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Examining the Systemic Effects of Relational Trust and Network Trustworthiness on School Community: A Multi-Site Case Study of Three Independent Schools

Stephanie Barnes Ogden

University of Tennessee - Knoxville, sogden1@utk.edu

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Stephanie Barnes Ogden entitled "Examining the Systemic Effects of Relational Trust and Network Trustworthiness on School Community: A Multi-Site Case Study of Three Independent Schools." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Pamela A. Angelle, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Bruce J. MacLennan, Susan Newsom, Gary C. Ubben

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

Examining the Systemic Effects of Relational Trust and Network
Trustworthiness on School Community: A Multi-Site Case Study of Three
Independent Schools

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Stephanie Barnes Ogden
December 2013

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my nearest relations, whose influence is so profound as to leave me searching for a stronger term. My parents, James and Vera Barnes, transmitted the DNA defining my physical being and faithfully nurtured the spiritual and cognitive structures that define my character. To the extent that we invest ourselves in elevating the individuals and communities we influence, my brother James and I deliver a good return on the lessons in love entrusted with us by our parents.

Robert and Julie Webb profoundly influenced my view of leadership within empowering school communities. They translated their family motto, *Leaders Not Men*, into a school community in which every member was invested with a leader's ownership for personal and professional excellence. Their ideal of servant leadership resonates within and is amplified by alumni of all walks of life. Within me, that ideal is expressed in a life commitment to reach across social boundaries to develop and sustain inspiring and empowering school communities, "to transmit this place not only not less but greater and more beautiful than it was transmitted to me" (Athenian Code).

So entwined with me as to seem the other half of my person, my husband Tim Ogden has enacted such commitment to my dreams and support for my projects that it would be impossible to say that this dissertation is not at least partially his, or that any success I might achieve as an educational leader will not be directly owing to his wholehearted investment. Tim probably appreciates the justice of everything I have just said, but he likely has little idea of how his integrity amplifies my own ideals and constrains my ethical decision-making. We together are so much more than either alone.

Our children Tim, Stephen, and Laura Ogden educated my heart as no one else could. In relationship with them, I learned how overwhelmed my parents must have been by their love for my brother and me, and now Tim and Mara for Noemi. I only hope that the spiritual and educational heritage pulsing in my own heart will resonate with sufficient force within theirs to project the values of honor and integrity into their families and professional spheres of influence.

We will all die one day, but in genuine, transformative relationships we all will have truly lived what it means to be created in God's image.

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Dr. Vincent Anfara helped me to refine my construct of knowledge and my understanding of experimental design as he guided me through those aspects of my program of study. As a student in Dr. Anfara's Mixed Methods class, I traveled to California to perform a preliminary case study of one of the schools ultimately included in this study. His comment written on the final paper submitted for that class illustrates how Dr. Anfara's directness made us all better: "This writing is rich and thick, but this is not a case study." As I wrote the final page of this study, I thought to myself, "Dr. Anfara is going to love this!" I am saddened that he will never read it and grateful for his influence.

Dr. Bruce MacLennan's extraordinary generosity in creating two courses in complex systems, essentially just for me, can never be repaid directly. Looking for systemic effects to explain the mutual accountability in communities governed by trust-based capacity building rather than command and control would have been impossible without the theoretical foundation provided by Dr. MacLennan. Connecting the body of research on the evolution of the social capital of trust in schools as a systemic effect with theories of complex systems in diverse fields enriches this present study and convinces me of the broader applicability of its findings. I am immeasurably enriched by and grateful for the wisdom emergent from our relationship.

Dr. Susan Newsom's willingness to step forward and join my committee as the project was nearing the finish line is deeply appreciated. I admire Dr. Newsom's integrity in assuring that the project honors universal human dignity. I am inspired by her commitment to forwarding understanding of how educators and schools might better draw out the potential within all learners. I am grateful for this new relationship and the promise of ongoing collaboration.

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ABSTRACT

Within the broader context of accountability imposed from beyond our schools, this mixed methods, multi-site case study investigated the development of relational trust and trustworthy relationships as internal accountability structures within three independent schools replicating responsible independence on the scale of the school as trustworthy freedom on the scale of the individual. Interviews, observations, artifacts, sociograms, and surveys were analyzed to identify teacher and administrator perceptions of structures supporting relational trust, accountability to community standards, and sustainable trust-based cultures. Survey data were also analyzed for corresponding evidence of organizational conditions associated with school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. Structures found to support responsible freedom at these schools included their historic honor systems, programs for character education, strategic planning, and policies and schedules guiding daily life. Neither structure nor freedom alone was found to be sufficient to sustain cultures built on relational trust and mutual accountability. Inflexible structures or inauthentic, coercive, or incompetent leaders diminished social capital over time at all three schools. Schools enjoying the best organizational conditions for school improvement built capacity by fostering macro-micro feedback loops of honor and trust between the scales of the individual and the school as a professional learning community. Findings were applied to develop a model for individual and organizational capacity building, relating the dimensions of relational trust and accountability to standards. The

two-dimensional model for capacity building identified four categories of school capacity based on levels of both relational trust and accountability to standards: low capacity schools, compliant schools, complacent schools, and high capacity schools. The model further developed associated strategies for moving schools in each category towards developing or sustaining high capacity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy. (Dewey, 1899, p. 15)

School reform in American education has, by now, a long history. Beyond the objective of creating excellent institutions of learning, an appreciation for the role of schools in the purpose of creating a just society dates back, at least, to the founding of the Republic (Jefferson, 1789). In spite of judicial and legislative initiatives to provide widespread access to education along with various experiments in educational reform, growing dissatisfaction with the performance of American schoolchildren relative to international students and lingering achievement gaps between subgroups of the population led to increasing pressure for the imposition of national standards and ambitious programs aspiring to use accountability and market strategies in order to leave no child behind.

If the absence of uniform standards created problems, legislative attempts to standardize educational programs funded by the federal government have yielded mixed results. Through the 1990's, President Clinton's "Goals 2000" aimed to promote standards-based reform. Although states resisted Goals 2000 as a challenge to their constitutional authority over education, most ultimately accepted Goals 2000 grants. Clinton's Improving America's Schools Act reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) and modified the ESEA to link Title 1 funding to uniform

achievement standards for all subgroups. President Bush's No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) institutionalized Clinton's program of uniform standards with a corresponding program of accountability. Over the next decade of high stakes accountability, however, evidence mounted that the number of schools unable to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) would overwhelm the ability of the system to impose the legally enacted sanctions (Linn, 2005; Bryant, Hammond, et al. 2008). In the 2010-2011 school year, approximately 48% of the nation's schools failed to make AYP towards the 2014 deadline to close achievement gaps and improve student performance (Usher, 2011).

In an opinion piece entitled "After 10 years, it's time for a new NCLB", (Duncan, 2012) Secretary of Education Arne Duncan cited "significant flaws" (para. 5) in NCLB, including lower standards, a narrower curriculum, and an "overly prescriptive" approach to accountability that prevents districts from creating locally appropriate improvement plans. The Obama administration has responded by granting waivers from certain NCLB requirements to states adopting national curriculum standards and assessments, such as the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) and the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) Assessment Framework. Additionally, states awarded waivers from NCLB sanctions were commended for implementing federally approved frameworks for teacher and administrator evaluation. In linking the waivers to the adoption of national standards for curriculum and professional development, the Obama administration is taking the next step in consolidating federal control over the standards debate, even as the administration aims to address concerns

over NCLB. Secretary Duncan has advanced the goal of building “a world-class education *system* [emphasis added] that strengthens America’s economy and secures America’s future” (Duncan, 2011, para. 4). Improved understanding of the conditions supporting self-regulating excellence in complex systems, from the scale of the individual learner to the scale of the school to the scale of the educational system or the international economy, might offer solutions that derive the benefits of standards while avoiding the pitfalls of standardization, so that our nation might achieve its educational goal.

The role of governance structures in school performance is one component of designing and building a world-class education system. The findings of a body of researchers studying public school reform affirm the importance of a school’s governance relationships with local and regional hierarchies and its internal governance structures as they relate to the school’s effectiveness (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Fullan, 2000; Klonsky & Klonsky, 2008; Schlechty, 2001; Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, & Fernandez, 1989). The structures governing systems and schools determine the locus of control in the educational process, which may range from distributed leadership to concentrated power—from no accountability to shared accountability to centralized control. On the scale of the system of public education, governance featuring local control is common ground for reform initiatives ranging from the small schools movement (Klonsky & Klonsky, 2008), to school choice initiatives, including charter schools and school vouchers programs. However, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that transforming governance structures to shift the locus of control from the level of the district to the level of the school does not necessarily result in better student outcomes. Improved student

outcomes in Bryk and Schneider's study of six public elementary schools invested with local control by their school district depended most strongly upon levels of relational trust within the schools, suggesting that locus of control may also be an issue on the intra-school scale. Darling-Hammond (1997) argued for local empowerment at the state, district, school, classroom, and even individual scales of the system of public education: "Policymakers need to understand that policy is not so much implemented as it is reinvented at each level of the system" (p. 214). Advancing the research base on structures tending to nurture relational trust and distribute leadership within relatively autonomous school communities stands to contribute to and enlarge the capacities of our schools.

Valuing a school-centered locus of control while appreciating the public school's place within a larger educational system, Fullan (1994) argued that neither a "top-down" nor a "bottom up" approach works in isolation. Although student engagement advocate Philip Schlechty (2011) has appropriated the term *accountabalism* to describe the deleterious effects of test-based accountability, both educators and the general public require feedback on the trustworthiness of their schools. In a chapter titled, "Creating Standards without Standardization" (p. 210), Darling-Hammond (1997) developed the idea of an integrated approach to school reform incorporating both a trustworthiness resulting from a shared ownership for outcomes and a localized "reinvention" of policy by teachers and learners. Advancing the research base on structures tending to develop shared accountability and to reinforce trustworthy behaviors within relatively

autonomous school communities stands to validate and amplify school improvement initiatives.

Situated as they are beyond the standardizing effects of the broader public school system, independent schools represent a relatively extreme expression of local control in a school community. The defining independence of these schools has, however, resulted in diverse expressions of the construct of independent governance among school communities. As with other governance structures, the degree to which independent schools replicate their organizational self-governance in the relationships defining school community varies along a continuum. In tightly constrained independent schools, there is little or no discretionary decision-making by weaker partners in asymmetric relationships, and the school relies upon close monitoring to ensure compliance to uniform standards. In more trust-based independent schools, principals entrust relatively autonomous teachers with significant discretion in creating an academically responsive curriculum, and the school relies more upon the trustworthiness of community members than on external supervision. Independent schools espousing honor system values, as defined in this study, express an extreme version of distributing the locus of control. Teachers in these schools entrust students with significant discretion in the accomplishment of their learning and rely heavily upon the trustworthiness of students, rather than close policing and monitoring. Given the limited research on these schools, improved understanding of the relationships defining honor system school communities and accountability mechanisms operating within these essentially self-governing independent schools is worthy in itself. Additionally, the seldom-studied phenomenon of independent schooling

may offer insight into one approach to creating a sustainable culture of excellence within a school community implementing “Standards Without Standardization” (Darling-Hammond, 1997, p. 210).

Statement of the Problem

Within the context of disappointing performance of American students on standardized tests, a nationally driven standards-based reform movement is gaining traction. Forty-five states and three territories have adopted Common Core Standards for English Language Arts and Mathematics (“Common Core State Standards Initiative”, n.d.) and the Next Generation Science Standards will be released in final form in the spring of 2013 (“Next Generation Science Standards”, n.d.). To translate even the best standards from beyond the school while avoiding the pitfalls of undifferentiated standardization, educators require improved understanding of structures and conditions operating within effective schools. Towards that end, research on capacity building in general (Newmann, King, & Youngs, 2000; Fullan, 2007) and professional community in particular (Gardner, Csikzentmihalyi, & Damon, 2001; Marks & Louis, 1998; and Senge, 2006) is being applied to restructure troubled schools “from the inside out” (Elmore, 2007).

Although contemporary restructuring of American schools has been primarily associated with high stakes testing and bureaucratic constructs of school accountability, a body of literature associated with the role of relational trust in public school reform is emergent (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Research on independent schools espousing honor system values, already operating under a model highly reliant upon relational trust and

mutual trustworthiness, is, however, largely lacking. This study aimed to address this gap in the research base by focusing on the perceptions of teachers and administrators practicing in independent school contexts espousing high levels of relational trust and relying primarily upon accountable relationships within the school to ensure trustworthy educational outcomes.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this mixed-methods, multi-site case study was to explore how relational trust is fostered in independent schools founded on an honor system model. Teacher and principal perceptions were examined in order to identify significant factors characteristic of the phenomena of sustainable relational trust and trustworthiness in those school communities. In studies of urban elementary schools, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that relational trust correlates with teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. A second purpose of this study was to uncover interactions between relational trust and features of professional community in a very different type of school from those studied by Bryk and Schneider. These purposes were accomplished by examining three independent schools espousing honor system values.

Research Questions

The founders of the California Association of Independent Schools (CAIS) posed the overarching research question for this study in 1941 (Mirell, 2001) and Darling-Hammond added her voice in 1997: How can schools benefit from standards-based

reform without suffering the negative effects of bureaucratic standardization? Many studies have approached this complex overarching question by studying schools in the midst of reform. To expand the research base, I chose to identify schools successfully enacting high standards with as little externally applied standardization as possible. High performing independent schools operating within the context of honor systems met both criteria of high standards and minimal standardization.

To explore the mechanisms operating within these schools, this study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability?
2. In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?

These research questions reflect the theoretical framework of social capital theory (Coleman, 1990) as applied by Bryk and Schneider (2002) to the resource of relational trust in school communities. This theoretical framework focused the design, the

collection and analysis of data, and the generation of inferences and reporting of findings in this study.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this study, the terms below will be defined as follows:

1. *Relational Trust*: Each partner in a variety of role relationships operating within the relational network of a school, including teacher-parent, principal-teacher, teacher-teacher, teacher-student, and student-student, incurs obligations and maintains expectations of the other. In Bryk and Schneider's 2002 model, relational trust is a resource for school improvement. Relational trust grows in a community when mutual obligations and expectations are well matched, and therefore reinforce one another. Conversely, relational trust may contract in an organization when mutual obligations and expectations are not aligned.
2. *Honor System*: An honor code governs issues involving academic and personal integrity, but a functioning honor system also aims to influence the characters of all stakeholders and to define trust-based relationships from which a trustworthy community emerges. For the purposes of this study, an ideal honor system community is a self-regulating trust-based community including the following elements:
 - Trust-based relationships among and between all stakeholders in the community. In asymmetric relationships, leaders honor the potential of followers and initiate a cycle of trust by trusting weaker partners before

their trustworthiness has been demonstrated.

- Accountability to high community standards, enacted not by external force, but by reliance upon honor as a personal quality made evident in transparency and trustworthiness.

3. *Professional Community*: Marks and Louis (1998) defined professional community as, “a school organizational structure with an intellectually directed culture” (p. 539). Bryk, Camburn, and Louis (1999) described professional community in schools as a merger of two bodies of research: “communal school organization and enhanced teacher professionalism” (p. 751). For purposes of this study, professional school communities feature widely distributed leadership and shared accountability for outcomes as evident in organizational conditions described by Bryk and Schneider (2002): teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.
4. *Independent School*: According to the National Association of Independent Schools (2002), independent schools are governed by a board of trustees and supported by tuition and private fundraising, rather than by government or parish funds. NAIS members may not practice discrimination, must operate as not-for-profit organizations, and must be accredited by an approved association.
5. *Standards*: In the common usage, as applied to public schools operating

within the context of the broader educational system of bureaucratic accountability, standards tend to reference carefully defined, quantifiable criteria and benchmarks for achievement. In independent schools, the construct of high standards references more general, qualitative aspects of the term, such as academic press, college preparation, and scholarly rigor.

6. *Social Capital*: Coleman (1990) applies Loury's term, *social capital*, to emphasize the idea that relationships formed to assess risk and manage resources are themselves resources to individuals and to their communities.
7. *Relational Connectivity*: The richness and redundancy evident in the relational network is an example of an organization's social capital. The nature of these relationships support the emergence of feedback loops tending toward inflationary or deflationary cycles in the social capital of relational connectivity.
8. *Network Trustworthiness*: Like individual trustworthiness, network trustworthiness pertains to reliability. Trustworthiness emerging from network interactions is a function of the dense relational ties that facilitate the articulation of mutual expectations and evaluation of whether stakeholders are meeting their relational obligations. Trustworthy networks are the framework for mutual accountability within professional communities.

Delimitations

Boundaries of this study included design decisions to limit the initial phases to a small number of illustrative cases, to focus initially on independent schools of a certain

type, and to focus on two particular groups of stakeholders in the schools. Particular cases that met specific criteria implied by the design were chosen (Creswell, 2005).

Specifically, independent schools were chosen because of the relative absence of external imposition of bureaucratic standardization inherent in this type of governance. The relative autonomy and lack of management by outside mandate of independent schools was an important reason for their selection in the design. Second, independent schools featuring elements of an honor system were chosen. The aspects of school culture this research aimed to uncover seemed likely concentrated in schools enacting an honor system model. Third, the study focused on relationships between and among administrators and teachers. Although parental decisions concerning education are an important dimension in the nurture of their children, the focus of this study was on the role of the school in fostering independent, self-regulating community members operating within a trustworthy, self-governing community.

Limitations

The use of qualitative case studies reinforced with quantitative findings in this study limited the extent to which the findings may be generalized from a particular type of independent school to the broader world of public education. Multiple sites were studied and compared to address the issue of generalizability. The case study approach imposed inherent limits on external validity and researcher subjectivity (Merriam, 1998). As a product of independent schooling and a practicing teacher/leader in an independent school when this study began, I brought both insider understanding of the phenomenon

under study along with what one participant described as “barn blindness”—a set of biases limiting my perspective.

Significance of the Study

Although educational reform has come to be associated with high stakes testing and school accountability, educational researchers are developing a body of research on how the nature of community relationships impact educational outcomes (Ellis & Fouts, 1994; Fullan, 1994; Leithwood, 1994; Noddings, 2007; Stern, Raby, & Dayton, 1992). Specifically, relational trust operating in a school community has emerged as a key resource for successful school reform (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Kochanek, 2005). Distributed leadership, building level management, professional circles of support, school improvement plans, and the small schools movement may all be viewed as public school research initiatives in the direction of democratic localism. Robust relational networks operating in public school communities endowed with generous funds of relational trust are better able to enact the, “Standards without Standardization,” espoused by Linda Darling-Hammond (1997, p. 210).

Largely lacking, however, is a body of research on the nation’s independent schools. In itself, this gap in the literature makes this study significant. In a research base composed of public schools almost universally impacted by top-down monitoring and external accountability, however, independent schools additionally offer a unique opportunity to explore what might be achieved with much less external oversight. Care must be taken when drawing inferences concerning public schools from research performed in independent schools to allow for a variety of differences in context other

than empowering governance structures. However, neglecting this field of study costs the nation's educational researchers rich opportunities to explore how some schools have successfully enacted cultures characterized by qualitatively high standards in an environment largely untouched by external bureaucratic attempts at standardization. If the field at large can understand how high achievement and self-regulation are achieved in some independent schools, we may gain insight into how these successes might be replicated in at least some of the nation's public schools.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 placed the relational trust and network trustworthiness of historic honor system independent schools within the context of contemporary efforts to implement standards-based reform while avoiding excessively bureaucratic standardization. Additionally, this chapter addressed the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions, definition of terms, delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the literature associated with the theoretical framework of social capital theory as interpreted by Bryk and Schneider. Chapter 2 discusses how theories of complex systems may be applied to schools as professional communities and concludes with a discussion of trust and trustworthiness in school governance. Chapter 3 describes the multi-site mixed-methods design of this study, including a rationale for the design, data collection methods, and analysis procedures. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the analysis of data for each of three cases and answer the research questions for each case. Chapter 7 offers cross-case analysis and continues to answer the research questions. Chapter 8 concludes with a discussion of how the findings of this study both support and

expand what is known about the role of relational trust in fostering trustworthy professional community within schools and develops a model for capacity building based on the dimensions of relational trust and accountability to standards. Recommendations for future study are also considered.

Conclusion

This study does not presume that families with the means to provide independent education for their children are the “best and wisest” parents in the nation. Even educational reformers committed to radically changing the nation’s educational system in order to disrupt the culturally reproduced class structures of the status quo, however, concede that affluent and elite schools are often among the most progressive in the nation (Anyon, 1980; Finn, 1999). This study aimed to understand how the relational dynamics of some of these independent school communities operate and the extent to which they related to features of a progressive educational community. This study reflected a desire that all schoolchildren might benefit from the educational resource of relational trust that is arguably available in significant ways to only some independent and public school students.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

“Without honor there is no trust. Without trust there is no community.”

(Archival evidence)

To better understand how relational trust is fostered within schools and interacts with organizational conditions to create trustworthy professional communities, this chapter begins with a review of the theoretical framework upon which this study was constructed—Coleman’s social capital theory as applied by Bryk and Schneider (2002). A second section applies principles of complex systems to the complex system of a school, offering one mechanism for the capacity building or contraction that may occur as a result of the nature of the relationships connecting agents interacting randomly in a system. The second section then extends the discussion by applying game theory to the strategic decisions of the rational and moral agents actually interacting to form a school. The final section offers a brief account of the evolution of various governance structures for American high schools, showing the common ancestry of schools of various types and connecting modern efforts to restructure publicly governed schools to strategies evolved by independently governed schools featuring escalating trust and shared accountability.

The purposes of this mixed methods multi-site case study are to explore how relational trust is fostered in three independent schools practicing honor systems and to uncover interactions between relational trust and features of professional community within these schools. Social capital theory applied to the resource of trust in schools provides a research framework upon which to build this study, which is essentially

concerned with resource development. Feedback loops and other characteristics of complex systems offer mechanisms for how social resources such as relational trust are fostered in school communities and capacity built. Through the lens of complex systems, community features, such as teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization, may be viewed as effects of the system itself. Finally, both history and contemporary research now being applied to restructure certain public schools places these schools and this study within the broader context of research into the design of effective schools. The specific research questions focusing this study on these cases addressed how certain schools nurture relational trust to sustain cultures based on mutual accountability and how the fund of relational trust in those schools relates to features of professional community. These questions were viewed within the context of the overarching question, “How can schools benefit from standards-based reform without suffering the negative effects of bureaucratic standardization?”

Bryk and Schneider’s 2002 mixed methods multi-site case study relying heavily upon empirical analysis takes center stage in this research, but theoretical studies applying principles of economics and complex systems along with a study of game theory featuring experimental simulations and deductive proofs are also prominent. Because school history proved to be an important feature of the cases studied and because the history of the evolution of the American high school connects this research to contemporary research on building professional community to restructure certain public schools, a review of that history viewed through the lens of school governance is

included. Online research tools used included search engines and websites for open source literature. The University of Tennessee library was a rich resource for printed text and online periodicals.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is Coleman's social capital theory as applied by Bryk and Schneider (2002) to the dimension of trust in school communities. This section will begin with a review of Coleman's application of economic theory concerning the ebb and flow of physical capital moving through markets to the development of the human and relational resources socially networked in organizations. This section will then review the work of Bryk and Schneider exploring relational trust as a resource in school communities. This application of economic theory offers useful analogies to the social structures of schools, but is unrelated to educational reform initiatives focused upon treating students as resources to be developed for the workplace (Murnane & Levy, 1996).

Elements of Coleman's Theory of Social Capital

Material, human, and social capital. Economic theory applies to the expansion and contraction of physical capital in the marketplace of goods and services. Social theorist James Coleman (1990) applied the principles of economic theory to social systems. Coleman conceived social systems as groups of individuals whose actions are interdependent. Coleman drew an analogy between investments aiming to grow physical capital in the conventional marketplace and corresponding investments aiming to develop the *human capital* of individuals in a social system. Coleman extended the analogy

beyond the individual actors in the social system to consider their relational resources as *social capital*:

Just as physical capital is created by making changes in materials so as to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by making changes in materials so as to give them skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways. Social capital, in turn, is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action. (p. 304)

Social capital is, by Coleman's definition, a property of the social system and pertains to system-level behavior. While individuals acting in the system may invest in hopes of benefitting from an expansion in system resources, social capital cannot be alienated from the system to one individual.

Clarifying the analogies, Coleman described the purely material quality of physical capital, the less tangible skills and knowledge of human capital, and the almost ephemeral effects of social capital in the form of relationships among individuals. A link between human capital and social capital inheres to the interpersonal relationships comprising social capital. Focusing on the qualitative concept of social capital, Coleman (1990) asserted its usefulness as a construct for showing how social structures, "can be combined with other resources to produce different system-level behavior or, in other cases, different outcomes for individuals" (p. 305). In other words, by investing in the relational social capital of a social system such as a school, individuals may grow both the social and human capital composing that school community. The development of human capital is a fundamental purpose of education.

Forms of social capital. Coleman (1990) identified a variety of forms of social capital: trust-based obligations and expectations, information, norms supporting selfless individual acts in the interests of the group or other individuals, socially contracted authority relations, social organization appropriated from one purpose to another in response to changing contingencies, and social structures intentionally created in order to receive a return on an investment in social capital. Asserting that social capital is the “*sine qua non* of stable liberal democracy,” Fukuyama (1999, para. 1) described many of Coleman’s forms of social capital as manifestations of social capital, which he defined as an “instantiated social norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals” (para. 2). While this study focuses on the social capital within a particular school, actualized norms promoting reciprocal cooperation potentially pertain to system-level behavior within classrooms, within schools, or within the broader educational system. Because individuals also participate in the social system of a school, social capital is a resource to the teachers, students, and other actors whose relationships define the school, and whose learning determines school effectiveness.

A public good, such as a city square or a system of public education, adds no additional cost to users beyond society’s investment and is non-excludable in that the marginal cost of adding an additional user is included in the cost to society of the public good. Coleman (1990) identified social capital as a public good to explain why individuals might withhold investment in social capital. Individuals or blocs might balk at public investment in the square or the schools on the basis that they do not have business on the square or school-aged children, failing to appreciate the costs and missed

opportunities for growth associated with investing in a public good. Fukuyama (1999) dissented with Coleman's description of social capital as a public good, because individuals might cooperate for purely selfish reasons, appropriating social capital as a private good. Either from Coleman's or Fukuyama's perspective, individuals or groups might withhold investment in the social capital of trust-based obligations and expectations, clinging tightly to personal stores of power in asymmetric relationships, because of a failure to appreciate the costs associated with a stunted relational network and the missed opportunities for growth in the human and social capital the school.

In addition to potential benefits, individuals weighing whether to invest in various forms of social capital must consider at least two variables: the trustworthiness of the relationship and the size of the obligation. As Fukuyama (1999) said, "the norm of reciprocity exists *in potentia* in my dealings with all people, but is actualized only in my dealings with *my friends*" (para 2, italics in original). Either individuals or the school operating as a social system may be described as trustworthy.

Free riding and zeal in school communities. Coleman (1990) asserted that unlike physical capital, social capital is essentially an inalienable property of a social system, such as a school, and is not actually owned by any individual. While an individual may invest physical capital in hopes of earning a profit on its growth, an individual transferring individually held obligations in his or her control may not directly benefit from the growth in social capital flowing through the system and may fail to appreciate the costs incurred by withholding such investments. Withholding social capital while participating in the advantages of the social system is called *free riding*.

Distributing the social capital within one's control for the common good, rather than holding onto that capital for personal aggrandizement is called *zeal*. Both the costs of free riding and the benefits of zeal may be difficult for individuals to appreciate:

In choosing to keep trust or not... an actor does so on the basis of costs and benefits he himself will experience. That his trustworthiness will facilitate others' actions or his lack of trustworthiness will inhibit others' actions does not enter into his decision making. (Coleman, 1990, p. 317)

Whenever the mission of a social structure is to develop the human capital of all members, however, as in a school, a relational network rich in social capital facilitates the realization of organizational purpose. While some optimal level of asymmetric relationship may provide a system order facilitating the flow of capital in the system, excessively asymmetric relationships withhold so much social capital from the system as to restrain the flow of social capital and to impede the desired growth in human capital (Coleman, 1990). Sustaining a cycle of amassing personal power in an overly hierarchical structure may result in a contraction in available system resources, resulting in losses to all, including those who thought they were securing their stake of power. One way to restructure a social system in order to optimize flow of social capital through the system is for more powerful partners to balance asymmetric relationships by entrusting weaker partners with greater power. This is, in effect, what happens when the broader educational system entrusts certain schools with greater building level control, when principals empower teachers to act as members of a professional community, and when

teachers in honor system schools express high levels of trust in the trustworthiness of students.

Bryk & Schneider's Trust as a Core Resource for Schools

In numerous studies working alone and with others, Bryk has examined the resource of relational trust in school reform (Bryk, 1988; Bryk, Camburn, & Louis, 1999; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Bryk & Schneider, 1996, 2002; Bryk, Sebring, Kerbow, Rollow, & Easton, 1998). Bryk's work found trust a significant theme in analyses of schools operating under varied governance styles, ranging from Catholic secondary schools to urban public elementary schools. Whether framed in the language of communal schools (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993), or democratic localism (Bryk et al., 1998), Bryk's work consistently identified relational trust as a fundamental resource for school improvement, with levels of relational trust correlating with school improvement even more powerfully than school type, locus of control, socioeconomic status, or racial profile (2002).

Bryk and Schneider published an analysis of data from Chicago schools undergoing reform in the 1990s, entitled *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for School Improvement* (2002). The reform movement under examination featured an intentional attempt at balancing asymmetric relationships between the district and the schools, with the more powerful district distributing power to the schools in response to the Chicago School Reform Act, enacted by the Illinois legislature in 1988. This experiment in decentralized control did not mandate what local communities would do with their schools. Perhaps predictably, some schools enjoyed strong improvement, while others did

not. In their analysis of these schools and their variable results, Bryk and Schneider found, "... that a broad base of trust across school community lubricates much of a school's day-to-day functioning and is a critical resource as local leaders embark on ambitious improvement plans" (pp. 5-6).

Contractual, organic, and relational trust. Bryk and Schneider (2002) distinguished between contractual trust, organic trust, and relational trust. Contractual trust is expressed in material exchanges within tightly constrained relationships. Most commercial transactions enact contractual trust, but Bryk and Schneider asserted that contractual trust does not translate well into schools. The complexity of both the "market" for educational services and the educational mission of schools make it very difficult to perform assessments adequate to the task of adjudicating contractual agreements.

Organic trust is expressed in social systems in which individuals give unconditional trust based on moral authority, as occurs in religious orders, for example. Even modern parochial schools tend to be formed of populations with less convergent worldviews than those one might expect to find in a monastery. Therefore, schools sustained by organic trust are rare. Because individuals engaged in various social relationships in a school must rely upon the trustworthiness of one another in order to accomplish their common educational purpose, schools require trust somewhere between the contractual trust of commerce and the organic trust of faith-based organizations.

Bryk and Schneider's theory develops the features of the *relational trust* characteristic of effective schools leveraging the benefits of their social capital to

increase, through education, the human capital whose relationships compose the social system of the school. Relational trust, as described by Bryk and Schneider, is expressed in a variety of clearly defined role relationships, such as teacher-parent, principal-teacher, and teacher-teacher relationships. Each partner in each relationship incurs obligations and maintains expectations of the other. When the mutual obligations and expectations are well matched and when the behavior of each partner comports with the expectations of the other, the relational trust shared in the relationship grows in a cycle of expanding social capital. Bryk and Schneider (2002) asserted two formal positions on the mechanisms supporting this inflationary cycle: (a) Individuals need to be able to discern the intentions of relational partners; and (b) An individual's ability to judge the intentions of others is shaped by his or her personal and institutional history.

Bryk and Schneider's construct of relational trust in schools operates on intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational levels. At the intrapersonal level, relational trust of varying degrees is a function of complex cognitive processes within the individuals assessing the intentions and capacities of relational partners. At the interpersonal level, these judgments are shaped by obligations and expectations inherent in the school's social structure. At the organizational level, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that expanding relational trust has important consequences: "More effective decision-making, enhanced social support for innovation, more efficient social control of adults' work, and an expanded moral authority to 'go the extra mile' for the children" (p. 22). Viewed in this way, relational trust is a resource available to enhance the operations

of the social system of a school and to improve the school's ability to develop the capacities of the individuals relating within the school community.

Relational trust and related factors. In their study of effects of relational trust in Chicago school reform, Bryk and Schneider (2002) included several contextual variables as possibly significant alternate variables in the observed effects: percentage of low-income students, racial-ethnic composition, school size, stability of student body, history of racial conflict among teachers, and prior school achievement. Bryk and Schneider's analysis found that improvements in trust observed in some schools accounted for the majority of changes in teacher innovation, outreach to parents, professional community, and commitment to the school. Racial conflict among teachers was a significant secondary variable in all analyses, especially at one school. Racial composition and stability of the student body exerted minor but significant correlation with some measures in some schools. While socioeconomic status and race were found to contribute to other organizational effects and student outcomes, they were subsidiary to the effects of relational trust.

Further exploring the phenomenon, Bryk and Schneider (2002) analyzed the same school composition and context variables to see how relational trust depended upon school context. They found that the most significant predictors of relational trust related to race. If the teacher was black, their study found significant effects on teacher-parent and teacher-principal trust, but not on teacher-teacher trust. A history of racial conflict among teachers was highly significant in predicting all forms of relational trust, and a predominantly African American school population was significant in predicting all

forms of relational trust. Less significantly, gender and prior school achievement were predictors of teacher-principal trust.

In an earlier study of urban Catholic high schools, Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) found that although parents experienced some of the same socioeconomic, linguistic, and ethnic challenges facing families in other urban schools, organizational effects and student outcomes in these school communities were much better than their counterparts. They found that the parents' faith in the resource of education that motivated them to select a Catholic school for their children translated into strongly trust-based relationships between parents and teachers, to whom they appropriated significant moral authority and from whom they expected a significant moral obligation to act in their children's interests. This trust, in turn, related to exceptional faculty commitment to students, to the school and to teaching. As the authors observed, "teaching in these schools not only was a technical act, it also was a moral imperative" (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 7). They found that the reciprocal trust relations that emerged were central to the effectiveness of these schools in developing the human capital of student populations demographically similar to those experiencing achievement gaps in other schools. In summary, relational trust emerged as the most significant correlate of organizational conditions contributing to school improvement and to actual academic achievement trends in these schools.

Further, demographic variations known to correlate with achievement gaps in student populations were shown to relate to trust in schools. In another study of elementary schools in Chicago, Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, and Hoy (2001) likewise found correlations between teacher-student, teacher-parent trust, and student

achievement, along with a correlation between trust and socioeconomic status. While schools serving middle and upper socioeconomic status populations may naturally replicate the social structures supporting the flow of social capital through the community beyond the school, Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, and Hoy concluded that focusing on the development of trust relationships is an especially important element in helping students and schools to overcome the disadvantages associated with lower socioeconomic class.

Related work on trust in schools. Much of the earlier literature specifically relating to trust in schools attempted to assess the effects of trust on features such as school climate (Hoy & Henderson, 1983; Hoy, Hoffman, Sabo, & Bliss, 1996), job satisfaction (Driscoll, 1978), organizational health (Hoy & Feldman, 1987), organizational justice (Hoy & Tarter, 2004), school mindfulness (Hoy, Gage, & Tarter, 2006), school effectiveness (Hoy, Tarter, & Wiskowskie, 1992), and school improvement (Louis, 2007). With the recognition of trust as a “core resource for school improvement”, researchers began to develop a coherent construct of its meanings and their implications for schools.

Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) identified and conducted factor analysis on seven facets of a construct of trust: (1) willingness to risk vulnerability, (2) confidence, (3) benevolence, (4) reliability, (5) competence, (6) honesty, and (7) openness. Lewicki, McAllister, and Bies (1998) found that levels of trust in a given relationship vary across facets, resulting in conditional relational trust. Because relationships may demonstrate high levels of trust in one facet and distrust in another, Lewicki et al. (1998) defined trust and distrust as separate dimensions evident in relationships. As Fukuyama suggested

(1999), high levels of trust and low levels of distrust may or may not be appropriate, depending upon the social capital shared in a relationship. Optimal trust balances the risks of trust against the costs of distrust and is highly contingent upon the individuals involved, their social contexts, and the history of the relationship.

Hoy and Kipersmith (1984) and Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (1998) found that authenticity in a school principal correlates with teachers' trust in the principal, colleagues, and the organization. Evans (1996) likewise identified authentic leadership, associated with integrity and competence, as the basis for trust. He associated diminished public trust in the prospect of upward progress in the nation's schools with the need for renewal. Tschannen-Moran (2003) found that the relational property of teacher-principal trust—expressed as a willingness to risk vulnerability, benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty, and openness, for example—correlated with organizational commitment, in the form of teachers and other school personnel investing more than minimally required. Perhaps surprisingly, transformational leadership behaviors of the principal, such as modeling behavior, inspiring group purpose, providing contingent reward, holding high performance expectations, and providing support, did not. Tschannen-Moran concluded that effective transformational leadership requires the trust of followers.

The imperative of school reform led to studies of how trust and trustworthiness relate to social structures within effective school communities. For example, Sinden, Hoy, Sweetland, and Scott (2004) developed the construct of the enabling school structure along two dimensions, formalization and centralization. Formalization, the

extent to which an organization relies upon written rules, procedures, and policies, may range from coercive to enabling. Centralization, the degree to which decisions are distributed throughout a community, ranges from hindering to enabling. Enabling social structures exhibit both enabling formalization and centralization. Hoy and Sweetland (2001) found in a study of high schools that more enabling school structures correlated with greater faculty trust in the principal and with less “truth spinning” and role conflict. Geist & Hoy (2004) related a culture of trust with enabling structure, teacher professionalism and high expectations.

The theoretical framework of social capital theory as applied by Bryk and Schneider to trust in schools focused this study on how each of three independent schools espousing honor system values fostered community norms and standards in the absence of externally applied standardization. In the ideal, honor systems rely heavily upon investment in the social capital of trust and trustworthiness associated with features of school community. The theoretical framework also focused my attention on the corresponding growth of the human capital of individual community members’ capacities for self-governance and of the social capital of norms, standards, and values. These forms of capital are resources in the self-regulating accountability structures supporting these independent schools. Finally, theories of complex systems supporting social capital theory influenced the design, data gathering, and analysis performed in this study.

