was not native to Marceline and did not graduate from Marceline schools, but his children did.
- Sean was a 37 year-old white male. He had advanced degrees and had been employed at the Marceline schools for his entire career. He graduated from Marceline schools.
- Stephen was a 66 year-old white male. He had a bachelor's degree and had served the community as a minister for 10 years. He was not native to Marceline and did not graduate from Marceline schools.
- Tina was a 44 year-old white female. She had a bachelor's degree and had been employed by a local business for all of her professional career. She was native to Marceline, graduated from Marceline schools, as did her children.

- Vincent was a 52 year-old white male. He had a bachelor's degree and had been employed in the publishing industry for 30 years. He was native to Marceline, graduated from Marceline schools, as did his children.
- Vivienne was a 62 year-old white female. She had a bachelor's degree and was self-employed working on local ventures. She was not native to Marceline, but graduated from Marceline schools, as did her children.
- Zachary was a 76 year-old white male. He had a high school education. He had been employed by a local uptown business for his entire career. He was not native to Marceline, but graduated from Marceline schools, as did his children and grandchildren.

In the first-tier interviews the youngest interviewee was 29 years old and the oldest was 76 years old. There was a fair mix of males and females represented in the first-tier interviewees.

The second-tier interviewees were generally older; the youngest was 55 years old and the oldest was 85 years old. The gender mix in the second-tier interviewees was not nearly as evenly spread. All identified second-tier participants were men. It is worth noting that although all recommended interviewees for the second-tier were men, there was a woman represented in the final tally. While conducting an interview with an identified participant, his wife joined us for the latter half of the interview. Actually, the husband found there was a question he could not answer, but was certain his wife could. He called her in; she answered the question, and stayed for the remainder of the interview, sharing information she had. She signed a copy of the informed consent and became an official participant.

Along with a lack of gender diversity, what was lacking in both tiers was ethnic diversity. While some of the participants were of mixed background—for example, a couple of the participants have some Native American heritage—all claimed to be primarily Caucasians. The reason for this lack of ethnic diversity was both that the ethnic minorities do not hold leadership roles and, quite frankly, that there was no ethnic diversity in town. With the exception of a Hispanic family who moved into town in 2009 to open a Mexican restaurant, there were no families of any other race in town to interview.

Interview Protocol

Interviewees were informed prior to the interview that in the final dissertation their true identities would not be used and that pseudonyms would be used in place of their names. In the above list, all names were changed to pseudonyms.

All participants received a copy of the cover letter (see Appendix G), the informed consent (see Appendix H), and the first-tier or second-tier questions (see Appendices E or F) in the mail at least one week prior to the interview. Then they were called, emailed, or spoken to in order to set a date for the interview. During the interviews, the interviewer allowed the participants to pick and choose among the questions in order to ensure each participant's comfort level. Participants may also have been asked additional clarifying questions that were not present on the questionnaire in order to better fully understand the responses given by the interviewees.

With the informed consent signed prior to the onset of each interview, the researcher recorded interviews on a RCA digital voice recorder, saved recordings as wav files on the researcher's computer for verbatim transcription, and burned the interviews to

a CD until the end of the completion of the research project, at which time they were destroyed.

Data Analysis

Data analysis included a thorough description of the school district and the community. I ascertained corresponding patterns that existed among and between categories through inductive data analysis.

As I applied generalizations from the aforementioned theories, emerging themes surfaced applicable to the specifics of this case study. Specific themes that emerged were consolidation, desegregation, minorities, and parochial education in Marceline. Those themes are discussed in detail from a historical and local context later in this research. The primary approach was to use established theories for guidance in understanding this single-site case study. That information is represented in the Findings chapter.

Because I audiotaped the interviews on an RCA digital voice recorder, I transcribed the interviews verbatim from an audio format into written format. This, coupled with the participants' question forms and notes taken during the interview, allowed me to open code the information gathered looking for themes and patterns. The initial coding process included highlighting identified sports references (which were numerous), influences past and present, and the strengths and weaknesses in both the school and community.

Before beginning the secondary coding, it occurred to me that there was overlap between the Foci of Partnership of Activities (see Appendix C), the Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships (see Appendix D), and the concepts of *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft*. The overlap occurred when the standards fell under or

supported the focus of partnership activities. I created a parent-category, sub-category system for coding the documents for sociological theories. Let me give an example: a specific quote from an interviewee might support a community-centered focus, but in order to accomplish that, standard 6-collaborating with community was fulfilled. So, I coded that quote to parent-category community-centered, sub-category standard 6. When I ran reports, I asked for reports for all parent-categories and sub-categories. If I thought a quote or information fell under a parent-category, but not a sub-category, I simply coded it under the parent category (see Table 4).

Table 4

Parent- or Sub-Category Used for Secondary Coding

Parent Category	Sub Category
Community-centered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 2 • Standard 6
Family-centered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 1 • Standard 2
Gemeinschaft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 1 • Standard 5 • Standard 6
Gesellschaft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 5 • Standard 6
School-centered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 5
Student-centered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 3 • Standard 4

Secondary coding, with yet another set of highlights, took a sociological look at the interviews, watching especially for evidence of Tonnies's *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft*.

Once coding was finished and primary findings were gathered, I took the school-sociologists' theories of Bagin and Gallagher (2001), Epstein et al. (2009), and Sanders (2006) and applied their theories of effective schools to the Marceline case study. Not only were transcribed interviews coded, the notes taken after examining documents, records, and artifacts were also coded. Although a computer program, N-Vivo, was used to store the documents and color code them; the nuances in coding were so subtle that auto-coding functions of the program were unusable. The benefit of using the program came in compiling lists of the aforesaid theories that I painstakingly coded individually, document by document.

The aforementioned lenses of Bolman and Deal (2008) were examined after all research findings were gathered and all coding completed. Evidence for the lenses was looked for in all research: interviews, artifacts, and documents.

Triangulation of data took place when I "ma[de] use of multiple and different sources, methods . . . and theories to provide corroborating evidence . . . to shed light of a theme or perspective" (Creswell, 1998, p. 202). In this case study, as themes and patterns emerged, they were triangulated among the distinct forms of information gathered that included documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. That triangulation was evident throughout the dissertation, as multiple sources were often used or quoted to support a premise.

Delimitations

Because this study examined only one community and one school district, the scope was limited to the defined boundaries of the Marceline Township and Marceline R-V School District. The study began with the collection of existing written data, and first-tier interviews of known school and community leaders: school administrators, school board members, the city manager, business owners, church officials, and city council members. Further interviews were limited to those individuals identified by first-tier interviewees as school and/or community leaders or otherwise qualified informants. Data at the state-level was pertinent only as it applied to this town and school.

Limitations

The design methodology was a case study. The natural setting imposed a limitation in both size and scope of this study. As I examined the data, it became possible that the constructs of this case were so unique no carry-over existed.

Furthermore, information was limited by the willingness of school and community leaders (both first-tier and second-tier) to be interviewed and the willingness of first-tier interviewees to identify potential participants for the second-tier discussion. Information gathered from interviewees was limited to the scope of their experiences and memories.

Role of the Researcher

The role of the researcher was multi-fold. I created the overarching question that guided the entire project and conducted the review of literature based on the work of other established sociologists and educators to ensure that the question was indeed one of value to the study of rural schools.

Once these tasks were completed, I designed the study to guarantee the results of the research were trust-worthy and true. This process is represented in the Methodology section of this document. After a worthy design was determined, I began by conducting document-driven research focused on yearbooks, school and community newspapers, and various community related texts.

The next step in the process included writing to identified leaders, calling them, and conducting the interviews and transcribing them. Additionally, after later participants were identified, I contacted these people to conduct further interviews and transcribe them. Once all of the information had been gathered, coded using my own self-created system, and themes identified, I wrote the report represented in this document. After writing the report, I examined historical photos and maps available to me and based on availability, I included them in the research report to help the reader better visualize the written description that accompanied it. All photographs were used with permission.

To ensure the quality of the research and resulting document, the researcher asked a trusted colleague to read the document to verify that thick and rich descriptions were present in the findings and identify any other shortcomings of the dissertation. Dr. Cathy Galland graciously agreed to read the research and report her findings.

Creswell (1998) recommended an external auditor perform a thorough review of the study and submit a report. The external audit was conducted by Dr. Jenny Powell, who was recommended by my adviser. Her report is available in Appendix I.

Without a doubt, the experience any researcher brings to the task colors the shape and scope of the research—no matter if the report was qualitative or quantitative. This

study was no different. My love of the rural school was evident throughout this study; it was the reason for selecting the design of the study and the object of the case study from the onset. I also care deeply about Marceline—the school and community. I have been an active participant in both for 12 years. As I sat down to speak with the leaders of Marceline, the interviews were a joy, and many felt more like gab sessions with old friends than staid, protocol-driven interviews.

The upcoming chapters fully describe the story of Marceline, the community and Marceline R-V Schools. Given a historical context of each, I examined how the school and community grew and how each affected the other.

Chapter 4

The Story of Marceline

Understanding any community must be done within the context of how that community came to be. It must also utilize the historical context of what pre-dated the community and what surrounded it. Knowing this, this chapter combined a myriad of sources: historical books, pamphlets, fliers, newspapers, photographs, and information gathered in interviews. Using this information together ensured a historical picture of Marceline's community that was true and trustworthy.

Marceline, Missouri, Historically Speaking

The founding of Marceline, Missouri, began with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. In 1883 the railroad had 2,510 miles of rails. By 1904 it increased to 9,345 miles. As part of the expansion of tracks, in the late 1880s, when rail travel and transport reigned, plans were put in place to create a direct rail route from Chicago to Kansas City. Trains, the coal burners they were, required stops for water, refueling, and crew changes about every one hundred miles (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

Darrell, who spent his entire career as railroader, explained it this way:

[T]he railroad starts at Chicago . . . 0 is the milepost. Chicago to Marceline is [the] 348 [milepost]. So, we're approximately 348 miles by rail to Chicago and Kansas City is 456 [milepost]. So, you're 106-108 miles to Kansas City. So Kansas City to Marceline was a division, and then Marceline to Fort Madison was a division. That's the way the railroad was set up.

As a result, towns were plotted and mapped at certain intervals along railroad property by the rail company to meet its needs. Since the established rail-hub cities of Kansas City and Fort Madison stood almost 200 miles apart, a terminal was needed approximately 100 miles between the two. Settler farmers who had already established

themselves in the area sold portions of their land for the new railroad town, laughing that the area was not suitable for a town. It was, they believed, a lightning rod, for few trees stood that had not been marked by electric bolts (Taylor, 1912).

Despite the homesteaders' shaking heads, Marceline was built on the rolling hills of Linn County and served as the midway division point of the double track system between Kansas City and Fort Madison for many years. It supplied a much needed personnel headquarters between the two cities, but Marceline offered an additional benefit. The location lay over a large coal deposit. In 1885, the final plans were drawn across scattered land-grant farms in North Central Missouri. On January 28, 1888 the first lot sold. By March 6, 1888 the railroad line was complete, as was the newly formed boom town of Marceline (Harris, 1999, p. 4). The first child born in Marceline was on this date too, Claud C. Dail, who remained in Marceline all of his life (Taylor, 1912).

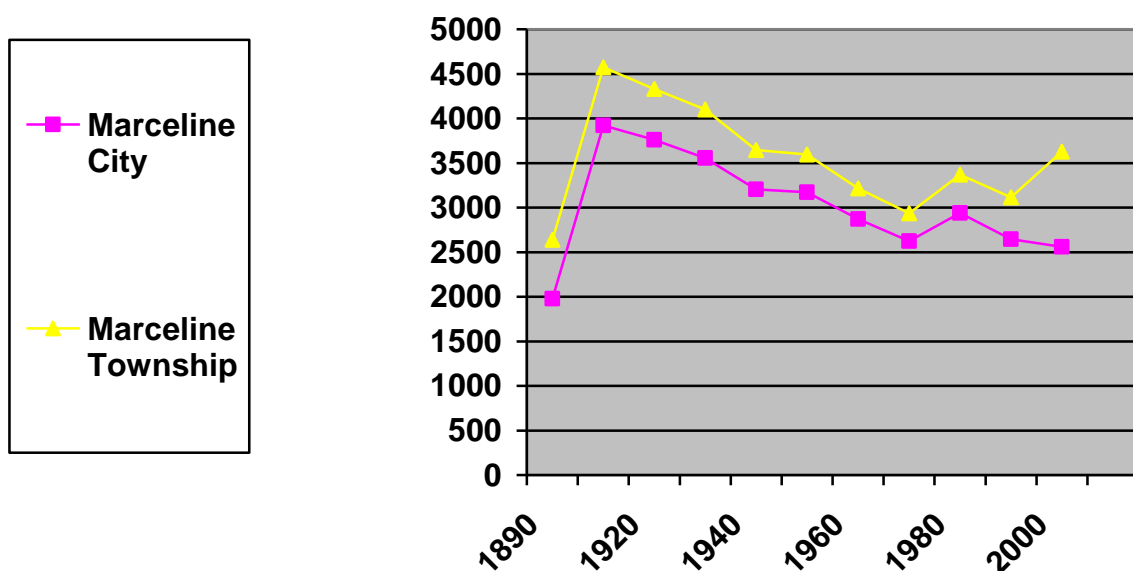
And boom it did. Six months after incorporation, Marceline had a population of 2,500 citizens. By the fall of 1888, school started and stores were built; the town was a self-sufficient hamlet. The main street, Kansas Avenue, was the primary business hub. Town engineers built it 100 feet wide for that reason. According to town history, one resident claimed that "businesses, houses, and residences arose like magic on the corn and wheat stubble of the year before" (Taylor, 1912, p. 214). The coal deposits in the area further boosted the economy, since this not only heated the homes in town, but also provided the primary fuel for the train engines.

By November 1888, at only a few months old, the newspaper headlines proclaimed Marceline would be getting an electrical lighting plant, a telephone system, a new school, and a streetcar. Electricity was in place the next year (the first town in Linn

County to have it), the telephone system followed soon thereafter, as did the new school. The streetcar, however, never made it (Taylor, 1912).

When the 1900 census was released, Marceline boasted a population of 2,638 people in 616 households (see Figure 3). Of those households, 152 were supported by railroaders and 241 by miners (U.S. Census, 2010). The population was ethnically a diverse lot, but not geographically diverse. Most residents were immigrants from other countries: Australians, Italians, French, Swedish, and British made up most of the mining families. The merchants and dressmakers were largely of German, Danish, and Bohemian descent. The railroaders were mostly American by birth, with a few recently arrived English and Germans completing the whole of the population. There were 104 residents who claimed African American heritage. Although they hailed from different countries, most residents were of European decent. The population continued to grow, and by 1910 the population soared to 3,920 people (Marceline Centennial, p. 69).

Because the town grew so rapidly, by 1902, less than 15 years after the first town lot sold, the city tore down 10 shanty homes and a city park was planned, named Ripley Park for the then president of the railroad. The city passed a \$5,000 bond issue, then condemned and took over “by legal process” the lots needed to build E.P. Ripley Park. In fact, Mr. E.P. Ripley himself donated ten lots the railroad owned at that location (Taylor, 1912; Marceline, 1988). The premise of the park was that it would present rail passers-through with a better presentation of the town. A pond was dug and stocked with white swans and other waterfowl. It served as a central location for many of Marceline’s festivals and activities.



U.S. Census – available at www2.census.gov

Figure 3. Population of Marceline and Marceline Township from 1890 – 2000.

In 1906, Marceline’s most famous resident, Walt Disney, arrived with his family. Transplanted from Chicago, Elias Disney (Walt’s father) decided to try his hand at farming and bought a small farmstead of 40 acres on the north side of town. In fact, a small ad in the corner of the March 15, 1907 *Marceline Mirror* read, “Hay! Hay! If you want hay see Elias Disney; phone 4w.”

Although the family moved to Kansas City in 1911, the Marceline connection was apparently a strong one (Burk, 2004). After his rise to fame, Disney revisited Marceline on two occasions, once in 1956 and again in 1960. During the 1960 visit, he returned to dedicate Disney Elementary School where he donated playground equipment and a flagpole from the 1960 Winter Olympics at Squaw Valley, California. Additionally,

Disney artists were commissioned to paint murals for the elementary cafeteria and gymnasium.

Disney's interest in Marceline was apparently sincere. In a letter written in 1958 to the residents of Marceline (which hangs in the public library) he proclaimed: "Everything connected with Marceline was a thrill to us . . . to tell the truth more things of importance happened to me in Marceline than have ever happened since—or are likely to in the future."

Main Street USA at Disney's theme parks was modeled after Marceline's Kansas Avenue, aptly renamed "Main Street USA" (Marceline Centennial, p. 70). And when traversing down the streets of Disneyland in Anaheim one can not miss Marceline's Confectionery, the candy store named for Marceline.

When the Disney stamp was released on September 11, 1968, it was first issued from the post office in Marceline, Missouri, although several other towns vied for the honor including Anaheim, California, and Orlando, Florida.

Disney history was not the only town draw, however. In 1937, three brothers opened a small shop to print playbills, establishing Walsworth Publishing Company. When they moved from printing playbills to publishing yearbooks in the 1940s, they became the largest employer in town (Marceline Centennial, p. 74). In 2010, after examining the number of employees, the three primary employers in town were Walsworth Publishing Company, the Marceline R-V School District, and Moore Fans (in that order).

The late 1890s saw a rise in the interest in activities that jazzed up the town's infrastructure. Despite this emphasis on town betterment, during this time period the

town had no fire equipment. Fires were rampant and insurance was high. Many of the businesses that had set up shop earlier in the town's short history closed as a result. From 1890-1900 fires were almost nightly occurrences. So many fires plagued the town that some suspected foul play. Given Marceline's high elevation and history with lightning fires, some simply expected the frequent fires.

It was not long before several city administrators attempted to address the fire issue in Marceline. A "Fire Limits Ordinance" prohibited building or moving a wooden structure into the downtown district. Although the law stood on the books well into the 1900s, builders who simply did not seek the town council's consent, often violated the law. One notable structure was the Presbyterian Church. Later a more practical approach was adopted, another bond issue passed to the tune of \$1,500, and a volunteer fire department was established (Taylor, 1912).

In the town's earliest years, city betterment captured the citizens' interest. Monies were readily available both for building up the infrastructure and promoting civic activities in Marceline. In the 1890s six passenger trains per day stopped in Marceline, but by the early 1900s the number had more than doubled. Eighteen passenger trains per day stopped in Marceline (Taylor, 1912). Millions of dollars of freight passed through the town daily. The rail passengers added to Marceline's economy through the purchase of meals, shopping, and hotel stays. The railroad paid dividends to the town as the trains passed through town limits.

In 1908 Marceline further invested in another vital city utility. The lack of an intact water system in Marceline was reason for consternation for the railroad. Trains carried water with them (for the purpose of making steam) and the rail company kept

tanks along the rail lines to refresh the water supply. Unfortunately, rainfall, especially during hot, dry summer months, was not enough to keep the storage tanks filled with the water necessary to supply steam engines their needed rations. In order to keep their most important customer happy, Marcelinians passed a \$50,000 bond issue to build a citywide water system in town.

From 1909 to 1911, in a flurry of activity to keep the town of Marceline both up-to-date and cutting edge, the town began paving streets. This was an expensive practice, that while not unheard of, many country villages minimized because of the cost. Marceline did not want to lose the advantage it had over the neighboring villages that had grown more slowly and over time. The prevailing attitude seemed to be “strike while the iron was hot and funds were available.”

In 1910 Marceline Township had grown to a population of 4,572 and sported two newspapers, *The Mirror* and *The Journal*. *The Journal* published its first newspaper in June of 1888 and *The Mirror* in August. The papers were unabashedly partisan. *The Journal* printed as a supporter of the Republican Party and *The Mirror*, the Democratic Party. The two papers later combined, becoming *The Marceline Journal-Mirror*.

Not only did the papers antagonize one another, they also ran articles provoking the neighboring community of Brookfield. As early as 1903 a nearby community paper in Brookfield asked Marceline papers to stop stirring “up a spirit of strife and envy” (Orear, 2001, p. 10). In fact, in 2010 local residents still harbored an antagonistic attitude toward their neighbors to the west. Duncan stated that over the years he had observed the antagonism first-hand and he offered his take on the rivalry:

My perception is it’s kind of a David and Goliath thing for Marceline. Brookfield was always the larger town. It was a railroad town too, different railroad line, and

so there might have been something to do with that, but Marceline has always seen itself as, ‘we’re the underdog against you the bigger, the man, we’re gonna knock down the man.’ And I think the reverse of them, Brookfield has always seen us as being some rouge upstart . . . they look down, traditionally, have looked down on Marceline people as being the old railroader-coalminer scum.

To further beautify the town and provide entertainment for the railroad elite, in 1912 the employees of the renamed Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad endeavored to establish what they called a “pleasure resort” (see Photo 1). The Santa Fe Country Club Association built a fabulous clubhouse, landscaped the grounds to resemble park-like conditions, and purchased boats near a pre-existing manmade city lake that plunged to a depth of 30-feet. The new resort stood on the shore of City Lake on the southwest corner of the town. The lake—dug by the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad—had earlier supplied water to the railroad in the time before Marceline provided the railroad and city a public water-works system (Taylor, 1912). Although initially opened to the public, it was after a short period kept for the exclusive use of employees of the railroad and their families.

As the town grew, so did interest in affluence. Reading, an activity that would have seemed frivolous to the early pioneers of Linn County, became a front-burner issue as society advanced. In 1914, 26 years after the town was formed, a reading room was created in the back of the First National Bank. The local women’s Civic League donated over 300 books to the first collection (marcelinelibrary.org, 2010).

In 1917 the same Civic League that had donated the reading material for Marceline’s reading room suggested applying for a grant to build a Carnegie Library in Marceline. From the late 1800s until 1919, Scottish-American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie funded numerous philanthropic projects, including building libraries across

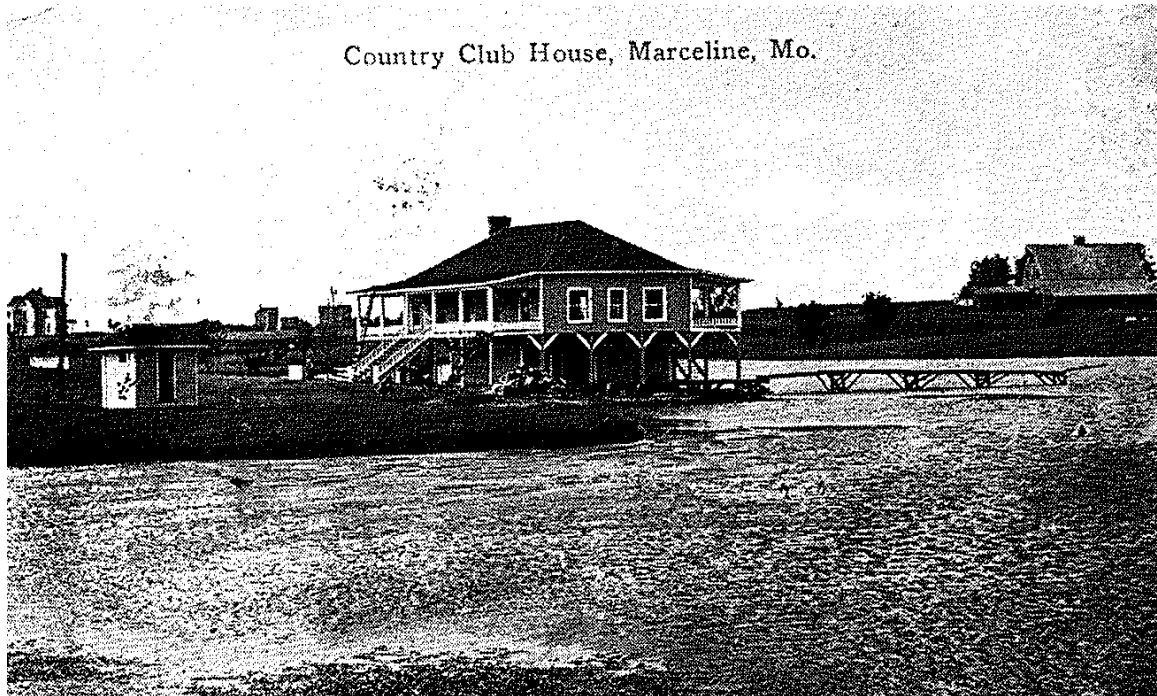


Photo 1. Marceline County Club House, circa 1914 (Marceline: Millennium Edition, 1999).

America. The Civic League applied; the bid was accepted, and the Carnegie Foundation sent \$12,500 to build a library that the city promised to maintain thereafter (History, 2010). In November, 1920, the Marceline Carnegie Library opened and continued operation in the same facility for over 90 years.

In the 1920s, more philanthropic organizations formed. Marceline organized a chapter of Free and Accepted Masons that built a temple in uptown Marceline, across the street from Ripley Park. In 1927 the women not only had the Civic League and auxiliary positions in the men's organizations, they established a Business Women's Club.

In 1948, in a major coup for the town, a new business was attracted from Kansas City. Moore Fans, which built industrial fans, moved to the community and hired 50

employees. At the time, Moore Fans Company's high efficiency axial flow fans were the largest commercially available in the United States. The company brought new business, provided new employment, and built a 15,000 square foot factory that over the years expanded to 100,000 square feet (Orear, 2001).

During the World Wars, as one might expect, civic and town betterment activities diminished. Funding was just not available to pay for them. With better economic times in the 1950s, the city established another park, Disney Park. This park had a playground and picnicking pavilions, but the city also built an attraction that excited every child in town, a swimming pool.

Despite what one might assume was in a rather safe position as a crew change, division operation, refueling, and water station, Marceline always felt a little uneasy about the whimsical nature of the railroad company. In the April 9, 1901 *Marceline Mirror* an article described Marceline's "annual panicky feeling" because "it is again rumored that the dispatchers will be removed to Fort Madison."

It seems the discomfort was not misspent. The city received a crushing blow in 1956. The Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad announced it was moving division operations to Fort Madison. The bulk of operations left town and the city lost approximately 50 railroaders who were transferred north. The city approximated that the "annual payroll loss to the city was at least \$200,000" (Orear, 2001, p. 25). Life in the city slowed to a crawl in the 1960s. The Santa Fe County Club was sold to the city in 1964. In 1968 the club burned to the ground and was never replaced.

In 1986 the Burlington Northern Santa Fe railroad sounded the death knell for railroad families in Marceline. The company moved all of the remaining crew to

Fort Madison, Iowa, or Kansas City, Missouri, shutting down Marceline as a stopping point for trains altogether. Not long thereafter, Amtrak also discontinued service to Marceline, choosing instead a community 45 miles north (closer to Amish communities) as the only stop in north-central Missouri.

Nearly all interviewed participants mentioned this event as pivotal in Marceline's development. As Jessica lamented,

Man, that was a huge chunk of our population and also hurt our homes because the railroad bought all of the houses, so there were a lot of empty houses sitting here so the housing market went down too and the population of the school went down too.

Brent added:

I know whether it was the late 80s or early 90s whenever the trains stopped you could start seeing it. There was kind of a peak there. Whenever I went to school, class size peaked, and the community peaked, and then you saw the railroad leave, you saw the community go down a little bit. We started losing population; we lost families.

Marvin chimed in with this comment:

I don't know exactly when the railroad moved all of their crews out of town; probably twenty years ago now, so clear up into the 80s. Many families, their livelihood was the railroad. And usually everybody thinks, "Well, the man or the father," but there were women who were involved too as cooks and other things on the railroad.

When the railroad jobs left town in the 1980s—it changed our town tremendously. I don't know the number of jobs—probably well over 100 very good paying jobs for the community. Those were the kind of elite jobs of the town and all those people were moved to Kansas City and Fort Madison with their families. So that's something that definitely changed our history and the direction we were heading and stuff.

Despite the pervasive doom and gloom, Samuel offered this ray of hope for residents:

[B]ut the one thing I remember it wasn't nearly as devastating to the school or the community as people thought it would be. And there were several factors for that. One was that a lot of the workers on the railroad, their kids were older and also in some cases, the workers were willing to do some horrible commutes in order to keep their families here, at least until their kids finished school. But we did have

some families that did move. We did lose some students, but the number that we lost wasn't nearly what people thought it would be at the time the announcement was made.

Many would assume that when the railroad pulled out of town, Marceline would become a town of lost hope. Turning in a new direction, Marceline instead in the first part of the 21st century earnestly sought opportunities to capitalize on the Disney connection. The town annually hosted Toonfest, a cartoon artist extravaganza in which nationally recognized artists exhibited their art, held a symposium, and marshaled a parade. A feasibility study was conducted to see if Marceline had the infrastructure to support a Disney Family Farm amusement park-type attraction. Furthermore, a local group purchased the old train depot and established the Walt Disney Hometown Museum.

Narrative Description of Marceline in 2010

The town of Marceline lay three miles south of Highway 36. For most travelers arriving in Marceline, Missouri, that highway was the most direct means of approach. The four-lane highway ran completely across the state from east to west, starting in Hannibal and ending in Saint Joseph. The former residents who hailed from towns along the road itself read like a Who's-Who map of important Americans. Hannibal on the eastern most edge of Missouri on Highway 36 was the boyhood home of Mark Twain. Marceline was the boyhood home of Walt Disney; Laclede was the birthplace of General John J. Pershing. Moving further west was Chillicothe, the home of sliced bread, and Hamilton was the birthplace of J.C. Penney. Finally, on the western end of Highway 36 was Saint Joseph, the boyhood home of Jesse James and the eastern terminus of the Pony Express.