Complex Systems, Game Theory and Schools

This chapter began with a quote found in the student handbook for one of the cases in this study: “Without honor, there is no trust. Without trust, there is no

community.” In studying that case, I uncovered multiple references to the subtle cycle of mutual causation between honorable individuals and a culture based on honor as encapsulated in this simple quote. To better understand mechanisms of circular causality facilitating the expansion or contraction of social capital of relational trust, this section begins with a summary of principles found in the literature on complex systems, relevant to this study of relational trust and system trustworthiness in the social systems of schools. Next, this section applies work on game theory to the strategic decision-making contributing to the system effect of social capital within a school. Finally, this section relates principles of complex systems to contemporary education research into relational trust, capacity building, and professional community.

Principles of Complex Systems

Intelligent systems. When creators of computing technology in the twentieth century saw that they were approaching the physical limits of the growth in capacity they could achieve by relying upon incremental addition of additional coding for simple causal relationships, a profound insight into the networked nature of intelligence permitted a quantum leap in the effectiveness of their efforts. Computer scientists realized that the intelligence manifested by the brain is a function of the rich relational system between and among individual neurons and is not the foreordained rule set applied by some executive neuron. The nervous system, including the brain itself, consists of a very large number of independently operating neurons exhibiting what structural design engineers call *parallel distributed processing* (Gernert, 2003). Feedback loops within the system contribute to learning, which may be viewed as an adaptive process within the nervous

system. Significantly, no single neuron produces a sensory-response-learning loop. Rather, as an effect of the complexity of the network of interactions, the whole system organizes itself to respond to its environment, without authoritarian control.

Computer scientists began to study and design programming structures that facilitate the emergence of self-organizing systems to solve problems too complex to model using predetermined decision trees or stochastic models. The pursuit of *artificial intelligence* produced a body of research associated with structures optimizing the flow of information through the system and system order mechanisms to foster trustworthy interactions among elements.

Macro-micro feedback loops and circular causality in social systems.

Scientists and philosophers in a variety of fields began to appreciate the potential of the construct of system-level effects as a model for commonly observed phenomena too complex for simple cause and effect analysis. Of particular interest here, the social sciences began to apply theories of complex systems to the relational networks connecting individuals in a social system. Cole's 1991 research on the levels of activity in ant colonies provided a primitive example of system effects in a social organization. The numbers of ants in motion were counted over time. The motion of the individual ants was random, but Cole observed a periodic pattern in the levels of activity in the colony as a whole. The mechanism for the appearance of this orderly pattern appeared to be a *macro-micro feedback loop*. The order on the scale of the colony was created by interactions between and among the chaotic motion on the scale of the individual ants,

while the interactions on the scale of the ants were constrained by the emerging order in the system.

This *circular causality*, with phenomena operating on the macro- and micro-scales simultaneously amplifying one another in cycles of mutual causation, is fundamentally different from simple cause and effect, which may reside in the province of individual actors. Circular causality is a feature of the system. Significantly, this mechanism provides an explanation for the order in the system that does not depend upon the control of one of the agents within the system. The order observable in the periodicity was an emergent phenomenon of the system itself. The network of relationships among ants provided the trustworthy framework for coordination of their individually chaotic actions through the resonance effects of reinforcement and damping.

Firestone and Rosenblum (1988) described the interrelations they observed between teacher commitment, student commitment, and school characteristics in a study of ten urban high schools. They identified two feedback loops tending either to inflationary or deflationary cycles in social and human capital. School characteristics—including relevance, respect, support, and expectations—related to student commitment to learning and to the school. Student commitment to learning correlated with student behavior. Student behavior contributed to various dimensions of teacher commitment, which contributed, in turn, to school characteristics, closing one loop. Teacher commitment also related to teacher blaming, which detracted from student commitment, closing another loop. These interrelating factors created feedback loops, amplifying or damping various trends.

Findings from management studies and information science offer insights into how leaders may foster constructive feedback loops. In his classic study of managers in an electronics firm, Zand (1972) found that middle managers led to trust upper management demonstrated more open communication, creative problem solving and personal commitment to the project than their counterparts who were led to distrust upper management. Further, trust propagated trust and distrust reinforced distrust. Whiteney, Brodt, Korsgaard, and Werner (1998) applied agency theory and social exchange theory to argue that managers are responsible for initiating a cycle of trust by, “engaging in trustworthy behavior preemptively, perhaps before the subordinate has demonstrated his or her worthiness” (p. 523). Applying their guidelines for managers to teacher-student, principal-teacher, and system-school relationships, it is the responsibility of the more powerful relational partner in each case to initiate trustworthy behaviors as investments in the trust necessary for effective school operations (Tschannen-Moran, 2004).

Effects of population density and entropy on system intelligence. Cole’s study of ant colony activity (1991) also found at least two variables, population density and entropy, related to the social capital represented by the flow of information through the relational networks in the ant colonies. Cole found that with very low population densities, the flow of information in the colonies suffered owing to limited numbers of encounters. As population density increased, the flow of information increased until it reached a maximum. Subsequent increases in population led to precipitous drops in the flow of information in the colonies, disrupting the emergence of system self-organization. Similarly, when the system was highly ordered, the flow of information was constrained.

As the system became less orderly, information flow improved until it reached a maximum. When the system became more chaotic than the optimal level, however, information flow dropped back to negligible levels, and system order collapsed.

Cole's (1991) findings offer a system theoretic mechanism to explain promising results for smaller schools (Lee, 2004; Lee & Loeb, 2000; Lee & Smith, 1997). Meier (1995) described features of self-organizing systems in his account of certain schools in Harlem, which operated as effective, autonomous social systems. Meier found that the optimal size for these schools was small enough so that teacher discussions moved beyond matters of governance to issues of education. In effect, when the social system of the faculty became the level of system organization responsible for teaching and learning, the schools became capable of autonomous self-governance and sustainable effectiveness. Cole's findings from ant colonies also suggest that either excessively controlling or chaotic social structures detract from the expansion of social capital. An optimal level of structure provides the trustworthy framework from which a self-regulating system of norms and standards may emerge.

Sinden, Hoy, and Sweetland (2004) observed similar effects as a function of bureaucratic structure in schools. Schools exhibiting *enabling bureaucracy* provide sufficient order to facilitate interaction among individuals while allowing for enough free agency to enable the emergence of system-level intelligence. Schools engaged in *coercive bureaucracy* deflect resources from organizational purpose to coerce individuals to comply with the determinations of those higher in the hierarchy. The capacity of a coercive bureaucracy is essentially limited by the capacity of the agent in charge.

From asymmetric, coercive relations to constructive system effects. Political economist Francis Fukuyama (1996) identified the adversarial, legalistic labor relations that developed as America industrialized with the low-trust relationships characteristic of bureaucratic organizations. He also offered the relative ease with which American automobile manufacturing plants implemented high-trust, team-based Japanese organizational structures in regions lacking a history of contentious labor relations. Management consultant Peter Drucker (2001) described the interrelationship between trust and accountability in the emergence of effective leadership of collegial teams as organizations move beyond hierarchical management by a single leader.

Bryk and Schneider (2002) discussed the evolution of the basis for trust-based teacher-student relationships as a function of student development. In the early years, when teacher-student relationships resemble parent-child relationships Bryk and Schneider asserted, “the trust built up in family life must be transferred to the classroom teacher...Given this power asymmetry in the student-teacher role set, the growth of trust depends primarily on teachers’ initiatives (pp. 31-32). Bryk and Schneider observed that with the maturation of students, the student-teacher relationship should become more symmetric, with students becoming increasingly responsible for their own learning.

Additionally, as peer relationship networks emerge and assume prominence in students’ lives, Bryk & Schneider found that peer norms become a significant force in other relational dynamics—peer norms whose emergent character is presumably influenced by the nature of other relationships in the system. Similarly, teacher-teacher relationships are a function of the emergent order defined by the nature of relationships in

the system as a whole. As independently as many teachers may operate within their own classrooms, faculty members rely upon one another to fulfill their organizational roles. Bryk and Schneider (2002) noted that, “relational trust within a faculty is grounded in common understandings about such matters as what students should learn, how instruction should be conducted, and how teachers and students should behave” (p. 30). Trust-based teacher-administrator relationships enacted in organizational structures fostering collegial interactions can contribute to the emergence of an integrated sense of professional norms and values among teachers and throughout the school.

As in student-teacher relations, the asymmetry inherent in principal-teacher relationships dictates that it is the responsibility of the principal to initiate the cycle of trust and trustworthiness (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). By extension, inasmuch as schools are less powerful partners in relationship with the larger system, it is the responsibility of the system to take steps to reduce schools’ sense of vulnerability, initiating a cycle of system trust and trustworthiness.

Trustworthiness in complex systems. Trustworthiness is the companion of trust in a self-regulating system. Like relational trust, network trustworthiness is a form of social capital (Coleman, 1990). A first level of system trustworthiness derives from structural elements in the system. The network feature of closure, which facilitates the clear flow of information and transparent appreciation for the consequences of decisions, is necessary for the emergence of zeal, an extreme expression of trustworthiness (Coleman, 1990). Consider the two simple networks depicted in figure 1. Each figure depicts the same human capital: two teachers, A and B, and two students, a and b. Figure

1(a), however, represents a richer supply of social capital than that represented in 1(b), in the form of the increased relationship between teachers. All other things being equal, in the second network, the teachers have only 61.8% of the social capital as the students, who enjoy closure in their relationships that is lacking between the teachers.

Significantly, network closure contributes to mutually accountable, trustworthy relations and is, “important if trust is to reach the level that is warranted by the trustworthiness of the potential trustees” (Coleman, 1990, p. 318).

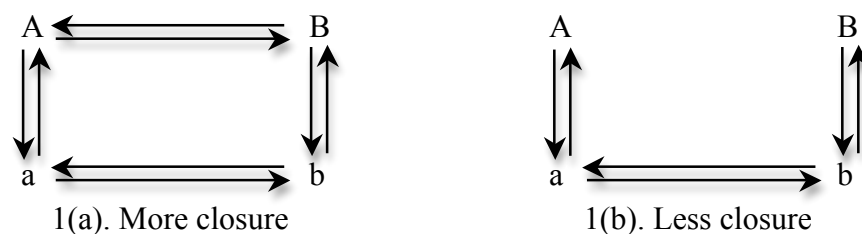


Figure 1. The human and social capital in two networks demonstrating varied closure (Coleman, 1990).

In a network organization, community norms and standards emerging primarily from system interactions rather than from executive control are a second form of system trustworthiness operating to hold members accountable. Network trustworthiness derives from the aggregate of mutual obligations and expectations. Kochanek (2005) explained the usefulness of networks in school settings, where reliable information is in great demand but may be difficult to obtain. Norms and standards arising from system interactions reflect organizational learning and support individuals working together toward shared goals, even when they may conflict with individual objectives. In the

presence of relational trust, “such norms of behavior in a network increase everyone’s sense of security to enhance the spread of information, allow for added risk taking, and bring together new combinations of approaches” (Kochanek, 2005, pp. 4-5).

Bryk and Schneider (2002) described the norms evident in teacher-teacher relations. If a teacher agrees to cover a colleague’s playground duty, the favor may be tendered with some expectation of future reciprocation. While the balance of favors may be imperfect at any given time, there is an assumption that over time, imbalances will tend to work themselves out. On a practical level, these exchanges facilitate accomplishing the work of schools. These exchanges may also increase social and human capital, by serving as gestures of friendship and by elevating the self-esteem of participants.

Although self-organizing order may arise in the absence of values, the moral and ethical domains they inhabit represent another form of system trustworthiness. Shared values represent powerful system effects supporting self-regulating accountability. Bryk (1988) addressed the role of moral development in school purpose and as a normative structure contributing to the social capital of system trustworthiness:

[S]chools not only influence what students know and how they reason, but also shape their feelings and behavior. Schools nurture the voices of conscience that motivate human endeavor and provide the standpoint for evaluating its effect. These voices are heard across a range of activities from developing a commitment to excellence in one's work to developing a sense of responsibility for the welfare of those less fortunate.... Although it is commonplace to refer to this learning as

personal and social development, the messages conveyed are normative and, as such, intrinsically moral. (p. 257)

A personal commitment to be trustworthy may represent the moral aim of a particular individual. A community value for crediting others with a like capacity for trustworthiness may represent a normative standard of a social system. When the moral and ethical aims of individuals and the normative standards of their social systems are in resonance, they tend to amplify one another, resulting in the growth of both human and social capital.

Focusing on a broader scale, Spillane and Thompson's (1997) study of nine local education authorities (LEAs) found that in order to energize the extraordinary advances in learning required for lagging students to catch up with their peers and learn, LEAs must expand their capacity for instructional reform. Spillane and Thompson found that in order to expand that capacity, LEAs should develop their human capital, social capital and physical resources.

Recall Coleman's (1990) forms of social capital: trust-based obligations and expectations, information, norms supporting selfless individual acts in the groups or other organizations, socially contracted authority relations, social organization appropriated from one purpose to another in response to changing contingencies, and social structures intentionally created in order to receive a return on investment in social capital. Coleman applied the principles of complex systems theory to social systems, relating the feedback loops associated with trust-based obligations and expectations with the circular causation of self-organizing order. Inflation of trust-based order facilitates the flow of information

and other forms of social capital, improving responsiveness of the social system to volatile environments. Norms and social contracts, together with organizational structures that facilitate escalating capital without constraining its growth act to produce self-regulating trustworthiness.

Educational organizations as complex social systems. Sociologist Charles Bidwell approached individual elements of a model incorporating relational trust and organizational systems theory, including complex social systems (1966), organizational effects on teachers (Guba & Bidwell, 1957) and on students (Vreeland & Bidwell, 1965, 1966). Bidwell (1970) explored the dimension of trust in schools, applying organizational theory related to client trust to schools. This particular line of questioning, however, has until relatively recently not been widely pursued. As reformers began to call for fundamental restructuring of the nation's schools (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Tyack & Cuban, 1995), investigations of the relationships between trust and systems features of effective organizational structures began to appear.

Bryk and Schneider (2002) associated schools with three elements especially well suited to a systems approach to social structure and to educational research:

[T]rust is especially important for organizations that operate in turbulent external environments, that depend heavily on information sharing for success, and whose work processes demand effective decentralized decision making. All three of these factors characterize the day-to-day functioning of schools. (p. 33)

Complex systems theorist Peter Senge (2006) identified the roles of trust and a focus on human relationships in forming the basis for the responsive social system he called the

learning organization. Schlechty (2009) applied organizational theory to schools, identifying the community-based learning organization as a more appropriate structure for schools in a democracy than the more hierarchical, bureaucratic structures often observed. Identifying trust as a necessary resource for learning organizations, Schlechty enjoined educational leaders to attend first to systems developing the social capital of trust and self-organizing trustworthiness, as opposed to focusing on bureaucratic processes: “Those who would transform schools into learning organizations... must be particularly attentive to building community trust and confidence” (p. 202).

Hoy and Miskel (2001) advocated the use of a social systems model in schools.

Considering the individual components of a system while neglecting the effects of the whole risks fundamental misunderstanding of the phenomenon of complex social systems, such as schools. Tarter and Hoy (2004) applied an open social systems model to examine the environmental constraint of socioeconomic status, four internal system features, and two school outcomes in elementary schools. Their specific findings support the importance of trust in student achievement and in overall school effectiveness. In factor analysis, Tarter and Hoy found socioeconomic status to be the single most significant factor in student achievement, but collective teacher efficacy and an enabling system structure were the most significant system factors perceived to be within the control of the school. A culture of trust fostered collective efficacy, while illegitimate politics undermined enabling system structures. Socioeconomic status had a negligible effect on overall school effectiveness from teachers’ perspectives, while a culture of trust supported overall effectiveness and illegitimate politics undermined it. Equally

significantly, Tarter and Hoy's general emphasis on the complex interactions among the internal system effects represented a growing interest in exploring effects that transcend interactions among isolated variables.

Game Theoretic Models and Relational Trust in Schools

Complex systems examine interactions among randomly interacting agents, but human interaction offers a variety of dilemmas to individuals making rational decisions. The companion issues of trustworthiness and trust provide the basis for many dilemmas. Suppose you, as a faculty chaperone to the prom, and your assistant principal have agreed that whoever encounters students dancing inappropriately will confront them and require them to stop. As you are hurrying to monitor the punch bowl, you see a bright underachiever who has just begun to respond to your semester-long overtures by shyly offering insightful comments to class discussion. She and her boyfriend are dancing inappropriately. You might be tempted to avoid the embarrassment of a confrontation by continuing toward the refreshment table, thinking, "Let someone else handle this one; it would undermine the relationship I have worked so long to build." If you are honest, you might admit that your preferred order of possible outcomes is: (1) You defect from your agreement and the assistant principal upholds her end of the bargain; (2) you both honor your commitment and the students are addressed twice; (3) you address the students and learn that the assistant principal defected, leaving you to handle the awkward task; (4) you both defect and video of inappropriate dancing in the presence of adults from your school makes the national news. Your dilemma is that if you learn later

that the assistant principal defected, you will wish you had said something, but if you learn later that she said something, you will wish you had defected.

This sort of strategic dilemma is the object of game theory, a branch of formal mathematics. John Von Neumann launched the field, initially by playing with the logical structure of strategic decisions of poker players, such as bluffing. Von Neumann realized that the algebraic structures he identified applied more universally, notably to economics, publishing *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* in 1944 with co-author and Princeton economist Oskar Morgenstern (Poundstone, 1992). Applied beyond card games and economics, game theory provides a framework for the social contracts that form the fabric of society. Emerging from the world of abstract algebraic structures, game theory has been applied to areas as significant as Cold-War strategy, nuclear proliferation, and global economic policy, as well as to smaller dilemmas, such as the one faced by the chaperone tempted to step back from her duty to monitor student dancing.

Social dilemmas and simple, symmetric two-person games. Early work in game theory considered simple two-person games (Axelrod, 1984). In a symmetric game, neither player has the advantage and both agree on the relative rankings of the outcomes. Of 24 possible orderings of preferences, corresponding to 24 distinct two-person symmetric simple games, six put the players in the position of the typical social exchange: hoping your opponent cooperates. Of these six, three present no dilemma, because either cooperation or defection is the rational strategy for both players. The remaining three present classic dilemmas.

To assess the rationality of strategic dilemmas, John Nash (1950) reasoned that social interactions are more stable if a given combination of strategies leaves neither player with any regrets after learning the strategy of his opponent. To help with the analysis, assign point values for each player to each of the outcomes in the chaperone's dilemma (see Table 1). In straightforward games, a single square emerges as the rational choice, no matter whether your opponent chooses to cooperate or defect. That outcome is known as the Nash Equilibrium. This game, however, presents a dilemma: if you learn that your opponent cooperated, you will wish you had defected, but if you learn your opponent defected, you will wish you had cooperated. In effect, there are two Nash equilibria. In classic game theory, the chaperone's dilemma is called *Chicken*.

Table 1

Quantifying Preferences of Players in Chaperone's Dilemma (Chicken)

	They cooperate (Take action)	They defect (Do not act)
You Cooperate (Take action)	(Cc)—(2, 2)	(Cd)—(1, 3)
You Defect (Do not act)	(Dc)—(3, 1)	(Dd)—(0, 0)

Assigns 3 points for the most preferred case and 0 points for the least preferred case. The values are ordered (row player's preference, column player's preference). Thus, (3, 1) indicates that Dc is the row player's most preferred outcome, while it is the column player's third preference.

Prisoner's Dilemma is the most famous dilemma of game theory (Axelrod, 1984). To translate the dilemma into the educational setting, suppose the two players are the principal of a high school and the English department chair. The school serves a population including a number of English Language Learners, whose low scores on state tests threaten the school's ability to demonstrate Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), potentially resulting in serious consequences for the school. The principal is highly motivated to concentrate resources on improving the performance of students with deficient scores; the department chair is highly motivated to maintain high scores for his stronger students on Advanced Placement (AP) exams.

The principal hopes the English department chair will cooperate by agreeing to invest a larger share of his resources in improving the performance of underachieving students. Specifically, the principal asks the department chair to open a double block section taught by a master teacher to target the deficiencies of underachieving students, even though this means that the double block section currently reserved for Advanced Placement English will become a traditional single block. Appreciating the risk to the school, the department chair considers teaching the remedial double block during his planning period, so that he can protect the double period for his AP section. He hopes that the principal will cooperate by preserving the double block for AP English, allocating discretionary funds to compensate him for his extra time in the short term, and planning for the extra section in future budgets.

The principal's preferences align with the classic game, Prisoner's Dilemma ($Dc > Cc > Dd > Cd$). Her least preferred outcome would be to cooperate by agreeing to the

schedule and allocating precious funds, only to discover that the department chair defected by filing a union grievance and rousing the parents of AP students (Cd). Only slightly preferable to the principal would be to defect by not allowing the AP double block and later learn that the teacher had also defected by stirring up the parents, because at least in that case, the principal isn't the "sucker" (Dd). Clearly, the principal prefers that the department chair cooperate (Cc), but the principal might be tempted to defect by saving the funds for another use (Dc). Similarly, the department chair's lowest preference is to cooperate by teaching the remedial section, only to learn that the principal had defected by cutting the AP section, anyway (Cd). Slightly preferable to him would be to learn that the principal defected, resulting in a loss to the AP program, but that at least he had also defected by not agreeing to teach the remedial course (Dd). Clearly, the department chair prefers the principal's cooperation by saving the AP double block to either of the lower two outcomes, even if he has to teach the remedial course (Cc). He may be tempted to defect by fighting the remedial course, however, if he thinks he might get his way on the AP course (Dc) (see Table 2).

Table 2

Prisoner's Dilemma at School

	Chair cooperates Adds remedial double block without grievance	Chair defects Acts to block remedial double block
Principal Cooperates AP double block survives	(Cc)—(2, 2) Add remedial double block AP double block survives	(Cd)—(0, 3) No remedial double block AP double block survives
Principal Defects No AP double block	(Dc)—(3, 0) Add remedial double block No AP double block	(Dd)—(1, 1) No remedial double block No AP double block

Assigns 3 points for the most preferred case and 0 points for the least preferred case. The values are ordered (principal's preference, teacher's preference). Thus, (3, 0) indicates that Dc is the principal's most preferred outcome, while it is the teacher's least preferred outcome.

If the decision depends solely on the outcome of this one decision, whether she later learns that the department chair defected or cooperated, the principal will wish that she had defected (Recall the order of her preferences: $Dc > Cc$, and $Dd > Cd$). Thus, the principal has two Nash equilibria (see Table 2).

To illustrate how game theory may be applied to analyze the strategic decisions of rational agents in a school trying to establish and sustain trustworthy trust relationships, consider two students in a Math classroom taking a test. Both have agreed not to receive unauthorized aid on the test. As one of the students, you may prefer to gain the advantage by defecting on the agreement not to cheat while the other student cooperates (Dc). Your second preference is that neither cheats (Cc). You prefer Cc to Dd, because in the latter

combination of strategies, you took the risk of cheating and gained no advantage. Worst of all, you cooperate, but he cheats (Cd), putting you at a disadvantage and making you the “sucker.” The other student has exactly the same order of preferences, with 0 representing the lowest utility and 3 representing the highest (see Table 3).

Table 3

Prisoner’s Dilemma and Cheating

	They cooperate (Do not cheat)	They defect (Cheat)
You cooperate (Do not cheat)	(Cc)—(2, 2) Both behave honorably	(Cd)—(0, 3) You are the “sucker”
You defect (Cheat)	(Dc)—(3, 0) He is the “sucker”	(Dd)—(1, 1) Both risk cheating

Assigns 3 points for the most preferred case and 0 points for the least preferred case. The values are ordered (your preference, your opponent’s preference). Thus, (3, 1) indicates that Dc is your most preferred outcome, while it is your opponent’s third preference.

Iterated dilemmas. In his seminal work, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (1984), mathematical political theorist/scientist Robert Axelrod considered a question with strong applicability to proponents of distributed leadership within schools and other organizations: “Under what conditions will cooperation emerge in a world of egoists without central authority?” (p. 3). Considering the total utility to the system of players engaged in a Prisoner’s Dilemma, the sum of the utilities for mutual cooperation (Cc) is

4, the largest sum among all scenarios. If two egoists are playing a single game of Prisoner's Dilemma, however, there is no reason for either to cooperate: whether the other player cooperates or defects, a player will regret not defecting when he learns his opponent's strategy. The resulting choice of strategies (Dd) leads to the lowest total utility to the system (2). Understanding the conditions leading to the evolution of mutual cooperation might empower school leaders to develop capacity and professional community in schools and classrooms, improving educational outcomes for students.

Presented as a single game, each of the dilemmas fails to consider the important dimension of time. The strategic decisions were presented as isolated plays in a single game. More realistically, these decisions typically fit into a larger history of interaction. In the case of the Chaperone's Dilemma (Chicken), past experience is likely to offer insight into your assistant principal's likely behavior; if the game is Prisoner's Dilemma, then your relationship with the other player should help you to make your decision based on your informed assessment of his rationality. In all cases, the desire to achieve a tactical edge by defecting must be considered within the strategic context of future relationship. Axelrod realized the importance of the prospect of future interaction to strategic decision-making in iterated games. He pursued both an empirical, experimental approach and an axiomatic, deductive approach to analyze the problem.

To search for and test optimal strategies when playing iterated Prisoner's Dilemma, Axelrod invited game theorists from the fields of psychology, economics, political science, mathematics, and sociology to participate in a tournament. Each submitted a computer program to execute a strategy of their choice, knowing they would

be competing with other experienced players. Their programs could access the history of the game and weigh any insights available from the past in future decision-making.

Anatol Rapoport submitted the winning strategy. Dubbed TIT-FOR-TAT, the strategy consisted of beginning by cooperating, followed by reciprocating whatever the opponent did on the previous move. Four themes emerged from Axelrod's thorough and elegant analysis of the most effective strategies in the tournament (Axelrod, 1984):

- (1) Successful strategies begin with a cooperative move and avoid, "unnecessary conflict by cooperating so long as the other player does" (p. 20);
- (2) The most effective decision rules punish the other player when provoked by a defection on the part of the other;
- (3) The winners forgive after reciprocating a defection;
- (4) Successful decision rules are clear, facilitating the attempts of others to adapt to your cooperative/responsive stance.

TIT-FOR-TAT apparently found the perfect balance between cooperation and retaliation and was sufficiently transparent for players to discern the pattern and participate in mutual cooperation. In the second round, Axelrod also made the number of plays in the game an unknown, meaning that people had to account for future interaction. When players consider the accumulated payoffs of future iterations of the game in their present decisions, their calculations yield different results than if they weigh only the outcome of the one decision.

Populations of players of iterated games. Of course, future decisions may weigh heavily or barely at all, depending on a variety of factors contributing to the

likelihood of future interaction. Axelrod conceived the discount parameter, w , to quantify the fraction by which the payoff of a projected interaction is diminished by its distance into the future. Using simple ratio and proportion, Axelrod was able to prove the following theorem: “If the discount parameter, w , is sufficiently high, there is no best strategy independent of the strategy used by the other player” (Axelrod, 1984, p. 15). That is, if the prospect of future interaction is sufficiently high, successful strategies must account for the decisions of both players. This first proposition provided the foundation for a series of proofs relevant to researchers interested in the conditions for establishing self-sustaining cultures featuring relational trust and trustworthy relationships.

Observing the analogy between the features of various programs fighting for survival in the tournament and the traits of individuals in a species competing for fitness to their environmental situation, evolutionary biologist John Maynard Smith considered an entire population of individuals using a single strategy, say TIT-FOR-TAT (1982). Smith then imagined a mutant strategy attempting to “invade” the population, earning higher scores against “natives” on the average, than when they play one another. He coined the term *collectively stable* to describe a strategy whose population cannot be invaded by any other strategy. Axelrod proved that TIT-FOR-TAT is collectively stable, provided that the prospect of future interaction is sufficiently large. Further, Axelrod showed that provided the likelihood of future interaction corresponds to a discount parameter value of $2/3$ or greater, it is impossible for a competing strategy to invade a population of players using TIT-FOR-TAT. Significantly, if w drops below $1/2$,

indicating a low likelihood of future interaction, players using the strategy of always defecting gain traction, as any “lame duck” politician comes to realize.

In general, a threshold likelihood of future interaction is a necessary condition for “nice” strategies to be successful. Axelrod also proved that for nice strategies to be collectively stable, players must reciprocate when provoked by defector behavior. In other words, populations of cooperators must have a means of self-defense, if they are to prevent invasion by defectors. On the other hand, Axelrod proved that, “A world of ‘meanies’ can resist invasion by anyone using any other strategy—provided that the newcomers arrive one at a time” (p. 63). If nicer players arrive together, however, the relative advantages of their cooperative strategies when they are playing each other yield higher scores than those of opponents who always defect. Axelrod computed the proportion of invading TIT-FOR-TAT players necessary to invade a population of defectors as only 5%, provided the future looms large in the game ($w = 0.9$). As the value of w increases, the proportion of cooperators necessary to invade a population of defectors diminishes even further. This finding seems significant when considering desirable conditions for restructuring schools characterized by wary interactions and defector behavior to function as rational, trust-based professional communities.

Axelrod also proved that strategies most capable of invading a population of defectors make it easy for players to discern the pattern. TIT-FOR-TAT’s uncomplicated response to provocation allowed opponents to discern the strategic advantage of cooperation with this partner. The transparency of TIT-FOR-TAT promotes the emergence of a cooperative pattern in games in which it is employed. Finally, Axelrod

established the basis for the stability of nice strategies, such as TIT-FOR-TAT. He proved mathematically that a relatively small number of cooperators may invade a population of defectors, while a population of cooperators capable of defending themselves, using the principle of reciprocity, cannot be invaded by even a large cluster of defectors.

Implications of game theory for schools. Axelrod's empirical observations and axiomatic propositions have clear implications for those hoping restructure schools lacking in relational trust to become self-sustaining professional communities. Axelrod (1984) offered five recommendations to those hoping to promote cooperation. First, "enlarge the shadow of the future" (Axelrod, 1984, p. 126). Forcing rational players to consider the impact on future interactions of an uncalled-for defection tends to foster cooperation. Amplifying the likelihood of future interactions may be one mechanism for successes achieved in the Small Schools movement initiated by Deborah Meier (1995). Second, "change the payoffs" (Axelrod, 1984, p. 133). When there is very little advantage to be gained by cheating in isolation, as opposed to learning that your opponent also cheated, players are less likely to risk cheating; when being taken advantage of for choosing to behave cooperatively is not much worse than mutual cooperation, players are more likely to choose cooperation. Third, "teach people to care about each other" (Axelrod, 1984, p. 134). In the same way as the dimension of rational agents making strategic decisions in game theory moves theories of complex systems closer to realistic human interactions, the dimensions of ethics and care further humanize decision-making. Fourth, to promote cooperation, "teach reciprocity" (Axelrod, 1984, p.

136). If defectors can abuse the trust of their community with impunity, then cooperation is an irrational long-range strategy. Finally, schools can “improve recognition abilities” (Axelrod, 1984, p. 139) by making the rules of the game more transparent to participants through intentional teaching and mentoring.

Axelrod’s findings concerning winning strategies in game theoretical tournaments modeling social dilemmas are relevant to this study on strategies for promoting relational trust in honor system communities. First, Axelrod observed that successful strategies begin with a cooperative move and avoid, “unnecessary conflict by cooperating so long as the other player does” (Axelrod, 1984, p. 20). Honor system schools initiate relationships with students and other stakeholders with clear statements of trust based on the presumption of honor. By contrast, excessively authoritarian stances precipitate unnecessary conflict. Second, the most effective decision rules punish the other player when provoked by an “uncalled for” defection on the part of the other. Thriving honor systems take violations of the trust of the community very seriously, sometimes going so far as to remove community members for offenses that would either be ignored, or result only in a lowered grade in another setting. Third, winning strategies forgive after responding, quickly reestablishing a cooperative pattern. Many honor system communities have some mechanism for self-reporting and restitution. Both acts signal an intention to resume a cooperative stance. Fourth, successful decision rules are clear, facilitating the attempts of others to adapt to your cooperative/responsive stance. Honor systems signal community values by initiating cooperation. They also intentionally move

new members from the periphery of the culture to its core by way of clear training sessions and through significant mentor relationships with senior members.

Social psychologist Morton Deutsch (1958, 1977) examined the roles of trust and suspicion in conflict resolution. He applied game theoretic experiments to explore the psychological issues in situations requiring trust-based cooperation. Deutsch's research in fostering cooperation has been applied to fields as diverse as Cold War strategy and family mediation. Raider, Coleman, and Gerson (2006) applied Deutsch's findings to approach solving problems in educational systems. In a report describing workshops teaching conflict resolution in schools, Raider, Coleman, and Gerson effectively asked the question motivating the present study of independent school communities espousing honor system values:

Can education advocates develop creative nonviolent strategies and tactics, capable of building a powerful mass movement to fundamentally change the education system from its current form—a bureaucratic top-down factory model, to a more cooperative school/community-based system where parents, students, and teachers work together to build learning communities based on mutual trust and respect? (p. 719)

Some may assume that to the extent that honor system trust communities are possible at all, they are only possible in the peculiar world of independent schooling and certain niches in higher education. It is true that the population served by honor system schools tends to emerge from social and cultural systems essentially replicated in the school community. However, Axelrod's findings suggest that restructuring wary schools

of strategic defectors is both possible and desirable. Axelrod's propositions provide a framework for infiltration of new strategies to restructure existing equilibria. Axelrod's calculations provide both hope for intervention and an implied means of implementing the invasion of strategies based on discriminating cooperation. Recall that if there is a high likelihood of future interaction, a cluster of TIT-FOR-TAT cooperators composing only 5% of the overall population will outperform the broader population of players who always defect and eventually establish new patterns of behavior. A single cooperator, however, cannot accomplish the task alone.

Axelrod's final proposition provides both hope for the possibility of sustaining a cooperative equilibrium state, once it is achieved, and a warning against complacency, for those already enjoying the benefits of living in a trust-based school community. Recall that a population of cooperators capable of defending themselves through practicing reciprocity cannot be invaded by even a large number of defectors. If the community loses its distinctive character, however, Axelrod's calculations offer no promise of sustainability. If the administration loses its stomach for defending the community against defectors, for example, the rational decision no longer rests with a cooperative stance. If community members abandon the nice behavior of presuming honor and extending trust, then the wariness and conflict of less successful strategies may emerge. Of course human beings do not make decisions on a purely rational basis. Perhaps ethical considerations, or traditions, or even just habit will sustain honorable behavior, at least for a time, even though cheaters are allowed to prosper or cooperators

are treated like cheaters. But abandoning either the discrimination or the cooperation of the optimal strategies imperils the equilibrium state of relational trust.

Complex Systems, Capacity Building, and Professional Community in Schools

Although principles of complex systems are tapped in this study to offer mechanisms by which three independent schools foster relational trust and shared accountability, theories of complex systems also inform contemporary education reform research and practice on school improvement and restructuring. We have already reviewed how complex systems and their feedback loops relate to the growth or contraction of a school's resources (Firestone & Rosenblum, 1988). We have seen how research on the optimal density and entropy of a complex system relates to school size (Lee, 2004; Lee & Loeb, 2000; Lee & Smith, 1997; and Meier, 1995) and to shared leadership (Tschannen-Moran, 2004; and Drucker, 2001). We have considered how the strategic dilemmas of game theory might contribute to understanding of the evolution of cooperation within any school situation and how game theory might encourage and inform those interested in restructuring schools for cooperation (Smith, 1982; Raider, Coleman, & Gerson, 2006). This section relates practical research on capacity building and professional community to the expansion or contraction of resources available to a school as the result of system effects, as opposed to reform initiatives primarily characterized by externally imposed standardization.

Capacity building. In his 2007 work on meaningful education reform, Michael Fullan defined initiatives increasing the collective efficacy of a staff to accomplish school purposes through knowledge, resource development, and increased motivation as

capacity building. The system effects of collective efficacy and the strategic growth of human and social resources link the construct of capacity building with the mechanisms of complex systems. Fullan described gains achieved by externally applied reform initiatives, such as increased accountability or incentive structures, as unsustainable without corresponding investment in capacity building. The feedback loops amplifying system effects offer a mechanism for sustained reform or decay, depending upon the norms and expectations reinforced by policies and practices. In a 2009 study based on an interdisciplinary model with iterated interaction providing a mechanism for developing the resource of relational trust, Cosner related the investment of school leaders in norms of ongoing collegial interaction to trust and capacity building. Cosner defined capacity building in terms of interacting resources supporting school reform, teacher development, and improved student learning.

Newman et al. (2000) identified five components to school capacity building: teacher knowledge, skills and dispositions; professional community; program coherence; technical resources; and principal leadership. Knapp (1997) included professional development as a component to capacity building. Consistent with Bryk & Schneider's (2002) findings concerning the role of more powerful partners in transforming asymmetric relationships, one study of high poverty elementary schools, principal leadership proved to be the most important factor in successful reform (Borko et al., 2003). However, Youngs and King (2002) found that the interrelation among components means that all must be present to support constructive feedback and optimize development of school capacity. While all components of capacity building were

observed in this study, varying degrees of a distinctive form of professional community expressed within the student bodies characterized the three independent schools studied.

Professional Learning Community. Management theorist Peter Drucker asserted, “Every enterprise has to become a learning institution [and] a teaching institution. Organizations that build in continuous learning in jobs will dominate the twenty-first century” (Drucker, 1992, p. 108). To connect this study to the broader literature, this subsection discusses schools as professional communities and learning organizations. Dufour and Eaker (1998) identified six characteristics of professional learning communities: “shared mission, vision, and values”; “collective inquiry”; “collaborative teams”; “action orientation and experimentation”; “continuous improvement”; and “results orientation” (pp. 25-29). Of these, Dufour and Eaker characterized shared mission and principles, “embedded in the hearts and minds of people throughout the school” (p. 25) as integral to a professional learning community. Dufour and Eaker described ongoing collective inquiry within collaborative teams as “the engine of improvement, growth and renewal in a professional learning community” (p. 25). Transformation proceeds from building a foundation of shared purpose and guiding principles, to sustaining cycles of school improvement, to ingraining change within the culture of the school. As Schlechty (1997) wrote, “Structural change that is not supported by cultural change will eventually be overwhelmed by the culture, for it is in the culture that any organization finds meaning and stability” (p. 136). The norms and expectations of culture are social capital flowing through the relational network of the school.

While professional learning communities contribute to individual professional development, the essence of a professional learning community transcends individual learning: it is a learning organization (Senge, 2006). Sergiovanni (2000) described organizational learning as follows: “Within communities of practice, individual practices of teachers are not abandoned but are connected to each other in such a way that a single practice of teachers emerges” (p. 140). Hord and Sommers’ (2008) five components of professional learning communities reconfigured Dufour and Eaker’s (1998) construct, focusing attention on sharing and support: “shared beliefs, values, and vision”; “shared and supportive leadership”; “collective learning and its application”; “supportive conditions”; and “shared personal practice” (p. 9). Citing Bryk and Schneider (2002), Hord and Sommers (2008) addressed the importance of developing interpersonal respect and trust, if one hopes to nurture a genuine professional learning community.

Hall and Hord (2011) offered six strategies for fostering the emergence of professional learning communities: articulating a shared vision, developing a plan, training in the specific skills of a professional learning community, checking progress, providing assistance, and understanding school culture. Although professional learning communities can effectively transform school culture, even seemingly closely matched groups may experience markedly different results. Angelle and Teague (2011) studied neighboring LEAs implementing variations of professional learning communities, finding one experiencing the organizational learning one might hope and the other seeming only to go through the motions. The philosophical difference between LEA’s emanated from school leaders. Even with enthusiastic principal support, Levine (2011) emphasized the

need to allocate sufficient resources and time for capacity building and community learning to emerge from system interactions.

Externally imposed standards may threaten local capacity building and the emergence of professional community. When the aims of the standards align with the shared mission and collective purpose, however, external standards may also protect an effective professional community from risks associated with a provincial perspective. Hiebert, Gallimore, and Stigler (2002) advocated structuring ways in which professional knowledge of research from beyond a school interacts with craft knowledge within a school, enacting Darling-Hammond's envisioned "standards without standardization" (1997, p. 210). In systems terms, an appropriate application of external standards to the task of capacity building within a professional learning community may provide the optimal system order of an enabling bureaucracy while protecting against the damping effects of coercive bureaucracy.

The Evolution of American School Governance Structures

This brief history of the evolution of governance structures forming the family tree of American schools will provide context for the stories uncovered in the three cases of this study and establish a basis for the relevance of this study to the broader education community. Because education research focuses almost entirely upon the phenomenon of public education, we risk missing lessons to be learned from school communities expressing alternate governance structures. Surveying the scene through the narrow aperture of the present or the slightly wider range of the recent past and near future, we may see little reason to study schools serving a role specialized for a select population.

Beyond, perhaps, an arcane interest in completing the encyclopedia of American schools, what might different species of schools hope to learn through studying one another?

To approach this question, this section will begin with a subsection reviewing the evolutionary history of the varied species of American school governance. Our shared ancestry connects school governance species seemingly as diverse as Darwin's Galapagos turtles. In spite of a common heritage and parallel evolutionary processes, increasingly divergent paths of private and public schools have led to almost total isolation between schools operating under different governance structures. Until recently, that isolation seems to have supported increasing divergence in specific forms. As reform agendas have shifted from education as agent of reform to education as object of reform, however, evidence of shared attributes are emerging in the literature on education reform and school restructuring. A second subsection will relate this study of relational trust and trustworthy relations in independent schools espousing honor systems to contemporary reform initiatives now successfully restructuring certain schools within the system of public education.

Shared Ancestry of Various Species of American School Governance

The ecosystem of school governance. Modern American schools exhibit at least two major species of school governance, public and private, along with a number of variations, including charter public schools, parochial and independent schools, and home schooling. The government sponsored public school system dwarfs other forms of school governance, both in terms of size and influence. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U.S. Department of Education Institute of Education

Sciences, in 2007, 10.7% of the nation's pre-kindergarten through secondary students attended private schools, with the rest attending public schools operated by the fifty states (Planty, et al., 2009). The regulatory power of the states extends beyond public school governance into the realms of home schooling and private education. A state may not, however, make arbitrary and capricious demands on private schools; it may not enact laws effectively removing the option of private education from parents (*Pierce v. Society of the Sisters*, 1925).

Although the states may legally regulate teacher certification, curricular requirements, attendance standards, and accountability testing, even in nonpublic schools (*Murphy v. State of Arkansas*, 1988), independent schools largely operate under alternative accountability systems evolved over more than three centuries of operation in North America. Members of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) are accredited by approved associations applying NAIS standards, but otherwise are bound only by their agreement to comply with simple ethical practices, including nondiscriminatory admissions and hiring policies (NAIS, 2002). While 81.5% of public schools in 2000 required applicants for teaching positions to hold teaching certificates in the field to be taught, only 38.9% of private schools overall and 17.4% of NAIS member schools required full state certification (Gruber, Wiley, Broughman, Strizek, & Burian-Fitzgerald, 2002). While public schools are held accountable for student outcomes by high stakes testing, independent schools are largely self-regulating.

As the institutions of public education reflected increasingly centralized governmental structures, independent schools managed to maintain a niche defined by

independence from either government sponsorship, on the one hand, or church governance, on the other. Neither public nor parochial, NAIS member schools are incorporated as non-profit institutions governed by independent boards of trustees. Loosely networked with other similar schools, independent schools only rarely interact with their publicly governed counterparts. Earlier in American history, however, when a form of democratic localism was the prevailing model, differences among school types were not so sharply defined as they are today.

1644-1877: A blurred typology of school governance. Dedham, Massachusetts claims the distinction of establishing in 1644 the first free public school in America, funded by the community and governed by a board under principles of English feudal law (Slafter, 1905). While publicly funded, however, schools in Puritan Massachusetts held more in common with modern church schools than with today's highly secularized public schools. A Massachusetts Bay Colony statute (1647) justified mandating community provision for the schools as a means to thwart the "chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures" (as quoted in Slafter, 1905, p. 9). Further, communities funded the schools, at least in part, by assessing fees to the parents of the children educated, as in modern tuition-based schools. Towns were charged to hire a schoolmaster capable of preparing young people for university.

Like Dedham's public school, many modern independent schools surviving from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were originally founded to prepare students for university, often for a particular university, although today most tout the breadth of their students' college choices. For example, Phillips Exeter Academy's early history as an

institution preparing students for matriculation at Harvard is still expressed in recent statistics revealing Harvard edging out other elite universities as the most popular destination for its alumni (Phillips Exeter Academy, 2009). Phillips Academy (Andover) was a preparatory school for generations of Yale students, as illustrated by the courses followed by both Presidents Bush and by both the father and the daughter of Senator John Kerry (Economicexpert.com, n.d.). In the years following the Civil War, however, a trend towards creating schools independent from specific universities became evident (McMillin, 1971).

1870s to 1940s: The differentiation of two species of school governance. In the years after 1870, the public educational system organized and grew. As late as the 1870s, fewer than 3% of 17-year-olds graduated from any high school; 70% of college freshmen graduated from private academies. In 1890, 3.5% of 17-year-olds graduated from high school, 50% of these from public schools. By 1950, 59% graduated from high school, 88.6% of these from public high schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000).

As the number of public schools proliferated, both to accommodate a growing population and to include a vastly increased portion of that population, local school districts outgrew the single school model. Mirroring trends in manufacturing, government, and organized labor (Fukuyama, 1996), the educational system generally developed along hierarchical, bureaucratic lines. Local control in the public schools came to be expressed at the district or state level of the educational system.

The individualistic local control characteristic of all schools prior to the emergence of the present educational bureaucracy survived in the species of independent

schools. In the early 1940's, it became evident that independent schools delivered uneven results. Recognizing the choice between complacency and survival as independent schools, a group of the high performing schools organized the California Association of Independent Schools (CAIS) in 1941, joining a movement towards organization to improve outcomes. The National Council of Independent Schools (NCIS) had organized in 1940 and used the California Association of Independent Secondary Schools as a model to facilitate relations between independent schools and governmental regulators (Stephens, 1997). The NCIS would merge in 1962 with the Independent Schools Education Board to form the NAIS. The NAIS web site asserts: "NAIS is the national voice of independent education. We offer standards, targeted resources, and networking opportunities for our 1,300 member schools" (n.d.). This three-pronged approach of principled aspiration, purposeful support, and network organization is the target for which NAIS affiliated, independently governed schools aim.

1950s to 1980s: Desegregation impacts public and private education. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* Supreme Court ruling, unequivocally rejecting the doctrine of "separate but equal" education of the races, provided the legal basis for the racial integration of the nation's public schools. The nation's response to the *Brown* decision varied widely from one locality to another. Two broad trends emerged: (a) encouraged by the *Brown* decision, civil rights activists persistently and successfully worked to dismantle legal barriers to Equal Protection under the law for all citizens; and, (b) threatened by challenges to the status quo, opponents to integration deployed a variety of strategies in their resistance, ranging from governmental

mandate to open civil disobedience to more subtle measures to institutionalize de facto segregation (Smithsonian National Museum of American History, n.d.). The post World War II movement of middle class Americans from urban centers to booming suburbs became one mechanism for de facto segregation, earning for itself the name, “white flight.” The educational effect of these demographic trends was to sustain the segregation of the majority of the nation’s schools, even in the wake of the desegregation mandated by the 1954 Brown decision.

In the years after court-ordered busing in Boston, only about 25% of the city’s public school system’s students were white, although about 66% of the combined public and private school high school students were white (Frum, 2000). According to Taeuber and James (1982), while 34% of Boston’s high school students in 1976 were black, only 6% of those attending Catholic high schools were black; about a third of the city’s high school students attended Catholic schools. These facts support the conclusion that the emigration from Boston’s public schools occurred disproportionately among white students. Frum (2000) reported that 60% of Boston’s public school families earned less than \$15,000 per year, suggesting that the emigration from Boston’s public schools occurred disproportionately among those who could afford private schools. In Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, 4% of black students, while 38% of white students attended private schools in 1980 (Taeuber & James, 1982). This study revealed the appearance of numerous “segregation academies” in the region. Whether the contemporaneous trend toward segregation of the schools in the era of court-ordered busing reflects a causal relationship or simply a coincidental continuation of previously established patterns

(Rossell, 1975-1976), the appearance of the educational scene is the same. That is, urban public schools tend to enroll relatively higher percentages of African American and low socioeconomic status students, while suburban and private schools tend to enroll a higher percentage of white and middle or upper class students.

Independent school responses to integration were as individualistic as other features of their communities. While some private schools founded in the 1950s were created as outlets for families hoping to maintain racial segregation, others tapped into a vision of college preparatory education that predated desegregation. In a 1969 speech entitled *The Challenges of Tomorrow* delivered by independent school founder Robert Webb challenged the Mid-South Association of Independent Schools in Chattanooga:

And certainly it is time that we in the South face squarely the matter of mixing races in our schools . . . Our record in that area is far from proud. We who are supposed to lead have turned our backs on the biggest social revolution this country has known. It is time we realize that by standing as the last stronghold of segregation we are not doing our students a favor; we are not preparing them for the realities of their lives ahead, much less a position of leadership. (As quoted in Neely, 2006, p. 134)

The National Association of Independent Schools responded similarly to the challenges of desegregation and the profusion of private segregation academies. The NAIS requires that member schools practice nondiscriminatory practices as a condition for membership (NAIS, n.d.).

Relational Trust and Contemporary Reform: The 1980s and Beyond

The idea of building or reforming society through education is ancient. Jeffersonian and Progressive initiatives towards universal access to education culminated in legal decisions and legislation mandating equal access to a public education, irrespective of race (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954), socioeconomic status (Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965), or disability (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 1975). In spite of seemingly concentrated effort and significant investment in these initiatives, however, the nation's schools were still segregated a generation later and the electorate became alarmed by apparent deficiencies in the education of students matriculating to the workforce.

The 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education [NCEE], 1983) focused national attention on workplace readiness issues, such as unacceptable illiteracy rates, and disappointing performance of American students relative to international counterparts. Citing a dilute curriculum and diminished expectations in American schools, inadequate time on task for American students, and deficiencies in the American system of recruiting and preparing teachers, the report shifted attention from education as an institution for societal reform to education as a social institution itself in need of reform. Composed of professional educators from higher education, public school systems, and independent schools, the Commission on Excellence in Education represented an opportunity for professional reform. Elmore, however, has described the ensuing reform as “largely done to, rather than done with, educational professionals” (2003, p. 27).

Professional reform. Professions are entrusted with the privilege of being largely self-policing. Gardner, Czikszenmihalyi, and Damon (2001) encourage professionals to continually consider, “Why should society reward the kind of work that I do with status and certain privileges?” (p. 10). Professions typically set and enforce their own standards for admission to professional practice and for best practice. Professionals operate within the confines of self-imposed and enforced codes of professional ethics. The emergence of the NAIS in the 1940s may be viewed as a professional reform initiative designed to develop capacity within the independent schools movement and avoid externally applied sanctions.

While the escalation of top-down, legislative mandates in the years following *A Nation of Risk* is well documented (Elmore, 2003; National Commission on Teaching & America’s Future, 1996), there is evidence of the contemporaneous emergence of parallel reform movements characterized by collegial, professional reform (Drucker, 1992; Schlechty, 1997; Dufour & Eaker, 1998). The 1990s Chicago School Reform initiative documented by Bryk and Schneider (2002) featured the Chicago Schools System flattening hierarchies by distributing leadership to the school level. The Charter Schools movement began in 1988 with a call for reform of the public schools from Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, who envisioned “charter schools” under contract with the LEA, a university, or the state Department of Education. (Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, 2006). Relieving these publicly funded schools of certain bureaucratic restrictions was intended to empower teachers and parents with greater freedom to innovate, while holding them to the same performance standards

as traditional public schools. Complementing these initiatives with Sizer's Essential Schools Movement (1984) and Goodlad's program of School Renewal (1997), the scene in the 1980s and 1990s was not entirely dominated by top-down reform initiatives.

In 1996, under the direction of Linda Darling-Hammond, The National Commission on Teaching & America's Future published a report entitled *Teaching for America's Future*, which both cited a rising tide of "hundreds of pieces of legislation enacted" (p. 4) to improve schools in the wake of *A Nation at Risk*, and noted little corresponding change towards lofty national goals: "When it comes to widespread change, we have behaved as though national, state, and district mandates could, like magic wands, transform schools" (p. 5). To address fundamentals, the report asserted the primacy of teacher knowledge and practice on student learning, advocated prioritizing the development of better strategies for teacher recruitment, preparation, and retention; and reorganizing schools for effective teaching. Upon that foundation the report described a set of "building blocks":

Standards for student learning that allow teachers and parents to organize their efforts in a common direction; standards for teaching that define what teachers must know to help their students succeed; high quality preparation and professional development that help teachers develop the skills they need; aggressive recruitment of able teachers in high-need fields; rewards for teacher knowledge and skill; and schools organized for student and teacher learning in the ways they staff, schedule, and finance their work. (p. 21)

The program laid out by the commission would have established the framework for a teaching profession akin to that practiced by other professions, with teachers and other professional educators actively involved in standard-setting and enforcement, recruitment and licensure, ongoing professional learning and structuring schools for learning.

Cultural reproduction and cultural transformation. Teacher union leader Shanker and conservative Secretary of Education William Bennett would ultimately work on the same team to draft the No Child Left Behind [NCLB] Act of 2001 (2002), which featured a variety of initiatives shifting the locus of control for educational decisions from centralized locations to school districts and families, as enacted. Initiatives targeting education reform in the public sector, however, tended to replicate the top-down transactional relationships characteristic of the courts and the legislatures, rather than the collegial capacity building of professional associations. NCLB as implemented became a juggernaut for externally imposed standards and high stakes accountability. Envisioned structural reforms were not effectively actualized and uncomfortable coalitions collapsed (West & Peterson, 2003).

While cultural factors shaped the form of American educational reform in the decade surrounding the turn of the millennium, initiatives formed in the mold of the machine age proved inadequate to the task of improving educational outcomes for the human beings on which they operated. In the context of the once unimaginable inclusion of so many once excluded segments of the population, Schlechty (2001) has argued that American schools have actually succeeded in their original aims of universal basic literacy, widespread functional literacy, and higher academic standards for perhaps a fifth

of the population. Even so, there is widespread clamor for reform. As Schlechty (2001) observed: “American schools are better at doing what they were designed to do than ever in the past. *Unfortunately, what the schools were designed to do is no longer meeting the needs of American society* [italics in original]” (p. 11). Schlechty observed that what is needed is, “*a system of education that provides an elite education for nearly every child* [italics in original]” (p. 15).

With widespread failure of states to meet looming NCLB targets, the Department of Education undertook a waiver program releasing states deemed to be making appropriate structural changes from the threat of sanctions owing to lagging progress towards the lofty goal articulated in the title of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Informed by contemporary literature on capacity building and professional learning, structural changes sanctioned by the federal government include professional frameworks for teacher and principal development and evaluation, credible standards for student achievement, and investment in the infrastructure of learning, including technology and learning networks systematically linking educators in professional learning communities (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Elmore, 2003, 2007; Fullan, 2007; Hoy & Sweetland, 2001; Klonsky & Klonsky, 2008; Marzano, Waters, & McNulty, 2005). In short, the arc of the system of public education seems to be in the direction of formalizing the informal professional association and decentralized governance evolved over the last century in certain independent schools.

Conclusion

In summary, Coleman's social capital theory as applied by Bryk and Schneider to address relational trust as a resource for school improvement provided the theoretical framework for this study. Analogies identified between the physical capital of markets and the social capital of relational networks included the role of participant investment in creating expansion or contraction of resources, and the importance of rich relational ties and relatively symmetric relationships in creating sustainable accountability through system norms and standards, as opposed to external standardization. Relational trust and network trustworthiness were treated as forms of social capital available for developing the human capital of schools. The theme of relational trust ran through variables such as school size, governance, and demographics and related to student outcomes. The variability of results among schools empowered to act locally by Chicago reform efforts and among independent schools empowered by their governance provided evidence that relational trust must be accompanied by appropriate accountability structures.

Principles of complex systems supporting social capital theory provided mechanisms for effects proceeding from the social system, rather than executive control. Constructive feedback loops between individuals acting as agents in the broader system reinforce and amplify shared values, norms, and expectations, phenomena of culture emerging from the interactions and cultural effects shape the ongoing growth of individuals. Sustainable, transformational change requires investment in the social capital of cultural systems and attention to structural elements such as population density and system order. While complex systems offered mechanism for the emergence of system

intelligence, even when unintelligent agents interact randomly, game theoretic models found similar effects when systems connect rational beings engaged in strategic decision-making. Based on purely transactional analysis, the winning strategies in social dilemmas featured preemptive trust, reciprocity when trust is violated, a speedy return to cooperation, and transparency of operations to facilitate communication of intentions and foster the evolution of cooperation. Principles of complex systems and game theory were linked to current literature on capacity building and professional learning communities in schools, adding the effects of shared values and purpose to the effects of strategic decisions and random interactions among individuals linked in a system. Significantly, both theory and research suggested that to establish a culture of trust in a school, more powerful partners in asymmetric relations should initiate a cycle by entrusting less powerful partners with genuine responsibilities and helping them to succeed. Nurturing a feedback loop of escalating trust and mutual accountability was treated as investing in the expansion of community resources.

Finally, this review of literature considered school governance, as it relates to trust and trustworthiness. This section provided a brief history of the evolution American school governance styles, beginning with the early colonial period, when public elementary schools often displayed features of modern private schools and when secondary education was typically privately provided, if at all. The account then documented the explosion of public secondary schooling in the twentieth century and the distinctive qualities of public and independent schools that emerged in this era. The history concluded with a description of modern governance experiments in public

schools. Finally, the section on school governance examined independent schools espousing honor systems and various educational reform initiatives within the public school system through the lens of relational trust and self-regulating accountability.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

“The purpose of analysis is to bring meaning, structure, and order to data.”

(Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002, p. 31)

The purpose of this mixed-methods, multi-site case study was to explore the perceptions of teachers and principals in independent schools founded on an honor system model in order to identify significant factors characteristic of the phenomena of sustainable relational trust and trustworthiness in those school communities. A second purpose was to uncover interactions between relational trust and features of professional community. This study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability?
2. In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?

These questions focused the study within the broader context of the overarching question, “How can schools benefit from standards-based reform without suffering the

negative effects of bureaucratic standardization?” This chapter will describe the design, methods, and procedures used to conduct this study.

Assumptions and Rationale for Using a Mixed Methods Design

Quantitative research methodologies typically feature a rational-empirical point of view associated with a positivist philosophy. Carr and Kemmis (1986) described a deterministic quality to the findings of positivist education research, with its impersonal functions operating on individuals, and characterized this research orientation as being concerned with giving value-neutral explanations, rather than with regulating social reality. Qualitative research methodologies typically feature an interpretive point of view associated with the constructivist philosophy. Social structures are seen as emergent phenomena of the interactions among individuals. Consequently, Carr and Kemmis found the positivist stance of examining a social structure as if it were an objective reality, independent of the individuals who created it, to be deficient in at least two ways: functional research treats as real objects of inquiry the social and cognitive structures that are only real in terms of the decisions and behaviors of individual actors, and it ignores the social interactions fundamental to the construction of that reality. Qualitative research shifts the focus to understanding the social processes that produce and sustain social structure. Rather than assuming a value-free pose, constructivist researchers attempt to understand the values that give the constructed reality its particular meaning. Because a significant object of this study was, in essence, the quality of interactions within particular school social structures, qualitative methods played a large part in its design.

Mixed methods researchers assume an essentially pragmatic stance (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), liberating researchers to select either qualitative or quantitative methods based on which better addresses the research questions under study. Honest quantitative researchers recognize that, even in the vastly more detached stance they work so vigorously to maintain, their many decisions in the design, implementation, and analysis phases of research inevitably determine what they see and what they make of it. Pragmatic qualitative researchers understand the power of disciplining what might devolve into an inward spiral of increasingly arcane information about a phenomenon of only particular interest by bolstering their research with the powerful quantitative tools that inform the researcher of what may be generally known, and with what certainty. To gain some sense of whether the findings of this study might generalize into other settings, this study's predominately qualitative structure was bolstered with quantitative features, creating a mixed methods study.

Qualitative and quantitative methods tend to operate in different dimensions, for better and for worse. The former can achieve deeper and richer understanding of a particular phenomenon; the latter can produce broader predictions concerning more general phenomena (Merriam, 1998). Most complete of all is a multi-dimensional approach that moves back and forth between the gross features of the surface area and the fundamental meaning contained within the depths. This ability to make dimensional leaps is an asset of mixed methods research. Bryk and Schneider's 2002 mixed methods multi-site study of reform in Chicago elementary schools in the 1990s, the theoretical framework for this study, relied heavily upon empirical data and quantitative analysis.

The present mixed methods multi-site study of accountability structures in three independent schools features a greater emphasis upon qualitative data and analysis. Variation in the two designs suits the more quantitative accountability structures of the urban school district under examination in the former and the more qualitative, cultural structures evident in the independent schools examined in the latter.

As Merriam (1998) observed, quantitative and qualitative researchers “employ different rhetoric to persuade consumers of their trustworthiness” (p. 199). Although the design of this study of relational trust and cultural trustworthiness in school communities was predominately qualitative, the design featured a mixed methods approach to data gathering, data analysis, and generation of findings. Some findings related to system qualities too intimately intertwined and richly networked to be studied as isolated quantitative variables. Others aspired to find relationships between aggregated constructs, such as how system trust and trustworthiness relate to community features, including school commitment, orientation to innovation, or professional community. The qualitative features of this study are best suited to the system phenomena under observation. The quantitative features represented an attempt to more broadly generalize the study’s findings beyond the limited boundaries of the cases under study. As a mixed methods study, this research purposefully employed triangulation of findings, studied complementary overlapping phenomena, invited the discovery of new hypotheses, and aimed to expand the picture presented by working in either dimension in isolation (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

Study Design

QUAL + quan Design

An exploratory mixed methods multi-site case study design featuring a dominant qualitative side was used to fulfill the purpose and to respond to the research questions of this study. According to Merriam (1998), case study research focuses on a single phenomenon, aiming to, “uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon” (p. 29). The purposes of this mixed methods multi-site case study were to explore how relational trust is fostered in three independent schools practicing honor systems and to uncover interactions between relational trust and features of professional community within these schools. Yin (2003) defined a case study as, “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). The qualitative case study design was especially well suited to this study because the boundaries between the phenomena of relational trust and trustworthiness and the honor system communities under study were not clear. Especially in one case, it proved impossible even to isolate the effects of individuals from the effects of school community, which were viewed as participating in cycles of mutual causation. Isolating either the variables from the system or the phenomenon from the context was not possible.

The centrality of the case study approach in the mixed methods design of this study was undertaken because it suits the independent school communities under study, and because it strengthens applicability to researchers and policy-makers considering

how to build capacity through local control and professional community within the broader context of standards-based reform. Top-down, externally imposed standardization of programs and outcomes has generally failed to yield adequate returns (Neuman-Sheldon, 2007). Improved understanding of how to garner the benefits of decentralized enabling structures while avoiding the pitfalls of low accountability is needed. According to Collins and Noblit (1978), case study research is particularly useful for realistic policy analysis because case studies sample complex situations, explore dynamic situations in context, are well suited to evaluate social change, and improve understanding of potential conflicts threatening sustainability of transformational initiatives.

Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, and Hanson (2003) described *concurrent triangulation design* as using:

...two different methods in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings within a single study.... This design generally uses separate quantitative and qualitative methods as a means to offset the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other method.... This design usually integrates the results of the two methods during the interpretation phase. (p. 228)

In this study, qualitative data gathering and analysis techniques were applied to qualitative data from interviews, observations, and documents. Quantitative survey data were used primarily for triangulation within the case study, making them less dominant.

Parallel/Simultaneous Design

Mixed methods designs vary in whether qualitative and quantitative data collection are assigned equivalent status, or if one research strategy is dominant. These studies also vary in whether the data collection of the design is sequential, implying that results from one phase influence design decisions in subsequent phases, or parallel/simultaneous, indicating that design decisions are determined before data gathering begins, regardless of whether the various data gathering activities occur at the same time (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). This study used a dominant-less dominant, parallel/simultaneous design. Figure 2 illustrates the mixed methodology in the design of this study.

Morse (2003) indicated that beginning the notation with an uppercase QUAL denotes a design with an *inductive drive*, while beginning with an uppercase QUAN denotes a design with a *deductive drive*. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) described the lack of clear differentiation between data analysis and inference stages of these designs as a limitation of this classification system and incorporated data analysis, which will have a clear methodological orientation, with inference, which is likely to exhibit relative levels of qualitative and quantitative orientation, as described above. Morse's (2003) characterization of inductive drive for a QUAL + quan study, however, describes the data analysis/inference orientation employed in this study. On a purely aesthetic level, an inductive study is a satisfying approach to apply to a phenomenon viewed as emerging from system factors, as opposed to an effect following from externally imposed causes.

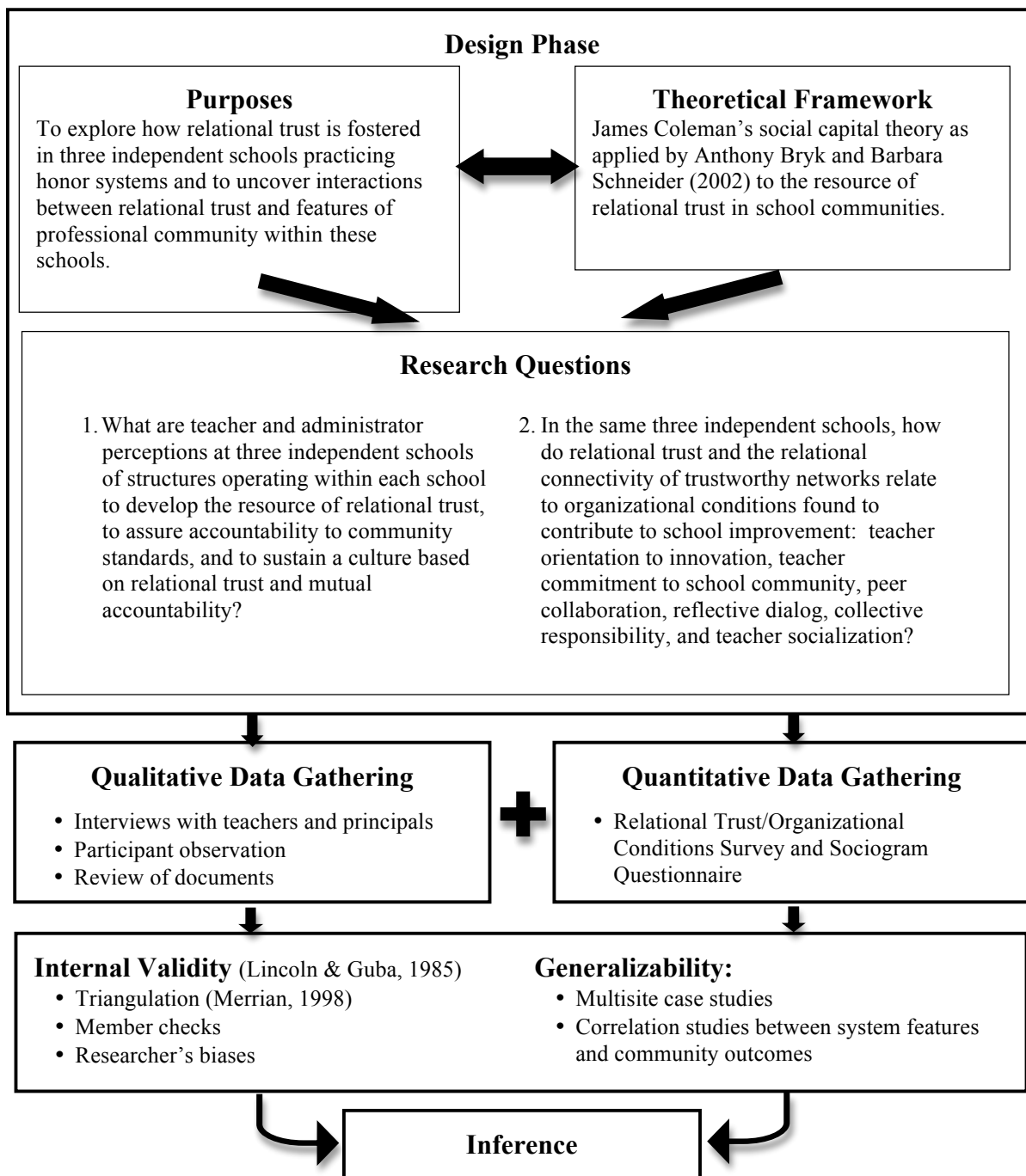


Figure 2. Research design.

Role of the Researcher

This mixed methods multi-site case study incorporated both qualitative and quantitative elements in its design. Merriam (1998) aptly characterized the qualitative researcher as, “the primary instrument for data collection” (p. 22). In this section, I will account for the bias imposed by the lens of this instrument.

I approached this research from a small, purposeful subset of the broader educational scene: the trust-based honor system community. An alumna and teacher at such a school when the study began, I approached the phenomenon of honor systems as an insider, whose perspective is shaped by the experience. As the result of almost 40 years in an honor system community, I perceived several themes warranting intentional research for the purposes of confirmation, understanding, and generalization: (1) it is my sense that preemptive trust in the context of extended relationships seems to stimulate trustworthiness in an escalating cycle of trust and honor; (2) because the network relies upon the trustworthiness of its members, a community must defend itself against traitors, or it loses its characteristic nature; (3) trust expressed in empowerment seems to stimulate initiative; and (4) when accountable trust is present, cooperation seems to spread, nurturing a culture of self-motivated, self-regulating growth.

I returned to school to work on my doctoral degree on the basis of my conjecture that these principles follow from natural relationship phenomenon that should not be restricted to some elite group and with the objective of acting to see that this transformative educational experience is more widely distributed. If my hypothesis that the principle of cultivating the capacity for self-regulating trustworthiness in the context

of a system of trust-based relationships nurtures a culture of self-governing excellence beyond executive mandate has merit, then implementing that principle offers the potential for transformative change at all levels in the educational system. It is the lens through which I view effective school restructuring for improvement and excellence.

I made several design decisions aiming to minimize the effects of researcher bias. First, the design featured triangulating sources of data. Any bias introduced to survey data by the questions chosen were addressed by augmenting survey data with interviews and sociograms; documents and observations offered further opportunities for the consideration of alternate points of view and interpretations. Taping and transcribing interviews protected against researcher errors and misinterpretations. Member checks offered another opportunity for minimizing errors in recording and reporting interview data owing to researcher bias. In the data analysis phase, the use of the theoretical framework and purposes of the study in coding and organizing data both disciplined and made transparent the decisions of the researcher. While bias is unavoidable and cannot be eliminated, the above measures were taken to account for it.

Sites and Participants

Patton (1990) described the different sampling strategies of qualitative and quantitative studies by stating that,

Qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases ($N = 1$), selected *purposefully*. Quantitative methods typically depend on larger samples selected randomly.... The logic and power of random sampling derive from statistical probability theory.... The purpose of probability-based

random sampling is generalization from the sample to a population and control of selectivity errors. What would be “bias” in statistical sampling, and therefore a weakness, becomes intended focus in qualitative sampling, and therefore a strength. (p. 230)

Having determined to study the phenomena of relational trust and network trustworthiness in school communities, I chose to use purposeful sampling to facilitate the discovery of relevant factors of the phenomenon and their relationships. Because of their governance, independent schools have stood largely apart from the bureaucratic oversight experienced in the public school system. Independent schools practicing as honor systems enact the principles of trust-based learning communities. Thus, independent schools espousing honor system values satisfied the primary criteria of the study. Because of the atypical features of these schools, their selection represented a unique sample (Merriam, 1998).

To focus the interpretation of the meaning of an honor system, I selected three schools founded by three generations of the same family. The schools were selected prior to data gathering. When one of the schools elected not to participate in the survey, I selected a replacement school founded as a progressive school attached to a research university and reformed as an independent school featuring significant teacher leadership and student empowerment. Teachers and administrators in each school were the case, or unit of analysis. While the three cases operated in dissimilar regions of the country, were founded in different times with their correspondingly different social challenges, and had adopted varied strategies concerning boarding/day students, coeducational studies and

early education, two were founded on the honor system principles developed by the first generation founder, beginning in 1870, and the third practices an individualistic locus of control and reliance on character development. Although the schools were selected for their unique value systems, their geographic, historical, and organizational diversity offers an opportunity in cross-case analysis for comparing the schools' expressions of honor system values to identify common themes, as in a heterogeneous (or *maximum variation*) sampling strategy (Patton, 1990). I aimed to gather rich, varied data in order to support more robust findings (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). A final feature of the phenomenon under study influenced case selection. The transmission of values within a case might not separate one school from another, but the generational connection between two of the three schools offered an opportunity to explore the transmission of honor system values across generations.

Participants were teachers and administrators at the three schools selected for the study. The heads of each school, along with the Upper School division heads (principals), honor system coordinators, faculty mentors, and deans of students were interviewed, along with teachers randomly selected from pools of teachers new to each school and teachers with four or more years of service at each school (see Table 4). Prior to my first visit to each school, I scheduled interviews with administrators and teachers meeting design criteria relating to years service. I also invited all faculty members to participate at faculty meetings and by email. I continued interviews until saturation was achieved (Merriam, 1998), ultimately interviewing 34%, 36%, and 45% of the administration,

faculty, and staff at the William Small School, the John Dewey School, and the Darling-Hammond Schools, respectively.

Table 4

Interview Participants

School	Administrators/ Leaders	Teachers	
		Fewer than 4 years of service	4 or more years of service
(1) The William Small School	5	5	5
(2) The John Dewey School	6	7	8
(3) Darling-Hammond Schools	11	3	11

Data Collection Procedures

This mixed methods study used a variety of data sources. Table 5 relates each data source to the research questions. This table was a tool used to develop a design that both answers the research questions and triangulates data sources.

Qualitative Data

Discussing various sources of evidence used in case studies, Yin (2003) observed that because, “no single source has a complete advantage over all others” (p. 85), a good design will include varied, complementary sources of data. Qualitative data in this study were gathered by way of interviews, sociogram questionnaires, documents, and observations.

Table 5

Design Matrix Relating Data Sources with Research Questions

Research Questions	Data Sources
1. What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability?	Survey: Teachers and Administrators Other measures: Sociogram Interview: Teachers and Administrators Documents: Policy handbooks, College profile, SAIS-SACS reports, Orientation schedules Observations: Faculty team meetings, Chapel/Assembly, Honor committee meetings, Advisory meetings
2. In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, and teacher socialization?	Survey: Teachers and Administrators Other measures: Sociogram Interview: Teachers and Administrators Documents: Policy handbooks, College profile, SAIS-SACS reports, Reports from heads Observations: Faculty team meetings

Interviews. Yin (2003) noted that the relative strengths of interview data include its focus on the phenomenon under investigation and its capacity for eliciting insights into participant inferences. Correspondingly, Yin noted potential weaknesses of interview data, including inaccuracies in recording, the potential for bias in either the creator of the interview protocol or in respondents, and the possibility of respondents giving answers they believe interviewers want, rather than their own, unvarnished points of view. To

minimize inaccuracies in data gathering, interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. To account for the other weaknesses, semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers and administrators.

Merriam (1998) described a continuum of interview structure, from highly structured to informal. In the highly structured interview, questions are worded precisely in advance and presented in the same order for each participant. On the one hand, standardization aims to constrain researcher bias in the data-gathering phase by codifying interviews in the design phase of the study. On the other hand, Merriam noted:

The problem with using a highly structured interview in qualitative research is that rigidly adhering to predetermined questions may not allow you to access participants' perspectives and understandings of the world. Instead, you get reactions to the *investigator's* preconceived notions of the world. (p. 74)

On the other end of the continuum, Merriam placed unstructured, informal interviews, which she described as useful for situations in which the researcher knows too little about the phenomenon to formulate a relevant protocol. The semi-structured interviews used in this study lie somewhere between the two extremes on the continuum. Because I wanted each participant to respond to the same set of issues, a single set of prepared questions led each interview, but the exact order and wording of the questions responded to participants' thought processes. Because this was a mixed methods study including a structured quantitative survey, I decided that semi-structured interview protocols provided better triangulation (see Appendices C and D). Table 6 provides my analysis of interview questions in relation to research questions.

Table 6

Research Questions Related to Interview Questions

Research Question	Interview Question
1. What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability?	<p><i>Social systems:</i> T1, A1</p> <p><i>Relational trust:</i> T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6</p> <p><i>Maintain standards/sanction unacceptable behavior:</i> T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, A7, A8, A9, A10, A11, A12</p> <p><i>Sustainability:</i> T1, T2, T3, T7, T8, T9, T11, T12, A1, A2, A3, A7, A8, A9, A11, A12</p>
2. In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?	T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T13, T14, T15, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, A7, A8, A9, A10, A13, A14, A15

Patton (1990, 2002) offered six types of interview questions: experience/behavior, opinion/value, feeling, knowledge, sensory, and background/demographics. Merriam (1998) offered four types of questions, focusing more on format: hypothetical, devil's advocate, ideal position, and interpretive questions. As a tool in developing useful interview protocols, I applied these typologies to the questions asked of participants (See Table 7).