A rock quarry on the corner of Highway 36 and the north-south Highway 5 heralded the location of the town. With an illuminated American flag that flew day and night, the quarry sported a large arrow with bold four-foot tall letters spelling out “Marceline.” The large sign pointed out the three-mile drive south from the state highway to the town (see Photo 2).



Photo 2. Marceline sign at the junction of 5 and Hwy 36 (2011 personal collection).

Vivienne mentioned the benefits of the beacon welcoming visitors:

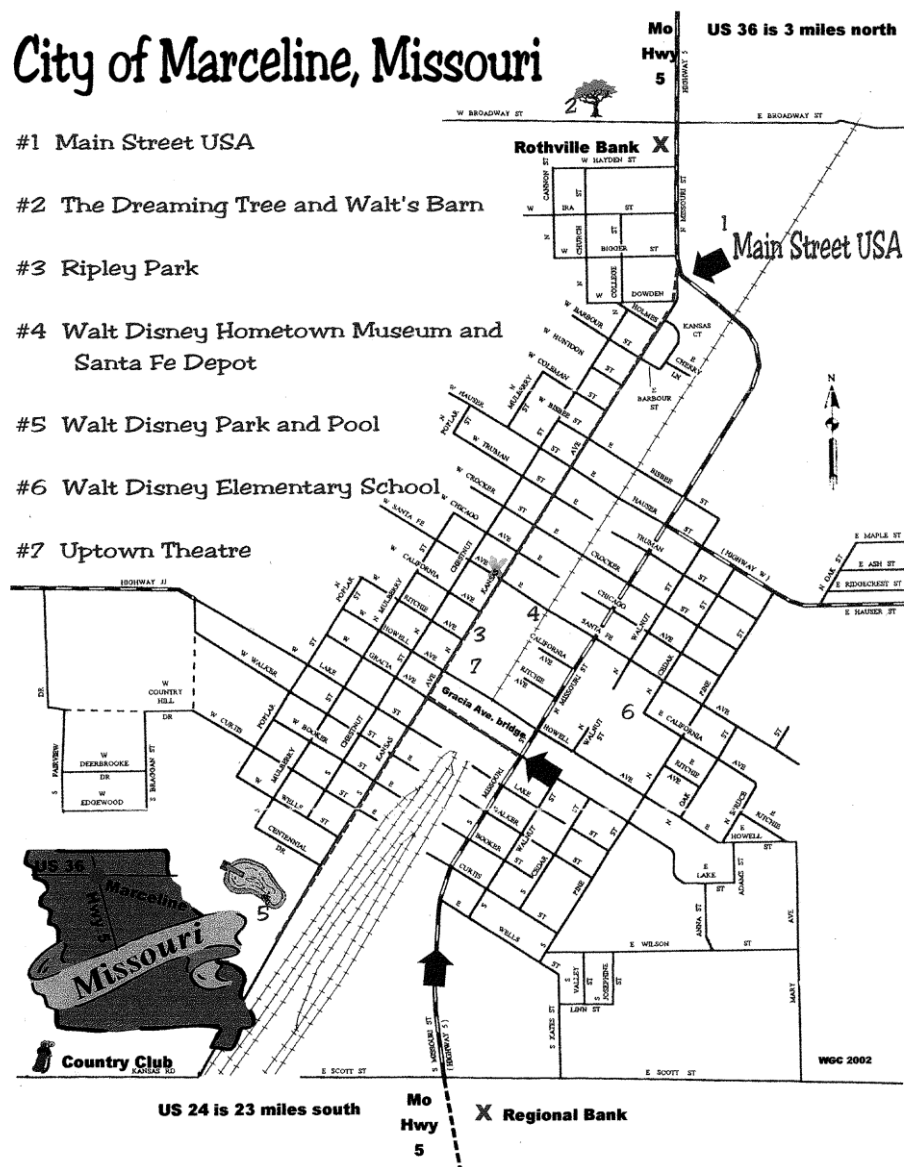
Well, it says: ‘We are here; we are this a-way!’ . . . There was one there in the 1940s and it disappeared for awhile, but this gentleman decided it needed to be there again. He got it together, had it welded and there it is. . . . And there’s a flag. I mean you can’t get any better than that. The arrow that points you in the right direction, and the American flag.

Before actually arriving in town, one entered the “north industrial complex.” This complex included Allstate Consultants (an engineering firm) and Outdoors & More Recreation R.V. Sales and Repair Shop. A large white water tower dominated the area, emblazoned with “Marceline-Home of the Tigers” on its dome.

The houses grew more numerous and the town formed. The first home on the west side after entering the city limits was, appropriately, Walt Disney’s boyhood home. Although privately owned, the farmhouse the Disney family inhabited was adorned with informational signs regarding the history of the house, the “Dream Tree,” the Disney Barn, and surrounding acres (see Figure 4).

Preferred Bank of Marceline appeared next and across the street was Bristol Manor Residential Care Facility. There was also a Casey’s General Store, Sonic, Quinn’s Building Center, Mr. Goodcents Sandwich Shop and the IOOF-Oddfellows Lodge. To drive into the uptown area one must make a sharp right. If one remained on Highway 5, the road passed the school, a residential area, some local businesses, the veterinarian clinic, Moore Fans, and Walsworth Publishing Company Printing Facility in the “south industrial complex” before leaving town.

That sharp turn to the right off of Highway 5 lead to Main Street USA originally named Kansas Avenue (see Photos 3, 4, 5, 6). The Disney Corporation gave Marceline permission to nickname its main street after the Disneyland Main Street USA since, as the story goes, Disney modeled his Main Street after Marceline’s. Driving through uptown, one’s first impression was favorable. While there were a few vacant buildings, they look as if they were ready for customers; at first glance one would not know they were empty shells, looking for businesses.



Marceline Mapping (2002). Used with permission.

Figure 4. Map of Marceline with Disney attractions marked.



Photo 3. Early Marceline, undated (Harris, 1999).



Photo 4. Kansas Avenue, 1905 (from private collection).



Photo 5. Uptown Marceline, circa 1950s (Harris, 1999).



Photo 6. Kansas Avenue, 2010 (available at <http://www.marceline.com/gallery/>).

Marceline's businessmen and women were concerned but hopeful for the town's empty buildings. Collin understood the limitations of a town the size of Marceline, and welcomed sustainable businesses:

The biggest problem is attracting new businesses that want to locate into a small community and that. We don't necessarily need businesses that are going to employ hundreds of people. If we could have ten businesses that employ six or

seven people, that would be such an impact. And those businesses are more likely to stay and last longer than the other.

Vivienne offered both hope and frustration in filling vacant buildings uptown:

And I know we lament the past, the community does. 'We used to have this and we used to have this,' and that's part of what we learn from, but I think we're fairly forward looking in knowing that things are changing quick and we're going to have to find a way to change with them. So I feel better about that. I wish we had more community people involved in the process of evaluating and bringing in new ideas for new business.

Uptown numerous businesses lined the streets. A Mexican restaurant inhabited the locally famous Zurcher Building that started life as a jewelry store and had been a hair salon, a photo shop and everything in between. Several antique shops, beauty salons, flower shops, restaurants, insurance companies, two additional banks, a jewelry store, and a hardware store accommodated shoppers throughout the day.

The mainstay business and largest employer in Marceline, Walsworth Publishing Company, occupied the corner of Santa Fe and Kansas Avenues. The worldwide headquarters was located here. The bindery was located south of town and the pre-press facility was in nearby Brookfield. This non-union family-owned company was known primarily for school yearbooks, a franchise it began in 1947 and then expanded to commercial printing in 1970. The commercial line included some text-books, catalogs, and magazines. Overall, Walsworth employed 1,250 people, but not all were from Marceline. Salespeople, a pre-press facility, and a binder were located in various locations across the United States.

Cupp Chevrolet occupied another corner of uptown Marceline. In 2009 Cupp's was one of the thousands of GM dealerships slated for closure. In a grassroots effort to save their family business which has been in operation since 1927, the Cupps petitioned

GM leaders to come to Marceline to partake in Marceline's own "baseball, hotdog, apple pie, and Chevrolet" event.

Over 1,000 locals attended the event, and over 2,000 letters and emails flooded the GM headquarters. The plea did not fall on deaf ears, and Cupp Chevrolet was one of a handful of GM dealers to save its business. "I think that pressure played a huge role in getting him where he is," President and CEO of the Missouri Automobile Dealers Association Sam Barbee said of Robert Cupp, "The Cupp family put together one of the strongest appeals I've seen to date and it'd be very difficult to say no" (Smith, 2009).

Zachary described the situation this way:

There was email from Kuwait, Canada, and even a call from Nightline in Washington, D.C. wanting to know what was going on in rural America. The rally had Senator Bond, McCaskill . . . a Corvette club, and between 11 and 2 o'clock 855 hot dogs were given away.

Also uptown were organizational buildings that housed the community activities in which Marcelinians partook. The Masonic Temple, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Knights of Columbus, American Legion, Cotton Cavanah Youth Center, and the Walsworth Community Center lined the uptown main and side streets. A recently formed North Missouri Art Gallery displayed the art of local and visiting artists free of charge to visitors.

That so many organizations owned and maintained buildings in uptown Marceline was seen as a strength. Perhaps because the possible activities were limited, organizations in Marceline were strong. Frank said, "Well, probably we don't have as much to do here, so we take more part in the organizations just to have something to do."

In the middle of town was Ripley Park. It was well-maintained, with a small pond, a working fountain, and a gazebo that at one time welcomed weekly concerts from

local bands (see Photos 7 and 8). The park sported a basketball and tennis court and a kiosk that had flushing toilets and a dining stand that the volunteer firefighters used during the Fourth of July Carnival to sell hamburgers and drinks. Flanking one side of the park was Carnegie Library.

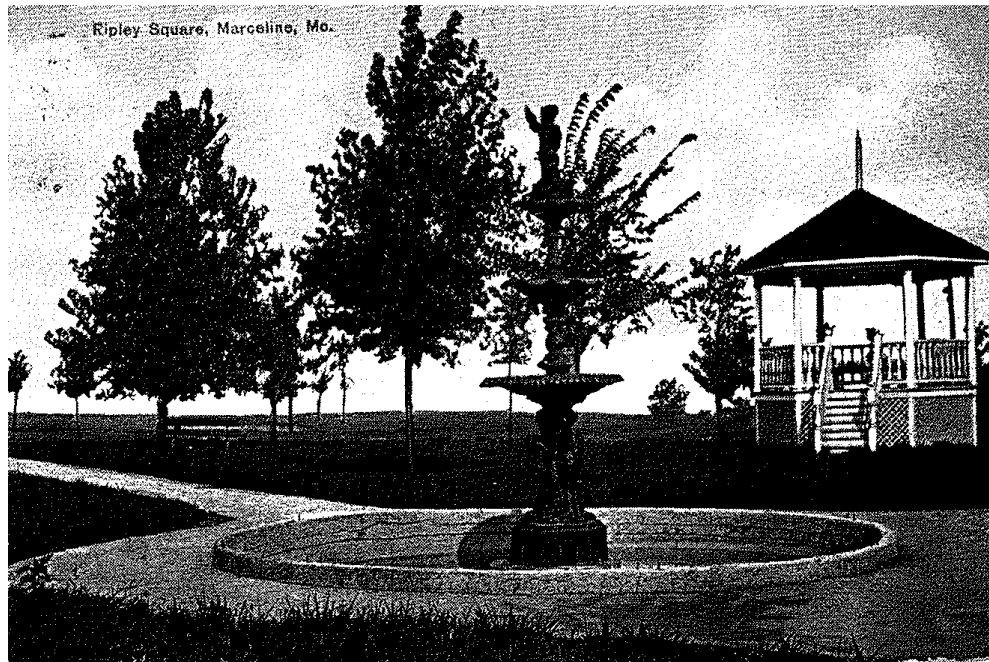


Photo 7. Ripley Park, circa 1909 (Harris, 1999).

One restaurant opened the main street's business for the day with breakfast. Ma Vic's Corner Café was where a diverse group of men gathered daily to gossip about the business of the town, tell stories, and discuss the weather. All three uptown restaurants entertained an active lunch crowd, and some after school business. With the exception of the restaurants and assorted beauty shops, the town rolled up the sidewalk at 5:00 p.m. when most local businesses closed.



Photo 8. Ripley Park, 2006 (available at <http://www.marceline.com/gallery/>).

Two buildings one might not expect on the main business thoroughfare were churches. Both the Methodists and the Catholics had churches on Main Street USA, right in the midst of downtown business. Following this route south, one would pass another residential area, the Disney Park with the city swimming pool, and proceed out of town passing Pioneer Nursing Home, the Marceline Golf Course, and then travel into the country leaving hardtop roads behind.

The town's residential areas were made up of an eclectic mix of craftsman, bungalow, and ranch style homes. One did not see many of the grand Victorian homes one might expect of a railroad business center. A railroader explained it this way:

If you looked at the big scheme of the railroad, yes, Marceline had a yard here and a crew change, but those operations were never as big as what you would have seen in Fort Madison or Kansas City. They were kind of a middle management operation and when technology improved, they just did not need those positions.

Some dilapidated homes existed, but the city aggressively sought grants to raze those homes, preferring empty lots to a town looking forlorn. Although there were pockets of neighborhoods formed as additions to the original town, the homes were not arranged into neat class-driven sections. One was likely to see a new construction next to a 1930s bungalow.

Marceline's Icons

It is true of many small communities that one or two organizations often serve as hubs of the community. The same held for Marceline. Historically the combination of coal companies and the railroad sustained the blossoming town. For many years, those two industries alone provided Marceline what it needed to maintain an active economy. As trains turned from coal to diesel fuel and coal companies closed in the 1930s, the coal industry no longer maintained its iconic stature in the burgeoning community. The coal remains, but Vivienne explained that the coal was “the wrong kind of coal.” The sulfur content was too high.

Even though they were interviewed on different days at different locations, many locals maintained the coalminers left their mark on Marceline's psyche. Duncan claimed that “[T]hose were rough careers back in the day. You got an honest day's pay for an honest day's work and nobody messed with you. I see a lot of that in the community today.” Darrell seconded that opinion, “[Y]ou still hear how rough they are; and my lands, you're down underneath the ground 10 hours a day, when you come up, my nerves would be shot too.” In the midst of discussing the importance of education in Marceline and the state law which mandated schooling from age 8 to age 16, Vivienne noted the rough and tumble nature of the coal miners who apparently did not value education, “[I]t

was a big deal with coal miners here. And there was article after article [in local newspapers] about: ‘Attention to coal miners: children over a certain age had to attend school’ in Marceline.”

Interestingly, despite the fact it no longer stopped in Marceline, the railroad continued to serve as a community focal point, perhaps because the town owed its very existence to the railroad. Until the 2000s 10% of the population looked to the railroad as a means of employment, despite what might have been a long commute. The two railroads that employed locals were either the Norfolk Southern Railroad with a personnel rail yard in Moberly, Missouri (50 miles from Marceline), or the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad with a railyard in Brookfield, Missouri, ten miles away (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Ruth, whose husband was a railroader, indicated “[I]t brought a lot of money into Marceline because railroaders have a good income. You’re not rich, but it’s better than the average person in Marceline by quite a little bit.”

The railroad influence was omnipresent. The uptown park, Ripley Park, proudly displayed two well-kept railroad cars—a caboose and an engine. The old depot (see Photos 9 and 10), although it no longer served as a regular train stop, housed the Walt Disney Hometown Museum. It occasionally got called into action as an Amtrak whistle stop for large groups. The Red Hat Society arranged for a stop for a trip its organization took to Kansas City, and the Marceline R-V School Band also organized a stop when the ensemble traveled to Chicago.



Photo 9. Early Marceline Depot (Harris, 1999).



Photo 10. Marceline Depot and Lunch Room, circa 1920 (Harris, 1999).

The town's entire orientation was skewed by the railroad. The railroad tracks ran from the northeast to the southwest in a diagonal line across the county. The streets of Marceline, rather than lying true north to south or east to west, lay parallel and perpendicular to the railroad. Ask a Marceline child which direction was north, and the chances were he would point northeast, as the road lay and the tracks ran.

Trains adorned signs at the Walt Disney Park (south of the downtown) and of the Uptown Theater. In fact, Walt Disney himself claimed that Marceline was where he fell in love with the train. He and his brother, Roy, returned to town to premier his film, *The Great Locomotive Chase*, in Marceline's Uptown Theater. He arrived in Marceline (after flying into Kansas City) by train.

Whistling through town at an interval of approximately one train every fifteen minutes or so, it was not at all uncommon for train enthusiasts to film or photograph a passing train from any of a number of Marceline's crossings or overhead bridge.

I was not hard-pressed to find a local who would point to the railroad as a major influence on the foundation of the city. Even those who were not born and raised in Marceline would point to the railroad as a local powerhouse. Christopher, although he had never lived in Marceline, pointed to the influence of the railroad, "I do know that the railroad has had to do something with the shaping of the town. You just can tell by the amount of tracks they provide and still the railroad traffic that there is." And Collin, a local businessman, claimed, "The railroad established Marceline. And had been a major employer and still is in a way. I think that was probably the thing that shaped Marceline the most." Many of Marceline's current leaders indicated that they lived in town because the railroad brought their families this direction. Angela, Marvin, Sean, and Vincent all

mentioned that they were here because of the railroad. Angela quipped, “My family was all railroading people, my grandfather, my dad, and then several of my uncles. And in fact, my grandfather was the yard master down here.”

Another nucleus of Marceline was Walsworth Publishing Company. It deserves this title not just because it was the largest employer in town (although that certainly played a role), but also because of the wealth it created and the direction the company had taken so many residents. Despite humble beginnings 49 years after the town’s origin, the playbill company that started with a typewriter and mimeograph machine had grown quickly. In addition to commercial printing and the publication of historical books, it produced yearbooks for over five thousand schools each year (Walsworth, 2010).

One businessman, Aaron, indicated the importance of Walsworth’s staying power and its importance as an economic engine in Marceline:

It used to be mining many years ago. And mining went the way mining goes. . . . It was a railroad town . . . and that went the way that railroads went because maybe the labor union or the economics of transportation, so that’s gone. So, now we’re kind of a printing area.

Of the printers employed by Walsworth, 675 obtained the title of Master Printer of America. Certainly not all of Walsworth’s master printers were Marcelinians, since Walsworth also had printing facilities in Omaha, Nebraska, but a good number of them were. The influence the company had on the demographics of the town was that unusually high percentages (per capita) of Marcelinians held the rank of Master Printer.

Walsworth Publishing Company stood in a class by itself in Linn County because of the wealth it created. Not just the CEO Don Walsworth or his son and president Don O. Walsworth profited from the publishing company’s success. The company also

created executives who profited from the local economy and low cost of living. Marvin added:

[Walsworth] has shaped our community in a very staggering way. It's not only the biggest business in town; it's the biggest employer in the county. . . . His business is by far the biggest purchaser of electricity, the biggest employer.

By living in town personally, Don Walsworth changed the face of Marceline.

There were not many (if any) small towns in northeast Missouri that could boast a University of Missouri curator, who served on several bank boards and received an appointment to the Missouri State Highway and Transportation Commission. He had been involved in the city government by serving one term as mayor of the town and two terms on the city council.

That is not to say that the accumulated prosperity was not generously shared.

Walsworth Publishing Company further affected the community through community contributions. For example, the Marceline community center (the Walsworth Community Center) largely owed its existence to a donation from the Walsworth family. In another example, Jessica pointed out the close knit nature of Walsworth Publishing Company, the school, and community when organizing alumni affairs, "Walsworth prints them [the 3,800 letters sent to alumni inviting them to the alumni banquet] and they split the cost with alumni. And they also print our banquet books [of which there are 400-600]."

Each year the company gave a total of six scholarships to Marceline or nearby Brookfield graduates. Four scholarships of \$4000 per year were awarded that were renewable for four years. A student receiving this scholarship, should s/he remain in school, may ultimately end up with \$16,000. There were two additional scholarships for \$2,500 that were renewable for two years. The students receiving this scholarship may

earn up to \$5,000 over the two years. Sean, while discussing the community members who shape the school's culture, mentioned:

Don alone gave \$90,000 in scholarship money last year [in the county], so that obviously shapes the culture of the community. . . . Don also kind of drives the Education Foundation a little bit. . . . Without him giving the free printing and all that stuff for the Bell Game program, it would not exist.

Religion in Marceline

Organized religion formed in Marceline almost as soon as the first lots were sold. In a quickly established separation before the town's church buildings were completed, the Protestants all worshiped together in a hall in uptown Marceline. The Catholics worshiped in another. In a town where churches handily outnumber bars, religion played an important role to the town's character. In 1912 a local newspaperman wrote,

While lawlessness, violence and crime have at times invaded the community and stalked boldly through its streets and avenues, yet a strong and safe moral tone has always pervaded the social atmosphere, giving the assurance of the triumph of good citizenship in the end. (Taylor, 1912, p. 216)

The importance of faith remained a vital part of Marceline's cultural overtone. As Vincent stated,

[T]he churches are important. . . . But in a town of our size, you drive through town and see seven or eight churches and it's like, Whoa! Now some of those churches the congregations aren't real big, but that also would have an influence, but that's good.

Stephen added,

I think in our society today there's just so much false stuff out there and if children aren't taught good values and helped to make some of the decisions, they face so much . . . and in our society we've become very relative—relativistic. . . . Churches have made an impact.

As part of that religious overtone, Marceline battled against alcohol. In the 1890s and early 1900s on the east side of Lake Street "speakeasies" popped up. Since Linn

County had adopted a Local Option Law, none of these saloons were in legal operation. Everyone knew these gambling dives and dance halls flouted the law by operating in the open. Citizens certainly talked about the scandalous businesses, but little was done to enforce the ordinance. After a number of murders resulted from drunken brawls, in 1891 the county opted to take a more proactive stance. Officials thought the best way to control alcohol was legally, through a licensing system. The thought of the time was that if the general public had the means to obtain a drink legally, the town council could effectively close the illegal operations of the day (Marceline Centennial, 1988; Orear, 2001; Taylor, 1912). Thus began a topsy-turvy, back and forth relationship the city and its citizens had with alcohol. In a town with a church to bar ratio of five to one and one in which four church denominations were established within the first six months, the battle raged for many years.

Some of the earliest ordinances in Marceline included the establishment of a city marshal and a prohibition against assault, playing games of chance, disturbing public worship service, and a ban on the sale or dispensing of “intoxicating liquors.” This last ordinance did not last long. As discussed, the first licensed saloon opened in 1891, but typified Marceline’s battle with alcohol because by 1908 Marcelinians voted to become a dry town and they founded the Anti-Saloon League to enforce the issue (Marceline Centennial, 1988; Orear, 2001).

The drinking issue resurfaced again in 1917 with the national ban on alcohol and a local vote declaring the same; however, a 1925 article in the newspaper ranted in an outrage over the lack of enforcement of the law. The editor of the paper threatened to publish which doctors issued prescriptions containing alcohol and which druggist filled

them. In 1937, perhaps in a move to save his job, the police chief reported to the city council that alcohol abuse had been widely “over-reported.” To his knowledge there were only two bootleggers in the county and both threatened to quit due to poor business claiming they sold only three pints per week (Marceline Centennial, 1988).

Frank, in discussing underage drinking in Marceline, made a sidebar note about the drinking establishments in Marceline. He discussed which restaurants in town served alcohol (one) and which organizations in town served alcohol (one). There was one drinking establishment on the outskirts of town. Frank posited that since officially it was in another county, it did not count. He finally maintained that “We’ve had lots of bars here at one time. [But now there are] really only two.”

Marcelinians had been a little more aggressive where law enforcement was concerned. Despite the early ordinance providing for a city marshal, the citizenry often handled justice. Suspects were met with a lynch mob. An early journalist described it this way: “a large body of citizens, their faces masked, visited a number of houses and took therefrom suspects. The suspects were roughly handled and given hours to leave town and they did so” (Taylor, 1912, p. 226).

In May of 1910 a vigilante band of 50 to 75 men rounded up 3 “troublemakers,” took them out of town where they held mock hangings and beat them with rubber hoses and told them to leave town. They did. *The Journal* recorded the event: “the way Marceline is getting good is simply marvelous. We anticipate a great revolution in the morals of the city” (Marceline Centennial, p. 27).

Although each church denomination had its own history and its own impact on Marceline, collectively the ministerial alliance of Marceline had a significant impact

upon the community. Many of Marceline's residents pointed to Marceline's churches and specifically the ministerial alliance as a major influence on the tone of the community.

Stephen, 66 years old, mentioned specifically the alliance as a strength of the community, "I think one of the strengths of our community is the ministerial alliance . . . that our churches work together. I think that's a strength." Lucas, a faith leader, lived and preached in several other communities and spoke about the ministerial alliance in some detail, "We have a ministerial alliance that's just fantastic. And it's gotten even better in the last few years since I've been here." Specifically he discussed the close association between the school and the ministerial alliance. He discussed a program entitled *180 Tour* that the alliance sponsored for the school starting in 2009. The program was intended to help steer students away from drugs and alcohol. He quipped, "The most remarkable thing about it is the sense of cooperation in the community and knowing that we're not doing separate things. We're all working together toward the same goal and that's just so rare." Sean also mentioned the power of the ministerial alliance:

I will tell you something that's grown . . . is the ministerial alliance and the school district and bringing the community together. This Tour 180 that's had a big impact on the community in a positive way and that's something that the ministerial alliance and the school district partnered on to get going.

Each church, however, had its own impact on the community both culturally and historically and each is enumerated below.

In the spring 1888 as the first lots of the Marceline Township were sold; the Right Reverend Hogan from Kansas City quickly contacted a reverend from the already established town of Brookfield to secure appropriate lots for a Catholic church. By

August of the same year, the church provided a priest for the budding town, and by November of 1888 Saint Bonaventure Church was dedicated. A phenomenally speedy undertaking given that the rock for the foundation of the church was quarried locally and hauled from a farm east of town.

The Catholic church (see Photo 11) was the only church in town to found a parochial school, Saint Bonaventure (discussed later in this dissertation in greater detail). In 1932, a priest arrived who affected not only the church, but also the community. Father McCartan remained in Marceline from 1932 until 1957 and in 1963 he received high Papal honors (Orear, 2001). During the time he served as presiding priest of St. Bonaventure, he took over church finances and diminished the staggering debt the early church had accumulated. The congregation said of him: “What he has accomplished in the face of the depression is almost beyond belief” (St. Bonaventure Church Album, 1973, p. 2). To honor this beloved priest, the St. Bonaventure School was renamed Father McCartan School in 1957.

Frank shared his opinion of Father McCartan:

Well, the biggest thing I think was this Father McCartan, when he came here. He could get along with about anybody and did. And he kind of, you know, got together with the other churches and the other people. It didn't make any difference to him what religion they were. He had a farm and he was always having somebody work on it out there. And then what we called the Colored School, he would buy Christmas candy and we'd go down there, he'd take some of the students down there at Christmas and then give candy to them. And he kind of broke the barrier.



Photo 11. Catholic Church before rock-front was added, circa 1910 (Harris, 1999).

Despite a terrible setback in 1959 when the church was gutted by fire, the congregation restored the existing structure rather than build anew. In a true spirit of brotherhood, two other churches in town offered their facilities for Catholic worship: the Methodist Church and the Christian Church. The St. Bonaventure congregation used those facilities for some activities, but in another display of community, the Sunday worship services were held in the school gymnasium.

Even though there were three Baptist churches in Marceline, according to Stephen, the Catholics maintained a huge presence in town with 200 active families in the Marceline parish. Duncan mentioned that as a teacher, Marceline students often over-estimated the Catholic population in Missouri based on their experience in Marceline.

[I]n other schools I've taught, I'll ask kids what is the approximate Catholic population of Missouri and most of the other kids [answer], 'Oh, maybe around 25% or so.' I come to Marceline and they all estimate around 60, and the actual number is 15.

Within the first six months after incorporation, Marceline had not one, but two Methodist congregations, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Southern Methodists. In 1908 the two merged and began building the Methodist church that stands uptown today on the corner Kansas and Santa Fe Avenues (see Photo 12). The church was not the first Methodist influence in the area. In the earliest days of Linn County (as early as the 1830s), traveling Methodist circuit preachers covered this area (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).



Photo 12. Methodist Church, circa 1910 (Harris, 1999).

There was a good reason for the three Baptist churches in Marceline—First Baptist, Bethany Baptist, and New Hope Baptist. The earliest preachers to move into the county were of Baptist persuasion. In the 1830s Reverend Jesse Going moved into Linn County and settled. A few years later, he was joined in the area by another Baptist preacher, Reverend A.F. Martin. Within the first four months of the founding of the town, Baptists congregated in Marceline (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913). On May 19, 1888, seven charter members (four men and three women) established the First Baptist Church of Marceline, and by 1889 a frame-structure replaced the rented hall the group had used. That structure served the congregation until it was decimated by one of Marceline's many fires. After a short return to rented halls, a new building was dedicated in September of 1916. It served the community ever since.

The Baptist church in Marceline was not without conflict. Two other Baptist churches split from the first congregation. Bethany Baptist split from the first congregation in 1955, and New Hope Baptist church broke from First Baptist years later in the 1980s.