Table 7

Interview Question Type Analysis

Type of Interview Question	Teacher Interview	Administrator Interview
Experience/behavior	T1, T2, T3, T7, T9, T13, T16	A1, A2, A3, A7, A9, A13, A16
Opinion/value	T4, T5, T8, T9, T11, T14, T15	A4, A5, A8, A9, A11, A14, A15
Feeling	T6, T12, T13, T14	A6, A12, A13, A14
Knowledge	T8, T9, T10, T15	A8, A9, A10, A15
Sensory		
Background/demographics	T16	A16
Hypothetical Question	T6, T13, T14	A6, A13, A14
Devil's Advocate Question	T4, T11	A4, A11
Ideal Position Question	T5, T14	A5, A14
Interpretive Question	T2, T8, T9, T15	A2, A8, A9, A15
Key	Appendix C	Appendix D

All interviews were conducted with the written consent of the participants (see Appendix B). Participants were assured, both verbally and in writing, that their responses were confidential. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis. Records were kept in a secure location.

Sociogram questionnaires. The sociogram questionnaire (see Appendix E) was created to measure the level of connectivity evident within the social structure of the school. I asked participants to answer simple sociometric questions, which were then used to produce sociograms for each school. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) characterize

data generated from this type of questionnaire as “inherently mixed” (p. 164), with quantitative sociomatrices qualitized into qualitative sociogram drawings and narrative. To translate teacher responses for analysis, I began by creating an alphabetical grid of all teachers responding or named by another teacher. I used this grid to identify teachers with the greatest numbers of connections and arranged these highly connected individuals on planes, in order to facilitate the organization of other teachers between and around them. After creating an orderly graph, I coded teachers by their locations in the network, which was then analyzed for organizational structure. Because this study relied more upon the qualitative sociograms than the quantitative sociomatrices, sociogram data are considered alongside other qualitative data.

The first question asked participants to name up to three colleagues with whom they share professional relational trust and the second asked participants to name up to three colleagues necessary to implement curricular innovation. Both questions aimed to uncover the extent to which each community was divided into isolated subsystems, as opposed to exhibiting rich connectivity among subsystems. The second question aimed to identify the extent to which each school’s social system exhibited *pinch points* in network connectivity, meaning nodes through which information must flow, potentially either providing quality control or impeding network functions, or both.

Documents. While various sources of data may or may not pertain to qualitative research, Yin (2003) asserted that, “documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic” (p. 85). He noted that the relative strengths of documentary and archival data include their stability, exactness, breadth, and lack of interference with the

phenomenon under observation. Correspondingly, he noted potential weaknesses of the use of documentary and archival data: selection of samples may introduce researcher bias, authors of documents may introduce their own bias, and documents and other archival evidence may be difficult to access or retrieve.

In this study, I examined student handbooks and other policy guides, SAIS-SACS self-study reports prepared for school improvement and accreditation purposes, reports of heads of school to various constituencies, and orientation schedules—both for students and for teachers. I also had access to various archival accounts of other authors for each school. Documentary and archival data were retrieved in either printed or electronic form. All sources of documentary and archival data were examined for evidence relating to the research questions, including community values and norms, along with the relationships and systems enacting them and the principles guiding their implementation, as well as community outcomes consistent with the aim of school improvement. Merriam (1998) also described *researcher-generated documents* as, “documents prepared by the researcher or for the researcher by participants after the study has begun” (p. 119). In this study, the entries of my research journal were used to document my own thought processes in this study.

Observations. Yin (2003) noted that the relative strengths of direct observations include their ability to represent events in real time and within their context. Participant observations also offer an opportunity for increased insight into the event observed. Correspondingly, he noted potential weaknesses of either direct or participant observation: selection of samples may introduce researcher bias; the event may be altered

by the presence of the observer; observation is generally time-consuming; and participant observation introduces an opportunity for researcher bias to actually alter events being observed.

Merriam (1998) cited Gold's 1958 typology of four levels of researcher participation: complete participant, participant as observer, observer as participant, and complete observer. In all three schools, I was a visitor to the community and my stance was observer as participant. As defined by Merriam, an observer as participant places participation in the event in a secondary position to observing the event. My membership in a similar school community gave me a participant's insight in crafting interview questions likely to respond to the research questions. Community membership also gained me access to observe faculty team meetings, chapel, and honor committee meetings, but that was the extent to which I acted as a participant in those meetings. Participants in the events observed were, however, aware of my role as an observer. Their levels of disclosure were, therefore, under their control, as described by Merriam.

I observed whole staff meetings, faculty workroom interactions, meals, whole school assemblies, honor committee meetings, classroom instruction, advisory meetings, after-school activities, and sports team practices. Interestingly, campus architecture and classroom decoration provided relevant data. All observations were recorded as field notes, typed, and filed by date. Results were analyzed to triangulate with findings from other data sources.

Quantitative Data

As noted by a pantheon of authorities on mixed methods research (Greene et al., 1989; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003), mixed methodologies are appropriate for triangulation, as well as to match the deficiencies of one methodology to the strengths of the other. This QUAL + quan design primarily used quantitative data in order to triangulate with qualitative data and to further match the relative weakness of qualitative research in the area of generalizability with the relative strength of quantitative research in that area.

Participants. Participants included teachers and administrators at three independent schools espousing honor system values. The Relational Trust /Organization Conditions Survey (RT/OCS) (see Appendix E) and a qualitative sociogram questionnaire were distributed to the pool of potential participants in face-to-face meetings. Absentees were invited to participate both by printed invitations delivered to their faculty mailboxes and by electronic mail, in order to account for participant preferences and to maximize levels of participation. Each survey was attached to a Study Information Sheet (see Appendix A), explaining the purpose of the study and inviting participation. Participants signed written consent forms, but returned questionnaires were identified by codes rather than by participants' names in order to maintain strict confidentiality. I maintained the list relating participant names to their survey codes in a secure location.

Instrument. The RT/OCS is a 48-item questionnaire measuring relational trust, and various organizational conditions, including teacher orientation to innovation, teacher

commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization (see Appendix E). The measures and variables used were adapted from those reported by Bryk and Schneider (2002) in their comprehensive study of the dimension of trust as it related to Chicago school reforms of the 1990s. The measures of Bryk and Schneider address my research questions, as demonstrated in Table 8. The only questions from their study excluded from this study related to parent-school relationships, which were purposefully excluded from this study, and one question deemed inapplicable to independent schools. I also added two questions measuring teacher perceptions of teacher-student trust relations. A final question asked participants to provide years of service at the school. Because Bryk and Schneider (2002) collected and analyzed data gathered in a variety of studies, their participant responses were not scaled on consistent scales. In this adaptation, questions have been merged and mixed into a single instrument, and the response values have been resolved into a coherent 1-4 Likert scale. The questionnaire took approximately 15 minutes to complete. The measures and variables of the Bryk and Schneider study were used with the permission of Anthony Bryk (see Appendix F). Analysis was performed using strategies similar to those used by Bryk and Schneider.

Table 8

Research Questions Related to RT/OC Survey Questions

Research Questions	Survey Questions
1. What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability?	<i>Teacher-Principal Trust:</i> 1, 4, 9, 15, 18, 21, 25, 27, 28 <i>Teacher-Teacher Trust:</i> 2, 10, 16, 22, 29 <i>Teacher-Student Trust:</i> 30, 31 <i>Maintain Standards and Sanction Unacceptable Behaviors:</i> 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 <i>Sustainability:</i> 7, 8, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46
2. In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?	<i>Teacher Commitment to School:</i> 5, 12, 19, 23 <i>Teacher Orientation to Innovation:</i> 3, 11, 17, 35, 36, 37 <i>Peer Collaboration:</i> 6, 32, 33, 34 <i>Reflective Dialog:</i> 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 <i>Collective Responsibility:</i> 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 <i>Focus on Student Learning:</i> 7, 13, 20, 24, 26 <i>Teacher Socialization:</i> 8, 14

Validity. Bryk and Schneider (2002) used essentially the same survey questions as those compiled in Appendix E to create a composite measure of relational trust in Chicago schools undergoing reform in the 1990s. Using a composite indicator of social

trust performed in 1991 as a pre-reform baseline and measuring relational trust in 1994 and 1997, Bryk and Schneider were able to quantify changes in levels of trust operating in five elementary school communities undergoing reform over time. The study found that improving relational trust had positive effects on school commitment, orientation to innovation, outreach to parents (not included in this study), professional community, and academic productivity in reading and mathematics (not included in this study).

In order to understand and support the criterion referenced validity of their conclusions, Bryk and Schneider applied a General Hierarchical Multivariate Linear Model (HMLM). The model included school level composition (percentage of low-income students, racial-ethnic composition, school size, stability of student body, for example) and other variables in the school contexts (history of racial conflict among teachers, prior school achievement, for example) as possibly significant alternate variables in the observed effects. Bryk and Schneider found that the improving trust accounted for the majority of changes in teacher innovation, outreach to parents, professional community, and commitment to the school. Racial conflict among teachers was a significant secondary variable in all analyses, especially in one school. Racial composition and stability of the student body exerted minor but significant correlation with some measures in some schools. Being careful researchers, Bryk and Schneider also performed HMLM analyses on the school composition and context variables to see how their independent variable (relational trust) depended upon school context. Their thorough consideration of alternate factors contributed to both the construct and the internal validity of their study.

This study does not rely upon quantitative methods to show causal relationships, such as those established by Bryk and Schneider. In fact, the aims of this study were different from those of Bryk and Schneider. I did not study these schools over time, as they did. They had two data points for each relationship, while I took snapshots of relational trust and various organizational conditions at one point in time. Mean scores and standard deviations were used to quantify levels of teacher-principal and teacher-teacher relational trust, as well as levels of teacher orientation toward innovation, commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialogue, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. These data were primarily used to triangulate with findings from other data sources in this study. Categories developed by Bryk and Schneider were used to characterize levels of relational trust in each community using the following descriptors: no trust, minimal trust, strong trust, and very strong trust (see Quantitative Data Analysis section). This study did examine any variations in relational trust and organizational conditions between communities in cross case analysis, but did not attempt to demonstrate ecological or population transferability or to make quantitative predictions.

Reliability. Bryk and Schneider derived all organizational measures using Rasch Rating Scale Analysis. They performed Rasch measures on relational trust, teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialogue, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. Each Rasch analysis reports three types of statistics: item difficulty, item infit, and person reliability. Item difficulty estimates the likelihood that respondents will

endorse a particular position, with commonly endorsed positions characterized as *less difficult*. Each item is placed in an ordered scale. Item infit is a measure of how individual responses on an item correlate with the item's location on the scale. Individuals endorsing "properly fitting" items are more likely to endorse less difficult items in the hierarchy and less likely to endorse more difficult items on the scale. Person reliability is a measure of internal consistency, similar to Cronbach's Alpha. Bryk & Schneider (2002) found the following measure reliabilities for each item tested: teacher-principal trust, 0.92; teacher-teacher trust, 0.82; teacher-orientation to innovation, 0.89; teacher commitment to school community, 0.89; peer collaboration, 0.85; reflective dialogue, 0.80; collective responsibility, 0.92; focus on student learning, 0.88; and teacher socialization, 0.60. Because of the more limited application of the quantitative data simply to triangulate with qualitative data, this study relied upon Bryk and Schneider's earlier analysis.

Data Analysis

As in data gathering, the analysis of data in a mixed methods study may proceed in either sequential or simultaneous fashion. The parallel/simultaneous design of this particular study was extended from the data gathering to the analysis phase. Qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed concurrently as they were gathered. This mixed methods study integrated analysis, with inferences from one method of analysis confirming and expanding inferences drawn from the other (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) wrote: "Mixed methods data analyses offer a more comprehensive means of legitimating findings than do either qualitative or

quantitative data analyses alone by allowing analysts to assess information from both data types” (p. 355).

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis focuses on meaning and subjective values, but the standard tools used for qualitative analysis rely upon implied quantities and numerical values:

Finding that a *few*, *some*, or *many* reports showed a certain pattern, or that a pattern was *common* or *unusual* in a set of findings implies something about the frequency, typicality, or even intensity of an event. Any time qualitative researchers place raw data into categories, or discover themes to which they attach codes, they are drawing from the numbered nature of phenomena for their analysis. (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2006, pp. 246-247)

This study used the *constant comparative method* described by Merriam (1998). Data gathered from interviews, observations, and documents were analyzed and manually coded as they were collected. Participant responses to sociogram questionnaires were organized and coded as an aid in creating graphical representations of network relationships. These graphs were also analyzed for significant patterns, which were coded and compared. Using methods derived from the model of Anfara et al. (2002), initial codes from each qualitative data source were categorized for each research question. Finally, consistent themes across all cases were applied to the data. Table 9 shows the evolution of form in the analysis of data relating to the first research question.

Table 9

Initial Codes Organized and Categorized by Case.

The William Small School	The John Dewey School	The Darling-Hammond Schools
1a Stories/legends of founder	1a "Give the child command of himself"	1a "Principles and purpose"
1a Chapel		1a Axioms
1a Trapping	1a Progressive education	1a Moral reasoning
1a Rhodes Scholars	1a Strategic planning	1b "Unbounded thinking"
1a Outdoor education	1b "the best of the past"	1b Peccary trips: Museum
1b Honor system	1b Academic freedom	1b High Tech High
1b " <i>Noli res subdole facere.</i> "	1b "Academic excellence"	1c "Honor Bound"
1b "Do nothing on the sly."	1b Inquiry into causes	1c Honor-Trust-Community
1b "Your word is your bond"	1b Education over punishment	1c Chapel: Virtues and Humor
1b Book bags everywhere	1c "Multicultural school climate"	1c Character education
1c "No spectators"	1c "Normalizing differences"	1c "Work with others trustfully"
1c "Pedigree your ancestors."	1d "Rules are the easy way out"	1c Honor Cabinets
1c "Tireless workers"	1d "Creating balance in life"	1d <i>Principes non Homines-</i> Leaders not men
1d "I will not imprison innocent children."	1d "Fortunately, I laughed"	1d Coordinate structure
1d Autonomy	1d Humor: assembly	1d "Ruthlessness": right conduct
2a "Discipline of a school like that of a family."	1e Professional responsibility	1e Informal service "program"
	1e "Community networks"	1e Leadership modeling
2a DNA	1e Environmentalist initiatives	2a Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi
2a Generations of alumni	1e Social norms theory applied to substance abuse policy	2b Recruiting
2a Faculty rearing children on campus	1e Humor: "Idiot vulnerable"	2b Initiation traditions
	2a Community organizers	2c "Standards without standardization"
3b Boarding vs. day	2b Positional power-English department	2d Feedback loops among honor trust and community
RT Leadership transition	2b Informal critical friends group	2d "Freedom for hearts made free"
	2c Integrity	3a Stability and maturity
	3a The dimension of time	3b "Enduring values"
	3a Inquiry	

Pattern Variables Relating to Trust, Trustworthiness, and Sustainability

The William Small School	The John Dewey School	The Darling-Hammond Schools
1a Tradition: influential teaching	1a "Formal philosophy/practice; Informal norms/standards"	1a "Principles and purpose"
1b Honor/mutual accountability		1b "Unbounded thinking"
1c Hard work over privilege	1b Focus on growth	1c "Honor bound"
1d Distrust for centralized, hierarchical governance	1c Inclusive diversity	1d Courageous leadership
2a School family: traits	1d Informal individualism	1e Generous service
2b Becoming family	1e Responsible freedom	2a Professional association
2c Family Honor	2a Political movement: roots	2b Initiation
3a Leadership: Transition	2b Coalition building	2c Professional standards
3b Institutions	2c Integrity	2d Professional ethics
RT Relational Trust	3a Leadership: Contextual	3a Leadership: Stable and mature
	3b Institutions: Inquiry	3b Institutions: Keeping faith
	RT Relational Trust	RT Relational Trust

Because the first research question addresses structures to develop relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and cultural sustainability, themes developed and applied to each case included cultural structures, relational structures, and sustainability and change. Because the second research question examines relational trust and network connectivity in relation to organizational conditions, the data from the sociogram questionnaires were analyzed for insights into the relational network of each school. Where possible, sociogram data were “quantitized” to improve validity of findings. Quantitative survey data were used to triangulate findings from other data sources.

Quantitative Data Analysis

In the same way as mixed analysis may quantitize qualitative data, quantitative data may be *qualitized*. Cut points developed by Bryk and Schneider (2002) were used to characterize levels of relational trust in each community (see Table 10). Note that the category of relational trust is composed of responses to several questions.

Table 10

Definitions of Bryk and Schneider's (2002) Relational Trust Categories

	Teacher-Teacher Trust	Teacher-Principal Trust
<i>No Trust</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience little respect from colleagues • Report little confidence, trust or caring among teachers • Perceive little respect among colleagues for expert teacher leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Typically do not feel respected by principal • Report principal takes no interest in professional development and lacks confidence in their expertise • Perceive principal as ineffective manager who places needs above students' • No respect or trust for principal
<i>Minimal Trust</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some respect between colleagues • Perceived respect for expert teachers • Confide in colleagues • Only some teachers trust/care for each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceive a little respect from principal, but do not respect principal as educator • Do not believe principal is an effective manager, looks out for their welfare, has confidence of teachers • Do not trust principal and do not feel comfortable confiding worries
<i>Strong Trust</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience a great deal of respect • Great respect for expert teachers • General trust and confidence • About half perceive that teachers care about one another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience respect from principal and express respect in return • Report principal interest in professional development, confidence in their expertise and concern for their welfare • Report principal is an effective manager, places student needs first • Strong trust and confidence in principal
<i>Very Strong Trust</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe an atmosphere of respect among colleagues • Report strong respect for expert teacher leaders • Report teacher trust and confidence • Most or nearly all teachers care about one another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great deal of respect in relationship • Report principal is effective manager, supports professional development. • Principal looks out for their welfare but puts student needs first • Strong trust and confidence in principal

Note: Adapted from *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for Improvement* (pp. 158-159), by A. S. Bryk and B. Schneider, 2002, New York: Sage. Copyright 2002 by Russell Sage Foundation. Adapted with permission of the author.

Similarly, survey items were grouped into categories as described by Bryk and Schneider. Table 11 compiles the survey questions related to each category.

Table 11

Compilation of RT/OC Survey Items into Categories

Category	Survey Item
<i>Relational Trust</i>	
Teacher-Teacher Trust	2, 10, 16, 22, 29
Teacher-Principal Trust	1, 4, 9, 15, 18, 21, 25, 27, 28
Teacher-Student Trust	30, 31
<i>Measures of Organizational Conditions</i>	
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	3, 11, 17, 35, 36, 37
Teacher Commitment to School	5, 12, 19, 23
Peer Collaboration	6, 32, 33, 34
Reflective Dialogue	43, 44, 45, 46, 47
Collective Responsibility	38, 39, 40, 41, 42
Focus on Student Learning	7, 13, 20, 24, 26
Teacher Socialization	8, 14

In addition to these categories, I considered a few demographic/contextual variables: percentage of teachers with fewer than four years experience teaching at this school; boarding or day school; coeducational status; and school size. The findings of this analysis were used for triangulation and in cross case analysis.

Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) described a seven-stage model for mixed methods data analysis:

1. *Data reduction* refers to both exploratory thematic analysis of qualitative data and descriptive statistics applied to quantitative data.
2. *Data display* refers to the reduction of both qualitative and quantitative data into tables, graphs, charts, networks, and other displays.
3. *Data transformation* is the quantizing and/or qualitzing of data, possibly resulting in comparisons of effect sizes.
4. *Data correlation* relates qualitized and quantitative data.
5. *Data consolidation* combines data types to create new variables or data sets.
6. *Data comparison* occurs between different data sources.
7. *Data integration* creates either a “coherent whole” (p. 375) of all data types, or two separate coherent wholes of qualitative and quantitative data.

The analysis of data in this study incorporated significant elements of this model while using constant comparison analysis (see Figure 3).

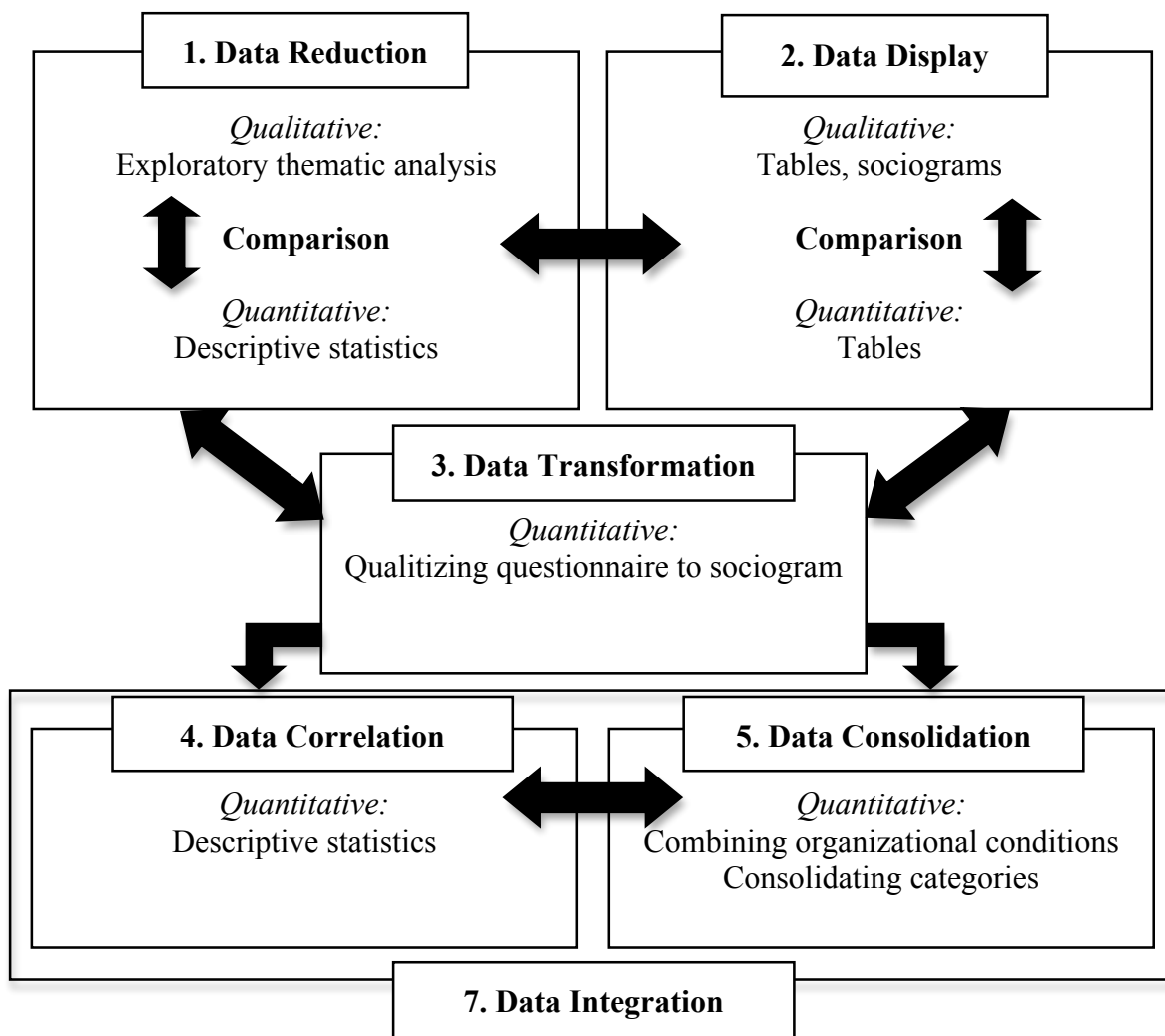


Figure 3. Model of analysis.

Levels of Analysis

The first level of analysis was the school. Each school was treated as an individual case. Descriptive demographic data were gathered for each school, along with the qualitative and quantitative data described in this section. The data from each school

were examined for relevant contextual categories and variables in *within-case* analysis, as described by Merriam (1998). Quantitative survey data for each school were qualitized into categories using Bryk & Schneider's 2002 factor analysis. Sociogram questionnaire data were converted into qualitative sociograms. Analytical findings were constantly compared in a search for patterns and reanalyzed in varied combinations. Further analysis of data from all three schools taken together identified patterns in the aggregated data set.

The second level of analysis was the set of all three schools taken as a group. In *cross-case* analysis, the analysis process was reiterated on the consolidated data sets. In addition to the analytical techniques described above, analysis of variance (ANOVA) across schools was used to quantify any perceived differences.

Methods of Verification

The internal validity of this study is an assessment of how well research findings comport with reality. Strategies described by Merriam (1998) to improve internal validity of a qualitative case effectively account for researcher bias and to augment the perspective of the one observer with the points of view of others in order to create a richer construct of reality include (1) triangulation of data, (2) member checks from participants, (3) long-term observations, (4) peer examination of emergent findings, (5) participatory or collaborative modes of research, and (6) clarifying researcher biases and theoretical orientation.

Triangulation was a particularly important verification strategy in this mixed methods multi-site case study. I triangulated sources of evidence: qualitative data from interviews, documents, and observations; qualitative sociograms, and qualitized findings

from a quantitative survey. I also triangulated participant groups within each case: teachers and administrators; newer teachers and those serving four or more years; and members of various coalitions and subgroups. In cross-case analysis, strategies for coding, categorization, and theme development essentially meant that I triangulated cases to assign pseudonyms, organize findings, and construct meaning.

The importance of school history and historical context in the William Small School influenced pseudonym assignment and organization of findings in all cases. Findings in the John Dewey School, led to the inclusion of research on capacity building in the review of related literature, providing a vocabulary for framing research findings in all cases. Finally, findings in the third case, the Darling-Hammond Schools, required an expansion of the review of literature on the macro-micro feedback loops characteristic of complex systems as they relate to cooperation, along with an inclusion of the work of Csikszentmihalyi in Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) as it relates to professional learning and practice. Thus, preliminary analysis of data influenced the literature reviewed, final analysis of data, and reporting of findings (see Figure 4).

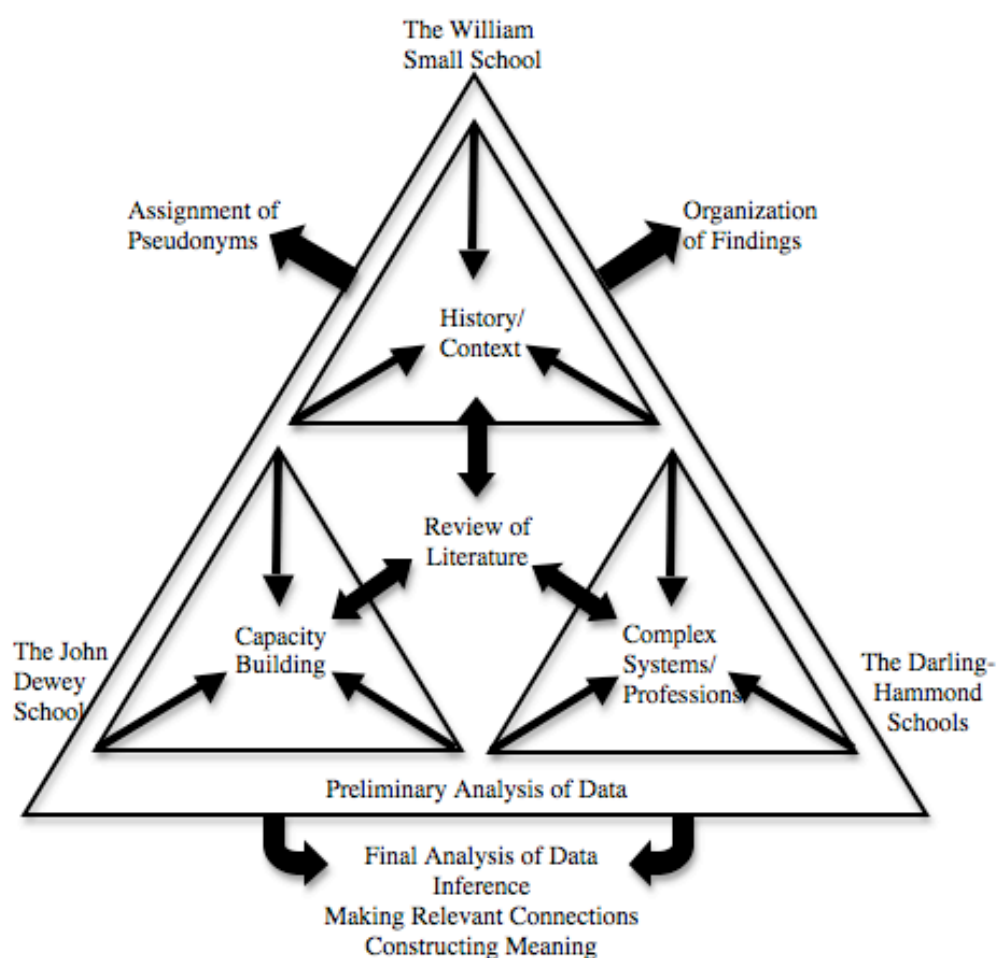


Figure 4. Evolving forms of the review of literature, data analysis, and findings.

Interview participants were offered the opportunity to respond to analyses of their transcripts in order to account for their perceptions of the plausibility of results, but aside from these member checks, I would not describe this as a participatory study. Long-term observation was not a feature of this study. Peer examination was essential to all stages of this study, from design to reporting of findings. Finally, I have made my particular bias

and theoretical orientation as transparent as possible and described measures taken to account for that bias.

To continue to provide a transparent record from the design phase to the analysis phase of this study, I used an iterative model described by Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002). Their strategy both organizes the enormous quantities of data in a qualitative study and discloses the decision-making used to create organizing constructs. I began by identifying initial codes and providing superficial content analysis. I proceeded to identify pattern variables and applied variables to the data set. I also analyzed for themes that did not correspond to those identified in the theoretical framework and provided a complete report of these.

Conclusion

This chapter provided descriptions of the data collection and analysis methodologies used in this study and justifications for their selection. The study's purposes were accomplished using a mixed-methods multi-site case study. Perceptions of teachers and principals at each of three independent schools with a shared honor system construct were assessed through interviews and a survey of relational trust and organizational conditions (RT/OC Survey). Additional data relating to the phenomenon were gathered from documents and observations. Themes were developed and analyzed through the lens of the theoretical framework of the work of Anthony Bryk and others on the role of relational trust in school improvement. Additionally, analyses of variance between schools were performed in cross-case analysis. This QUAL + quan, multi-site case study addresses a gap in the current research base regarding the operations of

independent schools in general, and honor system communities, in particular. While these schools may represent a fairly arcane subset of the broader educational scene, they relate to public education trends, including democratic localism, shared decision-making, capacity building, and professional community. This study's selection of schools enacting independent governance facilitated isolating community effects from those imposed by system structures operating beyond the boundary of the school.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS—THE WILLIAM SMALL SCHOOL

“None of us can carry an organization in our minds—or a family, or a community.

What we carry in our heads are images, assumptions, and stories.” (Senge, 1990, p. 175)

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 aim to answer my research questions: (1) What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability; and (2) In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to community factors found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?

Because metaphors have the power to clarify complex phenomena, chapters 4, 5, and 6 will each begin with a metaphorical introduction to the findings for one of the schools. In response to Patton’s (2002) warning that “metaphors and analogies must be selected with some sensitivity to how those being described would feel” (p. 504), selection of metaphorical introductions followed from interview and/or archival data uncovered at each school. A description of the school’s context and demographic information, analysis of the data and findings viewed through the lens of the research questions, and a brief conclusion will then follow for each case. Cross case analysis will follow in the seventh chapter.

Findings in all schools were based on surveys of trust and organizational conditions and a sociogram questionnaire offered to all teachers and administration at each school. They also proceeded from interviews of teachers and administrators at each school that continued until saturation was reached. Findings also followed from observations of significant community gatherings, including whole faculty and committee meetings, whole school assembly, and individual classes. Observations were documented from field notes. Additional findings resulted from artifacts provided by each school, including policy handbooks written for students and faculty, programs from significant events, college profiles, accreditation evaluation reports, and strategic plans. Participants and schools are identified by codes and pseudonyms. For a complete description of data collection methodologies, see Chapter 3.

This study focused upon accountability structures in independent schools of a certain type. The study was designed to answer specific research questions concerning perceptions of significant stakeholders into how these particular schools function, and may not generalize into other contexts. Studies of other schools, or those encompassing different groups of stakeholders at these schools, or those exploring different questions might uncover other significant findings. The design of this study, however, was focused and constrained by its research questions.

The William Small School

Born in rural Scotland in 1734, William Small earned his education in the tradition and manner of the Scottish Enlightenment, studying natural philosophy and logic under the direction of a small number of highly influential professors (Hull, 1997).

Graduating in 1755, Small was appointed in 1758 to the chair of natural philosophy and mathematics at the College of William and Mary in the British colony of Virginia. In his six years' tenure at William and Mary, Small would exert a profound influence on the institution, its stakeholders, and history. Small replaced hierarchical, ecclesiastical authority in the study of natural philosophy at William and Mary with scientific inquiry and freedom of thought and expression. The young Thomas Jefferson studied almost exclusively with Small from 1760-1762, an interlude of inspiring interactions for teacher and student. This brief period would ultimately represent virtually the sum total of the institutional education of the future framer of the Declaration of Independence. Benjamin Franklin also collaborated with Small, both in Williamsburg and after Small's 1764 return to London (Hull, 1997). Small's empowering relationships with students, colleagues, sponsors, and institutions evidence an enlightened belief in a universal right to and capacity for self-governance, ideas ultimately made axiomatic by Small's most eloquent student:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed... (Declaration of Independence, 1776)

The first school in this study is premised upon a Jeffersonian belief that every community member has a right to and capacity for self-governance, and an egalitarian faith in hard work over privilege. These founding principles imply a leader's stake in

community life for all members, which is expressed in a historic tradition of autonomous, influential teachers, a reliance upon the honor of mutually accountable teachers and students, and a distrust for centralized, hierarchical governance structures. To identify this school with the metaphorical tradition of the enlightened, agrarian, planter-statesman and as a statement of the extent to which this school is a personification of its founding teacher, Thomas Jefferson's influential teacher is the pseudonym for the first school in this study, the William Small School.

Context and Demographic Information

Visitors to the William Small School may feel as if they have stepped back in time. A cross-country drive through rolling farmland concludes with little transition as the state road passes directly through the center of the 150-acre campus, and then exits into the town proper within the distance of a single city block. Just past the campus gate, sits the bed and breakfast inn where visitors to the William Small School often stay. It is the sort of rural establishment whose innkeeper dismisses an offer to leave a credit card number to hold a room, stating she "chooses to take people at their word." The innkeeper and her husband, who had waited up for my late arrival, set the stage for my first visit to the school over breakfast the next morning. The school's leadership was in transition, and the school was just completing a search for its next leader, who would take over after the school year under study. All of the finalists for the position had stayed with the innkeepers, who shared their assessment that the school had chosen wisely and their hope for the future of the school at the center of their community.

The William Small School was founded in rural Tennessee during the Reconstruction era. When the school's founder was hired in 1870 by the board of trustees to be the headmaster of their local school, he stepped into a school system decimated by the Civil War. Like many independent schools founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the original governance of the William Small School bore characteristics of both private and public education. The school was originally supported by both community funds and a nominal tuition. Today, the school operates as an independent school affiliated with the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) and accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Annual tuitions in the school year studied ranged from \$11,100, for 6th grade day students to \$43,000 for English-as-a-second language boarding students. Approximately 34% of students received some form of financial aid or merit scholarships.

The William Small School originally served approximately thirty undisciplined students in a basement and could afford only the founder and an assistant as faculty. From humble beginnings, this rural school is proud to have produced ten Rhodes Scholars. Today, the school serves some 300 students in grades 6-12, with 44 teaching faculty members. With about 50 students in a graduating class, the average class size is 12. Boarding students make up 31% of the population, which features students from 15 states and 4 foreign countries. The last graduating class had 2 National Merit Finalists and 3 Commended Scholars, for a total of about 10% of the class, or about 3 times the national rate for those taking the test (National Merit Scholarship Corporation, n.d).

According to the school's College Profile, however, the middle 50% of SAT scores for the William Small School class of 2010 present a rather average aptitude profile. The middle 50% of scores for Critical Reading range from 480-600, for Math range from 550-640, and for Writing range from 490-600. Corresponding ranges on recent national populations are 495-624, 514-644, and 490-618, respectively (Kobrin, Patterson, Shaw, Mattern, & Barbuti, 2008). Although the William Small School's College Profile notes that their data include the scores of students for whom English is a second language, it would be hard to argue that the school earns its academic reputation by selecting only top scholars for admission. One Administrator/Teacher who works with students with learning differences estimates that almost 40 of the school's students, or about 13% of the student body, participate in the school's Academic Support program for students with documented learning disabilities. While the number closely parallels the participation rate in public schools, the profile is more heavily focused at this school on students with specific learning disabilities and ADD/ADHD, as opposed to the public school system's constellation of IDEA qualifying disabilities.

From a relatively average aptitude pool, however, in 2009, 58 William Small students took 180 AP exams, with 79% earning scores of 3 or higher. By contrast, 15.2% of the nation's public school graduates earned AP scores of 3 or higher on at least one exam (College Board, February 9, 2009). Essentially 100% of students at this school graduate and go on to college. By contrast, in spite of strong gains since 2002, Tennessee graduated only 72% of its students in 2006 (Balfanz & West, n.d.) and only 29.9% of Tennessee's adults have earned an associate's degree or higher (Tennessee Department of

Education, July 16, 2009). A proud member of the William Small School's administrative team and parent of William Small alumni shared this state statistic along with a story illustrating the school's value for the importance of hard work. A local education official had challenged the school's snow policy in friendly banter with this particular administrator: "What do you folks think you know over there at your school that makes you think you should hold school, even when everybody else decides that the weather warrants a snow day?" The William Small administrator gave his reply, with a chuckle: "We know how to graduate students who go to college and graduate in four years." He also allowed that it is difficult for the school to actually track the college graduation timetable of its graduates and expressed a desire for better post-graduation tracking data.

Many now independent schools founded before the twentieth century once functioned essentially as preparatory institutions for a particular university. Although the William Small School would itself enjoy a close relationship with a particular privately endowed university, the school's founder perceived that the future of his school depended upon independence from a particular university. In the past five years, approximately 250 graduates of The William Small School matriculated to 119 colleges and universities.

Analysis for Research Question 1 for this Case

This section examines the data through the lens of the first research question: What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust

and mutual accountability? This section analyzes qualitative data derived from interviews, artifacts, and field notes. In particular, teacher and administrator perceptions of both intentional social systems built into the operations of the school and norms and standards seen as emerging from system interactions are considered as they relate to trust, accountability, and sustainability in the William Small School.