At one point in Marceline's history there was also a Second Baptist Church for the black community. The small one-room church was located on the same street as Bethany Baptist Church, Howell Street. When it was built, and when it was torn down seemed to be a bit of mystery. Billie, a 66 year-old female, remembered this history: "But we had good relationships and they would invite us and we would go to services over there. And then we always invited their children to our Bible School at Bethany Baptist Church." Angela recollected, "In fact, they used to come over to our church and

do Bible School together. And so we built our church in 55. So, it was still up and going then.”

Although they numbered among the first congregations in Marceline, the Presbyterians did not stand the test of time in Marceline and disbanded.

The First Christian Church in Marceline was a small congregation, but a faithful one. They organized for the first time on May 20, 1888. Although the building itself was among the oldest in Marceline, built in 1890, in their earliest months they met at the First Baptist Church (see Photo 13). They paid \$25 for the six month period (Marceline Centennial, p. 86). Some renovations were completed in 1915 and more in the 1970s and early 1980s. At one point in the early 1980s they reached a membership of 182. Unfortunately, this small community’s numbers continued to dwindle.



Photo 13. Christian Church, undated (Harris, 1999).

Although formed in the late 1880s under the name of the Church of the Disciples, this church became the Disciples of Christ. Like the Presbyterians, despite an early showing, the church just did not stand the test of time in Marceline. There was no longer a Church of Disciples in town.

Although they may not boast the same longevity or history other churches hold in town, there were additional small Christian denominations present in town. The Church of Christ, Assembly of God, Church of God Seventh Day, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints all had a presence in Marceline. At the time of this study there were not, nor had there ever been, any non-Christian places of worship in town.

Social Life and Celebrations

Communities are defined by their celebrations. The unique flavors of Marceline's festivities were no exception. They shed a light on life in the town and illuminated what the town cherished.

The first major event of the year actually happened on the Fourth of July. Every year for the past 39 years, Marceline hosted Toby's Carnival as part of a week laden with activities. In addition to the numerous rides, one could play the typical pop-the-balloon, knock-the-milk-can, skee-ball carnival games to win the stuffed prize. The event was rife with food stands selling cotton candy, corn dogs, and kettle popcorn. The week's activities included baby shows, talent shows, car shows, a band, and a dance. On the Sunday of Carnival the Ministerial Alliance had church in the park. Chairs were set up and the local Protestants celebrated their services together. The Catholic church opted out of this particular event.

Ripley Park was abuzz for the entire week with craft booths and other entertainment. Walking through the carnival, one could buy a chance for a quilt donated to benefit the library, dunk a cheerleader in a dunking booth to benefit the Stadium Club, play bingo at the Veteran of Foreign War's game stand, and eat the Rotary Club's funnel cakes or the Fire Department's hamburgers. The last night of the festival ended every year on the Fourth, no matter on which day of the week the fourth fell. The final evening brought a rubber duck race to benefit Rotary Club and a fireworks extravaganza financed by the local volunteer fire department.

The Toonfest celebration held each year in September celebrated the Disney connection. Started in 1998, the first Toonfest was little more than an artist sitting in the park drawing pictures. The next Toonfest was slated to be a huge event celebrating Disney's 100th birthday. Unfortunately, the mid-September event was waylaid by the tragedy of September 11, 2001. The disastrous American tragedy effectively put an end to all travel and the Marceline Toonfest event, billed as an international sensation, became a slow and almost sad local affair. Since then, however, Toonfest continued to burgeon and grow.

Each year nationally recognized artists and cartoonists came to Toonfest to share their talent and enjoy a festival designed especially for them. The first event of the fest was Student Day. The artists conducted a workshop and question-answer session for local high school, college, and home-schooled students. The free event provided lunch and allowed local students to get up-close-and-personal with the cartoonists.

The biggest part of the festivities occurred in a daylong series of activities. The Toonfest fete included a parade, crafts and booths in Ripley Park, and a cartoon art show

and silent auction at the Masonic Temple. The highlight of the day for the younger set was the Princess Tea Party and Yellow Creek Pirates Extravaganza. Local citizens dressed either as princesses or pirates and hosted children who were dressed in kind. In the heart of the park, the pirates pillaged and plundered on a pirate ship, the Muddy Pearl, while the princesses dined on tea and crumpets in gauzy tents. After these events, other activities like cow milking, nail driving, and a petting zoo were set up in the park.

Starting in 2008 the Catholic church's Block Party and Toonfest were planned for the same date. In years previous the two events fell a week apart. Although there was some hesitation to combine them, one drew a greater audience for the other. The Block Party included basket raffling, hot dog and pie sales at the Knights of Columbus Hall, and culminated in a street dance.

Another event unique to Marceline was called Peanut Night. On the first Saturday after Thanksgiving, citizens gathered in Ripley Park to celebrate the upcoming Christmas holiday. The town's Christmas lights illuminated the park, all uptown buildings, and the street lamps. The stores stayed open showcasing their Christmas wares. The Masonic Temple offered free hot cocoa and cookies. The Knights of Columbus sold soup and chili suppers.

In the park there was a large barrel brazier, a living nativity hosted by a Baptist church, horse-drawn hayrides, and of course, peanut sales. Peanuts were sold in brown paper sacks and often contained a prize. Most prizes were small, a quarter, a bank pen, or a local merchant coupon. The main event of the evening was the arrival of Santa. Riding in on a fire truck, Santa was shuttled to a small house erected in the park once a year just for this purpose where he heard the long lists of children's Christmas requests. The line

for the Marceline ritual was nearly always a block long as children hopped on one foot both to stay warm and in anticipation of sharing their desires with Santa. Tina replied that the community and school really supported Marceline's celebrations, "We're going to see that big influence again at Peanut Night. You know, Peanut Night is the event. And then that's a community event that the school actually has kids come and load the peanuts." Elise, while reminiscing with her husband about how many Peanut Nights they have celebrated, said, "I don't remember when we *didn't* have a Peanut Night." But then again, she commented, she had only been here 50 years.

As is true of many small communities, the school and town shared several events. Those celebrations, Homecoming and Bell Game, are further discussed later in the school section of this dissertation.

Economic Development

In the 1880s when the Burlington Railroad built tracks across the county forming towns to fit its needs, Marceline was erected and Linn County changed from an economy built almost wholly on agrarian land-grant farms of tobacco, corn, and wheat to one built upon commerce.

There was in the area a rich supply of coal. One Linn County historian remarked:

There are right now four coal mines being worked in Linn county. The industry is yet in its infancy, and until wood becomes scarce, or the demand for coal exceeds its supply, little will be done in Linn county to develop the immense wealth which is hidden below the surface of her soil. It is there, however, and it is a guarantee that so long as the world stands, or for at least for scores of generations to come, that the fuel supply of Linn county will never be a source of fear because of its scarcity or high price. (Taylor, 1912, p. 5)

As the tracks were laid, mines shafts were sunk in Marceline and Bucklin. The 1912 account from the Bureau of Mines, Mining and Mine Inspection of Missouri

reported that Linn County employed 404 men in mining, producing 86,774 tons of coal at a value of \$187, 913 (Taylor, 1912, p. 6). Despite the value of coal during this time period, it does not hold a candle to what the county produced in agriculture and livestock per year, which was \$2,000,000 and \$4,000,000 respectively (Taylor, 1912, p. 6).

Naturally, the railroad itself represented industry and economic opportunities for Marceline. The railroad provided its own shops and roundhouses and made available industry like flour and grain mills. The railroad brought to the town relatively influential residents like the trainmaster and chief dispatcher and all of the crews who further contributed to the economy by building houses, churches, and schools (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

Shortly after founding the town of Marceline, the residents—attracted by the railroad—built shops, newspapers, and a theater. By 1889 Marceline had 50 mercantile establishments, 7 hotels, 2 banks, 5 livery stables, newspapers, and drug stores (Taylor, 1912).

Apparently at one time, Marceline sported a number of grocery stores. Although residents disagreed about the exact number of grocery stores in town, what was certain was that at one time every ward and every neighborhood had its own local store. Frank remembered that at one time Marceline had 32 grocery stores, “They were up and down Main Street and then out in different [neighborhoods]. They were small, they was all small.” As Aaron recalled, “And then, by the way, every ward had their little store so people could just run right down the street and get their milk and stuff. They all did well. They all made a living.” Zachary remembered a different number of stores, but the experience was largely the same, “[T]here were 16 grocery stores at one time. Now some

of them wasn't but twice as big as this office. But they were here. They were in the neighborhoods." One former resident, in her self-published memoirs, recorded her family-run grocery store in this manner (see Photo 14):

My mother opened a neighborhood grocery store in the 1930s. My father was injured on the Santa Fe Railroad and my mother baked cakes, breads, rolls, pies and all kinds of baked goods and sold them in the store. We moved our garage forward to the street . . . We kept the store for ten years until the time of rationing came, and mother thought it was too much trouble for book work. So we sold out and moved the store back to its original position and it was a garage again. (Harper, 2006, pp. 17-18)

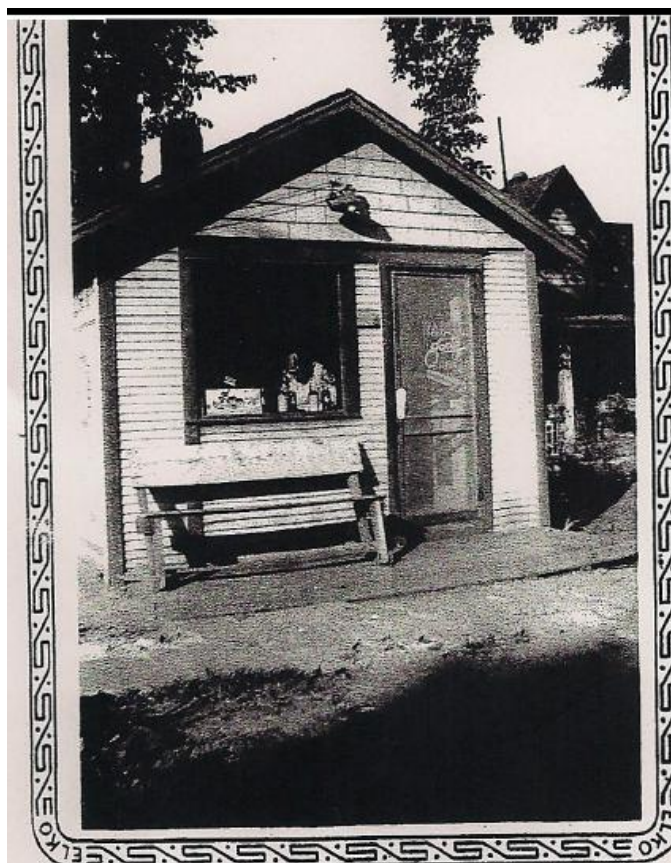


Photo 14. One Marceline family store, circa 1930 (from a private collection).

During the years 1908-1912 Marceline saw great economic growth. Standard Oil Company built a massive pumping station. A bottle work and creamery opened during

this time as well. Unfortunately, these two businesses, which held so much promise, did not last. To buy gas in 2010, there were three stations: Casey's, County Line Convenience (which sells Sinclair), and MFA. Standard Oil Company and the creamery were gone.

After the earliest boom days, real estate stabilized and the serious, stable businessman who came to Marceline for the long haul replaced the speculator. Despite the fact that the local farmer was not the reason for the foundation of the town, the primary economic contributor was always agriculture. In 2007 the average farm in Linn County was a little over 300 acres in size. There were over 1,000 farms located in the county. About 60% of this land was cropland and another 25% was pasture. The top crops were soybeans, corn, and hay. Cattle and calves lead the livestock market (USDA, 2007).

Other non-agriculture industries assisted the economy in Marceline. The aforementioned Walsworth Publishing Company, established in 1937, dominated the business scene for a good bit of twentieth century and looked likely to continue to do so into the future.

The yearbook company attracted other school-oriented businesses. Of note were Jostens and Herff-Jones. Jostens, known for class rings, graduation announcements, and other school and graduation paraphernalia, operated a small branch in Marceline employing about 30 full-time employees. Herff-Jones also handled yearbook and other school printing needs. It too, maintained a Marceline office employing 73 people as recently as August 2010 when during a corporate downsize the office was closed.

Moore Fans moved to town ten years after Walsworth Publishing was established. In 1948 Moore Fans, an innovator in commercially available cooling towers and high efficiency axial flow fans, moved from Kansas City to Marceline. Serving companies in over 100 countries, this high-tech state-of-the-art industry employed 55 people. It was known for innovation and service in the fan industry and owned patents for fan technology from the 1960s on into the 2000s.

Although it may not quite meet iconic status in Marceline, few would downplay the importance of Moore Fans to both the local economy and mindset that everything will be okay, no matter the other economic conditions. Brent commented that despite current downtrends, the local industry mattered, “And luckily, being a small community we have enough of manufacturing to hold the school where it is currently.” Benson thought that Moore Fans and the men who have over the years run the company, Robert, and his sons David and John, made significant contributions to the community:

Moore Company down there, they always employed about the same amount for years and years and then when them two boys took over, David and John, they really went to building then. They started getting them new blades and fans for those cooling towers for oil refineries, off shore oil rigs, and all that. They helped the town a lot, I think.

Angela most certainly agreed:

I worked for Mr. [Moore] . . . I worked there for his [John’s] dad. What a wonderful man he was. . . . Wonderful, I mean excellent, excellent, you know, and he believed in his employees. He said, ‘That’s who makes this company, is my employees.’ And he did, he took care of them, and he did this, and he was inventive.

John Moore, current president and CEO, although nearly always behind-the-scenes, was a significant contributor to Marceline, both the town and the school.

Vivienne mentioned John by name:

Who are the school and community members who shape or shaped the culture? Hmm . . . well, most definitely John Moore in recent times. He is so involved in education and goes about things quietly, basically making sure good things happen in a positive way.

Tina seconded Vivienne's sentiment:

[Y]ou have John Moore who does an excellent job right now donating . . . time and money. I mean he has even stepped into our school district to help teach . . . and helps the kids with pole-vaulting. You know, and I'm sure he'll help with whatever.

As explored earlier in the narrative description of the town, a number of businesses lined Marceline's uptown business area. The Chamber of Commerce had 60 members. One business with the greatest running streak was Murray's Store. It had been open for over 100 years, opening in 1906. It operated as a dry-goods department and clothing store, and as a consignment store with limited hours.

Several locals mourned Murray's declining status, as a cornerstone of stability for such a long time. Collin bemoaned, "I see it being closed up here before long or as it is now, with everything kind of removed. It's sad." Billie witnessed the decline of a store like Murray's, but placed the blame on superstores like Wal-Mart, ten miles away:

The mom and pop stores--it's difficult because you can't . . . you can no longer buy and compete with Wal-Mart, blah, blah, blah. Because . . . Wal-Mart could sell for less . . . the days of the mom and pop stores are pretty well over.

Surrounding Communities

When founded in 1880, Marceline joined a county that already had a rich and abundant history (see Figure 5). In fact, Linn County started out as part of Saint Charles County. As more pioneers moved west, it was part of Howard County and finally it became part of Chariton County. As territories grew in population, the settlers would petition the state to become a stand-alone county. Each time the landmass of the former



Published by the U.S. Census Available at factfinder.census.gov

Figure 5. Map of Linn County.

county shrank. And in time, as other counties broke from Linn County, the size diminished even further (Williams, 1913).

As was true of all of the United States, the first people to dwell in Linn County were Native Americans. In Linn County the Sac, Iowa, Fox, Pottawattamie, and Mesquakie tribes dwelled in the area in roving bands until the late 1840s. The largely nomadic native tribes inhabited a 40-acre area a few miles southwest of what would become Linneus and reportedly visited the earliest settlers every day or two (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor, 1912).

The first recorded white settlers appeared in this area in 1832. At that point, Linn County was part of Chariton County (one of the oldest counties in the state—organized in

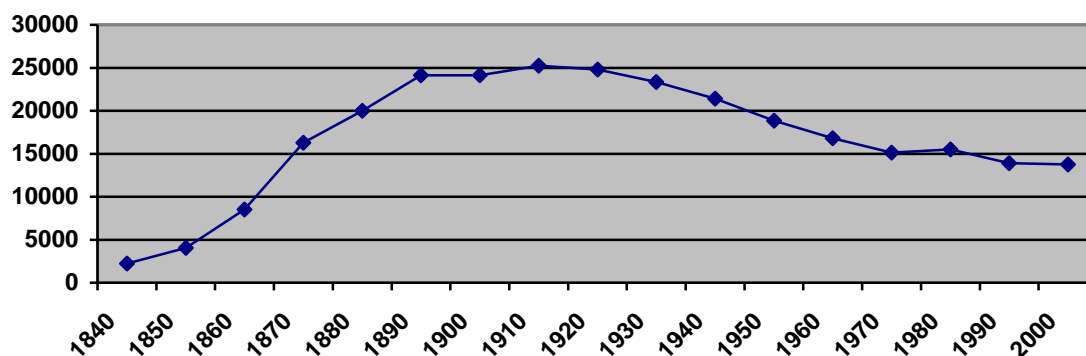
1820) and the county extended to the Iowa state line. In the ten years prior to the settling pioneers in Linn County, the only white men to inhabit the area were largely trappers and hunters (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

Two of these lone hunters found special charm in the area. Together they cleared an area, built a cabin and fenced six acres, and moved their families north from Howard County to this untamed wilderness. They named their township Locust Creek.

Agriculture was the primary economic enterprise on which these early settlers relied. They fed their families through hunting and farming since the overabundance of wolves made keeping domestic animals nearly impossible. By 1832 two more families arrived and brought the first slave to the county, a girl named Ann (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

In 1834 the county truly began to grow (see Figure 6). Two other townships formed, Parson Creek Township and Yellow Creek Township. By 1837 the area had reached a level of independence that allowed them to break away from Chariton County and become Linn County. Two hundred settlers lived in the area, mostly native Kentuckians relocating to this area from Howard County (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913). By a decree of state law, the county was formed, judges were appointed, and court was held in citizens' homes and private businesses.

Two commissioners were tasked with establishing a county seat. In 1839 the commissioners selected an area near the Yellow Creek Township. Linnville was set up as the county seat, but the man for whom the county and town were named, Senator Lewis F. Linn, requested a name change, insisting the honor was simply too great. Thus, Linneus became the permanent county seat and oldest town with 50 acres of land donated



U.S. Census – available at www2.census.gov

Figure 6. Population of Linn County 1840 – 2000.

to the county by a private citizen and his wife. By 1840 the county was populated by 2,245 people (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

In 1841 the first courthouse was ordered built, and four years later in May of 1845 the court order the formation of a total of seven townships. Thus, added to the Yellow Creek and Locust Creek Townships were Jackson, Baker, Benton, Parson Creek, and Jefferson Townships.

The Civil War devastated both the state of Missouri and Linn County. Linn County provided a full quota of soldiers to both the Union and Confederate armies and attacks in the county were not unknown, both by Unionists searching out Bushwhackers, or Confederate soldiers retaliating for injustices suffered at the hands of Union soldiers. The Hannibal and Saint Joseph railroad was of great import to the Union Army. With the railroad intact, they could move soldiers from east to west across the state. As a result, the rail passage was well-guarded. The nearby community of Brookfield was often raided as secessionists looked to take over the rail (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor 1912).

One well-known Confederate general, James T. Holtzclaw made a foray into Linn County (Captain Holtzclaw at the time). He marched in the town of Laclede (future home of World War I general, John J. Pershing) on June 18, 1864 he and his band of men plundered the post office and a store owned by John F. Pershing. Townspeople were ordered out of their businesses and told to line-up on along the streets of the town square. Two men who attempted to fight off the band with firepower were killed. At his parting, it was reported that Holtzclaw made a grand speech expressing his regret for the two dead, but that his orders must be followed. Additionally, he claimed that although he and his men did ransack businesses, they could have laid waste to the entire town and burned it to the ground, for which the town should be grateful. His purpose for making the jaunt to northern Missouri was to avenge an attack on his comrades in the town of Keytesville some 30 miles to the south. The reported losses in money, stock, and goods amounted to \$3,000 (Taylor, 1912, pp. 78-79).

As of 2010 the towns existing in Linn County were Brookfield, Browning, Bucklin, Laclede, Linneus, Marceline, Meadville, and Purdin. New Boston and St. Catharine were unincorporated towns in Linn County (see Table 5). There was a number of what were, and nearly always have been, wide-spots in the road. Some had small, local businesses, but most were little more than a congregation of a house or two. They were Shelby, Eversonville, Haysville, Fountain Grove, Garner, Enterprise, and Mike.

Saint Catharine was one of the older towns in the county, laid out in April of 1856. It was a promising up-and-coming community until Brookfield was selected as division point for the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad. That drew most of her residents to Brookfield due to increased opportunity in commerce. In 2010 this

Table 5

A Comparison in Town Population in 1910 and 2000

Incorporated Town	Population According to 1910 Census	Population According to 2000 Census	Percent of Change
Brookfield	5749	4769	-17
Browning	485	317	-34
Bucklin	1661	524	-68
Laclede	740	415	-43
Linneus	882	369	-58
Marceline	3920	2558	-34
Meadville	580	457	-21
Purdin	337	223	-33

Source: 2000 U.S. Census and Taylor (1912, pp. 192-193).

community of 115 residents was an unincorporated village and was generally considered part of Brookfield.

The other unincorporated town of note was New Boston. It was never platted or incorporated, but by 1872 it had its own post office, several businesses, a school, and a bank—Farmers State Bank of New Boston. The post office remained and a couple of businesses, but little else. The school was closed with the mandated consolidation of schools in the 1940s, and the students then attended school in Bucklin.

The Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad established Brookfield in July of 1859. A civil engineer from Boston, John Wood Brooks, surveyed the town and gave it his name. He further marked his territory by naming main street cross streets: “John,” “Wood,” “Brooks,” and “Boston” (Taylor, 1912). By railroad design, all trains stopped

in Brookfield for dinner. The first school was established in 1861, nearly 20 years before Marceline came to be. Brookfield hosted the Linn County Fair despite the fact it was not the county seat. Where Marceline and Brookfield were alike was that both had early Catholic churches, both within the first six months, perhaps in part because of the large Irish populations in both communities.

A noted rivalry existed between the two communities that might never be fully explained. Perhaps it was because the two towns were established by competing railroads. No matter the original cause, as early as 1903 a local newspaper printed an article regarding the rivalry between the two towns, remarking that Marceline newspapers need to discontinue trying to “stir up a spirit of strife and envy between the towns of Marceline and Brookfield” (Orear, 2001, p. 10). The rail company built the rail through what would become Brookfield in the spring of 1859, and the township was formed in late July. By contrast, Marceline was built as the tracks were constructed.

Originally there was a town called Thayer six miles east of Brookfield (and about three miles north of Marceline) where the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad had originally opted to locate the railroad’s headquarters, round house, and machine shops. But shortly after finishing the line, the rail company instead decided to build a new town, thus establishing Brookfield (Taylor, 1912). That too may help explain the rivalry. Thayer, which no longer existed, used to lay only three miles from Marceline. The move certainly cost local business in Thayer at the time. Actually, it decimated the community and by 1861 it was reverted to farmland. There was no evidence of it today.

After the Civil War, Brookfield saw a large influx of black residents looking for protection. Also during this time Brookfield, which held perhaps 15 to 20 houses, grew

rapidly. In the mid to late-1860s immigrants flooded into the area. And in 1865 Brookfield incorporated. The YMCA was formed in Brookfield in 1870 and that same year the town had grown to a population of 2,500 people and became the commercial hub of the county. By June of the same year 42 new buildings had been erected. In 1873 the citizens attempted, through bonds, to build the “Kansas City, Brookfield, Chicago Railway” (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor, 1912). Although nearly \$13,000 was raised, the project never took off. Had it gone through, Marceline would no doubt, not exist. In 2010 Brookfield was still the largest community in the county and stood as the commercial hub of the county.

Browning, in the far northwest corner of Linn County, actually lays in both Linn and Sullivan counties and felt a little removed from the rest of the county. This may stem in part because historically the roads across this part of the county were notoriously poor and often impassible. In the 1870s even the rail lines between Browning and Laclede became so poor that some suggested they remove them altogether. The most famous murders in the county occurred in Browning when the Taylor brothers, who had been feuding with the Meeks family, opted to end the feud by killing the Meekses. The Meeks father, pregnant wife, and all the children were murdered and thrown into a haystack. One daughter, Nellie, survived and managed to make it to a neighbor’s house, where she provided enough details to implicate the Taylor brothers. One was served to justice and the other brother escaped, never to be found (Taylor, 1912).

Bucklin was actually the community closest to Marceline. While the rivalry was not as intense as the Marceline-Brookfield enmity, there were at least occasionally glimpses of it. Created out of East Yellow Creek Township, Bucklin was founded in

1863, and was named after the chief engineer of the Hannibal and Saint Joseph railroad as a not-so-covert means to attract the division headquarters to the community. That did not happen despite the fact that the railroad ran through the town. That distinction went to Brookfield. Later Bucklin would try to woo the Santa Fe Railroad, but without success. The railroad opted to establish a new community to the south, Marceline, to house its headquarters.

Unlike most of the neighboring communities, the town of Bucklin does not owe its very existence to the rail. Two landowners, James Watson and John Powers, worked together to promote the town. When the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad located one half mile south of the community, growth emerged as a result of the proximity.

Because of the over \$5000 spent for a then state-of-the-art mill, Bucklin became a thriving community. If the loss of the Hannibal and Saint Joseph division headquarters smarted, the fact a new community was built six miles to the south and west for another rail company, the Santa Fe Railroad division headquarters, flat out wounded the small community, which diminished as Marceline grew.

Laclede, located along the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad, like so many other towns in North Missouri, owed its existence to the rails. Named for the Frenchman who founded Saint Louis, the talk of building the town sprung up in 1848. But not until 1857 did Laclede really come to life, with the building of schools and businesses. Later the town became the junction of the Hannibal and Saint Joseph line and the Burlington Kansas City Railroad, a promising juncture for the young town. As rail travel diminished and when consolidation closed her schools, Laclede shrank greatly in population as many residents moved to nearby Brookfield. Laclede boasted its own favorite son, General

John J. Pershing, whose rise through military ranks was watched closely by the town and heralded in the local newspapers.

Linneus was the oldest town in the county, since it was established early on as the county seat. By 1848, before most communities in the county had been formed, the county erected a new courthouse and jail. As was true of most of Linn County, the railroad largely changed the village's history. Originally, the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad was slated to travel across the northern Missouri town of Shelbyville, west to Linneus, and on west to Saint Joseph, but for reasons unknown, was instead moved south through Brookfield. This six-mile adjustment grossly affected both Linneus and Brookfield. With the shift, Linneus lost population, and Brookfield was both founded and became a center of commerce; the town of Saint Catharine collapsed as a result of the rail move.

In addition to being the oldest community in Linn County, as one might expect, Linneus had the first newspaper, *The Linneus Bulletin*. The fascinating history included organizing infantries to fight in Civil War. Prisoners of the Civil War were taken at Linneus and even adventurous stories of invasions of Confederate soldiers and Bushwhackers all trickle out of Linneus's heritage. However, this town of three hundred or so people had been under siege from Brookfield, which tried to wrest the county seat title from it on several occasions. In 1879, after a third legal coup, the measure was put to a vote where it was soundly defeated (Taylor, 1912).

Although he could not possibly remember the incident first-hand, Frank pointed to this incident as proof positive of Brookfield's aggressive nature:

[Linneus is our county seat]. Yeah. Well, Brookfield always wanted it. I wouldn't take it from where it is. We'd have to be able to build a building in Brookfield for them. I don't think we should. Yeah, it'd be a little closer, but it would still be in Brookfield. . . . They seem to get most everything.

Meadville, like every other town along the railroad “highway” owed its size to the great building team of the Hannibal and Saint Joseph line. But it actually predated the rail to some extent. Two shops existed prior to the rail. A small store and a blacksmith existed in “New Baltimore” and with a great deal of smooth talking, the railroad surveyors were convinced to build a depot in what they called “Bottsville” named for Mr. Botts, the store owner (Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913). In the 1860s Mr. Botts sold everything he owned and moved to Howard County, prompting some community members to petition the county to change the name to Meadville after the then railroad superintendent. That incident irritated some to petition the county to change the name back, which it did. Finally in 1869, the name reverted back to Meadville ending the identity crisis once and for all.

Purdin lay halfway between Linneus and Browning on the Burlington Railroad. Bucking the trend of naming one's community after a railroad executive, Purdin was named for the man who owned the land on which the town was built. Purdin was always a sleepy country village that did not benefit from great investment by the railroad. It was primarily a village built to serve the country farms that surrounded it. A small depot was erected in 1881, but other than that the rail company did not significantly contribute to its growth.

Community Leadership

In 2010 Marceline employed a governmental system that included a four-member city council with a city manager. Historically however, within the first few months after

incorporation in the 1880s, the county appointed a mayor, four aldermen, and a marshal. This system served the community well for many years. In the early 1950s the city adopted a city manager system. The first city manager, Albert Nolan from Ogden, Utah, was appointed June 19, 1953 (Orear, 2001). Many participants expressed concern over the state of the community's government. Angela stated,

Bill Johnson was here and the city manager and when he left here he—this was in mid 90s—he moved to Fulton, and he's been down there ever since. . . . He said, 'You know it is so good to be down here working for a council that is looking into the future; that is not going backwards.' He said, 'They want to see what they can do to make Fulton a better place to be, 10 years, 20 years, 50 years down the road, and he said that is so refreshing.' And I thought, yeah, it would be, it would be, you know.