Morgan (1986) described culture as, “an active, living phenomenon through which people create and recreate the worlds in which they live” (p. 131). Incorporating the language of system dynamics, Morgan refined his definition to reflect the fact that people do not create their cultures while remaining immune to cultural effects. Rather, people and their cultures seem actually to participate in systems of circular causation, each continually creating and recreating the other, either by reinforcing the status quo or by amplifying evolutionary change. Attempting to make sense of a school community by studying its characteristics, human participants, or evolutionary history in isolation risks missing the infinitely complex interactions between and among not only individuals and their culture, but also between and among the components and subsystems operating within the culture as a living whole. This analysis attempts to explore both the components of school culture and the qualities of the relational network connecting them.

At the conclusion of the study I had formally interviewed 15 members (34%) of the William Small School faculty and administration at length (see Table 12), including the interim Headmaster, the Assistant Principal/Business Manager, two Honor Council advisors, the Dean of Faculty, the Dean of Students, an Alumni Coordinator/former Honor Council President, the Outdoor Education Coordinator, the School Counselor, and

Table 12

Interview Participants from The William Small School

Individual	Primary Role	Additional Role(s)	Years Service
Headmaster	Principal		<4 (Interim)
A2	Business Manager	Assistant Head, parent	>4
TM1	Dean of Faculty	Math teacher, alumna	>4
TH1	History teacher	Honor Council advisor, Chapel advisor	>4
TH2	Dean of Students	Ethics teacher, alumna, parent	<4
TH3	Alumni Coordinator	Social Studies teacher, alumnus, former Honor Council President	<4
TH4	School Counselor	Social Studies teacher	<4
TH5	History teacher		<4
TE1	English teacher	Honor Council advisor, alumnus	<4
TE2	English teacher	Parent, local school board member	>4
TS1	Science teacher	Outdoor Education Coordinator, parent	>4
TS2	Science teacher	Alumna	>4
TL1	Foreign Language teacher	Department Chair	>4
TL2	Foreign Language teacher		<4
TAS	Art and Science teacher		>4

teachers representing various stages of their careers. Seven had served on the faculty, staff, or both for fewer than four years, while eight had served for four or more years. Virtually all performed multiple duties, including dorm supervision, coaching, honor council advising, and traditional administrative functions, such as faculty supervision, student discipline, and counseling. Five of the faculty I interviewed were also alumni of the school.

Additionally, I received 23 RT/OC surveys and sociogram questionnaires, gathering information from a slightly different cross-section of the school faculty and administrative team. I was also provided with every artifact I requested (see Table 13). In qualitative data analysis, interview transcripts, field notes of observations and textual artifacts were coded. Focused by the lens of the first research question concerning structures for developing the social capital of relational trust, accountability to community standards, and for cultural sustainability, codes were categorized and ultimately arranged thematically. In exploration of the data and comparison of samples the following themes were identified and explored for each case: cultural structures; relational structures; and sustainability and change.

Table 13

Artifacts Examined at The William Small School and Sources

Artifact	Source
Academic Strategic Plan (2008-2014)	Office of Director of Studies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign Language Department Enduring Understandings • Science Department Enduring Understandings 	Department Chair Included in Academic Strategic Plan
Accounts by the founder's son and daughter of the school's early days	Director of Alumni Development
Admissions Packet	Admissions Office
The Ballads of [William Small School] by Pierre Register De Laney II, Class of 1925	Director of Alumni Development
Class Schedule	Dean of Faculty
College Profile	Director of College Counseling
Constitution of the Honor Council	Director of Alumni Development
Head of School Search Committee Survey	Found on website
Honor and Character Education—Origins and Influence at [William Small School]	Director of Alumni Development
Excerpt from <i>I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century</i> by John Andrew Rice, Class of 1908, including 1995 inscription to then Head of School	Director of Alumni Development
Outdoor Programs listing	School's website
Outerlimits Programs Poster	Director of Outerlimits
[William Small] Annual Report	Interim Head of School
[William Small] Magazine	Admissions Office
[William Small] Student Newsletter	Director of Outerlimits
WILD Rationale	Director of Outerlimits

Theme: Cultural Structures

This section identifies significant characteristics of the culture of the William Small School and explores their interrelated effects on relational trust, accountability to community standards, and cultural sustenance. Asserting the importance of stories to culture, Senge (1990) said, “None of us can carry an organization in our minds—or a family, or a community. What we carry in our heads are images, assumptions, and stories” (p. 175). The stories and legends of this school and its founder play a prominent role in this study because of their ongoing influence on the modern beliefs, values, and norms of the school, almost eighty years after the founder’s death. I will document quotations of the founder and achievements of alumni from the early years of the school as they are literally inscribed on the buildings, presented in historic and contemporary artifacts, and interpreted by members of the faculty and administration today. Taken together with longstanding traditions still reenacted today, they present a picture of a culture built upon a historic tradition of influential teaching, defined by the honor of mutually accountable community members, sustained by an egalitarian faith in hard work over privilege, and characterized by a Jeffersonian distrust for centralized, hierarchical governance structures.

History. The culture of the William Small School is built upon a history of influential teachers. The founder of this school credited inspirational teachers in close relationship with their students as essential to his own education: “The greatest value of my schooldays from the beginning to graduation was the inspiration that came from contact with great personalities that were made possible by small bodies of

students...The inspiration is the essential and only essential” (quoted in McMillin, 1971, p. 158). The founder and his brother were very different, the former fiery and dominant and the latter gentle and scholarly, yet both inspired students, each in his way. Following in the mold of influential teachers like William Small himself, the two brothers replicated the model of inspiration and proximity when they created their school, beginning in 1870.

Teachers at this school once inspired boys to prepare for class using a teaching strategy they called *trapping*. According to a current teacher, TH1, early teachers would arrange their students in a row on a bench, and an arduous series of rapid-fire questions would begin with the student at the head of the line. When a student missed a question, a lower-ranking student could trap him and jump line by answering correctly. By the end of the exercise the class would be arranged head to foot, with the student at the foot subject to thrashing. Excerpts from a collection of humorous poetry about his time as a “Foot-Sitter” at the school, written by a member of the class of 1925, offer a student’s perspective on trapping:

The trapping starts with clamor loud/
For they quarrel readily/
The air is filled
with moans and groans/
Of students sliding steadily ... The Seniors have a
separate room/
(Their classes must be glee!)/
From [Small] School’s greatest
evil—/
From trapping— they are free. (De Laney, 1925, pp. 2-3)

To connect students with their history and to inspire and reward precise, conscientious preparation, TH1 still reenacted trapping, from time to time. Although corporal punishment no longer played any part in trapping and the exercise was conducted with a great deal of good humor, students still felt accountable for the quality of their work.

After being given the opportunity to observe the exercise, I asked a student whether she liked trapping. She said that it was fun, especially when she was ready.

As TH1 continued to enact the founder's influential teaching methodologies in the classroom, he also illustrated the leadership of influential teaching still in effect at this school:

Well, frankly, I don't know if I am a leader at this school ... [laughing] ... I'm just a history teacher, and I've been here for a long time ... Really, my only leadership role would be the faculty advisor to the student Honor Council. I have in years past been called the Chapel Coordinator.

Note that TH1 elevated his role as teacher over school leader. Note also the extent to which TH1 reenacted the founder's teacher-leadership role in shaping the values and accountability structures of the school.

By contrast, all accounts described the recently departed headmaster's tenure as problematic. Based on interview data, faculty members did not trust the outgoing headmaster of the school. Although the headmaster's assistant, A2, cited an initiative giving department chairs more of a voice in administrative decisions as, "really empowering the faculty and staff," the effects of the outgoing headmaster's reorganization seem largely to have insulated him from faculty and students, actually lessening the influence of classroom teachers. In fact, initiatives seemingly oriented towards more widely distributed leadership might arguably have been designed to subtract uniquely from the influence TH1 described above:

They want more student influence, so I'm sort of fading away on [chapel leadership], and, as a matter of fact... they thought that it would be good for the Honor Council advisor to be on a rotating basis, so I'm sort of fading out of that, too.

The day I observed Chapel, the Dean of Faculty, TM1, led. Her position was an administrative layer inserted by the outgoing headmaster between himself and the faculty. Numerous respondents described the outgoing headmaster as a distant person, spending much of his day in his office, isolated from opportunities to interact with and influence relevant stakeholders. Although the headmaster may have justified his decisions with the language of empowerment, the faculty seems to have perceived that the overriding trend of his actions diminished teacher influence, running counter to the culture of this school built upon the premise of teacher leadership. Having been trapped by a new in-group, with no evidence of just cause for their own slide down the bench, the majority of teachers at the foot of this new hierarchy seem to have liked their position even less than past generations of underachieving students, who at least understood that they had earned their place. One teacher, TAS, who warily questioned the motives of the Board in a public faculty meeting, responded to a sense of disrespect for his status as teacher by retreating to his sunny classroom, where he could "ply his Socratic craft in peace." Another, TS1, whom I had to seek out and pursue to win an interview, literally retreated to the woods, where he could nurture Thoreau-like self-reliance in his students. A third went so far as to write on his sociogram questionnaire, "I don't trust anyone." By all

accounts, the interim Headmaster was quickly earning the confidence of the faculty, but the social fabric of mutual respect and connection seemed to need some attention.

From its early days, the school has valued the influential relationships composing the human and social capital of the school over its material assets. The Small school was originally founded some thirty-five miles from its present location. When a sick student died under the care of a doctor who turned out to have been drunk, the founder felt profound remorse. The founder would make powerful enemies by resisting initiatives he believed would expose his boys to the negative influence of alcohol. Physically attacked by local thugs and outvoted at the polls by former patrons of a closed saloon, the founder felt compelled to move his school in 1886 to its present home. Forced to leave behind their library, the founder and his brother chose to invest two thirds of the \$12,000 startup budget provided by their new community on books, housing \$8000 worth of books in a \$400 library building, according to a 1942 account written by the founder's son and successor. Provided to me by TH3, an administrator and alumnus of the school, the son's account reported that his father valued a school's portable assets, its people and ideas, over its "immovable real estate." That same son led the school for some thirty years after his father's death. According to two family members interviewed for this study, the son resisted even needed improvements to the physical plant in an apparent attempt to honor his father's position: "Bricks and mortar do not make a school, nor can they" (quoted in McMillin, 1971, p. 99).

During the son's tenure (1920s to 1952), the school suffered the effects of a headmaster so committed to slavishly maintaining the literal forms and policies of his

father's tenure that he was incapable of exercising the inspiring leadership of the man he aimed to emulate. According to A2, the current Business Office Manager, the facilities deteriorated to such a degree that the school lost market share in the increasingly competitive boarding school universe. The son was ultimately removed from leadership and replaced by his longtime assistant principal, who had consolidated support for his own ascendancy within the board. According to contemporaneous accounts, that Headmaster would spend his own seven years at the helm removing perceived threats to his leadership, including a young grandson of the founder. Over the years, however, successive headmasters engaged in the capital improvements required to compete in the independent boarding school theater of operations, laughingly described by the current Business Office Manager as, "almost like an arms race."

Much improved by all accounts over the state of disrepair that had settled over the buildings and playing fields, the general appearance of the campus today still expresses the founder's value for relationships between and among people and their ideas over material form. The buildings are in good repair and comfortable, but not too fussy to be enjoyed by young people. Bathrooms are operational and clean, air conditioning and heating function properly, and the cafeteria serves nutritious, attractive meals offering generous portions and good variety. The lunch menu on one typical day was chicken curry, jasmine rice, three vegetable options, salad bar, melons, hot dog bar, wraps, pimento cheese, and self-serve Panini sandwiches. Because students are expected to stay on campus and prepay for meals and because meals are a perquisite of employment, virtually everyone eats lunch together in the cafeteria.

Today the school houses its library collection in a beautiful brick structure with an open floor plan and oval clerestory windows admitting natural light, even on a cold, dark, December morning. The faculty room is separated from the library floor by only a wall of glass. Situated in the central location, opposite the entrance door, sits the faculty coffee pot, seemingly the collegial hearth of the school. Furnished with a worktable and chairs, the faculty room's walls feature portraits of significant people in the school's history, including an alumnus who went on to be elected governor of the state of Tennessee. In homage to the founder's value for ideas over property, however, the doorway to the library is marked with the words, "Wit, Wisdom, Discipline." Although the outgoing headmaster demonstrated the insight to engrave the words of the founder on buildings all over campus, his latter day leadership ultimately failed. The outgoing headmaster made needed investment in facilities, but failed to make corresponding investments in people and relationships, leading to generalized distrust from his marginalized faculty and an abbreviated tenure.

Accountability. The culture of the school is defined and sustained by the honor of mutually accountable community members. An older library structure has been restored as a language classroom and meeting room, where a visitor may notice a modern, multi-cultural reference to another prominent idea at this school, also inherited from its founder: "Your word is your bond." Posted prominently in the front of the repurposed library space stands the school's honor pledge on an easel, translated into Spanish for the students of TL1: "Yo doy mi palabra de honor como una dama/un caballero de [William Small] que no he dado ni he recibido ayuda en este examen/tarea/prueba." ("I give my

word of honor as a lady/gentleman of [William Small] that I have neither given nor received help on this assignment.”) Although the honor system at this school will be more fully developed in a later section, three key elements are introduced into evidence by the pledge. First, your word of honor is yours alone. Affixed to the pledge, your name represents your personal honor, which is deemed sufficient to stand behind your word. Second, your word of honor is freely given when you accept membership in the school community. As a lady or gentleman of the school, you are bound *by* your word and you are bound *to* your school family. Finally, because your word is yours to give and you have chosen to give it to this school, you are bound to honor something larger than your own narrow interests: the values and interests of the school.

Significantly, everyone is expected to be trustworthy, accountable for his or her actions, and responsible for sustaining and defending the relational network of the school. Entering into this study, I tended to focus on the power of trust to inspire trustworthiness in members of an honor system. Many teachers (TM1, TH5, TE2, TS1, TL1, and TAS) confirmed my presupposition that students are accorded significant trust in testing situations. However, Honor Council advisor TH1 also surprised me by advocating close watching when students are testing:

You know it’s very much part of the lore of the school that ... teachers can simply come in and leave the exam there, and the students ... will take the exam and not cheat. And I think that may very well happen, but I tend to follow the... Reagan dictum: “trust but verify.”

TH2, an administrator charged with student discipline at this honor system school, surprised me by advocating cameras to monitor the comings and goings of students at the dorm: “I actually am a believer in certain levels of a big brother, like video cameras, primarily for ... some huge lessons that could be taught—that children will forever get away with because we don’t have those systems in place.” Note that the focus was on the missed opportunities for lessons that could be learned. TH1 and TH2 were joined in their assessment that teachers could better support students to develop honor through appropriate vigilance by TE1, the second Honor Council advisor, TH3, the Honor Council president in his student days, and the interim Headmaster, who has extensive experience at honor system schools.

How did these leaders at the heart of the school’s accountability structures reconcile monitoring and watching with trust? First, they framed their decisions about what constitutes appropriate vigilance within the cultural and relational context of an expectation of trust. Their trust was not of the purely contractual variety described by Bryk and Schneider (2002). TH1 allowed that he has developed trust relationships with students that would permit him to step out during a test if the need arose, even as he asserted that he did not want to fail in his duty to support students in making ethical decisions by making it easier for others to defect. TH2’s desire for improved monitoring capabilities focused on certain high-stakes situations, such as dorm supervision, where she felt a duty to provide a safe environment.

Second, these leaders’ understandings of how to establish and sustain a culture of trust was more similar to the pragmatic strategic thinking of game theoretic analysis of

Axelrod (1984) than the organic trust of a monastery described by Bryk and Schneider (2002). TH1's "trust but verify" and TH2's "lessons that could be learned" aligned well with the winning strategies in Axelrod's iterated decisions in trust dilemmas: (1) Avoid unnecessary conflict by initiating cooperation; (2) Punish when provoked by defection; (3) Forgive; and (4) Be clear. As described in Chapter 2, the transparency of the TIT-FOR-TAT strategy promotes the emergence of a cooperative pattern in games in which it is employed. If children "forever get away with" defector behavior and lack a transparent framework for accountability, a culture built on cooperation cannot long be sustained. Self-referential opportunities for correction are the feedback loops at the heart of how cultures and individuals shape one another, and TH2 viewed video cameras as a needed form of self-referential learning. These leaders' conception of an honor system most closely resembled Bryk and Schneider's framework for relational trust.

Finally, the adults most responsible for the school's accountability structures consistently referred to performing their "duty" or fulfilling their "responsibility" to create a safe space for freedom. Perhaps more than other adults at the school, these leaders witnessed the painstaking decisions of Honor Council members charged with holding peers accountable to community standards. These leaders consistently reported that mutual accountability is the price school family members pay in exchange for the benefits of membership in this family of trust. In fulfilling their responsibility for mutual accountability, these individuals contribute to a network of feedback loops reinforcing both personal growth and community safety.

Norms and expectations. In a time of strategic planning and evolving mission statements, it is significant that the mission statement of the William Small School still cites its founder: "To turn out young people who are tireless workers and who know how to work effectively; who are accurate scholars, who know the finer points of morals and practice them in their daily living; who are always courteous." A2, TM1, TH1, and TE2 independently cited the phrase, "tireless workers", which was also quoted in a student newspaper and on two classroom wall postings. An egalitarian faith in the value of hard work over privilege is a community norm and expectation for all community members.

Classroom doors post signs speaking for current teachers on the subject of honorable work and mutual respect over entitled privilege and personal aggrandizement. To inspire modern students to honor the responsibilities of school citizenship, a Latin classroom labeled, "Conclave Scholasticum," posts a quote from the founder:

The answer to the students' protests will never be to ease their responsibilities, to lighten their extracurricular burdens. The only answer is to retain the pressures of study and citizenship, to convince the students that the quality of their school, its publications, and its activities depends solely on the amount of work they are willing to contribute, work beyond the point of pleasure, work sustained only by a strong, striving will to grow, to improve, and to survive. (School newspaper)

A freshman English classroom instructs scholars in respect, as opposed to entitlement:

Do not enter until... you are ready to sit down and be quiet; you have all the books and homework papers you need; you have been to the restroom if you need

to go; you are ready to pay attention; you are willing to be respectful of your classmates; you are ready to be respectful of the teacher. (Field observation notes)

The faculty at this school faithfully models the tireless work expected of students. Empowered to imagine his ideal school, administrator A2 described the sense of community he enjoys at this school: “The sense of community by the faculty is extraordinary, and probably unique, in many instances, that they will give so much to these students and to the institution.” He went on to describe the reverse side of the coin of extraordinary commitment: “We’re always asking more from them...and they say they’re tired.” At least three members of the administrative team interviewed for this study questioned faculty complaints about their workload on some level, seeming to seek discernment between legitimate concerns and the universal phenomenon of grumbling over inconsequential grievances. All appreciated, however, that the faculty does go the extra mile, “from up at the gym, to the Basics program [mandatory afternoon exercise], to lunchtime with the kids, to class, to the dormitories” (TH3)

The interim Headmaster commended the William Small School as relatively close to an ideal school, in that it was oriented towards service, honor, and academics. However, he cited the need to address certain issues for faculty, “to make them happier.” The interim Headmaster said that the school leadership was looking for ways to increase professional development funding, to improve faculty housing, and to offer better salaries, better aligning reward systems with the extraordinary expectations of a small boarding community. Another administrator cited the need for increased staffing to

support residential life. This school seems to be envisioning reinvestment in the tireless workers who form the relational fabric of the school.

The expectation that students and faculty be tireless workers is further represented in the school's legendary history as an overachiever among schools. The face of the renovated schoolhouse proclaims in stone the words of the founder to his first generation scholars: "Pedigree your ancestors." The founder's words reference a story he loved to tell about an opportunity he once missed to buy a horse of unremarkable lineage. The horse went on to become the most exceptional harness horse of his day, not because he had an exceptional pedigree or because he started from a favorable position. Rather, the horse became a champion from the outside lane, trapping one horse after another, fired by a character that would not be told he was inferior or that he could not compete with bluebloods. Of course all of the equine kin of this horse rose in value because of his excellence. He had, in fact, pedigreed his ancestors. The story served the founder well, both to inspire "town boys" to work hard at his school and to propel his modest, rural school to a leadership position in a race with well-established elite academies.

By 1875, when Vanderbilt University had admitted its first class, only students from the William Small School took first honors on placement exams, resulting in invitations to the founder and his brother to join the preparatory grammar school being developed for the university. Appreciating the value of their independence, the brothers stayed put. No less a scholar than President Woodrow Wilson told one distinguished alumnus of the school that as president of Princeton, he considered this Small School to be "about the best preparatory school in the country," and that Wilson had personally

spent a week there once to see how the founder and his brother prepared such excellent scholars. Alumni of the Small School actually spearheaded a student movement leading to the initiation of an honor system at Princeton (Reeder, 2003). The Small School is still proud to have produced more Rhodes Scholars than any school of the founder's day and has the names of its Rhodes Scholars displayed prominently on the exterior walls of a building. The overachieving scholarship of the best alumni of the William Small School pedigreed the influential teaching of the school's founders.

If the schoolhouse building offers the positive charge to bring honor to one's ancestors, the Administration Building offers the negative that sharpens cultural meaning: "Do not ever be a spectator; take a hand in the game." At this school, membership in some elite class is no prerequisite for honor, but standing on the sidelines just watching is unacceptable. In deference to the principle of full participation, the school did not participate in interscholastic athletics until relatively recently in its history, opting instead for a highly inclusive intramural program. Never an athletic powerhouse, once the school did join an interscholastic athletic league, the students opted in the 1970s for the team name, "the Feet." In a conversation with longtime teacher and school historian, TH1, I wondered aloud whether the team name might signify some high-minded reference to a line in the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*: "Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! Be jubilant, my feet!" Quick to disabuse me of the notion, he described for me the humorous, student-generated caricatures that arose at the time they chose that name—sketches of adolescent feet in athletic shoes, with hairy ankles protruding from one side of the footwear and oversized toes bursting from the other. The teacher speculated about the

etymological roots of the name. I now suspect it might have been a humorous reference to the school's perennial low standing in interscholastic leagues, a position community members were willing to admit with the self-deprecating wit of generations of foot-sitters before them. Allowing that the school had neglected their sports program for some time, administrator A2 said that the school is moving in the direction of improving that program, although, "some people question whether you can have great sports and great academics together." In either arena, top marks are not necessary to win honor at this school, but failure to engage with one's studies or to carry one's weight in community life was and is anathema to the school's norms and values.

Formal structure. From the earliest days of the school, the founder expressed his philosophical determination to develop the independent scholarship of his students, so long as they applied themselves in constructive channels. Hired to lead the community school, the founder soon drew the consternation of the community by allowing his students the liberty to move freely about the classroom, talk quietly amongst themselves, and study outdoors, all provided they continued to make commendable progress and did not disrupt other scholars. Instructed by the board to confine his students to desks, as in more traditional classrooms, the newly appointed headmaster resigned his position, saying, "Before I would imprison innocent children, I would quit the profession of teaching" (quoted in McMillin, 1971, p. 61). The community retreated before the founder's stand and he was persuaded to stay on as headmaster.

According to the account of an alumnus of the Class of 1908, many of the boys of his day bought themselves chairs identified by carving their names on the backs. The

chairs were then tilted against trees for comfortable outdoor learning. Today, arranged around the lawn in front of the old school buildings are numerous groups of Adirondack chairs placed under the trees, perhaps as a reference to the founder's preference for outdoor classrooms. The school's Academic Strategic Plan for 2008-2014 espouses exploring week-long off-campus field studies each fall as a means to foster "authentic" education, and the modern school prominently features a vibrant outdoor education program in Admissions literature. This modern interpretation of natural philosophy still expresses an individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The independent scholarship and authentic education expressed on the scale of the students translates into significant autonomy on the scale of the teachers. As in the first days of the school, when the founder flatly rejected outside interference on how he should best run his classroom, teachers at this school today still practice extraordinary autonomy. Teacher TS2 described her first years as a teacher: "Teaching at this school has kind of been 'baptism by fire.' Like, 'Here are your classes. Here are your books. Best of luck!'" This teacher, who did not study in a College of Education, believes that the autonomy she has been given benefits her students: "I've been able to tailor my course to my students' needs, rather than tailor my students to some end result." The teacher was assigned a mentor, but reported that the formal mentorship did not really work. Instead, she described a more informal, self-referential process among peers and colleagues:

You find your own mentor, you know? I came in with five people my same age...and we kind of became our own little support network. And if you heard

one thing from your department, and I heard one thing from my department, then we would kind of piece together what we needed to know. And, you know, “This is not working in my class,” and, “How about you try this?”

Like the founder, teachers interviewed for this study universally resisted standardizing influences as assaults on their professional autonomy. One grievance often mentioned by teachers was the relatively newly imposed requirement that teachers comply with standardized practices on the school’s electronic bulletin board/grade book. One administrator described a collaborative approach to the implementation of the new system and teacher leader TM1 described a successful, graduated roll out, starting with the middle school and facilitated by scheduled time to accomplish the new duties. There was a sense among teachers, however, that the expectations associated with online reporting were a moving target, always tending towards additional work for teachers without a corresponding sense that the work was adding commensurate value. Teacher TS2 characterized the process of adoption and implementation of the new system as, “shady.” Satisfying the marketplace of parents was probably the most attractive feature of the change to members of administration. Feeling as if they were being called upon to answer to parents within the professional domain of their classrooms was most offensive to faculty.

The independent scholarship of students and the professional autonomy of faculty members reflect the school’s historic resistance to standardization on the institutional scale. By the time the founder and his brother had achieved preeminence, the outside world was looking for ways to standardize educational methods and replicate successful

models. Resisting attempts by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to impose the Carnegie credit for as long as he lived, the founder asserted, instead, the personalized inspiration that had worked for him in relationships with influential teachers in antebellum North Carolina.

Administrators at the Small School today still express a Jeffersonian distrust for centralized, hierarchical governance structures and prize the independent agency they practice within independent schools. The interim Headmaster is serving from retirement, after a long career featuring rich experience with several exemplary independent schools and close interaction with public school principals and school boards. Invited to identify factors school reformers need to take into account when trying to cultivate self-regulating community excellence in any school, the interim Headmaster quickly cited independence from externally imposed solutions and bureaucracies:

If I could do one thing, I believe, to see reform happen, it would be to take the bureaucracy of the School Board and the bureaucracy of the superintendent, and chunk them both and let principals run their schools and not have to put up with the bureaucracy.... In the perfect world, a principal runs the school completely, like an independent school is run. We have our Board of Trustees, but our board doesn't meet every two weeks, like a lot of public school boards. Our board meets three times a year.

In the same ways as students find ways to honorably collaborate and teachers find their own support systems, however, the interim Headmaster also advocated greater connection between school communities: "I like the idea of visiting other schools...

networking is really essential.” At the same time, the interim Headmaster was hard pressed to cite significant instances of the interscholastic collaboration he craved.

Preserving significant independence, the school has, of course, acceded to certain standardizing influences staunchly resisted during the lifetime of the founder. In order to be accredited, school leaders accepted the Carnegie credit generations ago. Yet relatively self-reliant students still learn in largely autonomous classrooms in essentially independent schools.

Theme: Relational Structures

The feedback loops operating within the system of this school most closely resemble the self-referential forms of a family. This school carries the cultural DNA and values of its founder reinforced by the cultural norms and expectations of its honor system. First, I will describe the familial traits evident in this study of the school and the trans-generational web of individuals sustaining the school family’s values. Then I will describe the process by which strangers become family. Finally, I will describe the formal honor system defining the nature of relationships among members of this school family.

Characteristics. A familial pride flows through the William Small School community. In a presentation to students entitled *Honor & Character Education*, the founder is quoted as saying, “The discipline of a school is that of a family, with paternal authority, and paternal love.” From the cover of the current admissions literature, which asserts that the school has, “the character of home,” to the families of faculty and their children who have grown up in this school, to the close relationships evident in this small

school community cited by almost every administrator and teacher interviewed, my research finds evidence of an ongoing family atmosphere at the school, long after the days when it was literally a family enterprise. Of course, familial relationship can be a two-edged sword. One administrator revealed that it can be difficult to get, “beyond the three big questions: ‘What did we do last year? What did we do when I was a student? ‘What are they doing at [competitor schools]?’ ... You have to stretch yourself and ... break this group-think,” and consider, “What *should* we be doing?”

The school family’s value for warm hospitality creates a favorable first impression. From the president’s administrative assistant, whose melodic pronunciation of the school’s name serves up generous portions of vowel syllables as she answers the telephone, “Small Schoo-ool,” to the Assistant Headmaster, who agreed in the course of an initial telephone call to allow the present study of the school, members of this school family project welcome. As a native of the small town defined by the school, the administrative assistant had known the school even before beginning a career of service that would span the tenures of several headmasters. Once a dorm parent, the Assistant Headmaster had reared his own family on this campus, forming lifelong relationships with fellow faculty members extending well beyond the normal bounds of collegiality.

My first introduction to the faculty was at a weekly 7:30 a.m. faculty meeting/breakfast. I was given first place on the agenda to present my study and to distribute surveys and other materials. After my presentation, I made an appointment with the faculty to meet in the dining hall at lunchtime so that I could collect faculty members’ completed RT/OC surveys and sociogram questionnaires. The newly appointed interim

Headmaster then took the floor to address concerns apparently raised by members of the faculty by email and other media concerning a change in the Board's selection of the next headmaster. Explaining that confidentiality precluded divulging details concerning specific findings, the interim Headmaster described the due diligence given to vetting candidates by the Board's selection committee. The interim Headmaster's humble tone suggested his understanding that he was relying upon the faculty's willingness to trust both the intentions and capabilities of the Board, rather than standing on positional authority. The interim Headmaster then respectfully asked for the faculty's consideration and expressed his own faith that the Board had made a wise decision. Based on the feedback gathered on the RT/OC surveys completed and returned that same morning (see Quantitative Analysis section of this chapter), the faculty trusted the interim Headmaster. Although one administrator later cited problems that sometimes arise when people meddle in decisions belonging to others, this school family demonstrated on this occasion that members had channels for listening to one another and a capacity for mutual trust and respect.

As the meeting concluded, three members of the faculty/administration eager to be scheduled for interviews approached me to express their interest. I later learned that all three are also alumni of the school, one the son of a former teacher and another the mother of young students. I also learned that about fourteen members of the faculty/staff are alumni. All of the teachers interviewed in the course of this study with children old enough to attend the school had sent their children to the William Small School, and

several teachers shared that they came to this school first as parents and later joined the faculty.

Like children accustomed to being both seen and heard, students look adults in the eye and interact respectfully but informally with faculty and staff. My first introduction to the student body was at *chapel*, a daily assembly of the school community originating in the days of the school's founding. Representing the international character of the modern school, flags hang above the small stage surrounded by student seating. Also resembling a family parlor, however, the walls enclosing this civic space are lined with generations of class photographs.

I sat directly behind the 6th graders. Boys wore oxford shirts, ties, khakis, and tennis shoes; girls wore a variety of kilts/skorts, oxford shirts (often un-tucked), and shoes (rain boots seemed popular). One young couple could barely keep their hands off of each other. Not unlike parents and board members in 1870 taken aback by the informality of the school, some modern visitors to the William Small School may initially be surprised at the looseness of the uniform code and amount of freedom enjoyed by students at this college preparatory school with a storied history of academic rigor and unswerving character development.

Balancing that first impression, however, the respect and attention of students was instantaneous when the lights dimmed to signal the beginning of chapel and the Dean of Faculty announced, "All Rise." The lights came on and the teacher strode down the aisle to the stage followed by three juniors, who would give their declamations that day. All sat at the teacher's instruction. She waited to begin for two students who rushed in at the

last moment. The teacher introduced the speakers—a boy from a neighboring town, from which the school draws almost 70% of its student population, a girl from Beijing, and a girl from Seoul. The boy stood in the middle of the stage wearing a blazer with no microphone and proceeded to recite from *Hero of Empyrion*. The memorized excerpt of the student's choosing referenced a tribunal. When he finished, the crowd applauded and the girl from Beijing followed. Finally, the girl from Seoul stepped forward. She had to stop to recall the text at a few points, but all got through their declamations safely. The audience was very quiet, and seemed attentive. Next, the teacher read a few announcements and recognized others to make announcements. The interim Headmaster introduced me to the school, identifying my home city and school affiliations. When announcements were finished, the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag was recited. I noticed that the two foreign students on stage waited politely but did not participate in the pledge.

Following chapel, I went to the Dining Hall to collect teachers' forms and eat lunch. The building was decorated with a banner announcing the achievement of a former student, a recent Siemens Advanced Placement Scholar. A class was meeting in the cafeteria. Middle School students began to arrive for lunch, dropping their backpacks in the lobby, confident that the backpacks would be unmolested. As the class meeting in the cafeteria dismissed, students entered for lunch. Middle School students ate first, made announcements, and then left for the Upper School to enter. Upper School students waited in the lobby until the younger students dismissed. I chatted with some juniors who initiated the conversation after my introduction in chapel, because two of them are from my hometown. Both are children of William Small alumni. The students all spoke easily

with me. They said the food was pretty good, for school food. They also explained accountability structures for good behavior in chapel. A particular teacher sitting in the back is apparently notorious for making note of inattention or cell phone use and 4:00 detention is the typical penalty. The students loved the fact that when the interim Headmaster's mobile telephone rang one day in chapel, he sent himself to detention with offending students. Respect is apparently expected to flow in both directions in this school family. Humorously, teacher TH1 attributed students' good behavior in chapel to, "all of the faculty being there surrounding them with love and kindness, and, ah, lots of eyes."

About a month after my first visit to the school, when I found a last minute opportunity for a visit, the Dean of Faculty sent out an email at 12:20 on a Thursday afternoon, and in the space of only two hours time, I had filled my schedule for the next day and had three interested teachers who had to be deferred to a later visit. This faculty family seemed eager to share their perceptions. One particularly reflective alumnus/staff member, who impressed me at the time as this school family's genealogist, provided me with numerous artifacts relating to school history. He strongly urged me to read David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989), if I wanted to better understand the cultural DNA replicated over generations in this school community. The book did not directly discuss this school or its founder, but the alumnus/staff member connected the construct of honor of the founder and his school in terms of the distinctive constructs of honor brought to America by aristocratic British colonists to Virginia and by early immigrants from the Borderlands of North Britain to North Carolina. The former

would become planter-statesmen and founding fathers; the latter would become fierce freedom fighters in the American Revolution. The founder of the William Small School was born of this North Carolina stock, whose ancestors expressed a sense of familial clan honor, bound to defend one another from the assaults of cattle raiders who would deprive their families of a living. The founder also absorbed the more patrician ethos of the soldier-farmer in his secondary studies with a Virginian general and in Civil War service under his personal hero, General Robert E. Lee. The Scottish clansman emerged whenever the founder stood up to defend his school community from perceived external threats, such as the easy availability of alcohol to his adolescent students in the school's original location or the standardizing influence of universities or the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools on his school. The patrician general emerged in the form of his honor system, which bore some similarity to West Point's honor code. Both traits still survive in various forms today.

A leader of this school must understand its unique construct of honor and resonate with its forms in order to be successful. Coming from Andover, the former headmaster seemed to have carried with him the cultural heritage of Puritan immigrants to New England, applying Fischer's analysis, featuring a townsman's expectation of centralized control rather than a frontiersman's fierce independence. One humorous incident shared by administrator A2 illuminated the predicament. "When [the former headmaster] came from Andover, up in the northeast, and we were going over to Handbook, ... he said, 'I want to go over to Handbook, and we're going to edit it, because I have a different philosophy.'" Beginning to laugh, the administrator went on to describe the offending

section of the handbook as the language defining the appropriate way for students to transport guns on the bus. Still laughing, he related how the northeastern headmaster had exclaimed, “What do you mean they can bring guns on the bus?” The administrator concluded his anecdote with the following explanation: “So, of course, somebody there said, ‘Well, Mr. ___, this is the way it is down here. We have a skeet team, and it’s okay, and it’s kind of culture, and the kids know what they’re doing and we control it.’”

By contrast, the interim Headmaster, who had already earned the trust and affection of the community in the few short months he had been at the school, knew how to take a telephone call from a board member and make small talk about duck hunting. Part of the difference in the two men is a matter of personality, with the departing Headmaster described as likely to sit in his office isolated from his “family” and the interim Headmaster projecting genuine interest and concern. But as the administrator quoted above indicates, part of the problem with the former Headmaster’s leadership was a poor alignment between the administrator and the culture of the school, which still bears a strong resemblance to the southern highland culture of the founder.

A salient trait of this school family is its reliance upon the honor of mutually accountable individuals. Faculty and administration do not judge themselves or their students by the minimal standards of legal code, but refer to a living honor enacted by trustworthy, if imperfect, persons as their standard. Members of this family are expected to be trustworthy, to represent the family honorably, and to defend the family’s honor by holding one another accountable. That is the price of membership in the William Small family.

Socialization. Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) found that the simple act of choosing to enroll one's child in a particular school, as opposed to another, expresses trust in the school and adds to the fund of relational trust available to the community. The interim Headmaster at William Small cited the choices families make as measured in reenrollment rates as a form of feedback on how the school is doing. "[Parents] vote with their pocketbooks." Clearly the possibility of parents not enrolling students serves as a form of external accountability for the school. The market forces impelling the school to compete for its student population tend to incent school improvement. In fact, statistical evidence in the form of SAT score ranges presented in the demographics section of this study do not suggest that Small is a highly selective school, but one that has to compete for every student who may be qualified to attend. Whether because of or in spite of the pressures of competition, however, several subjects in this study cited various facets of the element of choice as an essential element of social systems relating to relational trust, accountability, and cultural sustainability operating in the William Small School.

At the William Small School, the student's choice to attend begins a process of escalating trust, trustworthiness, and cultural buy-in, as described by administrator/alumna TH2.:

I think—I think that's a process. I think when you first start this school, whether it's as a sixth grader or a ninth grader, it's such a shift from society's norms that I think part of growing up at the [William Small] School is to fully embrace our honor code. I don't think there's complete buy-in your initial days at the ... school.... But I think we reach... an overwhelming majority of our students.

The same administrator/alumna described the process of the commitment she makes each year when she renews her choice by signing the Honor Pledge book in chapel: “In so doing, I understand that I am pledging my word of honor as—as a human being to join a community—join a set of beliefs larger than what... [I believe].”