Aaron expressed his consternation as well:

We don't know what we want to be. You know, do we want to be a city manager form of government? Do we want to be a mayor form of government? Do we . . . We don't know what we want to be!

Duncan commented,

In the 1950s Marceline voted to go to a mayor, city manager form of government . . . then . . . we didn't have a city manager and . . . [the mayor would] do all the city manager's position, doing all that for a dollar a year. . . . Which is what Marceline pays their councilmen and mayor so that was kind of a nightmare.

In my hometown, people constantly call the mayor and constantly contact city council, 'we need this done, we need that done,' Marceline doesn't do so much of that. I mean they might catch you some place of social gather and say, 'Hey, if you get a chance, I could use some rock in front of my house kind of thing,' and again I think that goes back to the old days of I've got my job and I'll do mine and you've got your job and you'll do yours.

An item of interest—very much on the minds of the interviewed participants—was a pending lawsuit. According to the June 3, 2010 *Linn County Leader*, three local citizens filed a class action law suit against the city of Marceline “challenging the constitutionality of using revenues from the City's Electric Fund to pay for municipal services” (Marceline City Council, www.marceline.org). As of the writing of this

dissertation, it had not yet gone to court. Without a doubt this event will be of significance to the community and the school. But, the full effect at this date cannot be determined.

Summary

Marceline was the baby sibling among townships that predated her by at least 20 if not more years. The Johnny-Come-Lately status does not necessarily endear Marceline to the surrounding communities. Some, like Bucklin, suffered great economic loss due to the establishment of this new upstart town that attracted so many railroad dollars. Others, like Brookfield, found a younger sibling with which to argue and play an intense game of football.

Chapter 5 takes the same in-depth look at the school system that the past chapter took at the city of Marceline and history of Linn County. That historical perspective makes the final link between the school and the community possible.

Chapter 5

The Story of Marceline Schools

In the previous chapter I examined the Marceline community historically using the context of how the community came to be. Similarly, by understanding how education came to be and how it was regarded by the community, I better understood how the community affected the school. For this chapter I combined a variety of sources: historical books, pamphlets, fliers, newspapers, photographs, and information gathered in interviews in order to paint an accurate picture of Marceline schools both public and private.

The History of Education in Linn County, Missouri

The first schools in Linn County were established in the county's early years, as westbound travelers settled farms of the rolling hills of the relatively newly formed state of Missouri. As homesteads sprang up across the county in the 1830s, subscription schools soon followed. Subscription schools were just what they sound like, schools funded by a payment. When enough settlers occupied an area to justify a school, the neighbors collaborated, pooled funds and resources, and educated their children. Generally speaking, the early inhabitants paid between \$1.50 and \$2.50 per month per student and agreed to send their children to school for approximately three months of the year. Those three months, normally winter months, allowed farmers to keep their children home during the spring planting, summer haying, and the fall harvesting seasons.

Duncan noted that he was familiar with the system, "These are schools that predated the organizational school. So, these people were just running some private schools out of their homes."

The school building itself was more than likely an old log cabin or other pre-existing outbuilding on someone's property repurposed for this reason; seldom did the settlers build new structures for schooling. Additional resources were not overly abundant as pioneers focused on improving their own properties, and they certainly did not wish to spend those scarce resources for a new building that would only be in use three months of the year. The first school in Linn County, founded in 1837 near Jackson Creek, had about 18 or 20 students. Another short-lived school established soon thereafter, toward the northwest corner of the county, was kept one winter by a Mr. Foster (Birdsall & Dean, 1882; Taylor, 1912; Williams, 1913).

The first "proper" schools were created in December 1839 when land was purchased by the county for the purpose of schooling Linn County children. Pre-existing buildings housed the young scholars. One school was in what was known as Locust Creek Township and another in the town of Bucklin. With the purchase of this property, the county established a permanent foundation for funding schools in Linn County.

In January of 1847, the State of Missouri first contributed funds to Linn County schools to the tune of \$51.43 (Taylor, 1912). By 1854 there were 16 schools in the county. Most funding still came from local townships and the school fund Linn County had instituted some 40 years earlier. Needless to say, the paltry state contribution did not stretch far, but state expectations were not exacting either.

The first schoolhouse using county coffers solely was built May 3, 1858. Prior to this, schools generally continued the customary tradition of using pre-existing log cabins or structures built by the collective funds provided by neighbors, even if the county

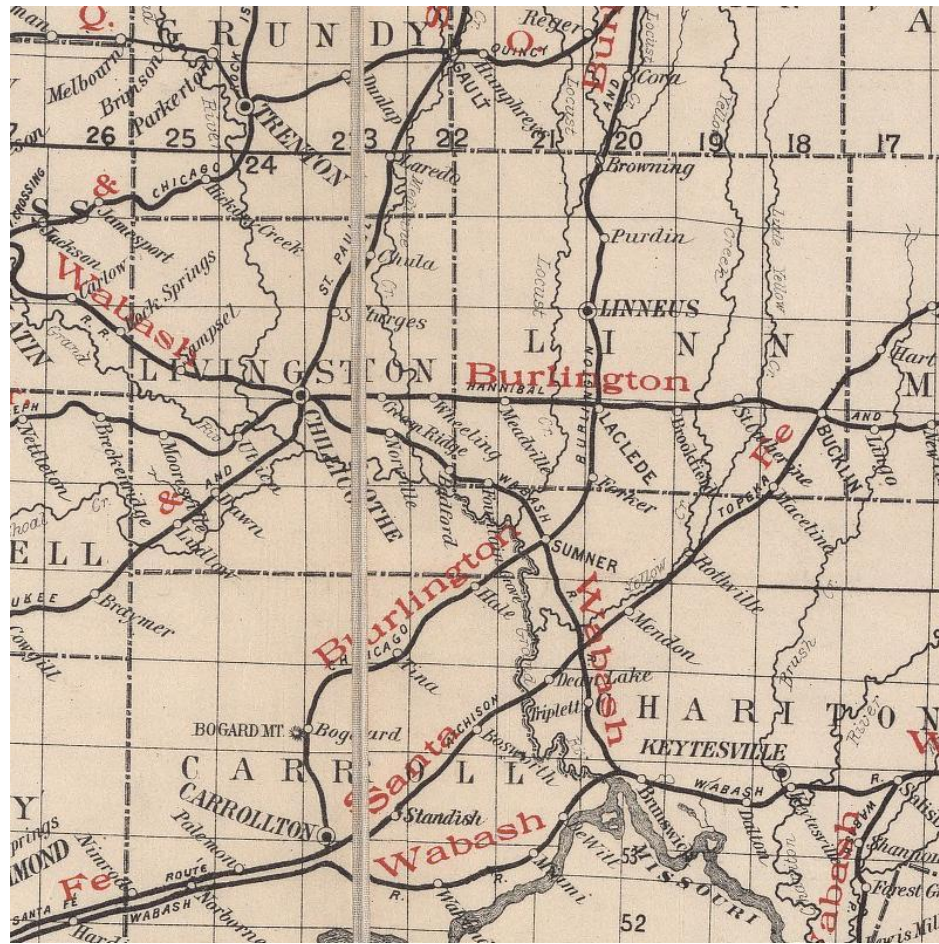
owned the property. From the late 1850s until the start of the Civil War, the county continued to grow and schools were given a priority in local governmental budgets.

At its close, the war left the county destitute and in financial ruin. In 1865 (at the war's end) Missouri was without the monies to support a single school system anywhere in the state. In 1868, as Linn County rebuilt from the financial ruin left after the war, it re-established the 16 districts that pre-dated the war and increased the school term from a mandatory three to four months with the intentions of increasing it to six. Some schools in the county even stayed in session as long as eight months.

Because of the influx of immigrants and pioneers following Horace Greeley's alleged advice to "Go West, young man, go West and grow up with your country," the county continued to grow. Following in the rutted path of the wagon trails created by this sizable migration, railroads soon tracked across the state. Although there was not an established count of townships created by or overtaken by railroad companies, a look at an early plat map of the county showed the numerous tracks that criss-crossed the area (see Figure 7). The increased population and new communities needed schools. By 1879 (shortly before Marceline came to be) there were 108 schoolhouses and 1 rented schoolhouse. Of those, 106 were white schools and 3 were "colored" schools. The majority of the funding for these schools came from railroad taxes and the local townships (Birdsall & Dean, 1882).

The History of the Marceline R-V School District

The history of education in the Marceline R-V District neatly mirrored the history of town. A one-room schoolhouse, Hayden's School (actually closer to what was St. Catharine), predated the town and was built to serve the needs of 20 rural children. Other



<http://exhibits.slpl.org/maps/printimage.asp>

Figure 7. Commissioners official railway map of Missouri, showing all railway lines and stations, the county boundaries and county seats, also congressional townships, with range and township numbers, corrected to June 1st, 1902 by Missouri Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners

country schoolhouses dotted the countryside. Shortly after establishing the township, residents made plans to build schools. In 1888, two additional one-room schools were built in town to accommodate the student boom that accompanied the influx of railroaders. The school year was seven months long over the fall and winter months of 1888-89. Five teachers were hired to teach 306 students (Taylor, 1912).

Departing from the traditional one-room schoolhouse curriculum and organization, in August of 1895 Marceline schools adopted a two-year high school course of study. After four years of this two-year program, the high school was increased to a full four-year course of study.

One early author described the Marceline school system in the early 1900s this way: “A good school is always evidence of a good wholesome school spirit. The school spirit is almost a mania with the citizens of Marceline” (Taylor, 1912, p. 150). A few years later, Marceline schools accommodated 520 children in one ten-room building. Twelve teachers taught them. The principal and superintendent both had teaching duties.

In these same early years there was a push to build schools. Marceline passed a bond issue that increased the tax levy to the limit. It passed with only two dissenting votes (Taylor, 1912). In 1894 residents raised the funds to build a new school beyond the two one-room schools established in 1888. The new building was named Central School (see Photo 15).

Two private schools were built during this same time. The first, a Catholic school (grades one through twelve), Saint Rose’s Hall, in 1922 became Saint Bonaventure; and the second, Professor J.W. Roney’s Marceline Business College, emphasized a curriculum heavy in bookkeeping and penmanship (Marceline Centennial, 1988).

There was one other private school in Marceline—Ruby Stonger’s Kindergarten. As was true across the United States and for a good bit of Marceline’s history, kindergarten was not compulsory. Most students began school in first grade. Two

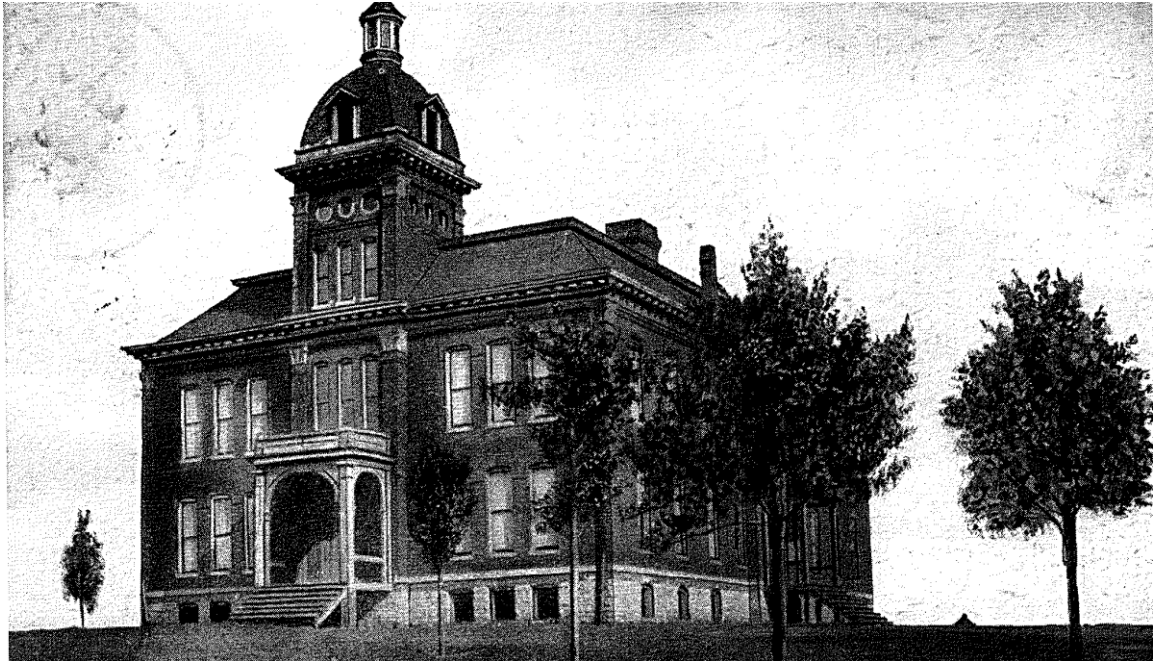


Photo 15. Central School, circa 1909 (Harris, 1999).

interviewees, Benson and Margaret, both indicated they began school with the first grade. Benson attended school at the one-room country schoolhouse. Ruby Stonger's kindergarten was likely out of the question for him based on distance alone. But Margaret, who was an in-town child, indicated, "We never had kindergarten. There was a private kindergarten in Marceline at that time with Miss Ruby Stonger. But I did not go to kindergarten because my parents could not afford to send me because it was private."

The school building boom continued over the next few years with the construction of the Ward School in 1901 (see Photo 16). In 1907 the Park School was built (see Photo 18), the school attended by Walt, Ruth, and Roy Disney. The school district at this time sought and was granted accreditation from the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education in the State of Missouri. This second story of this building also housed the

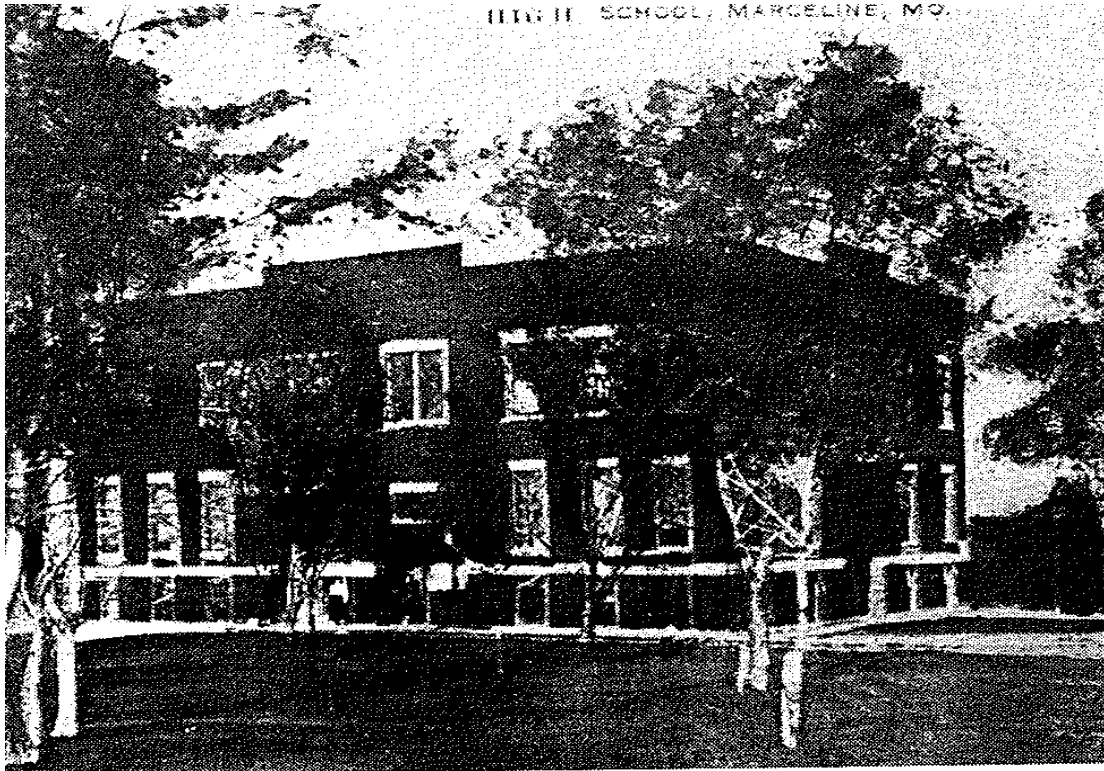


Photo 16. Marceline Ward School, circa 1908 (Harris, 1999).

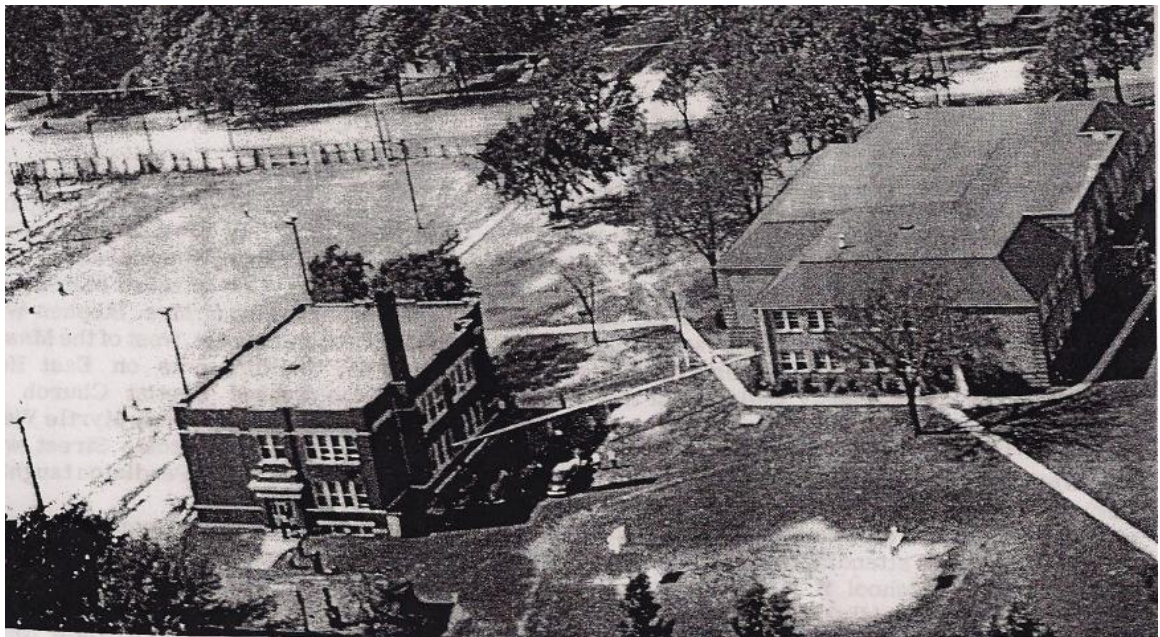


Photo 17. Aerial view of Central School and 1929 High School (source unknown).



Photo 18. Park School, circa 1950s (source unknown).

high school until 1915 and even employed a woman, Miss Martha Smith, as high school principal (Pep Yearbook, 1919).

By 1912 Marceline had 1,336 students and employed 20 teachers in grades one through twelve for a nine-month term. Of these teachers, 13 had Normal School training and 5 had university training, high standards for the time. Forty-five percent of students graduating from Marceline High School in 1911 went on to college the next year (Taylor, 1912).

In 1915, in what must have at the time seemed like a progressive leap forward, the faculty increased from three to five full-time high school teachers. Classes like physics,

mathematics, Latin, English, history, agriculture, and music were part of the curriculum and by the 1918-1919 year the school became active in athletics (Pep Yearbook, 1919). That is, if one football game with 13 players constitutes as “active.” Of course, this was during World War I and both funds and interest were diminished.

During this same time, in order to maximize dollars, the principal not only taught classes, he also coached sports and refereed all home games. The practice of the principal serving as a coach and teacher stayed with the district until well into the 1940s.

The freshmen class in 1915 numbered 56, but by the time graduation came in 1919 only 19 remained. The attrition rate, which seems deplorable by today’s standards, was easily explained away in *The Pep Yearbook* of 1919: many classmates “despaired of reaching the goal of graduation, had left us to enter the realm of business life, preparatory to a matrimonial career, or some other equally hazardous occupation” (p. 3).

The school district, like the community, fell into a holding pattern during the World Wars. There was not a great deal of activity or construction. Marceline sent boys directly from the classroom to the battlefield during both major wars. Even those young men who stayed behind felt the strain of a nation at war. In his senior comments in the yearbook one young man remarked, “I’m fearful of my life as so many great men are dying” (Pep Yearbook, 1919, p. 4).

After World War I ended, Marceline saw a marked increase in attendance. In the 1920-21 school year the high school opened with 185 students, the greatest number on record up to this time. By 1929 the townspeople gathered the funds necessary to build the Marceline R-V High School (see Photo 17, 19, and 20). That building continued to house the high school into the 21st century.

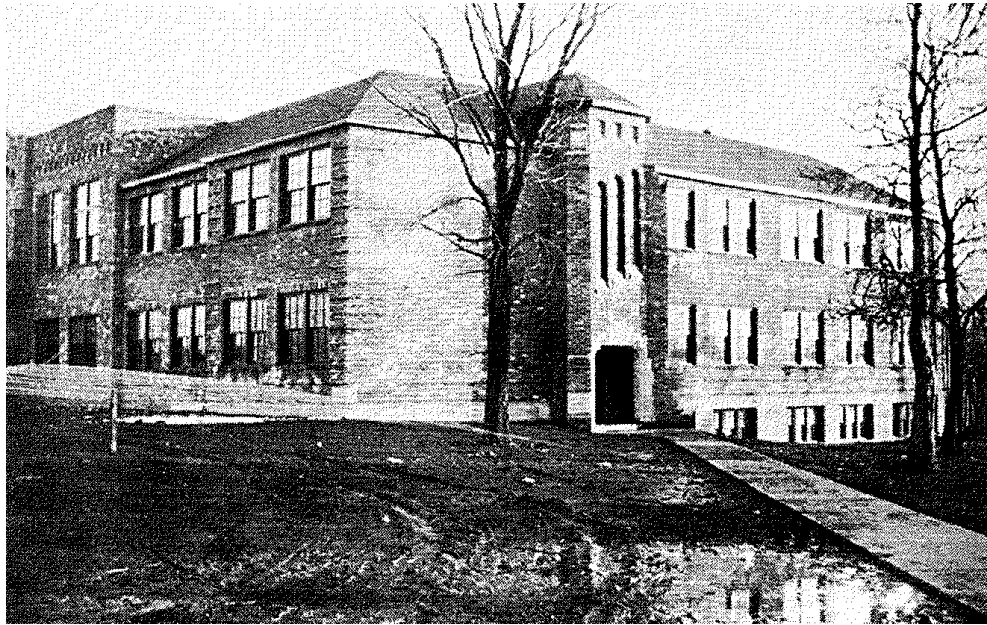


Photo 19. Marceline High School, circa 1929 (Harris, 1999).



Photo 20. Marceline High School, 2009 (available at www.marceline.com/gallery).

For a while in the 1940s the school suspended a number of activities due to the war. The yearbook was not produced; football was not played. Resuming in 1945, the 1944-45 *Marcello* yearbook was dedicated to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and classmates who had, “temporarily given up their education to fight for the cause of democracy” (p. 3). Nine seniors and five juniors left to join the military; some went as early as their sophomore year in high school. Even the principal was “lost to the Navy” (Marcello, 1945).

The post war era was not without drama. During World War II Principal Phelps left to join the Navy and returned in 1946 to reclaim his position. The district offered Mr. Phelps a teaching position, but not the principalship. The student body was so outraged by the act that over 50% of the student body went on strike to protest the appointment. Mr. Phelps said of the situation that he would like to have the position back, but that the man occupying the station (J.O. Williamson) showed no inclination of vacating it (Orear, 2001).

As was true after World War I, after World War II the student population increased. In 1947, the largest freshman class to enroll in Marceline came weighing in with 90 students. The public school population increase continued in the 1940s when Saint Bonaventure Schools discontinued its first grade through twelfth grade program to become a kindergarten through eighth grade school and was renamed Father McCartan School. Marceline added a few more students when it incorporated all of the five remaining rural one-room schools; desegregation brought only a few new students to the public schools (the high school in 1953 and the elementary school in 1955).

Activity in the late 1940s and early 1950s included the establishment of an industrial arts program at the high school, a veterans' agriculture program, and the recognition that the Park School building that housed the elementary program was "dilapidated and overcrowded" (Marceline Centennial, p. 92). After five attempts to pass a bond issue, in October of 1958 the city finally passed a bond issue to build a new elementary. In October 1960 (see Photo 21) Disney Elementary School opened, christened by Walt Disney himself, with gifts of murals painted by Disney artists, the flagpole from the Olympic Games, and playground equipment.



Photo 21. Disney Elementary 2011 (personal collection).

Of the multiple attempts to pass a bond issue, Darrell commented:

[B]ack when they was trying to build the Disney school they was having trouble getting bonds, well not getting bonds but getting the community to vote for it. And there was a separation and that goes, sometimes things happen that there is a separation in the school and the community and they just won't, and economy and things like that had a lot to do with it . . . but the economy back then wasn't the

best in the world and early 50s or later 50s when they was trying to do this, they just had trouble. . . . Disney is a nice school, but there was a lot of things they had to cut . . . they had to keep cutting and cutting and finally they got it down to where the people passed it.

All construction in the 1970s and early 80s centered on athletics, with the production of a fieldhouse, stadium, track, a concession stand that included restrooms, and a 36 by 36 foot “M” on a hillside that overlooked the football field. The gentleman who donated his time, talents, and a good bit of the funding to create the field and stadium was fondly remembered.

Marvin related this story:

Chester Ray was a civil engineer and he volunteered to lay out [the football field] . . . when I was in school we called it the swamp. It was sloped down hill, drained; there was the ditch that ran down through it. We didn’t keep it mowed. . . . They laid out the new football field; Chester did all the engineering and donated all his time to it. As a reward, they named the stadium for him. Again, there’s a leader who just, he was not an everyday leader, but a gentleman. They needed his services and what he had to offer. Not only did he lay it out . . . on Saturday mornings after football games I’ve heard that Chester was over there picking up trash and things, helping them tidy up.

In 1985 with the increased educational popularity of the “middle school concept,” the district approved a bond issue to build a middle school addition to the high school (Marceline Centennial, 1988). The brick and cinderblock building connected to the high school with an odd arrangement of ramps and halls.

The 1990s did not see much construction work in the district; minor fixes and projects were the mainstay of the time. However, in the late 1990s Disney Corporation contributed to Marceline Schools, according to participant Tina, who was on the PTA at the time, “[W]e were erecting a new playground. It was going to cost \$18,000 to buy the equipment. Walt Disney [Corporation] sent us \$10,000.”

In 2006, a bond issue passed allowing for an addition to the Disney Elementary School. The brick addition added an art room, two Title rooms (Title mathematics and Title reading), and a wrestling and weight room in the basement. In 2009 a bond issue passed to add a new heating/air-conditioning unit to replace the boiler system that was original to the 1929 high school, to add on to the agricultural building, and to replace the aging front doors on Disney Elementary.

The proposed agriculture building under construction in 2010 was a big hit with the interviewed participants. Zachary said, “I think this agriculture deal they’re coming out with, I think is a pretty good deal. Really, you know because I think right now we’re going to have to back off this move to China and everywhere.” Ruth seconded that, “I am thinking that that building is going to be very, very nice.”

The student population of the 144 square-mile district stabilized some after the 1980s when the district employed 50 teachers, 2 principals, and 1 superintendent. Despite projections completed by the district that anticipated a declining enrollment (Department of Elementary and Secondary Education), the total student population hovered in the 650 pupil range. In 2010 the district employed 46 teachers, 2 principals (1 elementary, 1 secondary), 1 director of federal programs/special education, and 1 superintendent.

Narrative Description of Marceline R-V Schools in 2010. The 20 acres located inside the square formed by Santa Fe and Howell Streets and Missouri and Pine Streets contained the entire Marceline R-V School District building complex—from Disney Elementary, to the Middle and High School, to Central Office, to the bus barn, to the track. Disney Elementary housed grades kindergarten through fifth grade. The middle school-high school complex housed grades six through twelve.

The sixth graders were largely self-contained and the seventh and eighth graders spent the bulk of their day in the one-story add on. The high school students, grades nine through twelve were, for the most part, in the 1929 high school building. That is not to say that there was not some interaction between seventh through twelfth grades. Because nearly all teachers taught both middle school and high school students and because the passing periods were the same, there were occasions for students to mix-and-mingle.

Ruth voiced her consternation as a mother when her children moved into the middle school:

[W]hen my kids started junior high, my daughters, they were both very nice looking young women, but they were thrown in with the high school kids, so they got the big rush from these older kids. Well, I could see that as being a big problem, you know, and I voiced that . . . Dr. Yaley was here, and he decided that they would run a bond and they were going to try to have it where they could fix the buildings so they could separate the two, that's how they sold it.

But recognizing that the students do have some interaction in the halls because of common teachers, Ruth conceded:

But . . . it passed and they did that for awhile. Now it's kind of a little bit more where . . . we have to share teachers, but it still divided to where the middle school . . . the locker thing really helped a lot . . . [because middle school students have lockers in the middle school wing and high school students have their lockers in the high school].

Starting on the northwest corner of Santa Fe Street and Missouri Street (also known as Highway 5) a small memorial bell surrounded by marigolds adorned the stretch before the stately older blonde-brick building soared two stories into the sky. Although no large sign immediately identified the structure as the school, the 1920s style building clearly *looked* like a school built during this time. With ornamental arches and decorative pillars, the school was stamped with "MHS" on the west side and "High School" was inscribed in cement high above on the school's highest point, leaving no

doubt one had found Marceline High School. Trees and old-time light posts lined the street in front of the high school.

Attached to the 1929 structure was an obvious addition. While the themed arches and similarly colored brick matched the older structure, with the newer tinted windows and single-story construction, the appendage did not quite fit stylistically. At the far end a bold sign on the building front declared the add-on “Middle School.” If one were to continue around the middle school there was a large fieldhouse. In front of the fieldhouse an old marquee was used to announce dates of upcoming school events. Behind the school and down a sharp hill was the practice field, which at one time was the football field. The sharp hill used to shelve bleachers. Further south of the practice field was the student parking lot that doubled as parking on evenings of sporting events. At the southern-most point of the school property in a white tin covered building, the school’s buses were parked every evening.

A drive way separated the high school-middle school campus from another building on campus. Across the drive was what appeared to be a small house, or perhaps a newer double-wide trailer with grey siding and a small wooden stoop. A wooden sign, nicely landscaped identified this building as “Central Office.” Continuing down the long circular drive (pierced by a walkway through the middle), one first saw a red-brick building that clearly did not match the others with an attached greenhouse. No label identified the agriculture facilities, but the freestanding structure seemed old although it did not conform to the style of any other building on campus.

Finally at the bottom of the hill and at the nadir of the egg-shaped drive was Disney Elementary. The 1950s structure appeared to be what one might have been

considered “modern” in its time. The white-sided building trimmed in red brick had a white awning covering the entrance to the building. “Walt Disney Elementary” adorned the top of that canopy. Added to the southwest corner of the original Disney building was an unsightly metal-clad addition. In addition to the mark on the top of the awning, a green and white signboard, well-manicured and landscaped, identified the building.

Although it was not directly accessible from this point, behind the Disney Elementary building was the football field, Chester Ray Stadium, and the track. Built in 1974 and improved in 2009, the stadium, field, and track complex welcomed sports fans to the school’s competitions. The stadium, in addition to the field and track, had a stand with modern restroom and concession facilities. A press box flanked by permanent bleachers lined the eastern side of the stadium. The visitor’s bleachers were less-attractive metal-scaffolding sets of seats. At the far end stood a marble memorial and flagpole remembering Chester Ray, for whom the stadium was named.

If the exterior of the 1929 high school building led one to believe one was entering an 81 year old facility, the interior left no doubt. Glass trophy cases lined the halls of the 14-foot high ceilings of the halls. Metal lockers, most without locks, filled the area between trophy cases. The walls were plaster and were given a two-tone treatment, black on the bottom, white on top. Unless students were present, the interior of the building left the impression that one had stepped back in time to an earlier year. A map of the interior of the high school from a 1948 *Marcello Yearbook* could have been used in 2010 to identify rooms and spaces, so little had changed—only the teachers’ names on the placards outside each room.

Centered in the building was the original auditorium that doubled as a gymnasium before the fieldhouse was added in 1972. In 2010 it was the stage for drama and talent show productions, an additional physical education facility, and an extra venue for wrestling meets. What the high school did not contain was any kind of cafeteria. Since the 1960s Marceline Middle School and High School students have walked from the high school building to the elementary school building to eat lunch no matter the weather.

Residents were satisfied with their school's buildings and often described them as "sufficient." Many did not want to disturb the history represented in the buildings.

Vincent said simply, "Facilities I believe are adequate." Eric commented,

Well, I think it would be nice to have a newer building. But I'm not I guess as taken with the surroundings. I don't view them as being as important as what goes on in the classroom. And I know there are arguments that the surroundings set the stage for what a kid learns. I don't know how true that is or not but I feel like it's certainly workable.

Samuel reflected on destroying the 1929 high school:

Well, it's really hard for me to talk about [razing] this building because I have so many memories of this building, but yet there are so many generations removed from the current occupants that they just can't connect. Every room reminds me of certain personalities and the athletic facilities have a lot of memories for me too.

Attached to the original high school was a cinderblock middle school that, in an odd arrangement of halls and ramps, awkwardly joined the old with the new. Built in 1985, the middle school housed numerous classrooms, the sixth grade through twelfth grade library, science laboratories, art, and band. While it did not closely align stylistically with the old high school, it did match up neatly with the fieldhouse.

The Central Office truly was a doublewide prefabricated home brought to the location within the last ten years. The superintendent, his secretary, and the bookkeeper

all had offices in the building. In addition there was a large boardroom that over the years also held a computer lab and classroom.

The stand-alone agricultural building with greenhouse was approximately 50 feet from the high school. It too, over the years, had a multitude of functions. It has been an industrial arts-shop building, a technology facility, and a storage unit. In 2008 it was again re-purposed into an agricultural education building. The greenhouse was added in 2008, and in 2010, with the aid of a bond issue, the agriculture building got an addition and facelift.

The interior of Disney Elementary had not seen much change since it was built. Lining the front hall was Disney memorabilia (see Photo 22). The desk Walt Disney carved “WD” into as a student—as verified by Mr. Disney himself—stood in a glass case. Photographs of Disney and other dignitaries’ inauguration of the school on October 13, 1960 covered the walls. Stairs and ramps led one through the ceramic-tiled walls to a maze of classrooms. Although attached, between the newer addition and the original Disney building was a nature garden. The unsightly addition to the northwest side of the building contained the fourth grade and kindergarten classrooms. The 1990s addition housed the kindergarten through fifth grade library, computer lab, art room, and Title I reading classrooms.

Academics. Academically Marceline probably did not differ from other schools its size across Missouri or most likely the United States for that matter. The typical Marceline student’s class selections for electives were slim, but the courses necessary to meet state requirements for graduation and attain a college preparatory certificate were supplied.



Photo 22. Walt and Roy Disney visit Marceline, Missouri Park School in 1956 (scan of photo print hanging in Marceline's Carnegie Library).

The State of Missouri had set certain guidelines for both a regular graduate and a college preparatory graduate (see Table 6). Marceline's requirements nearly mirrored those of the state.

Marceline's graduation requirements fell into two camps: the technical career preparation plan and the professional career preparation plan (see Table 7). The intention of the separate programming was to allow students to follow one of two possible career paths, with the technical students taking an academically less rigorous route to enter either the work-a-day world or a vocational school. Meanwhile, the professional route was geared for students seeking post-secondary education at either a two-year or four-year institution.

Table 6

State Credits Required for Graduation and the College Prep Certificate

Subject	College Preparatory Studies Certificate	State Minimum Requirements
Communication Arts	4	4
Mathematics	4	3
Science	3	3
Social Studies	3	3
Fine Arts	1	1
Practical Arts	1	1
Personal Finance	.5	.5
Health	.5	.5
Physical Education	1	1
Electives *	7	7
Minimum Units Required	25	24

(Available at http://www.dese.mo.gov/divimprove/sia/Graduation_Handbook_2010.pdf)

Especially diligent students might have also take Honors classes in order to obtain an Honor's diploma. Honors classes were a limited selection of core subjects that were not required for graduation: Anatomy, Physiology, Accounting, Advanced Biology or Chemistry, Composition, Physics, Honors Math, Math Analysis, National Government, Psychology and Sociology. The Honors diploma required not only that a student enrolled in at least four Honors classes, s/he must also finish high school with a 3.75 or higher grade point average, and must qualify for a college preparatory certificate.

Table 7

Unit Breakdown of Marceline's Graduation Requirements

Course	Technical	ALL	Professional
Language Arts I and II	2		2
College Prep English or Applied Communications I		1	
Composition or Applied Communications II		1	
American History		1	
Other required social studies		2	
Mathematics	3		3
Science	3		3
Fine Arts		1	
Practical Arts		1	
PE (Grade 9)		1	
Personal Finance (Grade 10)		.5	
Health (Grade 10)		.5	
Specified Vocational electives	3		
Specified core electives			3
Other electives	4		4
Total	24		24

From the Marceline student handbook at www.marceline.k12.mo.us

Students wanting to acquire both high school and college credit while enrolled in Marceline could take Dual Credit Classes offered during the school day taught by highly qualified Marceline teachers through North Central Missouri Community College (NCMC). The classes were contingent upon the teacher having an advanced degree that

meets NCMC's criteria. Additionally, the student must have scored in a certain percentile on the ACT sub-test before s/he could enroll.

Although Marceline's curricular standards were at or slightly above the state standards, many of the participants indicated a concern with the rigor of courses offered, especially in science, mathematics, and technology. Collin expressed his concern with small enrollment limiting course offerings, "Probably the greatest weakness would be that we have a smaller school system and can't offer the courses that a lot of students really need or require for going on to college. They're limited on what they can/can't do." Vincent thought the same, "I would also like us to be challenged a little more. Maybe in the math and sciences area where maybe if we had more engineering or chemistry related [to] employment opportunities." Aaron added that with a true economy of scale in place, Marceline could offer a superior curriculum:

But we could teach a couple of foreign languages, some very advanced math courses, because right now you don't have what you'd get with economy of scale if you did that. Right now you've probably got maybe ten students would be even qualified to take an advanced physics or something like that to prepare themselves for a degree in engineering of some sort or bio-chemistry or something like that. We're desperate for those folks.

Zachary offered suggestions for course work he thought needed a boost:

All in all, and again it's not a weakness, but is more technology that these kids are going to have to have. Yeah, I think . . . and science. They work on that pretty heavy too. That seems like what we're needing too and I'm sure we've got [a need for] it in the community too.

Finally, Billie expressed her concern for future students graduating from Marceline schools, "I kind of worry about today's children: are they going to be able to communicate? Are they going to be able to spell? And are they going to be able to program the computers?"

In addition to fairly traditional academic offerings, Marceline sent students to two vocational-technical schools—one in Brookfield and one in Macon. Brookfield offered building trades, automotive repair, graphic design, and electronics programs. Macon Schools offered childcare, nursing, welding, and culinary arts. For many years Marceline students could choose to attend either school for half a day to attend vocational-technical classes. Students with a junior or senior standing were enrolled in the Marceline classes in the mornings to take their required courses like English, mathematics, and social studies and then were bussed to the vocational school for the afternoon. Despite the federal Perkins money to help defray the costs, sending students to these two schools was a financial hardship for the school for two reasons: the school had to pay tuition for the students attending the program and pay for bussing students to and from Macon (a 28-mile one-way drive) and Brookfield (a 10-mile one-way drive). Consequently starting with the 2010-2011 school year, Marceline opted to only send students to Brookfield and no longer send students to Macon.

Several years ago, Marceline took the necessary steps to become an A+ designated schools. In 1993 the state of Missouri created the A+ Schools program for the purpose of “ensur[ing] that all students who graduate from Missouri high schools are well prepared to pursue advanced education and/or employment” (www.dese.mo.gov, 2011).

The state accomplished this goal by providing full-tuition scholarships to any public two-year institution of higher learning in the state of Missouri (technical/trade schools or junior colleges) to students who achieved designation. A designated student who attended an A+ designated high school for at least three years, signed a written agreement with his/her high school just prior to graduation. S/he must have achieved at

least a 2.5 grade point average on a 4.0 scale, have had a 95% attendance rate through grades 9-12, have provided 50 unpaid tutoring hours to students at or below grade level, and must have maintained a record of good citizenship avoiding the use of drugs and alcohol.

The A+ program was a popular program for students and parents who wanted a more hands-on practical approach to education. Extolling the benefits of A+ and getting into the workforce in a timely manner, Zachary stated that

I think that A+ is one of the best things that they've got. It's not a weakness; it's one of the best things. [I know a kid who] went to Moberly for two years and now he has a job at Thomas Hill [power plant]. And I said there's no other way. I said, ' . . . you're not one to go to college to teach or something like that, but you're already out making money while those other kids are still in school for four years.'

During the 2010-2011 school year, Marceline was in line to graduate 24 of 46 students who completed the program for designation. According to Marceline's A+ director, the goal percentage of students who will graduate and meet all qualifications was around 50% (see Table 8).

In a turn of fair play however, Marceline also supported the college bound student. In order to afford every student with the opportunity to take the ACT and attend college, the school paid for any junior who signed up to take the ACT in April. Marceline was a testing site for several of the testing dates, including the April test date. This offered students the advantage of not only being able to take the test for free once, but also take it on their home turf in familiar classrooms.

Table 8

A+ Enrollment and Participation Numbers

Graduating Year	Class size	A+ enrolled	Percentage Enrolled	Requirements Completed	Expected to Complete	Percentage Completed/ Expected to Complete
2007	53	39	74%	18	24	45%
2008	64	43	67%	31	34	53%
2009	53	39	74%	22	31	58%
2010	58	41	71%	31	36	62%
2011	54	38	70%			
2012	61	43	70%			
2013	55	45	82%			

Data provided by A+ Director, Julie Sheerman

Vincent admitted his reservations:

I'm not a great fan of standardized tests, but . . . in fact we currently have a young [student] in school who score quite well on the ACT. Each year you know, we have students who excel if you consider a standardized test a fair . . . measurement of excellence. That test has been around. I'm assuming it's well thought of . . . colleges wouldn't make judgments based on score[s] if that were not the case then.

Like every public school in the state of Missouri, a school's success or failure was determined largely by scores of student's performance on the state's high stakes tests. The MAP (Missouri Assessment Program) test was administered in grades three through eight in both Communication Arts and Math. The EOC (End of Course) test was required in Algebra I, English II, Government, and Biology, and an optional test was offered in English I, Geometry, Algebra II, and American History. Students in the state of Missouri must have taken the four required EOC tests before they may graduate.

Now, there was no stipulation that s/he must pass it, only that s/he must take it. The incentive for schools to take the optional test was that it could only help district scores; it could not hurt them. It did not cost the district to administer these optional tests (whereas the district must pay for the mandatory tests) and it also provided the district with additional data.

In Marceline, students were given all mandatory tests and also the optional tests. One advantage of the EOC test as compared to the MAP test was that schools had been given permission by the state to tie the students' test scores to grades. That, many felt, helped improve a students desire to perform well on the test.

However, as further incentive at the high school, middle school, and elementary school, the school offered incentive parties. In the past, one teacher had been responsible for organizing the day of fun and games. The only criteria for attending the event was that a student must have given his or her best effort on the test as decided by the supervising teacher and counselor using an effort and attitude rubric.

Despite what would seem like a distinction given to academics, some interview participants argued that Marceline needed to improve its emphasis on academics over sports. Eric stated,

I'd much rather see an academic kind of a focus [over a sports focus] because the way I look at it our competition is not Westran; it's not Brookfield; it's not Salisbury. It's China, it's India, and it's you know, it's other states, it's other businesses. You know, in the country and out of the country.

Activities and Sports. As is true of many schools, the majority of the schools activities revolved around sports. Boys' sports included football, basketball, wrestling, golf and track. Girls had cheerleading, softball, golf, basketball, and track teams.

Although Marceline enjoyed a good softball game or a challenging basketball match-up, there was a special mania where football was concerned. In 2003 Matthew Floray wrote a book titled *Linn County Football: A History*. The fact this book existed was testament to the importance of the sport to the county. This text spoke briefly about football in all county schools (many that do not even offer the sport today), but it paid close attention to the Marceline-Brookfield rivalry. The Bell Game, as it was known, is discussed in greater detail later in this dissertation.

One of the most active organizations in town, mentioned by nearly all participants by name, was the Stadium Club. The Stadium Club existed for over 20 years and existed for the sole purpose of assisting football players and coaches. Several times a year they raised funds to support their club. They even had their own link on the Marceline School Website.

Carl said of the organization:

And there's several groups, like the Stadium Club that's just a local group of older men that a lot of them don't have ties to kids in school no more, but they do fund raisers and purchase cheer uniforms and work on the football field and the gateway project that they did just something that they didn't have to do, just community support.

Participants were quite vocal about football in Marceline and the special attention it drew. In fact, all 23 interviewees mentioned sports; all but one mentioned football directly and most discussed the Bell Game specifically. As Eric pointed out, "I think values of the majority of the people tend to be reflected in the school district, in particular sports and in particular football. That's so much of school to the community is about football, or is about sports." Stephen agreed with the sports mania in Marceline, perhaps to the neglect of other school duties: "The community really pushes the sports thing. It's

big in the school and people are willing to put a lot of money into it-sports, but may not be willing to pay their teachers very much.”

Margaret mentioned the biggest football game in Marceline’s history, the 1986 football playoffs when Marceline won the state championship. To her, no other school or community event even came close to capturing the essence of Marceline:

On a personal note, in my 62 years, the highlight of school/community relationships was the 1986 State Championship Football game. It was played at Arrowhead Stadium in Kansas City and it was like one big family reunion for Marceline and the Marceline School District. There were hundreds and hundreds of people there from Marceline and from the Kansas City area who had Marceline connections or were alumni. In a small town like Marceline, Friday night football is [emphasis added] the Friday night social event of the week. Community members come to support the football team, the band and the cheerleaders. It is an atmosphere of pride and support for the school and the community.

Marvin agreed and added:

I used to tell people I met from out of town if they didn’t know where Marceline was, or if I told them I was from Marceline, I said if you heard of Marceline it’s probably for one of two reasons: either it’s because of Walt Disney or because of our football team. We’ve had a lot of success. So in some ways that has shaped our town and our school because we’ve been very fortunate over the years, and not just the last 40 years. . . . Football has kind of defined Marceline for a long time.

Another group organized by local businesses for the purpose of supporting the school was the Education Foundation. After first assembling in the spring of 1997, this non-profit organization existed “to raise and distribute additional funds in order to assist the Marceline School District in providing the best possible educational experience for the district’s students” (www.marceline.k12.mo.us, 2011).

Naturally, there were academic bowl teams and a myriad of clubs. Many had been around since nearly the beginning of the school; FFA (Future Farmers of America) had been an on-again off-again club. The first chapter started in the early 1940s, faded

away when the agriculture program died out in the late 1980s, and revived again in 2008 when the vocational agriculture program began again. Another organization with some longevity was the NHS (National Honor Society). The school instituted the program in the second semester of the 1947-48 school year and unlike FFA, NHS had been going strong ever since.

That is not to say that there were not some groups that were traditionally quite strong that faded over time. According to school yearbooks, as early as 1919 Marceline had a Glee Club. The Glee Club, also known as the “Razzers” continued through the 1940s and 1950s and on into the 1960s. The membership was large and their activities numerous. Why the organization discontinued was unknown.

Some extra-curricular groups seemed to only have been popular for a time, like the twirlers. Across the United States baton twirlers strode with marching bands in parades and at the halftime of ballgames, including Marceline. The activity was no longer in vogue here.

Marceline students could choose a number of ways to become active. National organizations like FBLA (Future Business Leaders of America), FFA (Future Farmers of America), NHS (National Honor Society), and FCCLA (Future Career and Community Leaders of America) offered opportunities. State groups like FTA (Future Teachers of America) offered another. There were some groups that were strictly in-school clubs like FLC (Foreign Language Club), Library Club, Art Club, Chaos Robotics Club, or Student Council.

Celebrations. Of Marceline school celebrations, the biggest of them all was revered by school and community alike—the annual football game between Marceline

and Brookfield: The Bell Game. Angela, a long time resident of Marceline, thought the Bell Game, as a singular event, helped to shape the culture of the school, “The Bell Game for example . . . that would be an event that shaped the history of our school.” Marvin too thought the Bell Game had a special, almost magical quality about it—defining the community:

And a lot of times, especially in the Bell Game, you can kind of throw the records out because that’s one of those things where the past doesn’t mean anything. Maybe it’s against insurmountable odds, but we find a way to do that.

The Bell Game football game was a weeklong celebration. The festivities opened with a spirit week. Monday through Friday students dressed in the crazy garb designated by the cheerleaders who organized the week. Monday might mean students tramping through the halls in their pajamas, Tuesday the students might wear crazy hats, Wednesday could be dress-like-your-favorite-teacher. In years past, Thursday had traditionally been hex day when everyone was encouraged to wear blue and white, Brookfield’s colors. Starting in 2009, the administration discouraged this and the day’s dress became just another spirit day, maybe 80s day.

Thursday evening, the students rushed home, removed the spirited clothes of the day, and donned black and gold. The bon fire and hot dog roast began at 7:00. At 7:30 the football team and the coaches made blood-pumping speeches and the players loaded up on the fire truck and with whistles blowing and lights flashing, they zipped through town. As many as would like (and always lots of small children) ran along behind the fire truck on the mile-long jaunt through town singing, cheering, and chanting.

Friday was always Black and Gold day. Bells rang throughout the hall all day long. Students and teachers alike were known to break into chants and spontaneously

sing the school fight song. The school day ended with an extraordinary pep assembly. It included a special skit, teachers and students faced off in games, the band played, and the cheerleaders cheered. In the past, the Bell Game assembly had been a kindergarten through twelfth grade event (with numerous community members coming in for the show, too). A couple of intense and perhaps not all-age-appropriate skits put a kibosh on that practice.

The week ended, of course, on the football field (either in Brookfield or Marceline—it flipped between the two towns every year). It was the most celebrated game of the year. Balloons flew, special programs were printed, the VFW sold poppies, and nearly one thousand people came to witness the show. Football lovers were never disappointed. No matter the rest of the year's football schedule, this game was as intense as any National Football League game. The game's end certainly heralded in celebration, but also may leave the most macho young man in tears and inspired many a fight on the walk to cars in the parking lot.

The history of the Bell Game was both convoluted and controversial. The first football game between Marceline and Brookfield happened November 14, 1908. Marceline traveled by train to the nearby town and won the match up handily. The next day the Brookfield newspaper, *The Blade*, accused Marceline of using townsmen (Floray, 2003, p. 18). Some say this was the first "Bell Game" although the bell was not yet the prize to be won. In any case, what was known was that the MHS and BHS competition was the oldest in the county, the most continuously played game in the state, and the fifth most played game in the United States—only ten games shy of the record (Floray, 2003, pp. 19-20).

Rumors persisted that the game had to be called off because of the intense rivalry in the 1900s. In truth, during the First World War the game was suspended because so many young men left school to join the armed forces. However, to say that the game had not been intense and fraught with undertones of violence would be a mistake.

Jessica related with gusto the stories of the Marceline-Brookfield rivalry as she recalled the intensity of the conflict when she was in school:

I think, you know, the other thing that I think the community does is the Bell Game and that is kind of psycho crazy, but when I was in school we threw hedge balls at Brookfield's cars and eggs, and we did, and we egged the Bell and we threw dead pigs on it.

And we threw dead chickens on it, and we tarred and feathered it, and I got that idea from my dad, except for I brought my tar in a jug and he had to stop on highway 5 and warm his up when he did it.

So when they built the new Brookfield school, they didn't want us getting the bell anymore. They wanted that stopped. Which I think it was maybe my senior year, maybe one year out when they did that, and so they said it would be trespassing, and so the two schools agreed to stop and stuff due to trespassing, but we would guard the bell.

Brookfield would always be out of school the day we had Bell game, and I can remember twice when their students would come over here and get the Bell and we were in class and we would leave.

But it used to be pretty dangerous. I mean it was fun, but it was kind of scary. But they always had a bonfire with an outhouse . . . that used to be the tradition was that you burned an outhouse and then you did the snake dance.

In 1922 the competition began in earnest. A look at any yearbook will confirm that. In sport section write-ups, the *Marcello* staff dedicated paragraphs to describing the Marceline-Brookfield game. In the early years, the game was played twice a year, once on Armistice Day and again on Thanksgiving. In 1936 the Brookfield Fire Department offered a bell to the winning team thus establishing the "Bell Game." That very bell was passed between the schools depending upon the game's final score.

In order to not feel left out of the action, the junior varsity Marceline-Brookfield match-up was called the “Baby Bell” and the middle school competition was known as the “Tinkerbell.”

Homecoming as a celebration is not unknown across the United States and is more than likely celebrated in much the same way from school to school. Marceline was no exception. Homecoming, although fun and celebratory, was second fiddle to the Bell Game. There was during homecoming, just like Bell Game a spirit week with crazy outfits, but unlike Bell Game, there was no bonfire or fire engine race. The unique fervor homecoming brings to the student body was the homecoming queen race. The homecoming queen was the first crowning of the year and the queen at this event will be honored throughout her lifetime at pep assemblies, homecoming parades, and football games.

It was still very much a community event. Margaret said of homecoming:

Positive reinforcement from the community creates a positive environment for the school. I believe the school shapes the community by instilling a sense of pride in school and in the town. A good example is the annual Homecoming. The Homecoming parade involves everyone from toddlers to nursing home residents. Local bands compete in the parade and the school classes and community, businesses and organizations enter floats. The large crowd at the Homecoming football game indicates that school pride and loyalty are very prominent in the Marceline community.

The voting routine for homecoming queen was set by tradition and the results were a top-security clearance secret. In the beginning of the school year the senior class selected by ballot six girls to vie for the position. The high school grades nine through twelve narrowed the results to a final three. The three finalists went before the football team in a final ballot. One was selected as homecoming queen and was revealed at the game Friday night.

After the week of celebratory dress, Friday would bring an assembly (much shorter than the Bell Game assembly). The candidates and their self-selected escorts were introduced to the entire student body, the band played, and the cheerleaders cheered and danced. Last year's homecoming queen was re-introduced to the crowd and the student body was dismissed at 1:00 for a 2:00 parade. The parade featured local bands, school and business floats, classic cars, horses, present homecoming candidates and queens from alumni years past, the football teams, and cheerleaders from every grade level.

The football game brought Homecoming to a close for the community. At half-time while the band played *Sweetheart of Sigma Chi*, homecoming queens from 5, 10, 15, 20 and more years past were introduced with their self-selected escort from their day and finally the new reigning queen was crowned. No other queen, Court-mat or Prom was so honored for so long. The alumni had a collective dance at the local Eagles club, hosted and organized by the 20-year alumni committee, the high school hosted a dance on Saturday, and the event came to an end.

Court-mat was somewhat unusual as an event, but in an attempt to keep up an appearance of fair play between sports, Court-mat was invented to honor basketball players and wrestlers similar to the way homecoming did for football players. Unlike homecoming, not as much fanfare preceded the court-mat events. There was not a spirited dress up week. And the week ended with a short pep assembly where the school crowned a queen and hosted a dance. It was usually the night of a basketball game, but the similarities ended there. Unlike the Bell Game or Homecoming, the event was fairly low key.

Every spring a local service sorority, Sorosis Study Club, sponsored a talent show. The talent show was a come-one, come-all event that went unjudged in attempt to showcase student talent in a myriad of venues. It was also the club's single fundraiser of the year. With the proceeds they treated academically successful students to an event named the Honors Luncheon. At the luncheon students achieving a high grade point average for three quarters were taken off campus, treated to a catered lunch, and then spent the afternoon listening to a motivational speaker.

At the Talent Show held several weeks prior to the Honors Luncheon, student performers took the stage to sing, dance, perform magic tricks, play instruments, tell jokes, and twist through gymnastics. The only requirement was that one was a student of the district. Students both young and old took to the stage. It was not uncommon for students to perform in the talent show for 8 to 12 years. Some students would perform twice in the evening of the event, once as a solo act and again as a duo with a younger sibling or cousin. The jazz band played a tune or two as did the guitar class. In years past, the senior level Composition class performed an interpretive dance based on the book they read in class, *Wuthering Heights*.

The highlight of the event though was the talented young actors who presented the "live" commercials. Although Sorosis Club members sold the ads, members of the drama class wrote the script and performed live-action commercials. The ads were full of pratfalls and high jinks that entertained audience members. All performers were honored with a gift certificate to the local ice cream shop.

Other school celebrations were not unique to Marceline R-V schools. Prom and graduation were festivities that did not differ much from what one might observe at

virtually any other school in the United States. During prom the senior class crowned a prom queen and held a dazzling dance in which the juniors dolled up the fieldhouse and hosted the senior class to the final school dance of their academic careers.

At graduation the fieldhouse bleachers filled with well-wishers. Special seating was provided on the floor for parents. Each graduate was allotted two seats no matter the extended family situation. S/he may choose any two family members or any mix and match of stepparents so long as there were only two. The graduates gifted flowers to loved ones while the class-selected senior song played in the background. Two speakers shared their wisdom—the senior class president and the student council president. The diplomas were presented, a slide show displayed infant and graduate pictures, and the event came to a close in ninety minutes to two hours.

Other local service sororities provided special events to recognize Marceline students. Sans Souci every spring hosted a Senior Girls' Dinner during which the senior girls and their mothers were treated to the Father McCartan dinner theater production—an event that supported the school, the community, and the Catholic school. Mother's Study Club sponsored a Senior Boy's dinner. The boys were treated to a dinner and an inspirational speaker for an evening.

School Leadership. Once Marceline incorporated in 1880, the days when the townsfolk dominated the one-room schoolhouse by directly employing the teachers were over. Almost immediately after the town built the school, a school board was established and administrators were hired to manage the school. Now, to be fair, the administrators were also teachers. W.S. Perrin, the first superintendent, wore several more hats—administrator, teacher, coach, and referee.

Duncan commented about Marceline's perception of leaders:

[T]he railroad and coalmining mentality is more of . . . if you're the school board or you're the city council, we're giving you the autonomy. Go do your job, and we'll do ours. In some communities . . . those people want to have more hands on control of the school board, and in Marceline, it's more like if it ain't broke, don't fix it . . . the railroad and coalmine, that was the foundation of Marceline. . . . So the old-timers in town, would never go to a school board meeting or never go to a city council meeting because that's not their mentality. Their mentality is, "you go do your job." . . . in Marceline it's more like we elected you to run it, go run it. The school board's kind of the same way I think.