TH3 contrasted the internal accountability structure of trustworthy partners honoring their freely given commitments to the school family with the deleterious effects of purely self-interested individuals exercising the economic principle of *moral hazard*, defined by Paul Krugman (2000) as, “any situation in which one person makes the decision about how much risk to take, while someone else bears the cost if things go badly” (p. 66). On the one hand, TH3 posited that an admissions director might be tempted to admit an unqualified or disruptive trustee’s child in order to attract praise from powerful supporters. The risk of that decision would then be transferred to others in the community: “The moral hazard piece is realized in the classroom, when the faculty member has someone who is beyond recalcitrant. That’s anywhere you go—that’s not just [here].” On the other hand, trustworthy partners in reliable relationships support community excellence without external monitoring: “If you trust the Admissions Office—that they’re going to protect the assets of the school and make the decision in the best interests of the school—the moral hazard question shouldn’t even come into question.” Describing the mutually agreed upon frameworks worked out together in a school, TH3 argued that the terms need not be especially well defined, but that they need only be mutually agreed to and followed: “We’ve all decided this is what we’re going to do. Why are we even thinking about doing something over here?”

Several teachers addressed the question of how important the admissions office is in creating the unique William Small School community. In their responses, teachers sometimes expressed appreciation for the role of admissions in a particularly strong class, but TH1 spoke for the whole in answering that this school can handle a weak admissions pool:

We can handle that...I mean it's, it's, it's our job—it's our craft—it's our profession to bring the weak one along...and we have, in our time, handled some pretty obstreperous ones, too...As long as you've got the right faculty, I think you're in good shape there.

By the same token, the ability of the school to limit the composition of the student population by moving people out who cannot meet their commitments was deemed by teachers and administrators to be an essential layer of accountability for students and for the school. One teacher referenced an alumnus and historian of the early years of the school: “Many of the greatest scholars and greatest scoundrels in the South could say they had done time at [William Small]”...[The founder] brought ‘em in, and he shipped ‘em out.” Today, the decision to expel is typically reserved for serial violators.

Relational trust. At the William Small School, relational trust is inseparable from the school's rich, multidimensional construct of honor. Individuals are expected to honor their freely given word and expect that others should do the same. Honor is perceived to be a personal quality developed in trust-based relationships and formal character education. Significantly, the personal quality of honor becomes a community feature at the William Small School. Replicated in the school's system for self-regulation,

the honor system creates the conditions for a valued life style. Teachers and administrators interviewed for this study described honor as providing the foundation for community excellence, genuine education, and desirable community life.

“Your word is your bond” is a phrase that appeared in almost every teacher interview conducted at the William Small School. As TH2 stated, “I am intentionally choosing to join something bigger than myself.” The element of choice means that the individual is the locus of control in this school community, as opposed to the student’s teacher or parents, or the teacher’s principal.

Failure to honor one’s word is deeply disappointing to those who practice honor system trust. One alumna teacher, TS2, described her disillusionment with incidents during her first year teaching at her alma mater. She had returned an assignment to her students, observing, “You know, you didn’t pledge this.” The students had replied, “It’s just words.” The teacher reported that the comment hurt. “My integrity comes from [this school].... This is where I learned that my word meant everything.” She explained to her students, “That’s your word—that’s who you are—that’s your pride, and people are going to look badly on you if you... break that promise.” The teacher related that she has resorted to not allowing students to return to finish tests, in response to her loss of trust in some of them.

Honor Council advisor TH1 allowed that his own exposure to the “seamier” side of student life contributed to his careful monitoring of exam security. The Honor Council is a group of students selected by their peers to investigate and decide cases involving honor violations: lying, cheating, stealing, and plagiarism. Students do not campaign for

this office. Instead, students are encouraged to think quietly and write down the names of classmates they would trust to hear their own case. This teacher/advisor observed that standards of academic excellence vary depending upon the capacity of the student body at any given time, but that the standards of honor are permanent. Although breaking one's word has negative consequences for the relational network of the school, the phrase, "Your word is your bond," highlights the individual's commitment to honor. In the words of TH2, "It's more individual than... compelled towards a group or holding others accountable... It's your own responsibility to keep your own honor intact."

The school motto, *Noli Res Subdole Facere* is often translated, "Do nothing on the sly." The idea extends the idea of keeping one's word beyond upholding the letter of the law to the standard of being worthy of trust, even when no one is watching. Associating the saying with how the honor system influences her professional practice, TM1 translated the saying, "Be straightforward, forthright, and forthcoming with everybody." If the phrase, "Your word is your bond," was associated in interviews with the individual's responsibility to honor his or her word, the phrase, "Do nothing on the sly," was associated in interviews and artifacts with the role of character education in the school: "The purpose of a school is to develop character and scholarship—not either, but both" (Artifact: Text of PowerPoint presentation *Honor and Character Education*). The same presentation identifies character education as an essential element of the founder's brand:

The best system of education is not that which takes the least time, whether it accomplishes this result by slovenly work or by forcing early and unhealthy maturity; but that which makes in the end a man of the finest character.

Mechanisms for modern day character education at this school included both informal peer and adult modeling and formal programs intentionally addressing character development. From the admissions literature, which touts, “the character of home,” to the first chapel, when all community members ceremonially sign their names to the school’s honor pledge, to each daily class and pledged assignment, to an advisory program featuring character education and a required sophomore course in Ethics, the school takes a comprehensive approach to character education. Consider the mission statement of WILD, the school’s outdoor education program:

Wilderness Instruction and Leadership Development is a program designed to complement the mission of the school by fostering high moral character and developing leadership skills while equipping students with the knowledge and skills necessary to lead others in safe, environmentally friendly outdoor activities.

The mission and vision statement goes on espouse, “situational awareness and sound judgment...moral and ethical... awareness of the impact of man on the environment,” and servant leadership.

Perhaps most profoundly influential is the work of the Honor Council itself. As alumna and teacher TS2 described the effect of her years at the school,

I definitely got into a little bit of trouble here and there, ... but the idea of going to Honor Council, among my peers, was considered the ultimate shame. It’s

basically like spitting on the school, and everybody kind of appreciated the school.

Teacher and father of an alumna who had served on the Honor Council, TS1, actually wept as he described the impact of the experience of serving on the Honor Council on his daughter: “It’s the best educational experience at this school.”

As counselor/teacher TH4 noted, virtually every visitor notices the community practice of abandoning one’s belongings with no apparent concern for their safety. TM1 spoke for many interviewees in citing the practice as significant of how well the honor system functions at this school:

The kids leave their stuff everywhere, which looks kind of messy, but they know that if they leave their book here or their book bag there, it’s not going to get bothered.... We expect everybody to be honest—not lie, cheat, or steal—and most kids take it seriously.

The practice speaks to the sense of safety individuals feel living in this school community.

Theme: Sustainability and Change

Influential teaching, honorable individuals, hard work, and decentralized governance are key elements of this school culture. The safety and freedom that are possible when individuals can be trusted to pull their own weight, play fair and look out for others, even when no one is watching, are the highest aspirations expressed through the traditional lore and daily life of this school family. This school was selected for study precisely because the order (safety) evident on the macro-scale of the school coexists

with the lack of imposed order (freedom) expressed on the micro-scale of the individual. Although the school does practice intentional planning, the strategic plan was not easy for individuals to locate. The order seems largely to be an effect of the trust-based relationships among mutually accountable partners as defined by the school's honor system, rather than a strategic plan imposed from above. In the context of relatively low levels of authoritarian, hierarchical management, how does the William Small School sustain its essential elements through both cataclysmic and evolutionary change? This section will explore how the school's leadership and institutions have responded to internal changes and external challenges from the education environment and broader society.

Leadership. It would be difficult to argue that the school in the early days of its storied founder was anything but his school. Writing some fifty years after the founding of the school to reassure his youngest son, who was discouraged by the difficulties he was experiencing establishing an honor system community at his own young school in California, the founder wrote:

You cannot have the discipline and habits of [Small] School at the start. I started without any trained boys to lead.... It took one or two years before I dared to have a pledge based on [a boy's] word of honor as a gentleman. (*Recollections...from Stories, Letters and Interviews*, 1998)

Through sheer force of his own will, however, the founder somehow created a system designed to rely upon the leadership of "trained boys." His letter of advice to his son goes on, providing some insight into the founder's strategic methods: "You will have to adapt

yourself and your school to conditions of environment as shown in public sentiment... You can gradually elevate that sentiment in school and out.”

As already noted, however, the founder was less successful at preparing his older son to succeed him as leader of the William Small School. As a result, the death of the founder was a cataclysm from which the school very nearly never recovered. The successor's leadership would have benefited from his father's advice to his brother: “You must be yourself. You cannot be anybody else, however much you try” (quoted in McMillin, 1971, p. 168). The founder's successor was so committed to preserving the school as his father had left it that he neglected to make essential improvements to its program and facilities. In the final decades of the father's life, organizations like the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools gained influence with the colleges and universities his graduates would attend. In an apparent attempt to “elevate public sentiment,” the founder resisted until his dying day the standardizing influences such organizations represented in his environment. However, the equilibrium state of true independence in the school's heyday had been replaced with a new equilibrium state featuring an emerging system of schools.

Although alumni of the school distinguished themselves, the school lost accreditation upon the founder's death, forcing his successor to accept the Carnegie credit to regain accreditation. Failing to adapt himself and his school, the successor lost ground to competitors in the developing market for independent schools, many founded by alumni of the William Small School more successful at the founder's strategic adaptation than his successor. A grandson of the founder was teaching at the school when his older

uncle, the successor, was replaced as leader. No longer welcome at his grandfather's school, the grandson moved to California to teach for a younger uncle, before going on to found his own independent school. In an interview, the grandson's widow shared that her husband had cited the older uncle as practicing the autocratic methods he aimed to avoid in running his own school, while crediting the younger uncle with modeling the democratic methods he believed to be the essence of a living honor system community. The grandson perceived that a school going through the motions of imitating a former time would die, but that a school designed to be entrusted to educated characters could be sustainable in the modern world.

The founder of the William Small School and his less flamboyant brother were giants among independent school leaders of their day and their distinguished alumni brought honor to them and to their school. The run of Rhodes Scholars, however, did not survive them. Marking the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the school, a history written by a teacher from the son's school in California forcefully reasserted the founder's influence. Since that time, wise administrators and influential teachers at the William Small School have both honored the legacy of their founder and followed the founder's example of adapting the school to its times.

Institutions. The school family has adapted to confront shifting challenges. Hard work and discipline no longer include chopping wood or corporal punishment. A school culture celebrating hard work over superior talent or family pedigree, however, continues to develop alumni confident in their college readiness and grateful for their ethical preparation for adult excellence.

Like many American boarding schools of the 21st century, the William Small School has also strengthened its financial base by opening its doors to boarding students from Asia. Challenged to adapt to the diverse student population, the school's Academic Strategic Plan for 2008-1014 espoused the following: "The faculty overwhelmingly supports adhering to the historical values of the school as the foundation of character education while acknowledging the global nature of our community." Chapel has changed from a religious gathering serving a rather homogeneous student body to a generally secular community gathering serving the needs of a more diverse population. Thus, the chapel space features flags of the nations of alumni, international students increase the diversity of declamation topics, and everyone respects that a student from Beijing is not expected to pledge allegiance to the American flag. Yet chapel remains an important venue for sharing community experiences and transmitting cultural values. The cafeteria offers meals designed to appeal to international boarding students and the local inn reaches out to meet the preferences of their parents.

The particular workings of the Honor Council have also evolved over time. According to the longtime Honor Council advisor, the first Honor Council of faculty and students was convened to handle a question of gambling in the boarding houses serving the school in its early days. When the present advisor came to the school in the late 1970s, he described the Honor Council as "pretty much a completely independent operation.... The school had, in the 60s and early 70s ...pretty much decided it was going to be a student run kind of school. The Honor Council had a tremendous amount of autonomy" (TH1). Given to humorous exaggeration, the advisor described the

investigations of that time as, “a little more KGB,” with Council members pulling accused students from their dorm rooms by night. A new headmaster asked TH1 to become the faculty advisor, “Just to make sure they don’t hurt anybody. Other than that, ... give them their head.” He described the modern phenomenon as a “much kinder, gentler Honor Council.” In order to satisfy modern legal and ethical concerns, today’s administrators take ownership of consequences recommended by the student-led Honor Council. Nonetheless, students guilty of honor violations still have to face the peers they have wronged and students still have to share in the difficult decisions that constitute the cost of sustaining a trustworthy honor system.

Most recently, the newly diverse student population has spurred thoughtful community members to consider how best to help new students to William Small to “fully embrace our honor code” (TH2). If it is difficult to assimilate family members from the surrounding community, the effort to graft students of different faiths, languages, and nationalities into the William Small School family tree has required the development of a more intentional approach. Honor Council advisor and English teacher TH2 noted the special challenge of teaching about plagiarism. He observed that young Asian students tend to come to the school with a different concept of what constitutes plagiarism from the common American understanding. Rather than simply expelling students for breaches that may result from cultural misunderstandings, the school has taken pains to teach proper citation in advance of violations and to take a more educational approach when violations do occur. There is a sense among alumni/faculty

and long-term faculty that the school is less likely than in the past to resort to expulsion of honor violators.

Quantitative Analysis of Relational Trust

This section offers quantitative analysis of survey data evaluating relational trust at the William Small School in three dimensions: Teacher-Principal Trust, Teacher-Teacher Trust, and Teacher-Student Trust. To evaluate Teacher-Principal Trust, the means and standard deviations of the items from the RT/OC survey tabulated below were calculated, along with the grand mean and standard deviation (see Table 14).

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Principal Trust Items on the RT/OC Survey at the William Small School

Teacher-Principal Trust Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with the principal. ^a	3.23	0.92
The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers. ^a	2.76	1.00
The principal looks out for the personal welfare of the faculty members. ^a	2.91	0.92
I trust the principal at his or her word. ^a	3.17	0.83
I genuinely respect my principal as an educator. ^a	3.27	0.70
The principal at this school is an effective manager who makes the school run smoothly. ^a	3.30	0.67
The principal places the needs of students ahead of his or her personal and political interests. ^b	3.15	0.81
To what extent do you feel respected by your principal? ^b	3.48	0.73
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.16	0.23

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent.

Although oral instructions directed participants to respond to the present principal, of the 23 surveys returned, five contained qualitative data in the form of notes from respondents clarifying whether they were responding in reference to the past or the interim headmaster. Respondent 5 specified that his or her strongly positive responses referred to the interim Headmaster. Respondent 7 selected “strongly agree” in response to

the first item, but added the margin note, “not in the past.” On the other hand, Respondent 11 specified that his or her strongly negative responses referred to the *previous* principal. Respondent 17 chose to omit items 4 and 9, with the note, “We are in a strange place with the interim but he is terrific.” He or she also gave a strong positive response to item 15 clarifying that he or she strongly trusts the interim, “NOT” the outgoing Headmaster. Respondent 21 chose to write a question mark in response to item 25. Given that 22% of the respondents felt the need to clarify their responses, it seems there was some confusion in the face of the transitional leadership. The specific nature of the responses also provides evidence of the scars left in the trust of respondents by the previous headmaster’s tenure. Even so, the grand mean of 3.16 suggests relatively strong Teacher-Principal Trust, somewhere between Bryk and Schneider’s (2002) minimal trust and strong trust. Teachers generally felt respected by their principal and expressed respect in return. Relative weaknesses included taking a personal interest in the professional development of teachers and looking out for the personal welfare of the faculty members.

To evaluate Teacher-Teacher Trust, the means and standard deviations of the items from the RT/OC survey tabulated below were calculated, along with the grand mean and standard deviation (see Table 15). There were no ambiguities reported by respondents. Interestingly, there is no statistically significant difference between the grand mean Teacher-Principal Trust and the grand Teacher-Teacher Trust mean, even though Teacher-Principal Trust has been impacted by a leadership transition.

Table 15

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Teacher Trust Items on the RT/OC Survey at the William Small School

Teacher-Teacher Trust Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
Teachers in this school trust each other. ^a	2.87	0.87
It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers. ^a	2.96	0.82
Teachers respect other teachers who take the lead in school improvement efforts. ^a	3.13	0.63
Teachers in this school respect those colleagues who are expert in their craft. ^a	3.26	0.81
To what extent do you feel respected by other teachers? ^b	3.17	0.92
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.08	0.16

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree. ^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent

Using Bryk and Schneider's (2002) definition, the relatively strong trust reported among teachers at this school indicates trust and respect, but the level of trust observed also indicates that only about half of teachers perceive mutual care among faculty members (Bryk & Schneider, 2002), a finding that merits further investigation.

To evaluate Teacher-Student Trust, the means and standard deviations of the items from the RT/OC survey tabulated below were calculated, along with the grand mean and standard deviation (see Table 16). There were no ambiguities reported by respondents.

Table 16

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Student Trust Items on the RT/OC Survey at the William Small School

Teacher-Student Trust Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
To what extent do you trust students. ^a	3.39	0.58
To what extent do you feel respected by students? ^a	3.26	0.54
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.33	0.49

^aFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent

Faculty members with four or more years of experience at the school ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.53$) scored significantly higher than faculty members with fewer than four years of experience at the school ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.87$) on measures of Teacher-Student Trust; $t(20) = -2.907$, $p = 0.009$.

Discussion of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

Although responses to the RT/OC identified relative weaknesses in the Teacher-Principal Trust items relating to taking a personal interest in the professional development of teachers and looking out for the personal welfare of faculty members, the interim Headmaster cited both as priorities:

There are issues that I would love to address and we've got to address here for faculty, to make them happier, and we're doing that: more professional development funds, better housing for our faculty. Being a boarding school, we

provide housing, but our housing is not adequate...for anyone who really wants to have a family here. So my goal for this school would be to have better housing for the faculty, better salaries, obviously, those kinds of things.

The interim Headmaster was just a few months into taking over from a headmaster who, by all accounts, seems to have invested more in buildings than relationships. The interim Headmaster may have begun the process of shifting priorities, but RT/OC data suggest that the faculty was reserving judgment.

Triangulating RT/OC survey data relating relatively strong Teacher-Teacher Trust with qualitative data provides insight into relatively lower numbers of teachers perceiving mutual care. First, teacher autonomy is in the institutional DNA of the William Small School. From the writings of the founder and his brother to the interviews with present faculty and administration, there is ample evidence that a teacher's decision-making authority is expansive at this school. Although several administrators and department chairs cited a newly enlarged role for department chairs in instructional oversight, all department chairs interviewed demurred to the expertise of the teacher. Even new teachers were given significant latitude in curricular decisions, instructional timelines, and implementation of school policy. Although newer teachers described a certain sink-or-swim quality to their first years at the school, all valued the autonomy they enjoyed and believed it accrued to their students' benefit. Teacher autonomy, however, may come at the cost of a diminished sense of mutual care.

To explore why faculty members with four or more years of experience at the school scored significantly higher than faculty members with fewer than four years of

experience at the school on measures of Teacher-Student Trust, two variables must be considered. On the one hand, this finding may reflect the effect of longer time operating within the school's trust-based culture, similar to the effects observed by TH2 in students:

Students who start the [William Small School] in sixth grade and finish the school in the twelfth grade...I think the majority of those students truly believe and have truly embraced and absorbed what [the founder] meant by, "I pledge my word of honor." However, I think that's a process. I think when you first start this school, it's such a shift from society's norms that ...I don't think there's complete buy-in your initial days at the [William Small} School.

On the other hand, newer faculty member at the school tended to have greater responsibility for residential life. Newer faculty members may have more opportunities to observe students in disappointing after-school moments.

Summary of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

What were teacher and administrator perceptions at the William Small School of structures operating to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? Legends and lore of the school defined norms and expectations, even before potential stakeholders opted to join this school family, and the element of choice brought fresh infusions of trust whenever individuals choose this educational option. Rituals like signing the Pledge book and organic mentorship relationships initiated new members into a culture that depends upon trustworthy individuals. Loosely coordinated individual initiatives developed a theme of character education running through the

various programs of the school. Faculty members shared a belief that people should be trustworthy, even when no one is watching. The often-noted custom of leaving valuables unattended was both the effect of living with trustworthy individuals and a cause of a widespread and growing sense of safety, each time that trust is validated.

At this school, trust has historically been expressed in a relatively flat organizational structure. One recent leader, who was perceived to have inserted hierarchies between autonomous teachers and influential decision-makers, diminished the fund of trust flowing through the school community. At this school, the headmaster expected the Board to empower him to run the school and teachers expected headmasters to empower them to run their classrooms. To an extraordinary degree, teachers ran their classrooms and administrators governed the school by empowering mutually accountable students. The honor system at this school radically enacted the often-cited principle that everyone, from the headmaster to the students, shared responsibility for community outcomes.

Teachers and administrators perceived that the order evident on the scale of the school coexisted with the freedom evident on the scale of the individual because the system order was not imposed from above. The system order was a grass roots phenomenon emergent from the personal honor of community members. Although there was evidence of scaffolding to help younger students to develop into honorable adults, conspicuous trust was a community strategy for cultivating trustworthiness. This school's honor system was a powerful structure to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability.

Analysis for Research Question 2 for this Case

This section aims to gain a clearer understanding of how relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions contributing to school improvement. This section will first report data analysis of sociogram questionnaires for insight into the relational connectivity and the corresponding trustworthiness evident in the relational network of the school. This section will then offer quantitative analysis focusing on items from the RT/OC survey related to the following organizational conditions: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.

Sociogram Analysis for the Relational Connectivity of Trustworthy Networks

As noted by Coleman (1990) the first level of *network trustworthiness* in a self-regulating system derives from structural elements connecting individuals and closing loops so that social resources can flow through the system. To assess the degree to which the social system of this school exhibits the connection and closure characteristic of network trustworthiness, members of the faculty were asked to complete sociogram questionnaires. The first question asked participants to name up to three colleagues with whom they share *professional relational trust*, defined on the form as colleagues with whom respondents, “would risk exposing professional vulnerabilities ... and ... expect that [the colleague] would give honest, helpful feedback.” Of 44 teaching faculty, 38 individuals were included for analysis of this first question, 23 because they returned

questionnaires and 15 who did not return questionnaires, who were included because at least one respondent mentioned them as trusted colleagues.

To translate teacher responses for analysis, I began by creating an alphabetical grid of all teachers responding or named by another teacher. I used this grid to identify teachers with the greatest numbers of connections and arranged these highly connected individuals on planes, in order to facilitate the organization of other teachers between and around them. After qualitzing the data and creating an orderly graph, as described by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998), I coded teachers by their locations in the network for qualitative analysis. Three centrally located individuals with 6 connections each were coded A1, B1, and C1. Intermediaries connecting neighboring hubs and increasing the connectivity of the broader system were given hybrid codes, as in AB1, for example (see figure 8).

Closure and connection. As described in Chapter 2, in networks of a given size, systems and subsystems with higher levels of closure, as measured by mutual relations, correspond to relatively higher levels of social capital. Closure facilitates the flow of information and diminishes opportunities for costly misunderstandings, creating a necessary condition for the emergence of the extreme form of trustworthiness known as zeal and a corresponding expansion in the trust available to the network as social capital (Coleman, 1990). Large, two-headed arrows in figure 5 indicate relationships in which both partners named one another, indicating strong, mutually reliable relationships and relatively greater system closure.

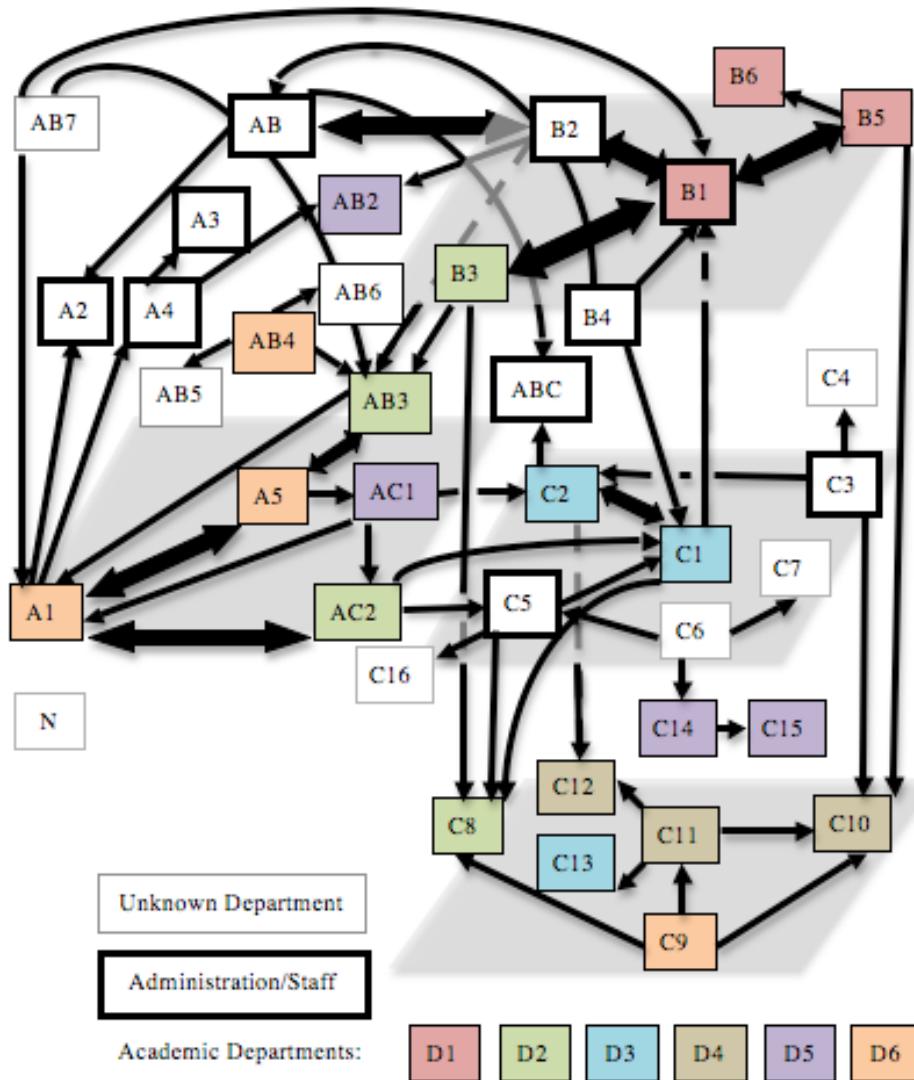


Figure 5. Relational trust network at The William Small School, 2009-2010.

There were at least two hubs exhibiting extraordinary closure within the broader system. Notably, B1 had mutual relationships with B2, B3, and B5. Upon examining the individuals associated with these codes, I found that this group of four teachers had taught together for a number of years, and that their relationship had the added dimension

of the shared experience of having parented children who were students at the school. One of these teachers actually studied briefly under another. The fact that this group self-reported this level of system closure against the backdrop of their shared history suggested that experience reinforced a shared faith in the reliability of the others. This group offered evidence of extraordinarily trustworthy relations and the corresponding benefits of relational trust. They occupied leadership positions within the faculty. Their connection with other groups in the network also tended to protect them from the limiting effects of closed loop thinking and helped them to influence others in ways that increased the social capital available to the broader system.

A second relatively closed inner network appeared among A1, A5, AB3, AC1, and AC2. Along with their satellites, they composed the A-hub. As with the B-hub, upon further examination of these individuals, I found that this group had shared significant personal and professional experiences. A2, A4, AC1, and AC2, along with C14, were alumni of the school. A2, A3, A4, and AB1 worked together as administrative staff. All but one member of the A-hub was hired relatively recently, and all shared high levels of responsibility for residential life. The A-hub turned out to be especially closely connected to the boarding component of this school, either through dorm supervision or through administrative positions associated with student life; with few exceptions, “day faculty members” populated the B- and C-hubs.

Although the sociogram constructed from the available questionnaire data for this study did not directly exhibit the same levels of mutual trust and closure in the C-planes as in the previous A- and B-hubs, almost half of C-plane members did not return

sociogram questionnaires, a notably higher rate of failure to return paperwork than expressed in either the A- or B-hubs. Of those not returning questionnaires, at least two, C8 and C10, received four mentions by others. If C8 and C10 had each returned forms naming three trustees, these individuals would have exhibited either high numbers of mutual connections or extraordinarily high numbers of one-directional connections, uncovering the closure evident in other hubs. As in the B-hub, many members of the C-hub shared long histories at the school and were parents of students at the school. Interestingly, the B-hub is populated entirely by women; of 16 individuals assigned to the C-loop by their responses, 14 turned out to be men.

Features of subgroups. Upon noting that all of the satellites for A1 for whom I had data had been employed at the school for fewer than four years, I examined the terms of service for other members of the network. Of the twelve individuals coded B or C for whom I know years of service, ten had worked at the school for four or more years. Of the six individuals with hybrid codes for whom I have data, half had worked at the school for fewer than four years and half for four or more years. Clearly, the B- and C-hubs generally represented the long-term faculty members linked by a shared history. The A-hub of newer faculty members was connected to the broader faculty through various transitional figures. At least two longer term faculty members (B1 and AB3), with 6 connections each, acted as conduits connecting the groups. Although I did not intentionally organize the individuals by years of service, the sociogram itself provided a map for how certain faculty members have been and are being incorporated into the life

of the school. Sadly, it also identified the isolation of at least one member, N, who returned a questionnaire with the response, “I don’t trust anybody.”

Paralleling the graph’s map for how newer faculty members are incorporated into the life of the school, examination of the individuals included on the sociogram also revealed a partition between boarding and day faculty members. As already noted, members of the A-hub bore the lion’s share of the burden associated with residential life, while members of the B- and C-hubs were largely day faculty members. Sociogram analysis suggested that newer faculty members at this school were relied upon to carry relatively more of the community’s responsibility for its boarding students.

Alienating and enabling structure. As described in Chapter 2, connection and closure in a network tend to facilitate the flow of communication through a network and support the emergence of system level effects, such as an escalating cycle of relational trust and trustworthiness. Constrictions in a network may indicate bureaucratic elements in the organization ordering the flow of social capital through the system, either for better or for worse. Cole’s (1991) work with ant colonies suggested that there are optimal levels of order from which self-regulating system effects may emerge. Avoiding the extremes of either a chaotic or a repressive organization provides a trustworthy framework for self-organizing norms and expectations. Coleman (1990) also identified socially contracted authority relations as a form of social capital available to facilitate the emergence and growth of other forms of social capital. On the one hand, bureaucracies designed primarily to coerce lower status individuals to comply with the imposed will of higher status individuals interferes with the emergence of system level intelligence. On the other

hand, Sinden, Hoy, and Sweetland's (2004) enabling bureaucracy facilitates organizational learning. To gain some sense of the bureaucratic structures operating in the social system of this school, the second question on the sociogram questionnaire asked participants to name up to three colleagues, "essential to planning and/or implementing [a particular curriculum] innovation."

Of 44 teaching faculty, 23 responded to this question and 9 who did not respond were included in analysis because they were named by at least one respondent as essential to planning or implementing curricular change. Roughly half of the responses to the second question, 31 out of 63 individuals named by respondents, indicated that the Director of Studies, and/or the Academic Support Director, and/or the Dean of Faculty, and/or the Director of the Middle School was essential to curricular innovation. This level of agreement in respondents on the necessity of working through traditional channels suggested structural order in the system,

Taking responses to the first and second sociogram questions together uncovered interesting patterns relating to the formal and informal features of the relational network of the school. To facilitate analysis of trends among individuals in the relational network receiving multiple citations of trust or necessity, individuals receiving 3 or more citations were tabulated in Table 17, in order of decreasing numbers of unique citations. Twenty-six individuals receiving 2, 1 or no citations were not included in Table 17. I coded each of the six academic departments at the school D1 through D6. Beneath each individual code, any departmental affiliations were included for examination of the importance of

department structures. Other subgroups categorized included position, length of service to the school, and day or boarding faculty.

Table 17

Significant Individuals, Subgroups in the Relational Network of the William Small School

Individual/ Dept.	Times cited as <i>trusted</i> (Qu. 1)	Times cited as <i>essential</i> (Qu. 2)	No. of unique respondents citing in either Qu. 1 or Qu. 2	Position	Affiliation(s)
AB2/D5	2	11	11	Department Chair	≥4 years service Day faculty
B1/D1	6	7	9	Administrative Team (Dean)	≥4 years service Day faculty
B2	3	6	6	Administration (Director)	≥4 years service Day faculty
ABC/D5	2	6	7	Administration (Director)	≥4 years service Day faculty
A1/D6	6	1	6	Teacher Dorm head	<4 years service Boarding
AB3/D2	4	3	6	Administration (Res. Director)	≥4 years service Boarding
C1/D3	4	1	5	Teacher	≥4 years service Day faculty
C8/D2	4	3	5	Teacher	? years service Day faculty
C2/D3	3	2	5	Department Chair	≥4 years service Day faculty
C10/D4	4	0	4	Teacher, Honor Council advisor	≥4 years service Day faculty
B5/D1	1	3	4	Teacher	≥4 years service Day faculty
C12/D4	2	1	3	Teacher	≥4 years service Day faculty
C14/D5	1	2	3	Teacher/ Dorm Advisor	? years service Boarding/ Alumnus

Significant individuals included AB2 and B2, with each receiving a total of 13 citations of trust and/or essential to change initiatives. AB2 was generally more essential to change and was cited by a wider range of colleagues; B2 was generally more trusted

and experienced relatively greater network closure. AB2 was primarily a teacher leader, while B2 was a leader with a small teaching load. Not surprisingly, the interim Head was not included among the most significant individuals as determined by numbers of citations of trusted or essential. At least in this time of transitional leadership, the faculty seems to have identified its own informal pathways by which to accomplish their educational purposes.

The 13 most influential individuals identified by this method were distributed among all academic departments, with no department emerging as particularly dominant. A relatively even distribution of departments was also evident in the relational trust network of the school (see figure 8), with D1 forming a closed cluster in the A-hub and D4 forming a loose cluster in the C-hub. Similarly, members of administrative staff tended to coil through the relational network connecting all three major planes.

Quantitative Analysis of Organizational Conditions

To evaluate measures of organizational conditions, the means and standard deviations of items relating to Teacher Orientation to Innovation, Teacher Commitment to School, Peer Collaboration, Reflective Dialogue, Collective Responsibility, Focus on Student Learning, and Teacher Socialization on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall means for each (see Table 18). Teachers with four or more years of experience ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.53$) scored significantly higher than teachers with fewer than four years of experience teaching at this school ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.87$) on measures of Teacher Commitment to School ($t(20) = -2.907$, $p = 0.009$).

Table 18

Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the William Small School

	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	2.65	0.48
Teacher Commitment to School	3.18	0.68
Peer Collaboration	2.35	0.61
Reflective Dialogue	2.76	0.53
Collective Responsibility	2.71	0.57
Focus on Student Learning	2.83	0.44
Teacher Socialization	2.54	0.78

^aFour point scales

Discussion of Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

In analysis of sociogram and other data gathered at this school, salient distinctions became apparent between boarding and day faculty. Long-term staff members, who had “graduated” to day faculty status, remembered fondly the years they spent rearing their children together with other faculty children. Present residential faculty described the reliance they feel on one another. The demands of a boarding school community, however, left little time or opportunity to build bridges connecting boarding and day

faculty. Both administrators and teachers cited heavy demands on boarding faculty, in particular, as problematic. In the words of one administrator envisioning her ideal school:

We're a part of a community that does not stop at 3:00 ... and there are some people who have worked here for decades who still have yet to buy in to that.

There are some people who may be stirring too many pots simultaneously, so I would add a few more bodies.

One allele embedded in the cultural DNA of this school is an extraordinary commitment to be the “tireless workers” associated with the school mission by the founder. The same work ethic espoused from the founding of the school for its students survives to this day in its faculty. Findings from the RT/OC survey questions relating to organizational conditions include the fact that Teacher Commitment to School in this school of “tireless workers” was the highest mean score. Teachers with four or more years of experience ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.53$) scored significantly higher than teachers with fewer than four years of experience teaching at this school ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.87$) on measures of Teacher Commitment to School ($t(20) = -2.907$, $p = 0.009$). Zeal is often viewed as evidence of high levels of social capital. Perhaps evidence of excessive zeal, the single most important structural need identified by a number of teachers and administrators in this community is a clearer boundary between personal and professional time, especially for residential faculty.

Interviews explored whether the structure evident in this system might represent alienating or enabling bureaucracy. The interim Headmaster, A2 and numerous teachers interviewed at this school (M1, TH1, TH5, TE1, TS1, TS2, and TAS) consistently cited

their appreciation for the high levels of professional autonomy entrusted to them, indicative of a more enabling bureaucracy. Interview data offered evidence of alienation and coercion associated with hierarchical bureaucracy in one recent instance: the implementation of new software offering parents greater access to their children's performance data. A2 and TM1 reported that the change was the work of a committee and that the schedule was changed to create more planning time for teachers to accomplish their expanded duties. Administrative time was being spent monitoring compliance, however, indicating a lack of self-regulation in the system.

On the one hand, the extraordinary closeness of relationships, both among boarding faculty members and between faculty members and students, was frequently cited as an important feature of the school community (A2, TH1, TE1, TE2, TS1, TS2, TL2, and TAS). On the other hand, of seven organizational conditions evaluated, teachers at the William Small School ranked questions clustered around Peer Collaboration ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 0.61$) and Teacher Socialization ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.78$) lowest.

Summary of Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

In the William Small School, how did relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization? The relational network of this school revealed high levels of connectivity and closure among one group of long-term day faculty, many of whom have reared their children together at the school,

and among another group of newer boarding faculty, many of whom are also alumni of the school. The former have attained formal leadership roles within the faculty; the latter have broad influence because of their boarding responsibilities. A third group of long-term faculty members shared in the generally high levels of teacher commitment to the school and contributed to a significantly higher level of teacher commitment to school community among long-term faculty members than among newer teachers. The third group seemed to exercise informal, relational influence within their individual classrooms or programs, however, rather than organizing themselves in ways that might institutionalize their influence. Although the small hubs of long-term day teacher-leaders and newer boarding faculty members exhibited the closure that might support peer collaboration, peer collaboration is the lowest-scoring organizational condition at this school of largely autonomous teachers.

The relational network sustains and amplifies mutual trust among individuals either through long relationship, as in the case of many day faculty members, or through extreme interdependence, as in the case of boarding faculty. Teacher-student trust reported by long-term faculty members was significantly higher than teacher-student trust reported by newer faculty members. Further exploration in interviews revealed that their roles as residential advisors increased the awareness of younger faculty members of disappointing failings among students, contributing to relatively lower Teacher-Student Trust levels. Younger faculty members also exhibited significantly lower commitment to the school, while investing significantly longer hours in their professional duties, offering evidence of “burn-out”.

Brief Conclusion for the William Small School

Teachers and administrators at the William Small school perceived several social systems relating to relational trust, accountability to community standards, and cultural sustainability. First, the “wit and wisdom” of the school’s influential founder form a sort of cultural DNA for this school community. Grounded in the egalitarian presumption that others are as capable of honoring their commitments to the school family as oneself, the Board extended significant discretion to the headmaster, who invested autonomous responsibility in the faculty, who trusted students to make honorable decisions, even when no one was watching. Membership in this family was by choice and could be revoked, if individuals proved incapable of upholding community standards. Although they had not graduated a Rhodes scholar in generations, the school’s early academic success established a reputation for sound academic preparation, tireless work, and universal participation, intentionally sustained in the lore of the school to this day. This cultural heritage was replicated in younger generations who chose to attend this school by association with those already imprinted with the expectations and values of the founder. This organic process was augmented with more intentional efforts to supplement nature with nurture in the form of character education permeating the curriculum and extra-curricular programs of the school.

Metaphorical Synopsis.

Thomas Jefferson developed lessons learned from his teacher, the historic William Small, into the founding principles of our nation. The “William Small School” held these unwritten principles to be self evident for their school: that all community

members were equally expected to be honorable, that all stakeholders were endowed with the rights and responsibilities of free men and women, that the school government and the honor system were created to establish the conditions for freedom with safety and were justified and sustained by the consent and hard work of the governed—that it was the responsibility of the people to hold one another accountable to the standards of trustworthiness, organizing themselves so as to, “effect their Safety and Happiness.”

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS—THE JOHN DEWEY SCHOOL

“Strong people don’t need strong leaders.”

(Civil Rights leader Ella Baker as quoted in Mueller, 1990, p. 51)

Chapter 5 continues to answer my research questions: (1) What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability; and (2) In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to community factors found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization? This chapter begins with a metaphorical introduction to the findings for the pseudonymous Dewey School, followed by a description of the school’s context and demographic information, analysis of the data and findings viewed through the lens of the research questions, and a brief conclusion.

As in all schools studied, findings were based on analysis of multiple data sources: interviews of teachers and administrators, documents and artifacts, observations of significant community gatherings documented by field notes, surveys of trust and organizational conditions, and a sociogram questionnaire offered to all teachers and administration. Complete descriptions of all data sources will be included as they are

introduced in this chapter. Participants and subgroups are identified by codes and pseudonyms. For a complete description of data collection methodologies, see Chapter 3.

The John Dewey School

Educational philosopher John Dewey was born in Burlington, Vermont in 1859, the same year as the death of fellow New Englander Horace Mann, an early advocate for public education in America. Applying Fischer's analysis of cultural variation among American descendants of four waves of British immigration (1989), introduced to this study by a participant at the William Small School, if Thomas Jefferson represents the gentleman farmer class descended from second-born sons of British aristocrats who had settled in colonial Virginia, social engineer Mann represents the descendants of Puritan settlers who had settled in Massachusetts Bay intending to create, "a city upon a hill" (Winthrop, 1630, para. 55). Horace Mann's Puritan ancestor, Samuell Man (sic) was a headmaster of the first public school in America, founded in 1647 in Dedham, Massachusetts to thwart the "chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures" (quoted in Slafter, 1905, p. 9). Like Jefferson, however, Horace Mann adopted a nonsectarian purpose in promoting publicly funded education in the American republic:

If education is necessary to the security of property, the progress of civilization, and the salvation, to say nothing of the perfection of our civil and religious institutions, then do we hold the government responsible for the education of every child." (Mann, 1852, p. 2)

From his position as secretary of the board of education of Massachusetts, Mann became the leading spokesman for widely available *common schools* and the creation of *normal schools* to develop a more professional cadre of teachers. As this movement grew, teachers colleges such as the prestigious institution founded in 1887 at Columbia University, were born. Teachers colleges often sponsored laboratory schools, such as Horace Mann School developed by Teachers College at Columbia. Like Horace Mann School, many of these 19th century experiments in more widely distributed American education became elite independent schools in the 20th century.

John Dewey would ultimately assume the mantle of prophet for the role of American education in creating and sustaining a democratic society:

With the advent of democracy and modern industrial conditions, it is impossible to foretell definitely just what civilization will be twenty years from now. Hence it is impossible to prepare the child for any precise set of conditions. To prepare him for the future life means to give him command of himself. (Dewey, 1897, p. 6)

From his faculty position at the University of Chicago, Dewey argued in *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897) that for education to be a living entity, it must attend both to the individual psychology of the learner and the learner's place in society:

In sum, I believe that the individual who is educated is a social individual, and that society is an organic union of individuals... Education being a social process, the school is simply that form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race, and to use his own powers for social ends. I

believe that education, therefore, is a process of living and not a preparation for future living. (Dewey, 1897, pp. 6, 7)

While at the University of Chicago, Dewey founded the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools in 1896. Like Horace Mann School, the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools is now a private, tuition-based institution, although it is still affiliated with its founding university.

Like Horace Mann School in New York and the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools in Chicago, the second school in this study began as an experimental extension of the teachers college of a research university founded in the late 19th century and became an independent, college preparatory institution in the 20th century. To identify this school with experimental education and with the progressive ideals of respect for the individual alongside social responsibility, I have chosen the name of an iconic representative of both as the pseudonym for the second school in this study, the John Dewey School.

Context and Demographic Information

The John Dewey School is centrally located in the downtown region of a large, metropolitan center in the state of Tennessee. Sited adjacent to a major research university, the school originally opened in 1892 as a model school. Ultimately serving students ages 6 to 16, leaders of this early iteration of what would become the John Dewey School intentionally rejected a contemporaneous trend towards laboratory schools offering practice for new teachers or experimental educational initiatives. Rather, the Model School featured a master teacher working in an ideal environment as a model for

teachers in training to replicate (American Problems Class, 1970). Although no teachers or administrators of the present-day Dewey School made mention of this early model school in this study, evidence of the ethos of the Model School survives alongside modern values for ethnic diversity and artistic expression in the school's current mission statement (2009-2010 Profile for College and University Admission):

[The Dewey School] *models the best educational practices* [emphasis added]. In an environment that represents the cultural and ethnic composition of metropolitan [city name], [Dewey] fosters each student's intellectual, artistic, and athletic potential, valuing and inspiring integrity, creative expression, a love of learning, and the pursuit of excellence. (p. 1)

Admission to the early Model School was not informed by entrance examinations, but considered only order of application and evidence of moral character and hard work. Tuition was \$5 per semester. Students of the modern Dewey School matriculate through an admissions process including both testing and interviews, but a value for open access is still prominent. First, the mission statement expresses an aspiration to reflect the city's demographic composition. Towards that aim, Dewey's 2009-2010 Profile for College and University Admission identifies 28% of the student population as students of color and 17% of the population as originating from international families, "representing 46 countries" (p. 1). By comparison, the metro area Dewey serves is 66.9% white, 27.8% African American, 8.7% Hispanic or Latino, and 3.4% Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Tuition to Dewey's high school now tops \$18,000 annually, offering a steep challenge to open access in contrast to the nominal charge of the earlier Model School.

However, when asked how this school is similar to or different from his ideal school, the response of Dewey's leader spoke to the values he aims to enact: "I wish our endowment were sizable enough to support purely need-based admissions." Dewey awarded some \$1.8 million in financial aid in 2009-2010.

The school's intentional efforts to reflect the demographic and socio-economic diversity of its metro area do not, however, equate to a student population reflecting the full range of academic ability served by the local education authority. According to the school's 2009-2010 College Profile, the middle 50% of SAT scores for the Dewey School class of 2009 for Critical Reading range from 570-710, for Math range from 570-680, and for Writing range from 580-700. Corresponding ranges on recent national populations are 495-624, 514-644, and 490-618, respectively (Kobrin, Patterson, Shaw, Mattern, & Barbuti, 2008). About 27% of the 99 members class of 2009 were honored as a National Merit Semifinalist (9), Commended Scholar (17), or Achievement Scholar (1). Of 337 Advanced Placement exams administered in 2009, 92% of the scores were 3 or higher, as expected from this talented pool, while 15.2% of the nation's public school graduates earned AP scores of 3 or higher on at least one exam (College Board, February 9, 2009). At the same time, the school's means for critical reading, math, and writing have trended steadily downward since 2006, when means were 670, 667, and 661, respectively, to 2009, when means were 639, 629, and 639, respectively. Dewey's Upper School employs a Learning Specialist to coordinate studies for students with learning differences. Essentially 100% of students at this school graduate and go on to college, in

contrast with a 72% graduation rate for Tennessee's public school students in 2006 (Balfanz & West, n.d.).

In 1907, the early Model School reorganized as a secondary school with a specifically college preparatory mission, signaling a significant philosophical and organizational shift. In 1915, the school was reorganized again, this time as a "demonstration school" affiliated with the local College for Teachers. Led by a professor, an assistant principal, and three teachers and supported by other members of the university community, the first senior class of the Demonstration School (1920) numbered 31. Arguably, by the 1970s, the nation was being served by the increasingly robust system of public education envisioned in the early Progressive years. In 1974, the Teachers College originally sponsoring the John Dewey School decided to withdraw from operating its Demonstration School. A group of Demonstration School stakeholders banded together and reorganized the school as an independent school starting in the 1974-75 school year. Now an independent school, the John Dewey School is led by 58 teachers and administrators, 72% holding advanced degrees. The modern Dewey School graduated 99 seniors in 2009 and 86 in 2010. According to Dewey's 2009-2010 Profile for College and University Admission, the school now serves 1,022 students in kindergarten through twelfth grade, including 359 students in grades 9-12. Today's average academic class size is 13.

Teachers participating in the early years after reorganization as an independent school still teach at Dewey today and were interviewed for this study. They described the newly reorganized school's social structure as an "educational cooperative". Although

stakeholders of the school would likely agree with Dewey's characterization of education as a process of life, modern stakeholders see no reason why this need conflict with the school's preparatory role. The Dewey School, like its predecessor Demonstration School, maintains a focus on college preparation: "All [Dewey] academic courses, not solely the ones designated AP or advanced, are rigorously college preparatory" (2009-2010 Profile for College and University Admission, p. 2). Reflecting its independent status, however, the 99 graduating seniors of Dewey's class of 2009 matriculated to a total of 70 different four-year colleges, as opposed to primarily attending a particular affiliated university for which they had "prepared."

Of a Romanesque style consistent with its university neighborhood, the core of the building still in use today was constructed in 1925 with a grant to the college from the Rockefeller Foundation. Additions included an indoor swimming pool constructed with funds raised by the college's Women's Auxiliary, an elementary wing and classroom annex (1940s), as well as significant renovations to athletics, laboratory, and arts facilities in the years following a significant fire in 1954. Land-locked on its urban campus, the school purchased, in 1998, an 80-acre suburban campus to meet a growing need for space for athletics fields. As a distinctive bonus, 15 acres of this satellite campus were set aside as educational wetlands, accessible by a water-level boardwalk and served by an outdoor classroom. Recent additions and upgrades to the urban campus include a beautiful, sunlit media center, a spacious art wing, and a multi-purpose auditorium space.

Analysis for Research Question 1 for this Case

This section examines the data through the lens of the first research question: What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? This section begins with analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews, artifacts, and field notes. In particular, teacher and administrator perceptions of both intentional social systems built into the operations of the school and norms and standards seen as emerging from system interactions are considered as they relate to trust, accountability, and sustainability in the John Dewey School. Next, this section offers quantitative analysis of survey data evaluating relational trust at the William Small School in three dimensions: Teacher-Principal Trust, Teacher-Teacher Trust, and Teacher-Student Trust.

By the end of the study I had formally interviewed 21 members (36%) of Dewey's high school faculty and administration at length, including the Director, the Head of the high school, the Director of Diversity, the Academic Dean, the Dean of Students, the Dean of Student Life, two Athletics Directors, the School Counselor, a College Counselor, and the Service Learning Director (see Table 19).

Table 19

Interview Participants from The John Dewey School

Individual	Primary Role	Additional Role(s)	Years Service
Director	Principal	History teacher	≥4
A2	Head of High School	English teacher, parent	≥4
A3	Director of Diversity/ Multicultural Affairs	Social Studies teacher	≥4
A4	Academic Dean	Science teacher, parent, former US head	≥4
A5	Dean of Students	English teacher, parent	≥4
A6	Dean of Student Life	English teacher, coach	<4
AD1	Athletics Director	Physical Education	≥4
AD2	Athletics Director	Physical Education	<4
C1	School Counselor	Social Studies teacher, Core Team member	≥4
C2	College Counselor		≥4
TE1	English teacher	Discipline Board advisor	≥4
TE2	English teacher	Service Learning Director, parent	≥4
TE3	English teacher	Judicial Board advisor	≥4
TE4	English teacher	Alumna	<4
TE5	English teacher		<4
TH1	History teacher	Judicial Board advisor, alumnus	≥4
TH2	History teacher		≥4
TL1	Foreign Language teacher	Discipline Board advisor, parent	≥4
TL2	Foreign Language teacher	Core Team Member	≥4

Table 19. Continued.

Individual	Primary Role	Additional Role(s)	Years Service
TM1	Math teacher		<4
TS1	Science teacher	Parent	<4

My interview sample also included faculty advisors to the Student Discipline Board, Student Judicial Board, which is Dewey's analog to Honor Councils at other schools, and 2 members of Dewey's Core team, which addresses student substance abuse and other personal issues. Six of those interviewed have served at the Dewey School for fewer than four years, while 15 have served for four or more years. Eight are members of the English department, including the Head of the high school, the Dean of Student Life, the Dean of Students, the Service Learning Director, and a Judicial Board (J-Board) Advisor. Five are members of the History/Social Sciences department, including the Director of the school, the School Counselor, the Director of Diversity, and another faculty advisor to the J-Board. Both Athletic Directors interviewed are members of the Physical Education department. One faculty member interviewed teaches math, two teach science, and two teach foreign languages. Two of the faculty members interviewed identified themselves as alumni of the school.

Additionally, I received 24 RT/OC surveys and sociogram questionnaires. Through formal interviews, surveys, and sociograms, I collected data from a total of 31 members of faculty and administration (52%). I was also provided with every artifact I requested (see Table 20).

Table 20

Artifacts Examined at The John Dewey School and Sources

Artifact	Source
Alumni magazines	Admissions Office
College Profile	College Counseling Office
Early school history created by “American Problems Class”: <i>The Past Is Prologue</i>	Admissions Office
Faculty Evaluation framework	High school office
<i>A Guidebook to the NAIS Principles of Good Practice</i>	Director of Diversity
<i>High School Handbook, 2009-1010</i>	High school Office
Mission Statement	College Counseling
<i>Integrity at [the Dewey School]: Philosophy and Practice</i>	Faculty advisor to student Judicial Board
<i>School Renewal Self-Study Report (2009)</i>	Director
<i>Strategic Plan Update (2007)</i>	Director
Student newspaper (current issue)	High school office

As in all cases in this study, the following themes were explored: Cultural structures; relational structures; and sustainability and change.

Theme: Cultural Structures

This section explores significant structures and characteristics of the culture of the John Dewey School. I will document ways in which interactions between the informal norms and formal philosophy of the school contribute to relational trust, accountability to

community standards, and cultural sustenance. Taken together, formal statements and informal enactments construct the John Dewey School on a historic foundation of progressive education. Accountability to community standards is culturally defined in terms of “responsible freedom.” Cultural norms and expectations celebrate a focus on growth, inclusive diversity, and informal individualism. While formal statements of philosophy and guidelines permeate strategic planning, student handbooks, and Faculty Evaluation frameworks at this school, form largely follows function at the John Dewey School.

History. The culture of the John Dewey School is built upon its historic foundation in the era of progressive education. Reorganized in the 1970s as an independent school, the John Dewey School adopted informal structures, while fully embracing the progressive ideals of individualism and social responsibility. As the Board evolved through the 1980s and 1990s, new leaders built increasingly formal structures for strategic planning and school management. Like the prolific philosopher of progressive education himself, the John Dewey School publishes formal statements of philosophy and guidelines on everything from faculty evaluation to student discipline. Beyond the superficial similarity of a philosophical approach to education, however, the philosophy espoused by the John Dewey School still honors the progressive philosophy of education promoted by John Dewey and the social norms of school organizers of the 1970s.

The statement of philosophy published on the first page of the *High School Handbook* (2009-2010) links the school of the present to its early days as an independent school and its history of progressive education. The statement of philosophy is extracted

from the Preamble to the Bylaws of the corporation formed to organize the independent school following the university's separation from its Demonstration School. The first paragraph defines the newly independent school as a "non-sectarian, coeducational kindergarten through twelfth grade private school committed to maintaining a student body representing the *diverse ethnic and religious composition* [emphasis added]" of the school's metropolitan area. This introduction to the statement of philosophy both references the aims of the original Demonstration school and informs the current school's Mission Statement. Offering evidence that this formal statement expresses a community norm, numerous teachers and administrators (Director, A2, A3, A4, A5, C2, TE1, TE3, TH2, and TM1) referenced a desire to enact an aspiration for diversity.

The statement of philosophy goes on to define the aims of the organizers of the new entity in terms reminiscent of Dewey's assertion that to prepare students for future life, the educator creates learning experiences designed to "give [the child] command of himself" (1897, p. 6):

The school seeks to provide an *educational experience* which facilitates intellectual, aesthetic, social, emotional and physical growth of the students, who are regarded as *individuals* and who are encouraged and expected to exercise an increasingly large measure of *initiative and self-discipline* [emphasis added] as they mature. (p. 1)

The first paragraph concludes with the organizers' philosophy of learning expressed in terms to be further developed in this analysis: "Interest in learning is fostered in an *informal, relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect* based on principles of *academic freedom*

and *professional responsibility* on the part of the faculty, administration, staff and students” (emphasis added). Referencing the historic institution recently divested by its affiliated University, the original authors of the Preamble rooted the philosophy and reputation of the newly instituted school in “the best of the past.” Embracing the Preamble as a widely published statement of philosophy, current leaders associate the contemporary school not only with the early Demonstration School, but, even more profoundly, with the aims and objectives of the teachers and parents who incorporated to organize the independent school.

Continuing with the second paragraph of the Preamble/Philosophy, we find the following reference to progressive education:

Although its philosophy and reputation are rooted in the best of the past, [the John Dewey School] continuously strives to develop the finest possible program of progressive quality education for children and youth. The school’s atmosphere of freedom supports the teachers’ efforts to offer a contemporary curriculum. (p. 1)

Although the same passage quoted in the school’s *School Renewal Self Study Report* (2009) quotes the Preamble as using the word “forward-looking”, where this citation uses the word “progressive”, significant features of the school’s definition of progressive or forward-looking education appear in the Preamble/Philosophy. In the first paragraph, quoted above, we see an aspiration for diversity, a model of providing educational experiences promoting growth towards initiative and self-discipline, and a respect for individual differences. In the second paragraph, also quoted above, we find reference to an atmosphere of freedom.

In language reminiscent of Dewey's definition of education as a social process designed to bring the child to, "use his own powers for social ends" (1897, p. 7) the Preamble/Philosophy concludes:

Students are encouraged to develop their talents to the greatest degree possible so that they may become responsible citizens of the world, may find a meaningful life, and may be prepared to continue their formal education in whatever settings they choose. (*High School Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 1)

This school's value for a fun, informal atmosphere in which to nurture the students as individuals is matched with a desire to challenge students to accept personal responsibility for applying the benefits of their liberal educations to live meaningful lives of citizenship and personal choice.

Accountability. Within the culture of the John Dewey School, accountability to community standards is defined in terms of responsible freedom. The school's Strategic Plan (2007) established within a priority for Community Networks an initiative to "encourage and support teaching and learning opportunities locally, nationally, and internationally" (p. F-2). Applying that strategic priority, teacher TE1 valued international travel to prepare students for responsible freedom by developing their global perspective and social consciences. Administrator A3 expressed concern that school-sponsored international travel might represent irresponsible freedom by marginalizing less wealthy students. Even while struggling with the application of a strategic priority, the two women shared the common ground of a value for responsible freedom.

Under the Strategic Plan priority “Creating a Balanced Life”, we find another initiative expressing a desire for modeling socially responsible choices: “Make environmentally sound decisions with facilities, daily operations, and resources” (p. F-3) Evidence that this message was filtering through to students and of how this student body handles problems was found in a student discussion I observed in A6’s freshman advisory group. These freshmen were discussing possible refinements to a student initiative to reduce cafeteria waste. Reusable carryout boxes provided by students were disappearing, threatening the initiative. Advisory conversations held throughout the student body that day elevated the issue as a matter of shared concern, conveyed the message that there are consequences for irresponsible behavior, and solicited student input for solutions to the problem.

The school’s Substance Abuse Prevention and Assistance Program is both a formal structure for supporting the development of responsible freedom in the school community and an enacted expression of cultural norms and standards. Among beliefs formally published in the *High School Handbook (2009-2010)* relating to substance abuse, we find the following: “We believe that students can and do make responsible decisions when provided with accurate information that is conveyed with respect and honesty” (p. 23). Goal 7 of the program identifies the theoretical framework as social norms theory, which prescribes defining baseline norms and misperceptions, followed by intervention with intensive education in desired norms to nurture the desired outcomes of diminished misperceptions and more healthy choices (Perkins, 2003). This intentional

attempt to influence cultural norms places this program at the nexus of the formal and cultural strands forming the fabric of the school.

To accomplish the theoretical goals of the program, the school has contracted with Freedom from Chemical Dependency Educational Services (FCD) and established a Core Team of three or four faculty members. Core Team members are selected with student input and trained by the school to coordinate extra-disciplinary interventions to encourage students to make responsible, healthy decisions relating to substance abuse before concerns, “become a health problem or disciplinary issue” (*Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 23). I observed two members of the Core Team (C1 and TL2) strategizing on behalf of a student, who was cutting herself. As evidence that the school handles these matters outside the realm of the discipline system, there were no high school students who withdrew in the previous year at the school’s request, according to the *School Renewal Self Study* (2009).

I uncovered an informal “grassroots” program for service learning operating to develop students’ social responsibility when I interviewed a teacher (TE2) who turned out to be the faculty coordinator. Her whiteboard featured what appeared to be the result of organized student brainstorming; her bulletin board highlighted student work and the school’s Declaration of Values, with postings meandering up and down in an orderly, wavy pattern. An article in the student newspaper quoted her explanation of the impromptu, unsanctioned nature of the group’s current “Hoops for Haiti” fundraising initiative. The Director of Multicultural Affairs described an international service trip organized by this group. The group is clearly active, but, curiously, in a school organized

by statements of philosophy and strategic planning, I initially found no evidence of the program in any formal presence. In further research I learned that the group operates through the co-curricular program, which offers opportunities for students to, “extend academic growth, refine leadership skills, and promote social and personal development” (*High School Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 25). According to advisor TE2, the Community Service Club intentionally avoids framing its work in terms of graduation requirements or service hours logged, placing it within a framework of responsible freedom. It seems significant that the faculty coordinator for this group is a longtime member of the faculty, whose tenure dates to the first decade after teachers and parents organized the recently divested school as an independent school. Although the Service Learning Program she supports has more in common with the freewheeling cooperative of the early days of the independent school than the present-day school organized by formal statements of philosophy and strategic planning, the posting on her walls was the only informal reference to the School’s Declaration of Values.

On the one hand, the school’s discipline and integrity systems provide a framework for responsible freedom. Concerning discipline, we read, “The school’s disciplinary procedures are designed to help students develop self-discipline as they mature; to emphasize the student’s responsibility to him/herself, others, and the community; and to ensure appropriate consequences for irresponsible or inappropriate behavior” (*High School Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 13). Concerning integrity, we read the following Declaration of Values: “We, members of the [Dewey] School community,

value intellectual integrity, respect personal rights, and accept the responsibility for our freedom” (*Integrity at [Dewey School]: Philosophy and Practice*, 2007, p. 1).

On the other hand, both systems also enact cultural norms and standards bounding the school’s understanding of appropriate levels of responsibility. Interviews with faculty advisors to the Discipline (TL1) and Judicial Boards (TE1 and TH1) consistently referred to protecting students from “crimes of opportunity”. There is an almost unanimous sense in this community that the adults must create a safe zone for students. When asked whether it is a teacher’s job to protect students from cheaters by carefully proctoring exams, the Director emphatically extended the idea of protecting students from cheaters to encompass protecting cheaters from themselves: “Yes! Why leave a banana peel in the hallway and then just stand by and watch to see if someone slips on it?”

Norms and expectations. The norms and expectations enacted and celebrated at the John Dewey School include a focus on growth, inclusive diversity, and informal individualism. The school’s intention to invest in student and faculty growth is evident in initiatives within the Academic Excellence priority found within the *School Renewal Self-Study Report* (2009): developing support systems for diverse learners, updating technology and library resources, and investing in faculty compensation and professional development. Within the faculty, a focus on growth informs the school’s hiring and professional development strategies. Noting an external trend in more bureaucratic organizations towards “idiot-proofing” programs and curriculum, the Director dryly observed that this school is intentionally organized in ways that make it “idiot-vulnerable”. Hiring and developing faculty members capable of making wise choices has,

“profound, downstream effects for the school.” Offering evidence that the purposeful inquiry and focus on growth espoused in formal statements and frameworks are enacted cultural norms, field notes included many references to teachers, such as “thoughtful understanding of relationships,” or “has clearly thought through these matters over the years.”

While the Faculty Evaluation framework provided evidence of expectations for goal setting and reflection among teachers, student discipline featured a focus on growth, both as a formal program and as a cultural norm for students. In the words of C2, whose tenure dated to the school’s reorganization as an independent school, “Rather than making a rule to address a particular situation, such as messy halls or frequent tardiness, the [Dewey] way is to identify causes and deal with the real problem.” Asserting that, “rules are the easy way out,” the Head of the high school espoused challenging faculty and students to grapple with disciplinary issues in order to explore the meaning behind offenses and to ensure that consequences are purposeful, enacting the words in the *High School Handbook* (2009-2010): “The essence of ‘discipline’ is education” (p. 13).

Faculty advisors to the Student Discipline Board and Judicial Board handling issues of discipline and integrity, respectively, consistently described a focus on learning and growth over punishment in their proceedings. A situational description of the locus of responsibility was evident. In what is presumed to be the normal situation of no offense, the school appeals to the intentions of students to make good choices. According to the Director, minor infractions are dealt with at the “local justice level, like a teacher pulling a student aside.” Faculty members have a responsibility to evaluate when someone else

needs to become aware of an offence with community impact, at which point the “locus of responsibility” moves to a group of faculty and students or the Director himself, depending upon the situation. Finally, another frequently expressed value establishing boundaries for the discipline system was a respect for privacy. Judicial Board advisor TE1 cited Dostoevsky to assert that it is better for a guilty person to go free than for an innocent person to be punished, indicating a norm that individual privacy needs may sometimes supersede protecting the community or even the opportunity for offenders to learn the lessons they might have learned from confronting their offences.

Typically operating beyond the disciplinary system, the school’s Substance Abuse Prevention and Assistance Program, as described in interviews and the *High School Handbook* (2009-2010), provided additional evidence of the school’s focus on growth as a cultural norm. Three levels of intervention begin with conversations with the student to discuss resources for support, progress to conversations with the student and his or her family to share concerns and offer support, and ultimately may proceed to referrals for professional evaluation or discussions about health leaves of absence. Disciplinary action, up to and including dismissal, occurs only when the student fails to respond to intervention or is harming the broader community. A student who is dismissed for substance abuse may reapply for readmission the following semester, after a quarter of separation. Criteria considered for readmission include, among other things, “how the student has filled the time and absorbed the lessons pertaining to dismissal from school during the time of separation” (*High School Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 25).

Based on evidence relating both to formal and informal processes, a focus on growth expressed itself in student discipline and support programs and faculty development at this school. In the instructional program delivered to students, however, progressive education was defined in practice as a caring, relational approach to instruction (A3, A4, A6, TE2, TE4, TH1, TL1, TL2, TS1) and assignments challenging students to engage with the canon of social justice alongside the classics. As in most schools of this type, adults expressed concern for engaging diverse learners through differentiated instruction and relevant lessons (A5, C1, TE5, TL2). Curriculum and instruction, however, seemed to fall within the range of a traditional college preparatory course of study. Students took tests and earned grades, watched films and wrote papers, engaged in classroom discussions and collaborated on shared projects.

Moving beyond the intellectual and personal realms to encompass social progress, the school's focus on growth is expressed in norms and expectations of inclusive diversity. The Board established an office of Multicultural Affairs in 1997. Although her office was decorated with a rainbow placard celebrating diversity, the Director of Multicultural Affairs was a monochrome picture in shades of black and white, gray and silver on the day of our interview—matching gray sweater and slacks, black eyeglasses and loafers, layered silver jewelry, and even pewter eye shadow. Her use of language, however, eloquently expressed her passion for “normalizing differences,” balancing individual and corporate needs, and applying an “ethic of caring.” The school is a recognized leader in the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) in diversity education. The school's Director of Multicultural Affairs authored the chapter on Equity

and Justice in the national association's *Guidebook to Principles of Good Practice* (National Association of Independent Schools, 2007).

The chapter provides a window into both formal processes and enacted norms and values at the school. The chapter describes a strategy session between the Director of Multicultural Affairs and the Director of the school, whose, "style of inquiry," is described as, "more than an educational practice; it was how he approached the world" (p. 55). The chapter also documents the work of a 15-member diversity council composed of representatives of various stakeholder groups. The council agreed to an annual evaluation of issues related to social class, including wealth, income, education, and occupation/status. Finally, the Director of the school began to feature the diversity initiative in his regularly published column and parents were organized in a well-attended parent forum on socioeconomic diversity. The school's Board and Director enacted the school's espoused value for diversity, multiculturalism, and inclusion by investing in and supporting staff to develop the program. The Director delegated responsibility to the Director of Multicultural Affairs, who applied NAIS principles as the framework for the school's initiative.

Illustrating the ongoing challenge of establishing inclusive diversity as a norm, however, I observed little evidence of conservative points of view or the evangelical student groups evident in many schools in the same region as the John Dewey School. I began to ask interviewees whether it was safe to be politically conservative or openly religious at this school. Most interviewees allowed that people tend to keep those views to themselves. I later learned that the section of the document Planning and Assessing

Multicultural Goals and Inclusion on religious observances specifically prohibits all agents of the school from directly or indirectly appearing to endorse any religion, bans the inclusion of “non-school affiliated participants” at student-organized religious events, and requires the supervision of faculty or administration at those events.

If the school’s formal expectation of inclusive diversity was still developing as a cultural norm, the school clearly celebrated an informal individualism as a norm of its daily life. Field notes recorded my own first impressions of an individualistic, student-centered culture. During the lunch period, I began looking for high school students and faculty in the cafeteria, where I found only middle and lower school members. I ultimately found the high school students in the front yard. A major thoroughfare connecting the cafeteria on the west end of the campus and the entrance on the east crosses the yard. A group of boys was playing a game, seemingly oblivious to the fact that they were blocking the walkway. From my elevated perspective at the top of a staircase, I noticed that all of the other ants in this hive of activity were detouring around them, arcing around the group through the grass. I first noticed this phenomenon when an administrator seemingly mindlessly made the detour. The longer I watched, the more I wondered what would happen if someone just stopped and waited for the boys to clear a path. My own path happened to take me past this scene. As I approached the group, I was prepared to wait for a break in the action and then pass through, but not to detour around. The ball flew into the foundation plantings as I approached and said in a friendly tone, “I’ll take advantage of this break in the action to pass through.” I felt virtually invisible to the students. As I moved through the halls, a girl dressed as a 21st century hippie almost

knocked me down, as she happily twirled down the hall singing. My first impression of student culture here was one in which student individualism expresses itself in a short focal radius that renders adults and other individuals fairly irrelevant.

Many interviewees presented a similar account of their introductions to the school and provided some insight into the interrelated phenomena of informality and individualism at this school. A thirty-year veteran and student Discipline Board advisor (TE1) humorously reported that “*Fortunately, I Laughed*” would be a great title for a story about her initiation to the school community. Apparently a sense of humor goes a long way towards gaining relational access to students. The administrator/teacher responsible for student discipline, A5, reported that when he came to the school in the 1990s, the students seemed rude to him, “almost as if the inmates were running the asylum.” His section of the *High School Handbook* (2009-2010) begins with the aspirational words, “every person is expected to treat every other person with the greatest care and respect—beginning with simple courtesy and extending to genuine concern for the needs of others” (p. 13). Hired in the past four years, the administrator/teacher responsible for Student Life (A6) reported that students were slow to accept him: “My jokes and quips did not work here, as they had at my previous school.” To this day, he seems to be trying to break through with his advisory, which he describes as taciturn.

On the day I observed this taciturn advisory group of ten freshmen, the agenda revealed a willingness in the school to entrust students with governance decisions, providing evidence of an intentional informality in order to develop individual capacities. First, students went over their “Hoops for Haiti” NCAA bracket, a student organized

fundraiser for earthquake relief efforts. After some good-natured kidding over their poor showing, one student suggested just changing their entry. Next, the advisor distributed a survey concerning dining choices. The Head of the high school had explained to me that freshmen had only recently earned the off-campus dining privilege through an informal annual ritual of petitioning the faculty in the second semester and, typically, being given a chance to see how they do. The survey referred students to a student support website prepared by some older students. Upon learning that the website fulfilled the requirements of a class, one advisee remarked that the students organizing the site did not seem to be the type to just do something like that on their own. Finally, the advisor read a letter to the advisory from the senior class president reporting some hiccups in the “to-go-box” initiative and presenting several possible solutions to the problem of the disappearance of the \$4 reusable boxes. One advisee voiced the consensus of the group on the best solution. Another, who had transferred to the school from a Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) middle school was earnestly trying to figure out the parameters so that he could fulfill all of his obligations and enjoy the success he had achieved at his more tightly constrained middle school.

I also observed the weekly school-wide assembly. On this day, junior class officers had asked the Head of the high school to call a senior meeting under some pretext so that the juniors could engineer a special assembly to invite the senior class to prom. The students divided into two groups seated on the floor of the combined gymnasium/auditorium on either side of an impromptu aisle strewn with rose petals. Junior officers, all girls save one, waited in the front for the seniors to arrive. A stray

individual arrived, starting an abortive clap, ultimately leading to a group clap to the beat of *At the Carwash*, rather out of sync, seemingly for the fun of it. As the time for the arrival of the guests of honor grew nearer, dance music began to play. First one senior walked a bit self-consciously down the aisle, beginning a general round of applause, followed eventually by the entire class, generally entering two by two and assuming the seats of honor, with the occasional individual “raising the roof”. A general applause sustained for the entire class, although two seniors bringing up the rear were late enough to enter on the trailing smattering of applause after the audience thought everyone had arrived. Next, the junior class leaders invited each senior to stand as his/her name was called and a corps of officers hand delivered a calla lily and a key to each by way of invitation to the prom. Two features of the presentations seemed significant: Each senior was recognized by name and invited individually, “in no particular order;” and the audience, teachers included, carried on side conversations the whole time.

Following the junior class invitation of the seniors to prom, the Quiz Bowl team sponsor gave a humorous, impassioned account of the team’s recent victory. Students responded appreciatively to his uninhibited imitation of a sports announcer: “We went in against HUME-FOGG...” [BOO!] “They always win”, [BOO!], “and they were tough. The battle was intense...Back and forth, back and forth, lightning fast!” [Laughter.] “And we held on to emerge victorious” [CHEER!]. “Then, Hume-Fogg to the left of us and Hume-Fogg to the right, we entered into the valley of the shadow of Ezell-Harding...” [BOO!] “...who beat us just last week...” [BOO], “but we began to pull ahead and this time we even began to pull away. The battle was intense...Back and forth, back and

forth, lightning fast!” [Laughter.] “And at the end, we found that WE HAD CRUSHED THEM!” [CHEER!]. Quiz Bowl members came forward to receive the accolades of the crowd, fists pumping like state champion football players at some schools. My field notes at the time observed that it was a strange juxtaposition between celebration of every individual senior and the intellectual students marginalized in some schools alongside the seeming lack of awareness of the people beyond one’s personal radius evident in the continuous personal conversations persisting through the entire assembly.

A similar informality was evident in the faculty meeting scheduled by the Head of the high school to introduce this study to the faculty. When I arrived, only nine or ten teachers were gathered. When the Head arrived and took stock of the situation, he stepped out, and soon a few more teachers arrived. At one point, the Head made a phone call, to the same effect. After about fifteen minutes of the Head assembling what might best be described as a convenience sample of teachers available at that moment, I presented this study to the two dozen or so teachers eventually present. It actually took me three days to find teachers eating lunch together. High school faculty members do not typically eat in the cafeteria, but bring their lunches and eat in a faculty room or their classrooms. Students leave campus for lunch or eat in the halls or outdoors. A macro-micro feedback loop seems to reinforce the mutual causation of the lack of formal structures for interaction and the extreme individualism described by TE5, who asserted, “The school functions at the granular level, with individuals free to self-correct in the moment.”

While the school community expressed a cultural norm for informal individualism, these individuals clearly felt the effects of inadequate formal structures to facilitate constructive, informal interaction. Almost an afterthought, the tentative endorsement of the final initiative under the strategic priority Creating Balance in Life was identified by strategic planners to address this need: “Consider renovation of food service and dining areas to enhance opportunities for meals as an important component of school culture” (p. F-3).

Formal structure. Although community members and planners at the John Dewey School expressed a desire for formal structures to support achieving the school’s mission and objectives, the school’s literature is replete with evidence of formal statements of philosophy and frameworks for interaction. Formal language associated with a focus on growth is well aligned with cultural norms and expectations. The Director’s application of social norms theory to nurture targeted growth within the school community likely contributes to the alignment between formal language and an enacted focus on growth. The first paragraph of the school’s Philosophy statement describes the school’s aspiration to provide, “an educational experience which facilitates intellectual, aesthetic, social, emotional and physical growth of students.” This focus on multi-dimensional growth begins with intellectual development. Clearly identifying the school’s formal construct of education with Dewey’s description of the role of inquiry in constructed learning (1938), the Academic Excellence section of the school’s *School Renewal Self-Study Report* (2009) begins with the following statement: “At the center of all we do is a spirit of purposeful inquiry and a respect for the life of the mind” (p. F-2).

The formal Faculty Evaluation framework at this school also expresses the school's normative focus on growth: "Each member of the [Dewey] faculty pursues excellence by engaging in activities which contribute to professional growth and by participating in the school community" (p. 1). The statement of philosophy continues to focus on growth: "Through Faculty Evaluation, we will celebrate what we do well, discover what we can do better, and take steps toward improvement." The statement concludes by framing progressive education in the modern language of best practices: "Modeling best practices for teaching and learning at [Dewey], and in keeping with our efforts to lead balanced lives, this review will be relevant, collaborative, and manageable." The school's Faculty Evaluation framework prescribes different evaluation cycles for teachers new to teaching or the school, experienced teachers, and underperforming teachers on, "the teacher assistance track." Citing the 2000 framework of Danielson and McGreal of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of Educational Testing Service, the framework defines evaluation in four instructional domains: Planning and preparation, classroom environment, engaging students in learning, and professional responsibilities. Interestingly, in 2011, public educators statewide adopted a framework for teacher evaluation including evaluation of planning, environment, instruction, and professionalism. Similarities are likely owing to referencing similar research bases.