Given Duncan's analysis of the historical impact of the railroad and coalmine on the culture and climate of town, it should have been of no surprise that Marcelinians, when interviewed, often mentioned their school and community leaders as stalwarts of the community who shaped the town.

It seemed that past administrators were often remembered as community members who shaped the Marceline School and community. One early leader mentioned as a cultural influence was former principal, J.O. Williamson.

As Billie noted,

J.O.—everybody loved him. We had freedom, but we knew where the line was. He gave us a lot of freedom to do and be and be kids. He knew we were kids and we knew where the line was and I think we . . . well, all of our teachers we respected enough not to cross over the line. He was a good principal as far as I was concerned.

Zachary confirmed Billie's assessment of J.O. Williamson:

Now I tell you one of the school board community members who shaped it. We had a J.O. Williamson was the superintendent [principal] when I was there. Well, J.O. we'd go hunting ever once in a while and J.O. would pull us into the office he'd tell us, he'd say, 'Boys, I believe you'd better go to school.' That was all. He didn't get on to us. He'd say, 'You boys have about hunted enough.' You know, he was good about it. Which I thought was good. . . . But everybody liked him.

Another former administrator was one Collin mentioned by name as a particularly powerful influence on the school, Robert Fessler. So did several others. Interestingly, the strong-willed administrator with a strong personality was not mentioned often because he was beloved. Collin summed it up best:

Probably one of the school members I remember over the years was Robert Fessler. He was the superintendent here years ago. And he was not a very popular superintendent, but he was one that had, looking back, had the school very much in his sight. He wanted to make it a very stable, strong school that had money to be able to do things. He was a very good administrator in finances and I heard a lot of people complain that he wouldn't allow things to be done, you know, that he looked at the bottom line on it. When he left, he left our school in very good financial shape which was really key.

This iron-fisted superintendent often intimidated his staff, but yet it seemed they respected him. As Samuel remembered,

[T]eachers were terrified of him. He was “the boss” [uses quotes gesture] and you didn't question the boss and you know things like committees that might raise issues, they were discouraged. I remember being on the salary committee when he was superintendent we were afraid to meet on school grounds. . . . We were scared to meet at the school . . . that was the norm at the time and he was really [emphasis added] good with money. Yeah, he was kind of intimidating to work for, but also he wasn't manipulative or deceitful. He was a very honest person.

In 2010 the school leadership consisted of a seven-member board, a superintendent, and a board secretary. Those who served on the administrative team also included an elementary principal, a sixth through twelfth grade principal, a director of special education, and the A+ coordinator. As was true in many small rural districts, numerous teacher-leaders existed. There were simply too few people and too few funds to provide separate positions for every job that needed done. Staff members took on multiple roles to fit the needs of the district.

Marcelinians were pleased with their governing school board and have shown a great deal of respect for those willing to step up to serve the community in this way.

Marvin admitted,

I've never had any desire to run for school board. I have the utmost respect for anybody that does. I would never do that . . . those challenges of the school are—when you start dealing with people's children it's a whole new set of rules.

Aaron added,

Well, we've been fortunate in the school system to have very good school board members I think, If they didn't they'd tarnish the system and I don't think the system is tarnished. . . . But I don't see mediocrity there. I don't think were satisfied what we've got. I think we're continuing to try to improve the test scores; we're trying to improve the new hires for new . . . teachers coming in. I think the school board is very diligent in trying to hire the best people . . . and put them on the right seat on the bus. I just think they are trying to do that. And I admire that. Boy, I wouldn't . . . that's a tough deal. You've got to admire people who take the time to . . . get that done.

Interestingly, even without the buffer of time, several interviewees mentioned current board members and administrators as a positive influence on the school culture, including current superintendent, Gabe Edgar.

Aaron said of the current superintendent, "I don't know and it's not for me to judge, but as far as running the school I think he's doing an admirable job. I really do. I think he's doing the right thing." Stephen concurred:

Again to regard a strength, I think that Gabe Edgar is a strength. You know with the 180 Tour, he came to the ministerial alliance [asking] . . . "what do we do to kind of help the kids? We have to do something to kind of help the kids develop values, encourage values." The 180 Tour kind of came out of that . . . his original approaching of the ministerial alliance. I think Gabe is really concerned about values and what can be done. I think it's hard in the public schools to encourage that.

Other issues arose as themes from the study of Marceline. Those themes—consolidation, desegregation, and parochial education—are each discussed in some detail below.

A History of School Consolidation in Missouri

Say the word “consolidation” and the consternation is almost palpable from rural schools across the state of Missouri. The topic, a contentious one, inspired many a local meeting, plenty of town gossip, and even an outcry from formal organizations like Missouri Association of Rural Education (MARE). MARE’s director, Ray Patrick (2006), submitted a cover letter on the organization’s website. He likened his announcement of perceived impending state-mandated consolidations to Paul Revere’s cry to protect your community and schools at all costs (www.moare.com). His 2006 battle cry was interesting primarily because to date the state had not formally announced any intention of instituting a consolidation plan.

Despite current worries of consolidation, state-level involvement in education and consolidation was not a new notion. As early as 1839, a scant 18 years after statehood, Missouri acted in the interest of state-funded education. The Geyer Act, drafted by Henry S. Geyer, established a permanent fund subsidized partly with monies provided by the federal government to underwrite public schools. The Act created the position of the State Superintendent of Schools (Adams, 1898). Despite having to accept some state-level input and mandates that came as a result of accepting state funds, local township councils and counties stood largely on their own and were given both the right and responsibility to organize schools.

Further state involvement came in 1853. The state-funded Geyer Act, enacted in 1839, established a complete state-level school system, but did little to fund it and did not provide the means for a traveling supervisor to check in on schools in rural Missouri. By the 1850s Missouri created new state positions for the purpose of monitoring the progress of schools across the state. The newly created County Commissioners traveled across Missouri to examine schools, teachers, and their qualifications. With the formation of the commissioners' positions, the state now had the means to visit county schools and also had a say-so in school textbooks and curriculum (Good, 2008).

During the Civil War and in the years directly following the war, schools saw very few new mandates from the state. Missouri's coffers had simply been depleted. The state needed to regroup. But, by 1901 the Missouri legislature was truly back on its feet and authorized the first consolidation of school districts (Ellsworth, 1956). Although he did not address the issue in print until 1913, the "rural problem," as Ellwood Cubberley would come to describe rural education, was being addressed in Missouri.

Further state intervention in rural schools came in 1903 when the state required county teachers to attend three days at a teacher's conference prior to the start of each school year (Good, 2008). As early as 1936 schools in Linn County began consolidating as smaller one-room schoolhouses banded together. In Forker (near current day Meadville) several community one-room schools consolidated (Orear, 2001).

It was not until 1948 that the state pulled out the big guns. Missouri's general assembly passed the Hawkins School Reorganization Act, consolidating all schools that did not have an average daily attendance of at least 100 students and an assessed valuation of \$500,000.

This act effectively closed all one-room schoolhouses (Good, 2008). Counties submitted reorganization plans to the state education agency for approval. The lingering effect on Missouri schools (aside from curtailing rivalries between neighboring township schools that were combined) was a name change. Some schools were consolidated, and they had a name that included a “C” after the school’s name. Most added an “R,” standing for “reorganized” and a number indicating how many small schools joined that newly reorganized district, like Marceline R-V. In the case of Marceline, five schools joined the existing Marceline schools as the result of the restructured school.

The consolidation of the one-room school house affected the lives of a couple of the interviewees. Benson attended the one-room school, Hardin, from first-grade until sixth-grade when the state mandated consolidations. His memories were fond, but he admitted that transitioning to the school in town was difficult:

It was fun. I don’t suppose we got the education you did in town because she had six . . . eight grades here and the eighth grade then they’d take them to town [to high school]. . . . We’d average—3 would be the big class. The biggest class we had. Mostly 2 to 3 in each class. And you got a lot of individual tutoring that way because she had the time to do it. There’s a lot we probably didn’t learn, but probably because we were too ornery to try to learn. . . . It was a big change for us, coming in from the rural school like that we were put in separate classes and then you had maybe 50 some kids in your grade here. We were coming from 2 to 3 to a class. It was a big change for us. It was probably a little bit harder on us coming in like that to get caught up with the other kids because they were teaching them more than we were getting out in the rural school, I think. I mean, she was doing the best she could with what she had to work with out there, but it put you a little bit behind. We finally caught up with them.

Zachary remembered when the schools were consolidated, although he was already attending school in town. He understood the hesitation on the part of the country kids and their parents, but he indicated that there were no problems accepting students:

Well, the people did not like it because in the communities out there where they went to school, they thought they'd have to pay more taxes to transport them and stuff. People was just a little bitter for a while. On account of they didn't want to lose their little schoolhouse that they . . . and you know but they got over it. They had more classes for the kids and stuff than one teacher could teach in 8 grades or whatever she was in. . . . We never had no problems at all. . . . The parents, they were down in one sense of the word because they hated to lose that school. And you could see their point too . . . But there was never any fights or anything. . . . No, no we got along. They blended in and of course, back when we was going there was no money to speak of and everybody was pretty well equal. I mean you know . . . I think that was part of it too. You didn't have a real high class, you know and all that. And I think that . . . but they blended in well. We didn't have problems.

Jump ahead to the 21st century. Missouri subsidized small, largely rural schools with a special grant called the Small Schools Grant. It distributed funds to schools with an average daily attendance of 350 or fewer students. In tough financial times, that grant was often brought to the table as a possible cut. To representatives of cities and large districts, the grant currently funded to the tune of 15 million dollars must seem like low-hanging fruit. In 2010 estimates indicated that if this funding were eliminated, 150 school districts would be forced to close their doors (DESE, 2011).

With that possibility hanging over rural districts' heads, consolidation was on the lips of nearly every interviewee, despite the fact Marceline did not fall under the 350 or fewer students. There seemed to be community awareness that some day Marceline may again be consolidated.

Christopher expressed the effect losing a school has on its community. He said, "[W]hen you have lost your school, you have lost a bunch."

Duncan seconded that notion with a slight caveat. He remarked that although losing a school can be devastating to the community, it was not the stake through the

heart of what was otherwise a vital community. Instead, it was simply the last breath in an already dying one:

I've watched [a nearby community] over here just become absolutely a wide spot in the road. When one time [it] was a thriving railroad community, and now they're just nothingness, and they'll lose their school before long to consolidation, I don't know where, some day that'll be us.

Brent added, "It's not like we're going to shut the doors here, board up the doors. We're going to find a way to make it work."

There was a realization that as population declined there was the possibility that one day Marceline would be consolidated. The participants largely fell into four divisions: those who welcomed consolidation because it increased the possible course offerings, those who welcomed consolidation as long as other schools consolidated with Marceline, those who thought perhaps consolidation was good, but that bus rides might get too long, and those who did not want to see consolidation under any circumstances.

Vincent, who fell into the first division, remarked that consolidation was a possibility depending upon our intention. He remarked, "[Do I see consolidation in our future?] Well, if we do it strictly for the students, yes." After a discussion about consolidation of Linn County schools, Jessica expressed her unwillingness to transport her children to a school in another town; she said that if there were a possibility that the county's schools would consolidate, "Then it should be here." Zachary fell into the third category:

Well, it may come to that. I hate to see it because of your sports. I know some of the littler schools may only have to and that may have to be . . . the only think I'd say they have to look at, you don't want a kid on the bus for 2-3 hours every day each way. That's going to be the main thing. I don't think a kid should be on the bus for over 40 to 45 minutes. Then that's when you get some of them bored and they're wanted to wrestle and fight.

Elise voiced her disapproval of a consolidated school:

I would hate that so badly . . . I would really hate that. I think once a town loses its school it loses its identity. I really do. . . . We have such a large campus over here. I can't see closing all that.

Desegregation in Missouri

Racial tension in the state of Missouri began before Missouri was even a state. In 1818 the territory of Missouri applied for statehood. But this proposed new state posed quite a problem for the United States of America. The introduction of a new state upset the balance between Free States and Slave States. There were 11 of each; Missouri had requested to enter the Union as a Slave State. The tension was so high and the debate so rancorous, that two years elapsed before statehood was finally granted. As a result, the Missouri Compromise was born. Those who stewed over the lack of balance between Slave States and Free States permitted Missouri to enter as a Slave State when Maine also petitioned for statehood, as a Free State. With balance restored, Missouri entered the Union in 1821.

This was only the beginning of a long and bitter history over race relations in Missouri. The state was no more than 13 years old when a slave named Dred Scott was moved from Missouri to Illinois (a Free State) and on to Wisconsin (a Free Territory) by his owner, Army doctor John Emerson. Scott presumed that once he took residence in a Free State and a Free Territory, he was a free man. After a series of trials, his case eventually made it to the Supreme Court. In 1857 the Supreme Court ruled that slavery was legal in all territories and against Dred Scott who returned to Missouri, a slave.

The Civil War further fueled race issues and nearly split the state in two. Missourians, perhaps more than any other state's populace, found themselves fighting

brother against brother. Despite this division, most soldiers fought with the Union army over the Confederate army, at a rate of about four to one. Bitter battles within the state were not unknown, especially in the Ozark region and along the Kansas border.

Before the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* required the desegregation of schools across the United States, Missouri had already been in the courts attempting to defend school segregation. The 1938 case, *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada*, was taken before the Supreme Court. In this case, the University of Missouri found itself on the losing end of a segregation lawsuit. Lloyd Gaines applied for admission to the University of Missouri Law School after receiving his undergraduate degree from Lincoln University of Missouri, an African-American college established in 1866 in Jefferson City. There was not an African-American law school in Missouri at the time. He was refused admission and was offered a compromise. The University would send him, and any other black law students, to other states to be educated at Missouri's expense. Despite his initial victory proving a violation of equal protection of the laws, before the Missouri State Supreme Court could reconsider the case, Gaines disappeared and was presumed murdered (Garrison, 2007).

Until 1847 Missouri law forbade teaching reading or writing to African – Americans. Furthermore, the Missouri Constitution of 1875 made school segregation mandatory. This provision remained on the books and was renewed in 1945. Although the *Brown* decision had mandated that segregation was to end in the 1950s, this Missouri constitutional provision remained in place until its repeal in August of 1976 (Missouri Education, 2010). Despite the apparent lack of interest in changing the laws on the

books, Missouri fell to the mounting federal pressure. Most Missouri schools desegregated in the mid- to late- 1950s.

One might assume that race relations steadily improved since the 1950s. Sadly, was not the case. As recently as 1985, a federal judge took control of the troubled Kansas City School District. In the 1980s Kansas City Schools was ruled an unconstitutionally segregated district. Despite spending millions of dollars, in 1999 the same judge who ordered the funds to desegregate the schools, agreed to stop the payments declaring the integration experiment a failure. Even after the turn of the 21st century, black students in Kansas City Schools struggled to achieve at proficient levels on tests examining state standards. In 2008, seven schools were transferred out of the Kansas City School District and into the nearby Independence School District.

Given this rather dubious example provided by the state, Marceline was a bit of an anomaly. As early as 1889 Marceline provided a “colored” elementary school to educate the black children of the community. And while they certainly did not receive equal press coverage, even in 1899 students from the black school received accolades (see Photo 23) from the *Marceline Mirror* regarding student success (March 31, 1899).

Black students who wished to receive an education beyond the eighth grade were bussed to the nearest black high school in Dalton, Missouri, approximately 30 miles south of Marceline. Several interviewees had memories of the busses that took the black students to and from high school. Darrell remembered:



Photo 23. Black student featured in Marceline Mirror (March 31, 1899).

There was people by the name of Adair and they had a grocery store there and that's where all the colored children in Marceline met—there and the bus come through Mendon, Brunswick, Brookfield swung here and picked them up and then they all ended up down at . . . Dalton, that's it. That was their high school. And that's where they all met.

Frank, too, remembered the students bussed to Dalton school, “And they bused them down to Dalton for high school . . . But they had a bus that run from here down there every day . . . we never had any problems with them at all.” Zachary's recollection was similar, “They were hauling these kids in an old bus from here to Dalton everyday. In an old beat-up, it was an old panel bus. And they'd load them up and the hauled them.”

Again on April 19, 1901 the *Marceline Mirror* showed its support of education for all students when the paper recorded: “children of the land, irrespective of race or color, rich or poor, may secure that enlightenment necessary to good citizenship.”

The black parents and the community supported the school. In the September 14, 1917 *Marceline Journal-Mirror*, a Professor L.R. Johnson met with black parents in a parent-teacher meeting at the Second Baptist Church. The newspaper recorded that “The

work for the year was mapped out and laid before them. They stated their willingness to comply with request.”

That is not to say that the black school did not meet with a few bumps in the road. According to the August 30, 1907, *Marceline Mirror*, “a half a dozen young Negroes broke into the colored school building and wrecked its contents.” Although they had not yet apprehended the three men and three women, it was assumed that those children were those “who took this method of showing their contempt for the efforts made by the school board to educate them.”

The black students held school in an abandoned carpenter’s building and a donated former one-room school building. Hayden School was moved into town to accommodate them, until the building was destroyed by fire in 1930. The Marceline School district ran a bond issue for \$3,500 to build a new school for the black community a year and a half later. During the previous year and a half they met at the Second Baptist Church, a black Baptist church on the southeast part of town. Twelve citizens wrote endorsements for the bond issue including Father McCartan (*Marceline News*). The new school, finished in 1933, named Lincoln School, stands in Marceline. Frank said of the old Lincoln school, “It’s one of the few that’s left. It was a pretty nice school for back then.”

Minorities in Marceline Schools

In 1889 a school was established for black students in an abandoned carpenters’ shop. Later the black students were allocated one of the original one-room schoolhouses. In 1931 it burned to the ground. A new building was built for the black students in 1933 (Marceline Centennial, 1988). The black and white student populations remained

segregated until the 1950s, when the Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional.

Again, in a move that seemed counter intuitive to the times and the example set by a state that was officially south of the Mason-Dixon Line, Marceline proved to be at least somewhat progressive in race relations. On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court in the landmark decision *Brown v Board of Education* ended legal segregation in the United States. But Marceline had begun desegregation at the high school in 1953, a year before the *Brown* decision. The elementary was desegregated in 1955, just shortly after the decision.

Despite the press that hailed the end of segregated schools in northeast Missouri, a review of yearbooks found that the only black students to appear directly after segregation were two black women, in 1955. Five black women appeared in the 1957 Marcello Yearbook. It was not until 1961 that a black man appears to have attended the high school, at least according to class composite and yearbook photos. The black women who attended Marceline High School were involved in school activities. All five were in Future Homemakers of America, and Pep Squad. In all photos they were seated together, but involved nonetheless.

What happened to the black population was unclear. Frank claimed there was a rather large population at one time. Duncan had a photocopied article from an unnamed newspaper that showed the Lincoln School had a student population of 24 students in 1938. He also conjectured,

I've got to think again that it was related to service industries for railroaders and coalminers and when those industries died out here, there was less need of service. . . . And I think they were as much a victim of the railroad moving out as anybody else.

Zachary too remembered Marceline had a large black population. He also remembered that the living conditions in Marceline for the black community were deplorable:

They were living in shacks with dirt floors. . . . Yeah, they were just old coal mining shacks. And we were out delivering a Christmas basket one time when they had one old single light bulb in the house, the floor was absolute dirt. They were cutting up tires and putting them in the stove burning them.

When asked what happened to this large community, he replied:

Well, most of them went to Brookfield. And the reason they did when that got started, the government came and built them houses, and so we had a lot [of families] that had several kids [who moved to Brookfield] and it was the older ones [who remained here] died off.

What was clear was that not one interviewee remembered a single altercation or moment of racial tension.

As Zachary said, “Yeah and but as far as us kids we didn’t have no fights with them or nothing like that. They filtered into the system see and we got along fine.”

Angela too remembered:

They were treated no different than anybody else. In fact we’re all still friends, you know . . . but we were all very close to all of those and in fact the whole black community that was here in town . . . but all the families were close to them and never did I ever see that they were treated any different, you know, so, and I don’t know of other schools, of other towns that had a black school, to tell you the truth.

Billie remembered the black families in town and in particular the students with whom she went to school, “And bless their hearts they were wonderful people . . . I believe the first black to graduate from Marceline High was in our class. I think that we treated her correctly.”

Parochial Education in Marceline

In 1922 a community of Franciscan mission-minded nuns traveled from Voecklabruck, Austria, to serve in Catholic schools in northern Missouri. The small group of 12 had been requested by Father Lucas Etlin of Conception Abbey in northwest Missouri (Heritage, 2010). Although they knew no English, these women dutifully studied language and culture and as their numbers increased, they moved across north Missouri to serve in schools, hospitals, and orphanages. It was through this that they came to teach in St. Bonaventure School (see Photo 24).

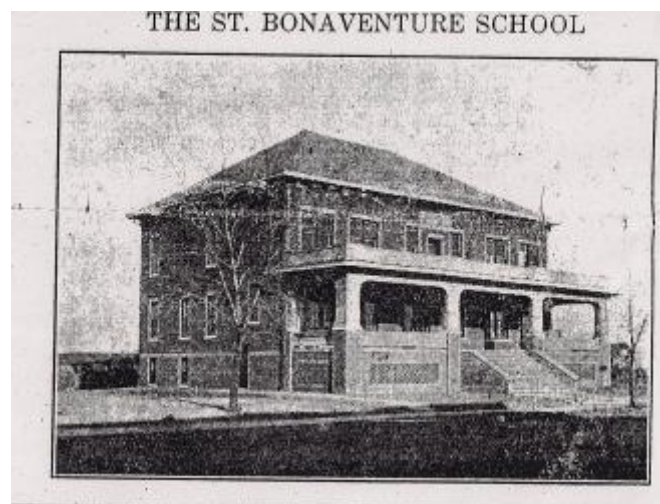


Photo 24. St. Bonaventure School circa 1938 (Marceline News, Sept 2, 1938).

Parochial education was not new to Marceline when the sisters arrived. Prior to St. Bonaventure, a private school, St. Rose's Hall had students in grades 1 through 12 as early as the late 1880s. It was not until 1922 that St. Rose's Hall closed with the arrival of the Austrian nuns and the newer Catholic school opened.

St. Bonaventure operated a first-grade through twelfth-grade school successfully in Marceline until 1943, when diminishing enrollment caused the school to drop to a kindergarten through tenth grade program. The kindergarten through tenth grade program lasted just a couple of years before it became an elementary school, which it had operated as ever since. With the construction of a new facility in 1957, St. Bonaventure moved its location nearer the church and parsonage and was renamed Father McCartan School to honor the beloved priest who had served this community for over twenty years (see Photo 25).



Photo 25. Father McCartan School, 2011 (personal collection).

With a total enrollment of 61 students in 2010, Father McCartan School supported itself as a tithe-based parish (Father McCartan, 2010). Catholic parents who tithed within their means paid no tuition for the education their children received. Of course, non-Catholic parents were welcome to send their children to Father McCartan as well, if they

were willing to pay tuition. The Diocese of Jefferson City was one of only a few dioceses across the nation that still offered tithe-based education.

Naturally, Father McCartan schools were not without their own bumps and bruises. Stephen admitted that, similar to the public school, there may have been, “[A] lack of discipline.” And Margaret conceded that although she believed the quality of education was par-excellence, the current physical plant needed to be addressed.

But they need to [improve the building] if they want to continue with what they’re doing. The facilities currently are deplorable. The library is just disgusting. It has mold. And then the preschool is in the basement of the rectory. That’s not an ideal situation.

In 2006 Father McCartan had added a preschool. Prior to this, there was only one prekindergarten in town, Kinderland Preschool; several other home-daycare businesses operated in town. The prekindergarten proved tremendously successful. Of the 61 children enrolled at Father McCartan, 16 were in the prekindergarten program, the only program that required every family to pay. The tithe-based program did not begin until kindergarten. The average class size of every grade past prekindergarten was five. Twenty-six percent of the student population at Father McCartan was prekindergarten.

The prekindergarten and kindergarten programs were self-contained, but grades first through eighth were combined. First and second grades were taught together, third and fourth were taught together, and so on. The school employed seven full-time teachers. In order to keep costs at a minimum, parents and volunteers were ubiquitous at Father McCartan. Parents and other volunteers served as aids and helped teach all of the “specials” like art, physical education, computers, library, and music.

St. Bonaventure Church’s commitment to Father McCartan was evident based on fundraisers alone. Every year the school hosted a well-attended spaghetti dinner for

which all of the food and all of the labor was volunteered. The biggest fund-raiser of the year came in the form of a community play. The parish dinner-theater comedy included multi-talented parishioners who spent a good part of the winter rehearsing, building sets, and planning menus for the annual late February, early March event. The play ran five performances and all proceeds went to the school.

Marceline Public Schools and Father McCartan actually worked together fairly well, but this had not always been the case. And some sensed a residual friction between the two. That Father McCartan children participated in middle school sports had been among the most controversial cooperative activities. Some thought that part of the public school's draw, especially during the middle school years, was the sports program.

Stephen noted some tension regarding the decision:

I think from the public school point of view we have this thing about [the Catholic School] kids play[ing] sports with the public school and there has been some negativity in regards to that in the sense that if you allow them to play sports then they are less likely to come over here to play sports. That's one of the things [the] older kids don't get. [Because of a lack of a sports program at the Catholic school, they] don't play sports so they'll go to the public school.

Interestingly, sports and a rivalry between the Catholic school and the public school was not new news. Frank indicated that even back in the early 40s there was a least a bit of a rivalry and that football was at the root of it all.

[Was there a rivalry?] Oh, I suppose a little bit. We had a football team. We had a pretty good one, and Marceline School would never play us. . . . They just didn't want to take a chance on—we did have a pretty good team, and that was before, that was probably in the late 30s and early 40s. So . . . but we played on their field once in awhile, but we was always playing somebody else.

Duncan mentioned the same phenomenon:

[O]ne of the things that amused me was, that in the years that St. Bonaventure had a pretty good football team. . . . The Catholic school and Marceline wouldn't play each other. They'd play alumni before they'd play each other. . . . St.

Bonaventure went over their head and played bigger schools with good teams. I think the feeling was that Marceline probably was afraid to schedule them for fear of losing. You've got nothing to gain and everything to lose. Sort of the same reason why Mizzou and basketball doesn't want to play schools like Missouri State.

Football strife aside, the law required that Marceline Public Schools provide special education services, and it did. But the cooperation extended beyond that. Father McCartan students had Spanish classes available to them through an online learning program taught and administered through the public school. Sean extended this olive branch, "Well, you know, let them be successful; let them do that." Margaret would maintain that they already were, especially the preschool program:

[I'm impressed] With the quality of the teacher, the education, the things that he [a boy she knew] learned—besides self-control and that's part of it too. You know that social aspect is part of it. But academically, he just excelled in everything. It's amazing what a four year-old can learn.

Christopher agreed that the Catholic school had "[A] great relationship with the public school. It's a strength [in the community] that we have a private school choice."

Summary of Community and School

Today many who reside upon the United States' coasts refer to Missouri as a "fly-over" state. In yesteryear, it would have been the "train-through" state as east coasters made their way to the glitz and glamour of the west. Of course, travelers had options, even then. One might choose to travel through Saint Louis across to Kansas City to all points west. The traveler might also choose to travel from Chicago, south through Kansas City, and then west. Aware of the number of potential passengers, railroad companies built numerous routes to usher travelers and goods across mid-American states.

Marceline was a rural school district and community that in many ways typified rural Missouri. The footprint left on rural Missouri by assorted railroads was noteworthy. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (which eventually became the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad) and the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroads together were responsible for the formation of numerous towns that connect-the-dots across north Missouri to Kansas City.

At the time of this study, trains carrying goods and merchandise still whistled through many of the small towns that owed their very existence to the rail industry. The trains do not stop as often as they once did. In fact, few stop at all. The passenger trains that used to pause in Marceline numbered in the tens and twenties per day. By 2010 that number dwindled to two Amtrak trains, one at 9:00 am and one at 9:00pm, that no longer stopped at the once busy depot. And communities that once relied on rail passengers to eat in their cafes and stay in their hotels, and on rail companies to buy their coal and house their employees in town have found themselves in a bit of a pickle. Nowadays most of the populations of these small towns have turned to farming, cattle, or other businesses to pick up where the railroad may have left them. The history these communities share was similar, but their reactions were distinct. Marceline represented but one community on one rail route with its own collection of troubles and triumphs—its own set of values and priorities that affected how daily life moves along.

In the upcoming Chapter 6 it all comes together in the form of the Findings. I recap the methods used to study Marceline's schools and community and share how the two interacted and precisely how I know they influenced one another. In the next chapter the work of Tonnies (1957), Sanders (2006), Epstein et al. (2009), and Bolman and Deal

(2008) conjoin to make sense of the study and historical legwork done in the previous chapters.

Chapter 6

Findings

To begin, let me reiterate the system I created to look at Marceline's school and community. Because there was overlap among the Foci of Partnership of Activities (see Table 9), the Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships (see Table 10), and the concepts of *gesellschaft* (society) and *gemeinschaft* (community), I used a parent-category, sub-category system for coding all documents, artifacts, and interviews for sociological theories. When I ran reports, I pulled together information for both parent- and sub-categories.

Table 9

Foci of Partnership Activities

Activity Focus	Sample Activities
Student-centered	Student awards, student incentives, scholarships, student trips, tutors, mentors, job shadowing, and other services and products for students
Family-centered	Parent workshops, family fun nights, GED and other adult education classes, parent incentives and rewards, counseling, and other forms of assistance
School-centered	Equipment and materials, beautification and repair, teacher incentives and awards, funds for school events and programs office, and classroom assistance
Community-centered	Community beautification, student exhibits and performances, charity, and other outreach

Source: Sanders (2006, p. 4)

Table 10

Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships

Standard	Description
Standard 1—Welcoming All Families into the School Community	Families are active participants in the life of the school, and feel welcomed, valued, and connected to each other, to school staff, and to what students are learning and doing in class.
Standard 2—Communicating Effectively	Families and school staff engage in regular, two-way, meaningful communication about student learning.
Standard 3—Supporting Student Success	Families and school staff continuously collaborate to support students' learning and healthy development both at home and at school, and have regular opportunities to strengthen their knowledge and skills to do so effectively.
Standard 4—Speaking Up for Every Child	Families are empowered to be advocates for their own and other children, to ensure that students are treated fairly and have access to learning opportunities that will support their success.
Standard 5—Sharing Power	Families and school staff are equal partners in decisions that affect children and families and together inform, influence, and create policies, practices, and programs.
Standard 6—Collaborating with Community	Families and school staff collaborate with community members to connect students, families, and staff to expanded learning opportunities, community services, and civic participation.

Source: Epstein et al. (2009, pp. 58-59).

First, I coded all interviews, document, and artifact notes for the Foci of Partnership Activities and the Six National Standards. Once that was complete I went back to code for *gesellschaft* and *gemeinschaft* with the mental model that any reference might be double or even triple categorized. For example, a family-centered mode that fell under the sub-category of Standard 1 (welcoming all families) might also serve to build *gemeinschaft* between school and community. It was possible therefore that a single item might be triple coded: in a parent code, a sub code, and in either of Tonnies's

(1957) categories. That did not triple its importance; it simply meant that it represented all three categories accurately.

To further illustrate my system, look at the Community-centered category. Sanders's Foci of Partnership of Activities (2006) indicated that a school partnered with the community in a community-centered focus engaged in these activities: "community beautification, student exhibits and performances, charity and other outreach." If a school accomplished this by communicating effectively and engaging in "regular, two-way, meaningful communication" (Epstein et al., 2009), then it has also met Standard 2 using Epstein's Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships. If both criteria were met, I coded the reference as Community-centered—Standard 2. Also, if the community partnership met through meaningful communication built *gemeinschaft*, then it would be coded as *gemeinschaft* as well.

Similarly, if the community-centered focus was met through Standard 6 (in which collaboration between the school and community connects students and families to "expanded learning opportunities, community services and civic participation") then the reference would be coded as Community-centered—Standard 6.

However, if I thought the coded reference met the community-centered focus, but did not do so through either standard, I coded it solely under the parent category, community-centered.

It was also possible that an occurrence matched *gemeinschaft* or *gesellschaft* through a standard but not a parent-code of the Foci of Partnership. In that case Tonnie's theories became their own parent-code.

The value of this system was that I could ascertain if a focus was being met and how that focus was being met using two recognized sociological systems of evaluating school-family-community partnerships and society-community theories dovetailed for my purposes.

With that in mind, examine Table 11, which lists the number of coded references under each category and sub-category.

The numbers themselves were interesting. Most categorical references fell in the mid-180 to upper-200 range, while the number of family-centered references came in at 52. The family-centered code was a definite outlier. That may mean that the Marceline schools did not meet the criteria of a family-centered school—at least in the perception of the interviewees and available documents and artifacts.

Additionally, I expected that most coded references would fall into the *gemeinschaft* category. After all, this is a school-community study in which most questions asked for the interviewees' perceptions of how the school and community influenced one another. And indeed they do, but the *gemeinschaft* references outnumber *gesellschaft* references only by 83 occurrences. I would have anticipated that far more often community members would have homed in on the warm and familial relationship between school and community, rather than viewing the school as a means to a greater end.

Table 11

Categories and Coded Reference

Parent Category	Sub Category	Number of References
Community-centered	• Standard 2	• 8
	• Standard 6	• 134
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 102
	• Total	• 244 Total
Family-centered	• Standard 1	• 20
	• Standard 2	• 7
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 25
	• Total	• 52 Total
School-centered	• Standard 5	• 26
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 252 Total
	• Total	• 278 Total
Student-centered	• Standard 3	• 42
	• Standard 4	• 53
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 132
	• Total	• 227 Total
Gesellschaft	• Standard 5	• 25
	• Standard 6	• 52
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 110
	• Total	• 187 Total
Gemeinschaft	• Standard 1	• 16
	• Standard 5	• 1
	• Standard 6	• 59
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 194
	• Total	• 270 Total

Below I explore each parent-category and gesellschaft and gemeinschaft in greater detail. Each parent category has its own sub-table from Table 11 for ease of reference.

Community-Centered

If a community-centered school is one that reaches out to the community, Marceline was doing a decent job. Perhaps it had not been doing as well in terms of communicating effectively, but it certainly had done well in terms of collaborating with the community. The interview questions by design led interviewees to examine school and community relationships, effects, and support. Interestingly, a number of interviewees saw the community reaching into the school to support it rather than the reverse.

Table 12

Parent Category: Community-Centered

Community-centered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 2 • Standard 6 • Coded only at Parent Category • Total 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8 • 134 • 102 • 244 Total
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Five interviewees mentioned specifically that the community supported the school through bond issues or taxes. Carl said, “We’ve known that by support of the bond issue and they all [the community] want the kids to succeed.” Aaron discussed the importance of community members to serve as role models for school children, “I think it’s very important for young people to have role models in their careers.”

The long and the short of it was that community support was there, whether it was coming from the community into the school or from the school into the community, the community clearly saw itself linked to the school.

Family-Centered

If there was one place where the Marceline community perceived that there was not much going on, it was in the family-centered focus. Activities in the family-centered focus centered on “parent workshops, family fun nights, GED and other adult education classes, parent incentives and rewards, counseling, and other forms of assistance” (Sanders, 2006). Standard 1 measures the ability to “welcome all families into the school community” (Epstein et al., 2009) by making families feel welcome, valued and connected. In Standard 2, a successful school communicates effectively with the community.

Table 13

Parent Category: Family-Centered

Family-centered	• Standard 1	• 20
	• Standard 2	• 7
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 25
	• Total	• 52 Total

While both the elementary and secondary school offered an online computer link allowing parents access to grades, attendance, lunch money status, and discipline reports, Disney Elementary School achieved family-centeredness to a much greater degree than the high school had, as was probably the norm across the United States as far as outreach

activities. The elementary school offered a Parent-Teacher Organization and hosted the Golden Tiger Dinner that invited Marceline's senior citizens to lunch.

It seemed that this current lack of family-centered outreach was not always the case. In the September 18, 1903 *Marceline Mirror*, the school welcomed the family, calling it to visit the school. How many took the superintendent up on his newspaper all-call was not known, but it was offered nonetheless. "Patrons owe it to the instructors, to the pupils and to themselves to show their interest by frequent visits to the rooms."

If there was a ray of hope in the family-centered focus, it was that of those who perceived some family-centeredness thought that it came in the form of welcoming all families into the school. Several mentioned that minorities have historically been welcomed. Ruth discussed the various ethnicities that have had a presence in Marceline and how welcomed they had been:

I mean I think with these Mexican people, we have had Vietnamese people here, like the Mexican kids now, everybody seems to be just flaunting [sic] over them actually. . . . So I don't think Marceline has a big problem with that.

School-Centered

A school-centered school is not as self-serving as that sounds. According to the Foci of Partnership it was defined as a school who's activities revolved around "equipment and materials, beautification and repair, teacher incentives and awards, funds for school events and programs, office, and class assistance" (Sanders, 2006). One means by which to achieve that was through Standard 5—sharing power. In this standard "families and school staff are equal partners in decisions that affect children and families and together inform, influence, and create policies, practices, and programs."

Table 14

Parent Category: School-Centered

School-centered	• Standard 5	• 26
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 252 Total
	• Total	• 278 Total

Of the 278 occurrences, only 26 occur through Standard 5. All of the others occur outside that standard. Interviewees mentioned new programs like the agriculture building and the new heating and air-conditioning units that were put into the high school building. Most likely because these programs were new, they were on the people's minds.

Naturally, as people discussed the history of education in Marceline, the focus frequently fell upon the construction of buildings and school facilities. As one might expect given the earlier discussions, a lot of conversation revolved around the construction of sports facilities, especially Chester Ray Stadium—the football field.

For those school-centered references that occurred in Standard 5, most referenced a shared power that was established between the school and community and was often created by the school board or administrators past and present. Christopher discussed the growing relationship between the Catholic school and the public school. "Because we have . . . a great relationship with the public school . . . So, I just think it's a matter of that we work together and that we're all pulling in the same direction."

Student-Centered

Activities in a student-centered school included “student awards, student incentives, scholarships, student trips, tutors, mentors, job shadowing and other services and products for students.” The two standards that best fulfilled this were Standard 3

Table 15

Parent Category: Student-Centered

Student-centered	• Standard 3	• 42
	• Standard 4	• 53
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 132
	• Total	• 227 Total

where families and school staff alike support student success, and Standard 4 in which families may advocate for their own children and others by speaking up for every child.

While some articles and interviewees mentioned student-centered programs like the free and reduced lunch program, others discussed good order and discipline, especially corporal punishment. Stephen and Vincent both discussed a lack of discipline in school and mentioned that there might be the need to return to the days of corporal punishment. Ruth said that “[O]ne thing paddling . . . they did that, they didn’t send out pink slips and Saturday detentions for not doing your homework, they whipped you. And I want to tell you what, it worked.”

As early as February 28, 1908 in the *Marceline Mirror* Marcelinians found a way to “support student success”—Standard 3. At that time rural teachers could write to the county commissioner to get the eighth grade exams brought to their students, rather than requiring students to travel to take their exams. As an added bonus: “Each student who

passes a satisfactory examination will be given free, a very attractive diploma of graduation.”

Samuel shared one especially poignant example of supporting student success, even when that student venture ended in failure:

My favorite memory took place about a mile on Highway 36, about a mile west of the junction coming back on a chartered bus with the football team from a game they lost. When they got close to the junction, they [the athletes] saw a line of taillights, car taillights that stretched all the way up the exit ramp and way beyond--People waiting to lead the bus back into town. And it was after a game they *lost*. And I always thought that was one of the really special memories that I have of sports in Marceline.

The Standard 4 (speaking up for every child) references fell primarily into two schools: one group that felt that most students—no matter their race or ability—were treated fairly and equally. The other group felt that some students were under-served, especially the very bright and gifted. Frank and Angela mentioned that the bright students were overlooked. They felt a compulsion to stand up for that child.

Gesellschaft

Re-examining the sociological theory of gesellschaft, one must remember that conceptually Tonnies defined gesellschaft—society—as characterized by formal institutions bound by impersonal relationships. Specifically, the boundaries of gesellschaft become clear when examining how a community reacts to this impersonal relationship. In other words, one must ask—to what degree are people willing to sacrifice the affectionate familial relationships of gemeinschaft for the greater good found in gesellschaft.

Table 16

Parent Category: Gesellschaft

Gesellschaft	• Standard 5	• 25
	• Standard 6	• 52
	• Coded only at Parent Category	• 110
	• Total	• 187 Total

Most of the school consolidation conversations can be categorized here. Many indicated a willingness to sacrifice, in order to do what was best for the students educationally. Aaron mentioned specifically that in a larger school one could “teach a couple of foreign languages, some very advanced math courses, because right now you don’t have what you’d get with economy of scale if you did that.”

One means by which to achieve gesellschaft was through Standard 5—sharing power. An example of the shared power was drug testing conducted in the high school. Although somewhat controversial when first instituted a few years ago, the community and school shared the responsibility for student illicit drug use.

Of course the flip-side of shared power is shared responsibility, which was also represented in Standard 5. That could mean that members of the community run for a school board to support the school as an institution. As Christopher indicated, “[Y]our leaders or school board members are community members and live in the school district. That’s who sets the policy, that’s who sets the pace for the school district.” Or it could be that one must recognize that the school and community were inexorably linked—economically, culturally, or socially. Angela pointed out that “[I]f your city doesn’t survive economically, neither does your school.”

In Standard 6 the community and school worked collaboratively for a greater societal good. If education was that greater good, clearly there needed to be monetary support to keep it afloat. While many complained that society was tapped out and funds were drying up, Brent argued that in Marceline the school and community worked together to achieve something valuable.

And I hear the statement all the time people get tired of the school or the community asking for money. I don't agree with that. I think that people are more than happy to pool money, donate their time and money for projects as long as they are worthwhile.

Gemeinschaft

Gemeinschaft, as I touched on above was that collegial feeling of “community” characterized by a common identity, personal relationships, and a strong identification with traditional sentiments. The true irony was that schools foster gemeinschaft for the purpose of building up gesellschaft. Let me explain using a simple metaphor: on the first day of kindergarten in the lobby of any school one is likely to see weeping and wailing and nervous parents and equally anxious youngsters parting from one another. The process of breaking the bonds of gemeinschaft for the good of gesellschaft can be a painful one. But if the school has done a good job of building trust and a sense of community with the parents, they will be far more willing to sacrifice those bonds for a greater societal good—education.

Table 17

Parent Category: Gemeinschaft

Gemeinschaft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standard 1 • Standard 5 • Standard 6 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 • 1 • 59
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• Coded only at Parent Category	• 194
• Total	• 270 Total

With that in mind, Marceline—both the school and the community—felt a strong kinship tie. That can be seen that in several ways, the first was through football. As has been discussed throughout this dissertation, Marceline loved sports and adored the football program. Perhaps if the school looked to the football program as a model, it could build up other programs as well.

Additional evidence of the bond between the two was the notion that the school and community were tied so closely that one cannot survive without the other. Ruth expressed the sentiment best, “[B]ut it’s definitely intertwined, I mean the community couldn’t function without the school, ours couldn’t.”

In short, Marceline loved its school. Interviewees spoke warmly about the school. Some had suggestions for improvement, but none spoke up sharply against the school. That could well be because for some I represented the school simply by being on staff. Also, some interviewees were board members who would be less inclined to denigrate the school in which they volunteered so much time. Only one, Frank, offered a pointed critique of the school. When discussing the education his son received at Marceline schools Frank offered this comment:

But they [the school] didn’t recognize that he was smart. There was one teacher that did, but the rest of them thought he was dumb because he liked to sit around and read, but he was so far ahead that he was bored. . . . And he could have done anything and he really didn’t do much of anything at all. They just . . . kind of messed him up when he was . . . and I’m sure he’s not the only one. There’s probably a lot of them like him that get left because they don’t have what they need. . . . They ought to recognize the smart ones and see what they want—what they need.

When narrowed from the parent coding to the individual standards, in Standard 1 one can see that *gemeinschaft* can be cultivated by welcoming all families into the school. Billie thought that the friendliness of the community reverberated throughout the town and into the school:

And I think we are a friendly community and it does, it carries into the school. And even into the children. I feel like. We have that sense of community and without it you have nothing as far as I'm concerned, you just have a bunch of people.

In Standard 5 the community and the school shared power in order to grow *gemeinschaft*. I coded only one example of this. Although Standard 5 appears in other strands, I found only one example where I thought that shared power was used for the purpose of building *gemeinschaft*. That occurrence was also coded under the school-centered code. Christopher remarked that the Catholic school and public schools were working together and pulling in the same direction. That clearly met all criteria. By intertwining the programs of the two schools, each was strengthened. Doing so also built *gemeinschaft* between schools and reached out to the parents who opted to send their students to the private Catholic school. Finally, it also indicated a willingness to share power between schools.

Collaborating with the community, Standard 6, can also be used to build *gemeinschaft*. The alumni banquet mentioned in some of Marceline's earlier newspaper articles and by several interviewees was a perfect example of the school collaborating with the community for the purpose of building *gemeinschaft*. This single event brought several hundred alumni back to Marceline every year and in the process probably did more to cement *gemeinschaft* than any other single event or program—except perhaps the Bell Game.

On April 7, 1905, the *Marceline Mirror* described the fourth annual alumni banquet. According to the article, 53 people were in attendance. Despite the fact that the school's first graduating high school class was not until 1895 and that Marceline in those early years only graduated a handful of students, the attendance for the banquet was high.

Jessica and Angela both described the grandiose nature of the alumni banquet. Jessica indicated that the alumni committee sent out 3,800 invitations to the banquet every year and they anticipated 600 to 700 would attend. Angela confirmed that the banquet often attracted from 400 to 600 hundred people.

Another indicator of *gemeinschaft* that I did not anticipate prior to coding was one that became evident as I began coding those notes and codes. It was Standard 4—speaking up for every child. It was an indication of *gemeinschaft* that at least some parents felt empowered to be advocates for their own children. Samuel, Ruth, and Margaret all mentioned this. Margaret, although she clearly did not agree with the action, indicated she saw it happen frequently. “I saw a lot of parents that would come in and say, ‘I want to talk to that teacher! That’s the teacher’s fault! It’s their fault the child did this or didn’t do that!’”

The Standards-Stand Alone

Looking at the standards outside of their parent category, the most frequently coded standard was not a surprise, Standard 6—collaborating with the community. Again, given that the scope of this research was looking for interaction between school and community, I would have expected such. Truly the whole purpose of the dissertation was to determine the degree to which the school and the community collaborated. The

good news was, with 245 occurrences, it appeared Marceline did. Or at least, people perceived that it did.

Standards 4 and 5 in which I measured speaking up for every child and sharing power came in neck and neck with 53 and 54 occurrences respectively. Not quite the number that Standard 6 reached, but respectable. These can be enumerated among Marceline School's strengths. Sharing power and allowing families to advocate for their own children required one to step back from oneself (and one's ego) and include others.

Standards 1 and 3 were also fairly close in number with 42 and 36 occurrences each. Where Marceline was strong was in welcoming others of other races and nationalities. Perhaps that was easy when there were not many to welcome. Having said that, several interviewees indicated that at times, Marcelinians could be cliquish and standoffish. Duncan, Ruth, and Vivienne all indicated that there was a notion of who belongs and who does not. Ruth, in identifying a weakness of Marceline, offered this view, "The weakness? I think sometimes for people outside, it's cliquish. I noticed . . . that a new child would come in, it was hard for them to break into certain groups."

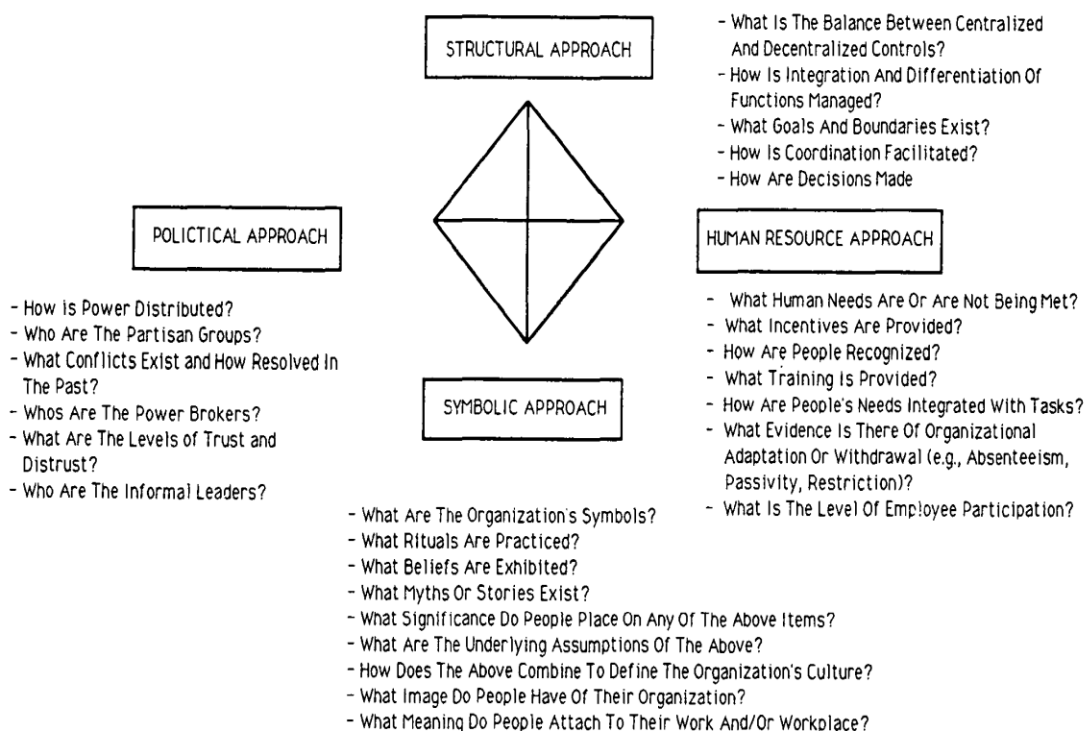
The low man on the standard totem pole was Standard 2—communicating effectively. To be fair, the school maintained a website and in conjunction with a local bank sent texts to any patron who signed up for it. Additionally, grades, lunch money count, attendance, and discipline reports were all available online. The school sent letters whenever a new policy was put into place, and grades were sent home in paper form twice during the quarter as well as at the end of the quarter and at semester's end.

No interview questions pointedly asked for the degree to which the school communicated effectively and since a number of interviewees no longer had children in

the district, it was possible they were unaware of this progress. However, the take away lesson was that perhaps Marceline's schools needed to reach out to patrons more effectively.

Bolman and Deal—Organizational Behavior

Earlier in this dissertation I explained in some detail Bolman and Deal's (2008) four-lens approach to examining organizational behavior. Using their model I examined the organization of both the school and the community. Figure 8 offered a graphic representation of the theory and ancillary questions one might ask in examining the various lenses.



From Bolman and Deal (2008), available online at <http://www.jrre.psu.edu/articles/v7,n1,p23-33,Carlson.pdf>

Figure 8. Framework for analyzing organizational behavior.

Marceline Community

The structural lens examined rules, roles, and policies of an organizational system of the community. Unfortunately, structurally the Marceline City government was in disarray. The lawsuit against the city (although no one I spoke to supported the litigation) probably exacerbated the unrest. Several interviewees mentioned that the community seemed without goals. Aaron put it quite bluntly:

We [the city] don't have a vision. We don't have a contingency plan. What happens if something catastrophic happens? What's going to happen? What are you going to reach into your drawer pull out and say 'This is my plan.' We don't know what we want to be. You know, do we want to be a city manager form of government? Do we want to be a mayor form of government? We don't know what we want to be!

Looking through the human resource lens I saw that recently there was an opening for city clerk. Although I do not know the number of applicants, I do know the city council found it difficult to fill. One city council member said,

[L]ast night we were doing interviews trying to hire a city clerk and we met from 5:30 last night and left at twenty after ten. You don't do that because of what you get out of it: other than feeling good that you're trying to help, trying to make a difference.

That was not to say that the mood in the city was all bad. For the employees there was some recognition both from within the city government and from outside. Most indicated that without a doubt the position of city council member was a difficult one and most admired those who were willing to serve in difficult times.

Unfortunately for the city employees they had not received much training specific to the position—primarily on the job and only a few had much education beyond high school. It does appear that the relationships were close within the office and they

operated collegially. Most interviewees indicated that the relationship between the city and school were cordial.

Politically speaking, to say that Marceline city and community were amid a current power struggle would be an understatement. The lawsuit fed that conflict.

Christopher, who does not live in Marceline, spoke of it:

I think that some people have to forgive and get it settled and get whatever comes from the suit. They've got to get that over with and then whoever's in there has got to be honest with people and it'll solve itself. But also in a small town that may never go away.

The symbolic lens offered a view of the city's culture, ceremonies, and heroes. City council members mentioned long time residents like Chester Ray or former city employees, many of whom have passed away, as the go-to-guys for information who might have offered sound advice based on their own memories of how it used to be—a sort of built-in institutional memory.

There was a belief that the welfare system in Linn County was more generous than other counties. That was only a half-truth. The welfare system in Missouri was based in part on unemployment. Because Walsworth employed so many people seasonally and laid many off in the late summer, the unemployment rate was slightly higher, affecting the welfare rates. When one coupled that with plenty of affordable housing and a well-established system to help poor—like generous churches, coordinated welfare council, food bank, and ministerial alliance—the perception was that Linn County attracted more welfare recipients. In truth, they may, but not because of the welfare alone, but because of the support system that a small community provided.

Stephen offered this observation:

I think we've always had those people moving in and moving out because they move in, they run up a bill and then they leave. I think there are more local people having a harder time because of financial issues. I think it took a little longer to get here in the sense that we're a farming community. Now the farmers are doing good right now. But so in that sense I think there's been money in the area but businesses and that are struggling and that so. I think that a lot of the poor just don't know how to handle their money.

When specifically discussing the affect this transient population had on

Marceline's school, Eric noted:

To a certain degree I feel like we're not as much of a community as we used to be. I hear . . . from Disney Elementary there are a lot of people who move in and they're transient. They're not insiders, which is not such a bad thing. But they're not really bringing any great benefits to the table when they come.

Marceline Schools

Structurally, Marceline schools were no different than any other school in the state. They were bound by rules of the accreditation agency, the State of Missouri.

Additionally, the school board had over the years adopted and repealed various rules.

The hierarchy was fairly rigid and highly structured. As Lucas pointed out rather succinctly,

There are so many different things that are mandated at the state or federal level that the school has to comply with and they can't change, they have no authority to do that. They try to work as much as they can I feel like within that framework, but still they run up against those hard lines.

A glance through the human resource lens spotlighted that hard economic times affected more than just bond issues and housing rates, they also affected how people viewed employment—most were glad to have it even if the pay was not stellar. As Sean pointed out,

I would have to say strengths of our school, I think that it's . . . that we live in an area where it's hard to recruit and retain good quality teachers, but as far as our school district's concerned—we don't pay good . . . We're in the bottom probably 15% in the whole state of Missouri when it comes to salaries... but, with that

being said, I do think retention has been a lot better here lately, . . . but I think for the most part, people . . . don't take their job for granted . . . A lot of our people feel that they're lucky to have a job, so I think that's a strength. You know they're here to teach kids and do those types of things and they feel appreciated and so then in turn you have some stability or some longevity.

One would expect that given the above economic conditions that morale would be low.

However, as Margaret described, that was not the case:

The times that I've seen the morale low are times that salaries have been frozen, and times that have been tough economically and supplies are limited and funds are low and things that are needed for the state-of-the-art type education are just not available. And I think that's when the morale was the lowest. But for the most part, I would say morale was high because it's a very successful operation. The school, the students, the staff, the administrators, the board, it's very—99% positive.

The political lens offered a view of power, conflict, and competition. The organizational hierarchy of this or any other school was pretty straight forward. Guided by the board, the superintendent provided direction; two principals reported to him, as did several other district level employees. The teachers and staff within each building reported to the respective principal. To say there was no conflict within the district would be inaccurate. In poor economic times there are never enough funds, and the competition for what remains can be fierce.

The culture and meaning represented in the symbolic lens within the school were, by in large, bound up in sports. The schools rituals, ceremonies, and stories all revolved around them, especially football. Heroes like Chester Ray were on the lips of community members years after his death. While identifying important historical events, Carl said:

Well, I know that Chester Ray, the year he built the new football field was—that was in 74 or 75. That was a big thing, community project. But, greatest strengths of our school and community . . . you know, being in a small town, everybody knowing everybody and in crisis situations, everybody rallies and comes together to help. And our teachers, they work in our school and live in our community,

raising their families here. You know they want the best for their kids so they're going to do their best for others.

After examining both the school and community separately, it is time to put them together—to look at the effect each has upon the other. In linking the school and the community, and the community and the school, I determined the mutual influence that resulted in this close relationship.

So What—Linking the School and the Community

A look through a thesaurus offers these synonyms for “affect”—influence, involve, shape, concern, change, and even impinge upon. Given these mental models let me ask: How does the school affect the community? How does the community affect the school?

Let me begin by examining how the school affects the community. In truth, the school affects the Marceline community in a few ways. Historically, educational laws coming down from the state and federal level changed the community. State laws like compulsory attendance stirred more than one impassioned newspaper article by the school superintendent trying to get students into the school. State laws also prompted school construction in town. In the August 27, 1902 *Marceline Mirror*, Superintendent Davis addressed the patrons of the Marceline School District explaining the new law. The board president pleaded with Marcelinians to consider adding new schools to the town: “The schools, under operation of the compulsory law, are sadly overcrowded, and some rooms will have to house over a hundred pupils unless the board is successful in renting rooms somewhere else.”

Consider what this information tells us. First and foremost, there were many school age children in town in 1902 who were not attending school, because the schools were not considered over-crowded prior to that time.

Interestingly, again in 1905 an article containing a concise summary of the compulsory education law appears in the newspaper, along with the exact penalties for those who employed school-aged children.

The Marceline Mirror August 25, 1905

Concise summary of school law:

1. every child between 8 and 14 and between 14 and 16 (when not regularly employed) must attend some day school at least half of the term each year
2. no child can be excused on promise to attend; he must attend first half of term before being excused
3. courts can excuse child if—the parents cannot supply proper clothing, the child is mentally or physically unable, no public school is within 2 ½ miles of home, labor is necessary to support the family, child has completed the common school course
4. no child between 8 and 14 can be employed in a mine, factory, workshop or store unless excused from #3
5. parental penalty is \$25, prison for ten days, or both
6. employers are fined \$50

By 1907, five years after the compulsory school law, Marceline's school board submitted to the public a \$12,000 bond issue to build a new school because "some rooms had a hundred pupils, and there was not room for all required by law to attend"

(*Marceline Mirror*, March 15, 1907). Where the students went who were turned away, was not known. But the message the school sent the community, five years after the law went into effect, was that something needed to be done to comply with state mandates.

Clearly the community took some time deciding how it would react to this law.

But the most fascinating of all was an article that appeared in the *Marceline Journal-Mirror* September 20, 1918, a full 16 years after the compulsory school act was put into place. In the article, the superintendent railed on the community:

The most regretful thing in the whole matter is the fact that so many young men and girls of the town that should be enrolled in the school are out of school, either working or remaining at home. The school law plainly requires all children between the ages of 8 and 16 to be in school three-fourths of the school year and yet many between these ages are out here in town and some of these are employed by people here in open violation to the child labor law. This matter should at once be corrected and these children gotten in school.

Besides providing an outlet of deciding how to comply with state and federal laws, the school provided for the community a hub of activity. Several interviewees discussed the importance of activities the school provided for them. Ruth discussed how sports and activities filled the lives of parents and community members:

The school is the hub of recreation for the city of Marceline. If we didn't have the school, where would people go? . . . I know as a parent that's what we had to talk about: what went on at the game, how many points you made, how much fun it was. We all went together to the games, we all came home together from the game, and I think that maybe probably 80% of the parents are like that. Or if it's not with sports, it's with their band practices or vocal music or something, but it's definitely intertwined, I mean the community couldn't function without the school, ours couldn't.

Now, some would argue that the activity could also be defined as busyness and that frankly, the school overdid that. Lucas pointed out:

I think that our school calendar is way too overloaded. And I think that sometimes that can be detrimental to our community because you have families that are pulled in so many different directions, particularly if they have more than one child in school. They have to choose: 'which event do I go to?'

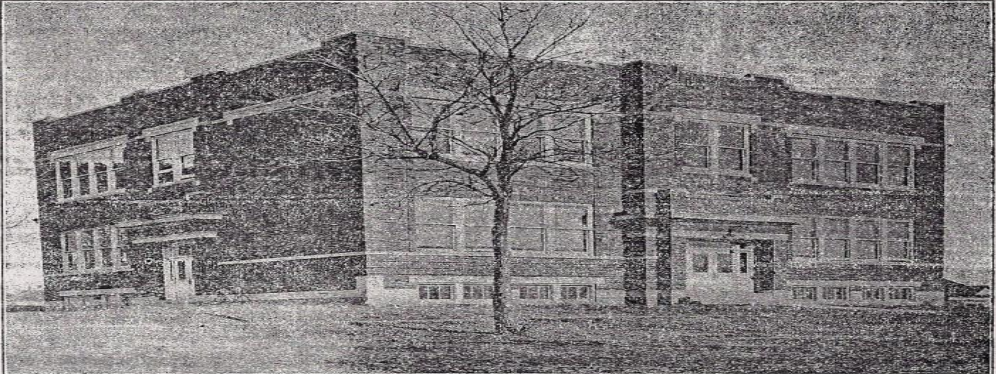
The school also provided the community with both a sense of pride and entitlement. This idea goes hand-in with the last. If the school was the center of activity in a town without many other goings-on, then the community looked to the school as a point of pride. Now that entitlement might be the notion that—at least we were large enough that we could offer both football and basketball, unlike a neighboring community, or it might be that pride in knowing that we have beaten a nearby community's football

team. It might be that our students have had academic success or have performed well at the state music contest.

Despite a shaky start complying with state laws, by 1920 the school assumed that focus of pride and perhaps even a possible source of income. A photo ad appeared in the October 27 *Marceline Journal-Mirror* extolling Marceline high school's virtues to her country neighbors:

First class—fully accredited—the home of opportunity—give your daughter or son the same chance for development that their city cousins enjoy. Tuition: HS \$4.00 per month, grade school \$3.00 per month (see Photo 26)


FIRST CLASS—FULLY ACCREDITED



"THE HOME OF OPPORTUNITY"

Give your daughter or son the same chance for development that their city cousins enjoy. Never before was the call so great for young men and women with trained minds.

**TUITION: HIGH SCHOOL \$4.00 PER MONTH
GRADE SCHOOL \$3.00 PER MONTH**



G. H. MERIDETH,
Superintendent

L. E. SHELTON,
V-Pres. Bd. of Education

Photo 26. Advertisement from *Marceline Journal-Mirror* (October 27, 1920).

Margaret pointed to the pride-factor one might experience in Marceline:

I believe the school shapes the community by instilling a sense of pride in school and in the town. A good example is the annual Homecoming. The Homecoming

parade involves everyone from toddlers to nursing home residents. Local bands compete in the parade and the school classes and community, businesses and organizations enter floats. The large crowd at the Homecoming football game indicates that school pride and loyalty are very prominent in the Marceline community.

The third element in which the school affected the community was by providing community service through its organizations. The expectation was that if they were going to support the school through donations and the like, then the relationship must be reciprocal. Consequently, it was expected that organizations like the FBLA and Student Council would host a fund raiser for a local family whose house burned down or sponsor a food drive for the Welfare Council's Food Pantry. Ruth offered a further example of this level of community service:

In the same way, I think the school gives a lot back to the community, because they, I mean we, they have all these service projects, you know, that they go out, just like for the, they had 4700 pounds of food for the food pantry, which I helped unload, and sort, and give away, you know, that was a project that the kids really got involved in, and the teachers, I mean they do the same thing.

Lastly, one must consider that the school was among the town's largest employers. While this simple matter of economics seemed rather insignificant, Sean pointed out its importance:

That's definitely, that's something too [that the school is the second largest employer in town after Walsworth Publishing]. I mean we couldn't survive without the Moore Company and without Walsworth. You know, the school wouldn't be able to function, but maybe the community wouldn't be able to function without the school either.

So What—Linking the Community and School

From the outset, as I looked at how community affects the school, it is only fair to point out that the school—any school—was largely constrained by mandates handed down at both state and federal levels. For that reason, Marceline school district viewed

itself as slightly set apart from its community. That gesellschaft-like quality, a society-driven approach to education does more than we care to admit in driving local control out of the school. Look at the aforementioned state mandatory attendance law as an example. Although the community fought it, law mandated how the community would interact with its school—eventually and by force.

Lucas honed in on this law-driven view of education with almost a sense of futility:

Other than just the families living in the culture and sending the kids to school, I don't think the community at large really has a lot of impact as far as policy, decisions, those kinds of things. There are so many different things that are mandated at the state or federal level that the school has to comply with and they can't change; they have no authority to do that.

Having said that, the cultural backdrop the community provided for the school cannot be underestimated. A recent governmental study in Great Britain under the direction of Pensions Minister Mike O'Brien (2008) established what was no-nonsense, common knowledge: that cultural norms and values are passed down from generation to generation (<http://www.dwp.gov.uk/docs/the-generation-factor.pdf>)

Knowing that helped put a face on the expectations and norms a community set up for all governmental entities, including its schools. As discussed above in this dissertation, the first residents of Marceline—the rough and ready coalminers and railroaders—established a tendency to behave certain ways, or expect certain standards in the community.

Some will argue that the coal mines have been closed for nearly 80 years and the railroad as *the* employer in town had been gone since the 1980s. And, they are right. Most certainly there were families in town who have not ever experienced Marceline as a

coalmining town and/or a railroading town. But as long as 80 years seems to one person, 80 years was no more than one generation removed from the average adult and 30 years was not even that.

It may well be that in another generation or two a new or different set of norms will be in place. For now, those forces cannot be discounted just because they happened a generation ago.

Duncan expounded upon his theory regarding the culture of the community and the school:

Marceline was not founded as an agricultural center. It was founded for railroading and for coal mining, and I think the direction of the community went and conversely the way the school goes, is based on the values of those kind of people, which is a little different in some respects. I won't say they don't have values, but the values of the rural [agricultural] Missourian was more one of cooperation and sharing and you know the church dinners together and all that. The railroader-coalminer mentality was more one of you just grit your teeth, and bear down, and you get it done. . . . The kids that come to school with those kind of values come here being told: get your butt over there and work, do your work, keep your mouth shut, and then you'll get a job when you get out of here.

If that is the case, how was this attitude passed down from the original coal miners and railroaders in the community?

This attitude described by Duncan was reflected in Marceline's early history for certain. According to newspaper articles and yearbooks alike, the town's graduation rate was extremely low. Marceline rushed to establish an elementary school and had one in place ready for the fall after incorporation of the town in the spring of 1888. A high school program was not as forthcoming. It was not until 1895 that a two-year high school program was put in place, and the first four-year graduation did not happen until 1899, 11 years after the school had been established. Marceline graduated 3 students that year (*Marceline Mirror*, March 31).

By 1919 Marceline was set to graduate 19 students—13 females and 6 males. But according to the class history recorded in the yearbook, the class's attrition rate was such that the class lost 29 or more students every year. Students left the high school program to join the railroad, seek other employment, or to marry (Pep Yearbook, 1919).

Although Darrell and Zachary both graduated from high school, even as recently as the 1950s the two discussed working on the railroad during their summer months that could have extended into the school year had they wished. Darrell explained that he had taken some college classes at the University of Missouri, but that the allure of the railroad and making an income was just too strong:

I went to the University, I had a scholarship at the University and I went down there one year and didn't like it. And so then I went to Kirksville, and I went . . . and I went 2-1/2 years up there and then I'd hire out on the railroad before and anyway it just worked out that every year I got working more and so that, I had to make the choice whether to stay with the railroad or go back to college . . . and I elected to go with the railroad.

Given the history of education in Marceline as discussed, one can see that the compulsory school issue was dual-edged. It was both a school-community issue and a community-school issue. On the one hand, state law mandated school attendance: the school and school laws shaped the community's perception of school. However, the community decided how they would react to that state-down mandate. They fought it for 18 years. And what was more, they might still fight it by looking to the school for other activities and not for academics.

It should not be a surprise that Marceline's early educators sought attention for academic pursuits. In the April 18, 1902 *Marceline Mirror* the school implored residents to attend graduation:

Much depends on the encouragement given the schools of a town or community, and all loyal citizens should attend these exercises . . . If these gatherings are largely attended and the people evince the interest in these matters which they should and do have, there will be less dropping out before the course is complete on the part of the pupils.

And later that same year, August 27, the superintendent extolled the virtues of academics to what must have been an unconvinced public:

To most parents, this advice [to send kids to school] is unnecessary; but it is a deplorable fact that there are some in every community who are careless and indifferent about their children. . . . Think of the vile unfruitful paths that are ever enticing to the idle and illiterate child.

Many participants reflected that there was not much value placed on academics. That is not to say there were not any community members who value academics; some most certainly did, but most interviewees saw the emphasis elsewhere. It is neither right nor wrong; it is simply the way it is. A telling moment came in looking through the transcribed interviews. Only three interviewees mentioned academics. And all three mentioned it only to say they did not think it was a priority in the community.

Eric, who is not native to Marceline, offered this reflection:

I think values of the majority of the people tend to be reflected in the school district, in particular sports and in particular football. That's so much of school to the community is about football, or is about sports. And you know I don't think that's the best way to have it. I'd much rather see an academic kind of a focus.

Stephen agreed:

As far as the school, if the school is big in sports, pushes sports so I guess if that's what the community wants, there's kind of a good marriage there between them. I really don't know how important our community as a whole thinks education is.

Frank lamented, "I wish they would have more support for the academics and . . .

I like sports but I'm not big in it."

The dispensation of values was at the core of how a community influenced the school. I have discussed this by examining the importance of education and academics.

But also at the forefront were the principles Marcelinians hold dear. Samuel reflected:

Marceline has gone through good times and bad times, but it's always a small town, like pretty much every small town, it has its own values and I think those values—make a good climate for a school. So, I think that's what I like about Marceline is that it's just a typical small town.

[Those values include] . . . a solid work ethic. You know, whether you'd call it a religious presence or whether you just take a broader view and just call it a sense of ethics or right-and-wrong, I think that it's prevalent. And I know we're not talking every person, every family, every student but I think you just have a higher percentage of the community that kind of live those values.

Carl, too, reflected:

[I]n crisis situations, everybody rallies and comes together to help.

At the end of the day, when I repeated the overarching question: does one rural Missouri school's community influence the school, and conversely, does this school shape the community? The answer was simply and unequivocally, yes. Beyond the basic premise that one would not exist without the other, the influence of the town's heritage and mutual history was undeniable. Marceline, the school, decided how it would react to state-driven educational mandates because of the community. The school shaped the community by offering a means of achieving *gesellschaft* (society) through *gemeinschaft* (community).

Margaret summed it up with her heartfelt declaration: "It's my home; it's my life. I think it's the greatest little town and school in the whole world!"

Conclusions—Practice and Future Research

Recommendations for Practice. What does it all mean and where does one go from here? From the outset I wanted to say that both the school and the community have

their successes. Marceline felt connected to its school. The school offered more than just “something to do,” it offered some place to belong and something in which to puff out the chest and say, “That is *our* school.”

Having said that, the community really wanted to support what was going on inside the building. And there were missed opportunities to reach out to support the community, especially at the secondary facility and especially the elderly in the community. Right or wrong, the perception of family-centeredness was missing. One example: Veterans Day passed every year without recognition from the school despite the fact there were two large and active veterans organizations in town.

How often did the students go to local businesses to collect money for various funds—after prom, yearbook advertisements, and sports programs? In turn, did the school volunteer to help local businesses? One local business woman lamented that the only time students breezed through her business doors was to collect money, not ever to spend it or help her out.

The school needed to look for ways to get students to support the community in a meaningful way—volunteerism or perhaps a well-organized and supervised work-study intern program.

Additionally, this research showed a perception that the school was not communicating effectively. Yes, the majority of the time the school’s target audience was the parents or guardians of the current student population, but recognizing that the population of this town was made up of far more people who do not have children in school than those who do, the school would be well-served to find a way to communicate with them to encourage their further support.

This last point may seem counter to everything spelled out above. All lasting and meaningful relationships are two-way. Inviting the community to volunteer in the schools will accomplish several things. First, it increases the comfort-level patrons of the district feel when in the buildings. They feel like part of the system, not outside the system. Second, it creates a *gemeinschaft* relationship and transparency.

Recommendations for Future Research. Is Marceline an anomaly? Perhaps. But there would be one good, albeit not easy way to find out. Another case study examining a rural community, especially one established by the railroad and/or coal mining using the same protocol would help to see if the findings determined here hold for other communities as well.

Another recommendation for additional study would include conducting this same study again in ten years in Marceline to measure the effect of the current ongoing lawsuit. It would also be of interest to see if the generational mindset has changed from railroading and coal mining. It would be of interest to actually measure and study the transient population.

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Appendix A

Urban-centric Categories

National Center for Educational Statistics Urban-centric Locale Categories

Locale	Definition
<i>City</i>	
Large	Territory inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city with population of 250,000 or more
Midsize	Territory inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city with population less than 250,000 and greater than or equal to 100,000
Small	Territory inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city with population less than 100,000
<i>Suburb</i>	
Large	Territory outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area with population of 250,000 or more
Midsize	Territory outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area with population less than 250,000 and greater than or equal to 100,000
Small	Territory outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area with population less than 100,000
<i>Town</i>	
Fringe	Territory inside an urban cluster that is less than or equal to 10 miles from an urbanized area
Distant	Territory inside an urban cluster that is more than 10 miles and less than or equal to 35 miles from an urbanized area
Remote	Territory inside an urban cluster that is more than 35 miles from an urbanized area

Locale	Definition
<i>Rural</i>	
Fringe	Census-defined rural territory that is less than or equal to 5 miles from an urbanized area, as well as rural territory that is less than or equal to 2.5 miles from an urban cluster
Distant	Census-defined rural territory that is more than 5 miles but less than or equal to 25 miles from an urbanized area, as well as rural territory that is more than 2.5 miles but less than or equal to 10 miles from an urban cluster
Remote	Census-defined rural territory that is more than 25 miles from an urbanized area and is also more than 10 miles from an urban cluster

released in 2006 Available at <http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/ruraled>

Appendix B

Framework for Analyzing Organization

Bolman and Deal's Framework for Analyzing Organization Behavior

	<i>Structural</i>	<i>Human Resources</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Symbolic</i>
Central Concepts	Rules, roles, goals, policies, technology, environment	Needs, skills, relationships	Power, conflict, competition, organizational politics	Culture, meaning, metaphor, ritual, ceremony, stories, heroes
Image of Leadership	Social architecture	Empowerment	Advocacy	Inspiration
Basic Leadership Challenge	Attune structure to task, technology, environment	Align org and human needs	Develop an agenda and power base	Create faith, beauty, meaning

Source: Bolman (1997, p. 15)

Appendix C

Foci of Partnership Activities

Foci of Partnership Activities

Activity Focus	Sample Activity
Student-centered	Student awards, student incentives, scholarships, student trips, tutors, mentors, job shadowing, and other services and products for students
Family-centered	Parent workshops, family fun nights, GED and other adult education classes, parent incentives and rewards, counseling, and other forms of assistance
School-centered	Equipment and materials, beautification and repair, teacher incentives and awards, funds for school events and programs office, and classroom assistance
Community-centered	Community beautification, student exhibits and performances, charity, and other outreach

Source: Sanders (2006, p. 4)

Appendix D

Standards for Family-School Partnerships

Six National Standards for Family-School Partnerships

Additional scoring guides are available at: www.pta.org/Documents/National_Standards_Implementation_Guide_2009.pdf

Standard 1—Welcoming All Families into the School Community

Families are active participants in the life of the school, and feel welcomed, valued, and connected to each other, to school staff, and to what students are learning and doing in class.

Standard 2—Communicating Effectively

Families and school staff engage in regular, two-way, meaningful communication about student learning.

Standard 3—Supporting Student Success

Families and school staff continuously collaborate to support students' learning and healthy development both at home and at school, and have regular opportunities to strengthen their knowledge and skills to do so effectively.

Standard 4—Speaking Up for Every Child

Families are empowered to be advocates for their own and other children, to ensure that students are treated fairly and have access to learning opportunities that will support their success.

Standard 5—Sharing Power

Families and school staff are equal partners in decisions that affect children and families and together inform, influence, and create policies, practices, and programs.

Standard 6—Collaborating with Community

Families and school staff collaborate with community members to connect students, families, and staff to expanded learning opportunities, community services, and civic participation.

Source: Epstein et al. (2009, pp. 58-59).

Appendix E

Tier-One Interview Questions

Tier-One Interview Questions

Name: (names will be changed)

Age:

Gender:

Position/Title:

Number of years in this position:

Education:

1. Do you believe the Marceline community influences the Marceline R-V School, and conversely, does the school shape the community?
2. If so, how? If not, why not?
3. What can you tell me about the events that shaped the history of Marceline Schools?
4. What can you tell me about the events that shaped the history of the township of Marceline?
5. What do you believe are the greatest strengths of our school and community?
6. What do you believe are the greatest weaknesses of our school and community? How would you resolve them?
7. Who are the community and school members who shape (or shaped) the culture?
8. How did s/he help to form the community and/or school?
9. Please share any other information that you think might be helpful to someone studying our school-community relationship.
10. Would you identify other school or community members who might be knowledgeable about either the Marceline Township or Marceline R-V Schools?

Appendix F

Tier-Two Interview Questions

Tier-Two Interview Questions

Name: (names will be changed)

Age:

Gender:

Position/Title:

Number of years in this position:

Education:

1. Do you believe the Marceline community influences the Marceline R-V School, and conversely, does the school shape the community?
2. If so, how? If not, why not?
3. What can you tell me about the events that shaped the history of Marceline Schools?
4. What can you tell me about the events that shaped the history of the township of Marceline?
5. What do you believe are the greatest strengths of our school and community?
6. What do you believe are the greatest weaknesses of our school and community? How would you resolve them?
7. Who are the community and school members who shape (or shaped) the culture?
8. How did s/he help to form the community and/or school?
9. Please share any other information that you think might be helpful to someone studying our school-community relationship.

Appendix G

Cover Letter for Participants

Dear Participant,

As a doctoral student at the University of Nebraska in the Department of Education Administration, I am completing my dissertation in school-community relationships.

Because of your role as a school and/or community leader, I am asking you to aid me in this process. Your insight would be invaluable to me as I complete this work.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point in the study without any adversity from either the University of Nebraska or the researcher. Your anonymity will be maintained.

If you have any questions about the nature of this project, you may contact Melia Franklin at 660-376-3457 or Dr. Donald Uerling at 402-472-3726. Furthermore, if you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant, you may contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board at 402-472-6965.

Attached is an Informed Consent Form that fully explains the research process and your rights as a participant. I will need you to sign the consent form if you agree to help with this research study.

I will call you in the next week in order to set a time, date and location of the interview. Thank you so much for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Melia Franklin
Research Investigator

Dr. Don Uerling
Supervising Professor

Appendix H

Letter of Informed Consent

IRB# (20100911104 EX)

Identification of Project:

School and Community, Community and School: A Case Study of a Rural Missouri Setting

Purpose of the Research:

The purpose of this research project will be to explore the relationship between the rural Marceline R-V School District (a K-12 school system) and its community Marceline, Missouri. You must be 19 years of age or older to participate. You are invited to participate in this study because you have been identified as a school or community leader.

Procedures:

Participation in this study will require approximately 60 minutes of your time. This interview will be audio taped with your permission. The questions asked are enclosed with this cover letter. Should I need clarification on any information, I may call for a short follow-up interview.

Risks and/or Discomforts:

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. In the event of problems resulting from participation in the study, psychological treatment is available on a sliding fee scale at the UNL Psychological Consultation Center, telephone (402) 472-2351.

Benefits:

There are no direct benefits to participation.

Confidentiality:

Any information obtained during this study which could identify you will be kept strictly confidential. The information will be stored in a in the investigator's office and will only be seen by the investigator(s) during the study. The information obtained in this study may be published in educational journals or presented at scientific meetings but the data will be reported maintaining your confidentiality. The audiotapes will be erased after transcription.

Compensation:

There will be no compensation for participating in this research.

Opportunity to Ask Questions:

You may ask any questions concerning this research and have those questions answered before agreeing to participate in or during the study. Or you may call the investigator at any time, office phone, (660) 376-2411, or after hours (660) 376-3457. Please contact the investigator:

- if you want to voice concerns or complaints about the research
- in the event of a research related injury.

Please contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board at (402) 472-6965 for the following reasons:

- you wish to talk to someone other than the research staff to obtain answers to questions about your rights as a research participant
- to voice concerns or complaints about the research
- to provide input concerning the research process
- in the event the study staff could not be reached,

Freedom to Withdraw:

Participation in this study is voluntary. You can refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without harming your relationship with the researchers or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, or in any other way receive a penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Consent, Right to Receive a Copy:

You are voluntarily making a decision whether or not to participate in this research study. Your signature certifies that you have decided to participate having read and understood the information presented. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

_____ Check if you agree to be audiotaped during the interview.

Signature of Participant:

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Name and Phone number of investigator(s)

Melia Franklin, Principal Investigator
3457

Office: (660) 376-

Donald Uerling, JD, PhD, Secondary Investigator
0970

Office: (402) 472-

Appendix I

Findings of External Audit

External Audit Attestation
By Jenny M. Powell Ed. D

Melia Franklin requested that I complete an educational audit of her case study entitled: School and Community, Community and School: A Case Study of Rural Missouri Setting. This audit was conducted between February 25th and April 5th, 2011. The purpose of the audit was to determine whether the researcher left a clear audit trail. In leaving a clear audit trail, the researcher must delineate a path that others could follow easily. The audit also attempts to determine whether the study is trustworthy.

According to Merriam in her book Qualitative Research, the audit trail describes, “in detail how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry” (2009, p.223). Merriam also discusses the fact that the audit trail can be used to ensure “consistency and dependability” in the data. It is the auditor’s job, “to authenticate the findings of the researchers by following the trail of the researcher” (2009, p.222). Creswell in his book Educational Research suggests that the auditor answer several questions including the following: Are the findings grounded in the data, are the themes appropriate, can inquiry decisions and methodological shifts be justified, and are inferences logical (2002, p.281)?

To meet the outlined purpose of this audit, numerous materials were reviewed. The following materials were submitted for the audit:

- 1) Seven CD’s with the following titles: “Coding for Findings, IRB Materials, Interviews transcribed, Tier 1 Interviews, Father Jerry Tier 1, Tier II Interviews, Documents and Artifacts Notes.”
 - 1a) Coding for Findings—This disc contained 20 titles with coding for each standard area.
 - 1b) IRB Materials—This disc contained a copy of the consent form, IRB request, IRB revision, participant descriptions, phone script, and UNL letterhead.
 - 1c) Interviews Transcribed—This disc contained 26 transcribed interviews of the participants arranged in alphabetical order.
 - 1d) Tier 1 Interviews—This disc contained 17 audio taped interviews.
 - 1e) Father Jerry Tier 1—This disc contained one audio taped interview.
 - 1f) Tier II Interviews—This disc contained 8 audio taped interviews.
 - 1g) Documents and Artifacts Notes—This disc contained 17 different title of research notes such as summaries of newspaper articles and information from school newspapers.
- 2) A file drawer with seven hanging files. These files had the following labels: “Proposal drafts-notes-ppt, School History Research, Community History Research, Signed Consent, Methodology/Findings, Coding for Findings, Interviews with Initial Coding.”
 - 2a) Proposal-drafts-notes-ppt—This file contained two powerpoints of the researcher’s proposal, a copy of the dissertation proposal dated November, 2009,

this proposal was 25 pages in length, five e-mails between Dr. Uerling and the researcher, multiple copies of a Research Paper Proposal dated Fall 2004, three additional copies of proposals dated September 2009, January 2010, and on undated copy. Also in this first file, the researcher included a 2010-2011 calendar with extensive notes.

2b) School History-Research—This file contained a handwritten outline entitled “Rural School in MO,” 14 pages of pictures and articles about Marceline, 11 pages of handwritten notes including a timeline, an informational brochure about Marceline High School and a manila file folder with multiple historical pictures and articles.

2c) Community-History Research—This file contained four articles, 11 pages of handwritten notes, and a flyer for Toonfest.

2d) Signed Consent—Three pages of handwritten notes with dates and times, sample letters, and 24 consent forms were included in this file.

2e) Methodology/Findings—This file contained 5 pages of handwritten notes, five pages from the methodology section of the dissertation, and three pages of the appendix.

2f) Coding for Findings—This file contained 23 pages of computer generated data, the first page was titled “Node Summary School and Community” and dated 1/12/2011, four pages of notes with initials and tallies, and one page of handwritten notes.

2g) Interviews with Initial Coding—24 Interviews with coding and 11 pages of handwritten notes were included in this file.

- 3) A copy of the dissertation draft dated May 2010. This draft was 226 pages in length including appendices.

The audit consisted of the following steps:

- 1) I reviewed all materials that were submitted for the audit.
- 2) I read the entire dissertation proposal. I paid particular attention to the introduction, research questions, data collection and analysis procedures, and the interview protocol. I wrote down key steps that were listed in the proposal and later compared them to what the researcher actually did in the completed study.
- 3) I examined the transcripts, and color-coded comments and themes in the margins of the transcripts.
- 4) I opened and reviewed each of the discs that were submitted for the audit.
- 5) I read the entire dissertation draft.

Summary of the audit findings:

In the book Qualitative Research Design, Maxwell outlines a checklist of validity tests for qualitative studies. This checklist includes the following: intensive, long-term involvement, “rich” data, and triangulation (p.112). The researcher in this study examined the community and the school over a period of time. She used a variety of data points including newspaper articles, old school reports, as well as interviews. The researcher also provided a revealing and detailed picture of the town and the school in her narrative.

Therefore, after careful examination of both the process and product of this researcher’s work, I believe that this study is trustworthy. This was determined based on the fact that the research procedure was sound and the findings were clearly grounded in the data. The research questions remained consistent from the proposal to the dissertation draft. The purpose also remained the same from the proposal to the final dissertation draft. The study clearly followed the outline in the proposal. The unit of analysis (community members) also remained consistent.

This study’s research plan was well defined in the proposal as well as the materials that were submitted for this audit. It is my belief that this research would be easily duplicated.

The researcher was much more specific in her final dissertation draft regarding how she analyzed the qualitative data. Indeed, the researcher goes into great detail about how she coded the information and gave examples regarding how this coding was determined. This would make it easy for another researcher to duplicate this particular part of the study.

The researcher’s procedures were documented in detail, and the materials submitted for the audit clearly supported the procedures she outlined in her proposal and dissertation. The final draft is much more detailed about how she arrived at her conclusions, but this is common in qualitative research as the researcher becomes immersed in the data.

In conclusion, I believe the information provided to me by the researcher, as well as the descriptions in the dissertation draft, allow for an easy to follow audit trail. The study contains a high level of trustworthiness, and the researcher has clearly outlined how she determined her conclusions. The information that was given was organized and well planned out by the researcher. She obviously spent a great deal of time contemplating her research and following specific steps. Her decision to use a case study approach was very appropriate given the topic and the type of information that the researcher was interested in discovering. The paper itself was well written. Based on all of the above reasons, I believe other researchers could follow this clear audit trail.

Attested to by Jenny Powell this April 5th, 2011.

Jenny Powell, Ed.D, Principal, Nebraska City Middle School