Beyond the introductory statement of philosophy, the formal Faculty Evaluation framework provides evidence of the school's normative focus on growth as it relates to faculty development. Describing best practice in teacher content knowledge and

pedagogy, the framework saliently commends “evidence of continuing pursuit of [content] knowledge,” actively building on knowledge of relationships relating to student understanding, and “continuing search for best practices.” The *School Renewal Self Study* (2009) explicitly commends the Director for his leadership in modeling this behavior by pursuing a PhD. Examining the framework for evidence of how the school expects teachers to replicate that focus on faculty growth in the arena of student learning, I found commendations for teachers whose goals “encourage and enhance student initiative and worthwhile learning, while facilitating students’ finding connections with other knowledge.” The preponderance of the evidence, however, places ownership for expectations and outcomes in the hands of teachers.

Originally founded and ultimately reorganized to serve a diverse student population, the modern school’s ongoing priority for inclusion is evident in the school’s formal language. Initiatives in other Strategic Planning priorities, such as the Academic Excellence initiative to evaluate the language program in terms of “global needs and opportunities” (*School Renewal Self-Study Report*, 2009, p. F-2), demonstrate how the school’s commitment to inclusion, diversity, and multiculturalism permeates planning. The second priority in the *School Renewal Self-Study Report* (2009), after only Academic Excellence, was a Multicultural School Climate. The initiatives associated with developing a multicultural school climate begin with an affirmative statement: “We are all enriched by the opportunity to learn with people of different backgrounds” (p. F-2). Although the board first established an Office of Multicultural Affairs in 1997, however, the following list of initiatives in the *School Renewal Self Study Report* revealed a

program still moving from planning and assessment to implementation: Complete and endorse the assessment plan, develop resources to support increased socioeconomic diversity, recruit a more diverse faculty, broaden efforts to recruit a more diverse student body, and address affordability issues.

Not surprisingly, this philosophical school also endorsed in formal language the school's cultural norm of informal individualism and a relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect:

While academic achievement is regarded as extremely important, humanistic and social concerns are stressed as well. Fundamental concern for the student as an individual underlies the school's emphasis upon personalized individualized attention. (*High School Handbook*, 2009-2010, p. 1)

The John Dewey School even identified a strategic priority for Creating Balance in Life (*School Renewal Self-Study Report*, 2009, p. F-2). The school's Arts and Athletics priority begins with a classically progressive statement of connection between the individual and society: "Arts and athletics are fundamental to the development of the community and the individual" (*School Renewal Self-Study Report*, 2009, p. F-2). While the discussion of inclusive diversity uncovered more formal planning and examination of cultural norms than enacted expressions of its aims, however, I found that the school's cultural value for informal individualism extended beyond formal statements to permeate the enacted norms and standards as observed at the school.

Although the Director and the school have fully engaged with the strategic planning characteristic of NAIS schools, the Director rejected the top-down form of

traditional strategic planning by directive: “Corporate America 2.0 really liked 5-year strategic plans. Corporate America 3.0 is really wondering why a Stalinist system like that would really make sense.” The Director embraced, instead, the School Renewal model of reaccreditation as a cornerstone of the flat organizational framework he espouses. The School Renewal option for reaccreditation features continuous and pervasive reflection, rather than periodic and top-down examination. Based on the research and writing of John Goodlad, the School Renewal process “emphasizes the belief that the individual school is the unit of change” (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1995, p. 2), placing the locus of control for transformational change within the school, rather than beyond the school. Schools reaccredited by the School Renewal are afforded significant flexibility and independence, relative to the greater formal structure imposed in the traditional School Improvement Process.

Theme: Relational structures

The social system connecting individuals and their coalitions at this school to accomplish its organizational ends resembles the complex arena of an evolving political movement. Early organizers of political movements, like the Labor or Civil Rights movements, coalesce to stake a claim to power and other resources for marginalized individuals. Over time, informal political movements may institutionalize their values and priorities in formal organizational structures. These structures may protect gains or extend the movement’s influence in the broader environment. They may also consolidate power in the hands of certain individuals or coalitions within the movement. This section begins with a description of the characteristics of the individuals and their coalitions

evolving within the political system of this school. The section then describes the socialization processes by which coalitions are formed and evidence of a recent trend in coalition building. Finally, this section examines the construct of integrity at this school for evidence of how integrity defines relationships between and among individuals, coalitions, or the school's environment.

Characteristics. Almost defiant in the wake of the news that the university would be severing ties with their school, teachers and other stakeholders organized themselves as an independent school enacting their determination to “continue the school’s historic legacy” of progressive education (website, 2012). Differentiating the Dewey School in an education market featuring competitor schools dedicated to sustaining genteel southern traditions, this founding coalition created a school resembling nothing so much as an urban education cooperative. Five teacher/administrators interviewed, whose tenures at the school date to those early days and the ensuing decade, exhibited a founder’s zeal for their school community.

Each of these women projected her own individual style, including C2, a self-avowed child of the 60s working from an orderly office; A4, a precise parent of two grown alumni of the school; TE2, an earnest protector of her faculty flock; TE1, a literary intellectual with an easy laugh; and C1, a sunny graduate of a Harpeth Hall, who proudly recalls her role as a student trying to organize a movement to choose the “Harpies” as mascot for the girls’ school. Four of these unique individuals made some reference to the school as family. C2 said the school inherited its progressive values in the DNA passed on from its Demonstration School. Noting that students operate the way they do because

they were brought up at the school since kindergarten, A4 noted: “It is in their genetic makeup.” A4 and TE2 expressed maternal pride in and protection for younger faculty members. TL1 and TE3, mid-career faculty members and advisors for the Discipline and Judicial Boards with some degree of alignment with this founding coalition, cited the family feeling they have for the school community. One met his wife teaching here and both have children enrolled in the Lower School. No other faculty members or administrators interviewed, however, made reference to the school as family.

Each of the founding women shared histories of having played almost every role imaginable at the Dewey School. Their accounts suggested that faculty members took turns at formal leadership in the early days and expressed a general sense that the few occupying formal positions of authority were less important in school operations than the faculty as a whole implementing a more or less shared vision. TE1 encapsulated the view of the coalition of founders by quoting Ella Baker, a proponent for “Participatory Democracy” who pushed back against the hegemony of the charismatic leader Baker perceived in the black churches and the Civil Rights movement with the words, “Strong people don’t need strong leaders” (as quoted in Mueller, 1990, p. 51).

In the years following its reorganization, the Dewey School saw evolutionary change. In the decade ending in 2000, an increasingly organized Board of Directors hired a cadre of formal leaders of the school, representing a second coalition evident in modern school culture. The impact of this professional class of school leaders is most evident in published statements of philosophy, formal strategic planning, and enacted policies. The general consistency observed between formal policy and cultural norms and standards

provides evidence that this coalition of leaders is substantially well aligned with the coalition of community organizers.

Individuals bridging the two coalitions nurtured feedback loops aligning the informal education cooperative organized by teachers and parents in the 1970s with the leaders hired a generation later to apply formal management strategies to direct the school. Three members of the founding coalition, C1, TE1, and TE2, belonged to the two academic departments populated by the men exercising formal power. Two members of the founding coalition are now support staff, C1 and C2, whose positions mean that they interact with members of faculty and administration from all subgroups. The Director asserted that he found a “tremendous benefit in talking to people who were at...crossroads moments for the school.” His leadership style featured inquiry into cultural norms as a first step in transformation, facilitating the design of culturally aligned initiatives. When norms run counter to desired outcomes, as when substance abuse is normal in student populations, the school’s espoused approach under the leadership of the Director and his team was to use education to move norms, rather than to simply impose rules and consequences. To the extent to which communication flows through the relational network of the school and those in positions of formal power follow through on their intended sensitivity to school culture, coalitions reinforce one another, amplifying their respective effects.

Returning to the characterization by TE5 of the “granular” quality of the school, however, representing a sense of relatively stronger sense of individualism and a relatively weaker sense of connection, interviewees consistently expressed a desire for

more formal structures to improve interactions between individuals and among coalitions. TE5 appealed to the lack of a formal anthology in his English class as a metaphor. On the one hand, there is the libertarian, individualistic aspect of teachers or students self-selecting works to read. On the other hand, this teacher asserted the importance of developing a narrative for the course in order to help students living in a flat world, in which all features have approximately equal value, to develop a context. Citing the “exquisite engineering” that goes into his own preparation to be, “ready to improvise,” in the classroom, this teacher spoke for many when he expressed a desire for more effective planning for opportunities for faculty members to develop a more multi-dimensional narrative.

I observed the centrifugal effects of policies relating to lunch. Reflecting the school’s values for both individualism and freedom, lunch policies and inadequate facilities contribute to the dispersion of the community at mealtime. Although organization by academic department is evident in a variety of ways, I also observed the lack of an effective structure for the faculty to come together as a whole. TH2 went so far as to express a sense that the Head of the high school uses purportedly collaborative meetings to exert a damping influence on dissenting points of view. Finally, although the high school assembles weekly, I observed both a joyful celebration of the individual and what seemed to be a missed opportunity for the grains in this community to coalesce.

Socialization. Although whole faculty and whole school meetings seem to represent missed opportunities for alignment of objectives and amplification of effects, there was evidence that the departmental structure at this school operates to those ends.

General trends derived from analysis of interviews and observations are included here. Additional details for analysis of sociogram data reinforcing these trends will be included in a later subsection devoted to that source.

First, formal school leaders, including the Director of the School, the Head of the high school, the Dean of Students, the Dean of Student Life, the Director of Diversity and Multicultural Affairs, the Director of Service Learning, the high school Counselor, and two advisors to the student Judicial Board, are concentrated in the English and History departments. Notably, departmental affiliation happened to place three members of the founding coalition in this Humanities group. These women, C1, TE1, and TE2, seemed to serve as a conduit for information and other forms of social capital necessary to sustain their informal influence on cultural norms and expectations.

In interview and other data, a pattern of faculty members working at the school for 4 to 10 years moving from the periphery to align with either the formal power structure or the influential founding coalition was evident. Teachers from the Science and Foreign Language departments tended to align with the founding coalition. Departmental affiliation was one formal mechanism for this outcome. Also contributing to the observed trend, the formal responsibility for coordinating new faculty mentoring rested with A4, one member of the founding coalition, and another member, TE2, who adopted informal mentorship and faculty advocacy as a personal mission. One mid-career faculty member with dual departmental affiliations represented another bridge for communication among coalitions.

The Mathematics department was relatively isolated as an unaligned group at this school. TM1, a young member of this department collaborated with others to create a new coalition of young faculty members through a trans-departmental critical friends group. In this case, a structure supporting the formation of the critical friends group was a growing number of young faculty members selected for summer Klingenstein Institutes operated by Teachers College, Columbia University. Lacking strong connection to either the formal power structure of the English and History departments or the normative influence of the Founding Coalition, this emerging grassroots critical friends group offered evidence of new models of coalition building at the school.

Relational trust. Whereas the other schools in this study shared the language and structures of an honor system, the Dewey School intentionally avoided that language. One faculty advisory to the Judicial Board, TH1, reported that, when the high school student body wrote and adopted their Declaration of Values in 1986, students intentionally dissociated from the “Gentlemen, scholars, and athletes” construct of a competitor school with a long history of military honor. The Director associated honor systems with demerits, which he dismissed as, “behavioral traffic tickets, and top-down penitentiary consequences to work off time.” The Director connected the presumptions at the heart of some honor systems, however, and the integrity construct at this school:

From an ethical standpoint, it’s a question of whether it’s based on a presumption a student will step outside the lines or whether it’s based on a presumption that a student won’t step outside the lines...A wholesale experience of students stepping outside the lines for us would really bring the whole school to a halt.

A handbook entitled, *Integrity at [Dewey School]: Philosophy and Practice* (2007) defines the formal system, beginning with the following Declaration of Values: “We, members of the [Dewey School] community, value intellectual integrity, respect personal rights, and accept the responsibility of our freedom” (p. 1). Like schools using the language of honor systems, this school associates these values with the trust sustaining the relational fabric of the school community:

Our community is based on the faith that all of its members will adhere to these values and, correspondingly, strive to deal honestly with each other in both their words and their actions. Any violation of these values injures the entire community by undermining the trust on which it is founded. (p. 1)

The handbook defines lying, stealing, and cheating as violations of integrity. Lying is juxtaposed with truthfulness, and both stealing and cheating with respect for personal property. All are related to community effects: “In order to preserve the harmony and openness of our community, it is necessary that its members be truthful with each other and respect each other’s personal property...Violations of this ‘contract’ tears at the fabric that holds the high school community together” (p. 1).

This discourse on the role of integrity in the social contract at the school continues: “If an individual is ever in doubt about how much or what sort of help is permissible on a particular assignment...” (p. 1). Many schools would finish this sentence with an admonition to clarify the terms of the assignment or a charge to teachers to be sure that students understand their parameters for help. The handbook at this school finishes with a profound expression of faith in the virtue of students equal to that in any

honor system school: "...that student should consult his or her own intentions: would there be any deception involved...? Would the student feel comfortable telling the teacher how much help he or she received...?" (p. 1).

Moving from this appeal to intentions and feelings, a rationale is provided in the handbook for the Judicial Board structure: "Because a violation of integrity harms not only one individual but also the entire community, the Head of the high school relies on a Judicial Board made up of student and faculty representatives..." (p. 1). Because of an emphasis on privacy, the handbook identifies a need to demystify what actually happens in hearings. Both those bringing a charge and those being charged write a statement, "explaining their perceptions" (p. 3), of what happened. The parents are notified, but they are not present at the hearing. A student may choose a faculty advocate to, "provide support and reassurance to the student during a difficult time" (p. 3). As in most honor system schools, infractions serious enough to result in probation, suspension, or dismissal are referred to either the Discipline Board or the Judicial Board, panels of students and faculty members who investigate, hold hearings, evaluate charges and make recommendations for consequences to the Head of the high school and the Director, who ultimately decides appropriate consequences.

While embracing other essential elements of an honor system in their Declaration of Values in 1986, the student body intentionally stepped away from an expectation that students report violations of integrity. After asserting, "the goals of the Judicial Board are educational rather than punitive" (p. 2), the handbook continues:

While certainly our students are responsible for their own actions, we recognize that, on the one hand, a fundamentally honest student may still commit a violation of integrity and, on the other hand, another fundamentally honest student may desire to support the integrity of our community and still be afraid to put a friend who has committed a violation in a difficult situation. (p. 2)

In deference to community members' age and maturity, faculty members are required to report possible violations, but students are not. While allowing that loyalty to abstract ideas of integrity and community may conflict with loyalty to a friend, the handbook makes a case that "protecting" a friend may deprive him or her of an opportunity to learn, concluding with, "We hope that students will value the wholeness, the integrity, of our community sufficiently that they will report incidents that violate that integrity even when doing so is painful and difficult" (pp. 2, 3). Reiterating the distress of accusers, the accused, and those hearing allegations, the handbook concludes, "Discomfort may be constructive. We...hope that any student involved in Judicial Board proceedings will ultimately emerge from them with a deeper understanding of the nature of integrity and its importance to our community" (p. 4).

The handbook provides thoughtful rationales for the role of integrity in community and how each element of the Judicial Board system relates to supporting community integrity. The only posting of the Declaration of Values, however, was in the classroom of TE2, a teacher working at the school when the Declaration of Values was adopted. The Director deemed rituals reinforcing the social contract, such as signing one's name to an Honor book or pledging assignments, to be superfluous: "To be here is

to commit to the community standards and the community standards involve acting with integrity, such that an additional honor [pledge] hasn't seemed like a logical element in that baseline commitment to ethical behavior." In contrast to copious evidence of planning associated with diversity education and the proactive application of social norms theory in the schools Substance Abuse Prevention and Assistance program, I found little evidence that the school's educational program on integrity asserted itself until after violations had occurred.

Theme: Sustainability and Change

Progressive education, inclusive individualism, and responsible freedom are key elements of this school's culture. As with other cases studied, the school was selected both for its relative independence from outside monitoring and its professed reliance upon trustworthy individuals working together reliably to meet high educational expectations. In the context of relatively low levels of authoritarian, hierarchical management, this section addresses how the leadership and institutions of the Dewey School sustain its essential elements through changing environmental contingencies, in a seismic shift, and through evolutionary internal change.

Leadership. Expressing the educational progressivism of the turn-of-the-20th century, the John Dewey School began as a Demonstration School for the College of Education of a major university. When the founding university determined that higher education progressive initiatives had largely accomplished their aims, the John Dewey School faced the jolt of divestiture by reorganizing in a newly independent form. As the world of independent education gradually organized itself into cycles of strategic

planning, the freewheeling cooperative of the 1970s gradually transformed into the present day manifestation of a professionalized progressive school. Across its history, the John Dewey School is a study in organizational response to internal and external challenges.

The present Director described his own experience as a leader at this school with acute sensitivity to the strand of time running through other elements of school community: “Grade levels and constituencies and a history and a present [are] thatched together,” to form a school community. The Director described his leadership as an opportunity to “tap into the energy that’s already in the community and to try to provide it some direction and substance.” The evolution of the school from educational cooperative in the 1970s to corporate education in the 1990s and beyond was facilitated by the Director’s personal imperative to balance competing expectations of a leader to be “instrument of the [present] popular will, ...catalyst for some [forward-looking] change and... [historic] preservation of continuity that might not be the interest of the moment, but serves the long-term interest of the school.”

The Director’s often-expressed faith that the school was not broken when he was hired undoubtedly contributes to the cooperation evident between coalitions of long-term teacher leaders and more recently hired administration. Honoring the attention paid by his predecessors to where education was heading helps the Director to put the present-day school in its temporal context:

Realizing that people have been here on this spot having pretty intense conversations about what good schooling looks like is a [pretty strong]

mandate...Trying to understand the implications of continuing to do what we have been doing over ensuing decades is pretty significant.

Adding another layer of contextual awareness, the Director also addressed setting. Characterizing the school as relatively progressive in its urban southern setting, the Director asserted that the John Dewey School would be in the mainstream in other urban centers, “but we’re not there. We’re here. So understanding the context, the educational landscape where you are and context of the choice points that we face today in light of the choice points that went before” is essential to the school’s sustained viability. The Director expressed a real appreciation at the school for their institutional mortality as they face challenges associated with the present economic downturn, which he framed as an opportunity for community members to assess the fundamental models of schooling.

Other leadership functions related to school sustainability are inspiration and provision. The Director described the processes in practice at the school to improve an already good program:

I set the expectation that something great is going to happen here at school, then I have an open invitation to let me know what the ingredients need to be in order for that to be the case, and then I have a responsibility to help to the extent that I can to provide the necessary preconditions for great things to happen.

Asked whether it is a principal’s job to monitor and direct all aspects of the instructional program of the school, the Director took a typically contextual response in his answer: “It depends on the school in question. It certainly isn’t a responsibility here, except maybe at the 10,000-foot level.” The Director described the professional autonomy with which he

invested faculty and administrative teams. He also described the multiple group memberships of everybody at the school. Expressing his hope that so many relatively autonomous departments and divisions and grade level teams work together harmoniously, the Director asserted that with so complex a web of simultaneously functioning groups, “no single person could claim to be completely in a supervisory role.”

Institutions. Representing more of a philosophical mindset than a formal institution, a spirit of inquiry is a driving force at this school. The School Renewal framework for school accreditation and strategic planning is especially embedded in the culture of this school as an institution for sustainable vitality. Rather than the 5-year and 10-year cycles evident at some schools, School Renewal is designed to be an ongoing mechanism for community engagement. The Director went to pains to point out that the 6 priorities in the 2001 report remained constant in 2007, with only initiatives to implement those priorities changing over time. He reported that in the school’s evaluation year, all they have to do is to collate the ongoing work and take stock of the progress of past, present, and future initiatives.

Also in the spirit of ongoing inquiry, the Director described a variety of external and internal metrics used to evaluate how well the school was enacting its standards. On the one hand, he cited feedback from traditional external sources, such as the College Board and a survey of student engagement the school is beta testing. He also described an array of “echolocation opportunities” by which the school examined itself. While measuring themselves on nationally normed reference points, the school also wants to

know their students' options after graduation and how they did in college as indications of the preparation they received. In addition to an array of assessments, including reenrollment and charitable giving to the school, the Director also used an annual survey distributed to all families asking about the quality of their experience. He has sustained the same questions over nine years to have baseline data from which to compare what he hears from year to year. The theoretical framework of social norms theory associated with the Substance Abuse and Prevention program was evident in the school's self-referential cycles of evaluation and planning. This school performed action research to identify "baselines" of normal behavior, implemented initiatives to correct towards desired norms, and reevaluated regularly to guide correction towards desired social norms.

Finally, the financial model is an evolving institution for sustainable vitality at this school. On the one hand, School Renewal documents estimated that only about 15% of families in the school's metropolitan area could afford to send a child to the school. Accepting the futility of the pursuit of affordability, the Director envisioned increased accessibility. One approach would be to develop endowment, but the Director noted that in order to be meaningful, endowment would have to be substantial. Another approach would be to address cost centers by continually examining the school's education models. The Director described controlling costs as essentially bounded by the people-intensive nature of education. Offering an interesting take, the Director identified technology as a cost center generating very little in the way of productivity gains to relieve other budgetary pressures. Noting that students tend to self-educate in technology, the Director

identified expenditures on technology as primarily marketing: “It’s also a proxy for being willing to spend more money per student...treating education like a luxury good, where the higher the price, the better the quality must be.”

Quantitative Analysis of Relational Trust

To evaluate Teacher-Principal Trust, the means and standard deviations of the following items on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall mean and standard deviation (see Table 21).

Table 21

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Principal Trust at the Dewey School

Teacher-Principal Trust Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
It’s OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with the principal. ^a	2.92	0.63
The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers. ^a	2.98	0.92
The principal looks out for the personal welfare of the faculty members. ^a	2.79	0.86
I trust the principal at his or her word. ^a	2.92	1.00
I genuinely respect my principal as an educator. ^a	2.85	0.82
The principal at this school is an effective manager who makes the school run smoothly. ^a	2.65	0.87
The principal places the needs of students ahead of his or her personal and political interests. ^b	3.46	0.65
To what extent do you feel respected by your principal? ^b	3.35	0.73
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	2.99	0.26

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent

Owing to small sample size, these data should not be used to generalize to other settings, but they help to triangulate qualitative data. The means of distributing and collecting the surveys illustrates the point. At other schools, I was put on the agenda of regularly scheduled faculty meetings so that virtually 100% of faculty had an opportunity to participate. At this school, the Head of the high school (Principal), who had scheduled a special faculty meeting for this purpose, apparently forgot to inform the faculty, as previously described. One notation in my field notes may say something about independent schools, in general, and this school in particular: “[Dewey School] teachers are independent in their interpretations of formal instructions. About one in eight, including the Head of the high school, initially submitted improperly completed consent forms.” I also noted that, “independent schools teachers hate to be confined to integral answers on surveys.” The highest scores reported relate to the Principal’s concern for students, while the lowest scores relate to managerial effectiveness and care for faculty. Nonetheless, the overall mean score of 3.00 suggests at least minimally strong Teacher-Principal Trust, as defined by Bryk & Schneider (2002). Teachers generally felt respected by their principal and expressed respect in return.

To evaluate Teacher-Teacher Trust, the means and standard deviations of the relevant items on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall mean and standard deviation (see Table 22). To evaluate Teacher-Student Trust, the means and standard deviations of the relevant items on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall mean and standard deviation (see Table 23).

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Teacher Trust at the John Dewey School

Teacher-Teacher Trust Items		
Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
Teachers in this school trust each other. ^a	3.35	0.55
It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers. ^a	3.46	0.50
Teachers respect other teachers who take the lead in school improvement efforts. ^a	3.69	0.46
Teachers in this school respect those colleagues who are expert in their craft. ^a	3.85	0.36
To what extent do you feel respected by other teachers? ^b	3.67	0.54
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.60	0.18

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent

Table 23

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Student Trust at the John Dewey School

Teacher-Student Trust Items		
Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
To what extent do you trust students. ^a	3.73	0.44
To what extent do you feel respected by students? ^b	3.71	0.44
Overall	3.72	0.01

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent

With mean scores of 3.60 and 3.72, respectively, both Teacher-Teacher and Teacher-Student Trust at the John Dewey Scale would be characterized as strong, as defined by Bryk & Schneider (2002). Teacher-Teacher Trust (M=3.60, SD=0.18) scored significantly higher than Teacher-Principal Trust (M=2.99, SD=0.26); $t(10.6)=4.65$, $p<0.0008$). Teacher-Student Trust (M=3.72, SD=0.01) also scored significantly higher than Teacher-Principal Trust (M=2.99, SD=0.26); $t(7.14)=-7.43$, $p<0.00013$). There were no statistically significant differences in Teacher-Teacher and Teacher-Student Trust at the John Dewey School.

Descriptive statistics and t-tests were also performed on groups of teachers formed on the basis of whether they had been at the Dewey School for fewer than four years or for four years or more (see Table 24). Newer teachers to the school scored significantly higher than longer serving teachers on Teacher-Principal Trust; $t(18.8)=2.72$; $p<0.0135$.

Table 24

Descriptive Statistics for Trust at the John Dewey School Sorted by Years of Service

		Mean	Standard Deviation
Teacher-Principal Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.44	0.25
	4 or more years of service	2.86	0.75
Teacher-Teacher Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.73	0.30
	4 or more years of service	3.57	0.34
Teacher-Student Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.50	0.45
	4 or more years of service	3.79	0.30

Discussion of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

Responses of the RT/OC identified relative weaknesses in the Teacher-Principal Trust items relating to effective management and looking out for the personal welfare of faculty members. Although respondents credited the Head with placing the needs of students first and with generally respecting the faculty, genuine respect for the Head as an educator and trust for the principal's word rated weaker than the mean response. Insight into these findings is found in other data. The Head's relative ineffectiveness as a manager was evident in the disorganized attempt to convene the faculty on the day this study was presented. In a school operating on the premises of teacher leadership embedded within the School Renewal processes, the ability to facilitate faculty interaction is an important leadership skill. Faculty members consistently expressed a desire for the "exquisite engineering" (TE5) necessary to support excellence in action.

Gaps between word and deed are also evident in the data surrounding Teacher-Principal relations. The assessment of TH2 that the Head of the high school ostensibly convened meetings to gather diverse perspectives and then used those meetings to squelch dissenting opinion contributes to understanding of the relative weakness in teachers' trust in the Head at his word. The interview responses of the Head of the high school were fully aligned with the school's norms celebrating diversity and respecting individualism. The Head seemed to have genuinely embraced the words of the Director, who consistently honored the existing state of affairs, even as he designed strategies for a changing future. While the Head embraced the words, however, his implementation in practice seems to have fallen short of his intentions, at times. I would expect newer

teachers to the school to have more exposure to the words of the Head than long experience with his actions, contributing to higher measures of Teacher-Principal trust in those serving the school for fewer than four years.

Summary of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

What are teacher and administrator perceptions at the John Dewey School of structures operating to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? Key administrators express significant trust in an autonomous faculty, which is largely returned. An expectation of collegial relations within the adult community is sustained through strategic planning in departmental structures. Programs for student accountability also contribute to a cycle of escalating trust. Exceptions to an overall pattern of relational trust were observed, as when individuals questioned the organization or authenticity of collaborative initiatives. These exceptions may contribute to lower levels of Teacher-Principal trust relative to Teacher-Teacher and Teacher-Student trust.

The Director and certain program directors perceive cycles of assessment and strategic planning as structures operating to assure accountability to community standards. Social norms theory is actively employed in programs relating to student substance abuse, both to compare baseline data on existing social norms and to design educational initiatives to shift norms towards desired targets. Within the adult community, the respect of the Director for the people enacting cultural norms facilitates aligning formal statements of philosophy with daily practice. Within this school

organized around faculty leadership, however, most faculty interviews included some expression of a desire for better-organized interactions and more reliable accountability structures.

Analysis for Research Question 2 for this Case

In order to gain a clearer understanding of how relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions contributing to school improvement, this section will first analyze data gathered from sociogram questionnaires for insight into the relational connectivity and the corresponding trustworthiness evident in the relational network of the school. This section will then offer quantitative analysis focusing on items from the RT/OC survey related to teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.

Sociogram Analysis for the Relational Connectivity of Trustworthy Networks

As in all cases, responses to sociogram questionnaires were used to map connectivity and closure in the faculty's relational network at the Dewey School. The first question asked participants to name up to three colleagues with whom they share, "professional relational trust," defined on the form as colleagues with whom respondents, "would risk exposing professional vulnerabilities ... and ... expect that [the colleague] would give honest, helpful feedback." Of 58 teachers and administrators, 37 individuals were ultimately included for analysis of this first question, 24 because they returned questionnaires and 13 who did not return questionnaires, but were included because at

least one respondent mentioned them as trusted colleagues. Although 13 of those included in the graph depicted in Figure 6 did not indicate their own trusted relations and all 58 individual faculty members are not included, the network of connections offers interesting findings. As in other cases, I began by identifying teachers with the greatest numbers of connections and then arranged these highly connected individuals on planes, to facilitate the organization of other teachers between and around them. After creating an orderly graph, I coded teachers by their locations in the network (see Figure 6).

Closure and connection. In networks of a given size, systems and subsystems with higher levels of closure, as measured by mutual relations and closed loops, correspond to relatively higher levels of social capital and are more trustworthy (Coleman, 1990). Large, two-headed arrows in Figure 6 indicate relationships in which each party named the other, indicating strong, mutually reliable relationships and relatively greater system closure. Four richly connected inner networks exhibiting relatively greater closure within the broader system are evident in Figure 6.

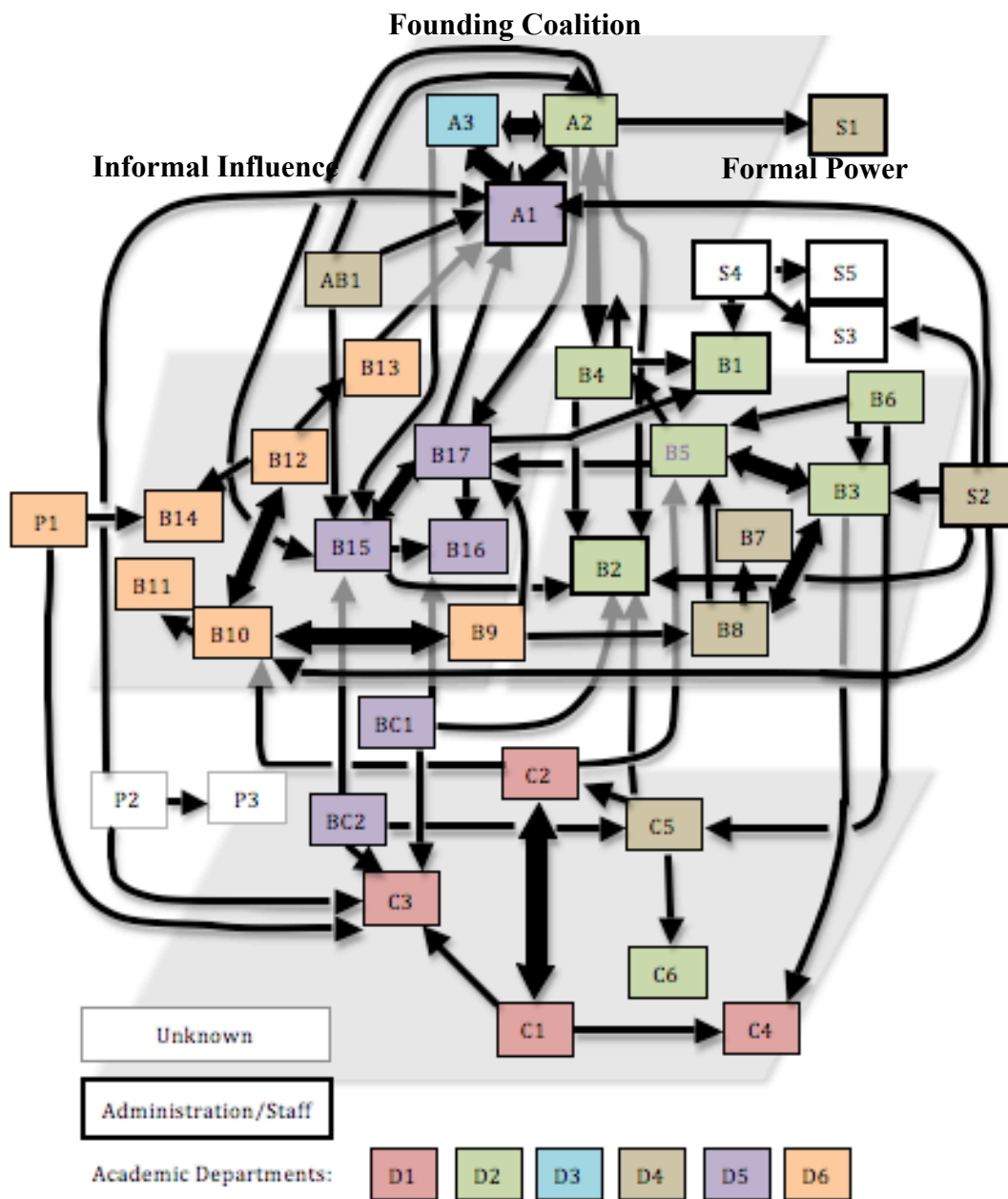


Figure 6. Relational trust network at The John Dewey School, 2009-2010.

After organizing the graph and coding the individuals by their placement in the network, I examined the individuals linked together by their responses to the sociogram

questionnaire. I discovered that A1 and A2 were members of the founding coalition, whose support and advocacy for faculty members contributed to their informal influence flowing through the left side of the sociogram. Individuals labeled B3, B5, and B6 in sociogram analysis were, in fact, key players in the departments inhabited by those in formal power, which became evident on the right side of the sociogram. The closed inner network of B15, B16, and B17 connected the closed strand B9, B10, and B12 and their associates on the left side of the B-plane with those relatively more isolated from both formal power and informal influence on the C-plane.

I also identified several peripheral individuals, who seemed to be orbiting the school's relational network, seemingly trying to plug in, but receiving no incoming trust relationships. Of these, five turned out to be administration and/or support staff and were designated S1, S2, S3, S4, and S5. Three, designated P1, P2, and P3, were newer faculty members apparently trying to plug in to the system. Also candidates for peripheral status were BC1, BC2, and B6.

Features of subgroups. Subgroups identified by the relational trust network at the Dewey school included the informally influential, the formally powerful, and a variety of individuals less well connected. Also evident were certain academic departments as subgroups and emerging trends in newer faculty trying to enter the network.

Completely linked by a ring of mutual relationships, the network linking A1, A2, and A3 exhibited the strongest closure. A1 and A2 had worked together for some 30 years and were members of the founding coalition, whose service to the school extended

back to the decade after reorganization as an independent school. A1 occupied a formal leadership position at the school and identified only members of the closed inner network linking A1, A2, and A3 as outgoing trust relationships. However, seven faculty members, including both members of this hub, identified A1 as a trusted relationship. This is the largest number of incoming trust relationships in the network of the school, suggesting strong connection between A1 and the faculty as a whole. In A1's interview, A1 expressed particular pride in the growth and accomplishment of young teachers who are "coming along." Of the five incoming trust relationships to A1 not originating in the closed inner network A1-A2-A3, S2 is a longtime member of support staff and another member of the founding coalition. B17 is a longtime member of A1's department, but AB1, B13, and P2 had served the school for an average of only about five years at the time of the study. Two of these were experiencing some degree of alienation from either their academic departments, the administration, or both. One is no longer with the school and one memorably said in an interview, "We put the 'shun' is dysfunction."

If A1 was a conduit for incoming signals from the rest of the faculty to the A1-A2-A3 inner network, A2 seems to have been a conduit for outreach from the group to the rest of the faculty and administration. Although instructions invited participants to name three trusted relations, A2 named seven, including the Director of the School, the Dean of Students, the Academic Dean, two richly connected members of A1's department, a member of A2's department, and A3. Of these, three turned out to be mutual trust relationships. Although this was the highest number of mutual trust relationships reported, it must be noted that A2's liberty with the instructions increased

A2's potential for mutual connections. That said, while A1 occupied a formal leadership position, A2 exerted a more informal form of faculty leadership. As an example of A2's informal advocacy, on the day after I distributed and collected surveys and sociogram questionnaires, A2 made it a point to seek me out for reassurance that all forms would be kept in my control, that the administration would not have access to them, and that I would separate documents into files so that authors of survey responses would not be made evident by the filing system. Following up on A2's visit, I drafted a general email thanking the faculty and carefully explaining again how forms would be handled. On A2's suggestion, I sent the email to A3, who disseminated it to the faculty on my behalf.

Generally occupying the right-hand side of the B-plane in Figure 6 is a second relatively closed inner network featuring two mutual relationships and a fully closed loop, which linked English department members, B3 and B5, with B8, a member of the Social Studies department. B3 and B7 were department chairs of their respective academic departments. A member of the founding coalition, B3 participated in both mutual trust relationships evident in this relatively closed inner network. Spiraling out from this inner hub is B4, a member of B3's department with a mutual relationship with the A1-A2-A3 closed loop and outgoing relationships with B1 and B2, the administrative base of formal power characterizing this network. B1 and B2 are the Head of the high school and the Dean of Students.

A notable feature of the inner network on the right side of the sociogram was the number of incoming relationships from the other faculty and staff to this inner network, as compared to the number of outgoing relationships to the broader relational network.

The A1-A2-A3 inner network, the inner network on the left, relatively isolated faculty members on the C-plane, and peripheral staff all extended incoming trust relationships to B2 and other members of the inner network of formal power on the right. Only B4, B5, and B6 had outgoing trust relationships with other subgroups. Of members of the inner network on the right, these three were the newest members to the school, with an average of five years' service. Among other members of this network of concentrated formal power, the average years of service to the school was 19.8 years. B4 was a trusted partner linking the influential A1-A2-A3 inner network with the formal power network on the right. Perhaps because of dual departmental appointments and membership in a critical friends group organized by newer faculty members, B5 acted as a bridge reaching out from the formal power network on the right to the inner network on the left and the isolated C-plane. B6 was a very new faculty member, reaching out both to the network of formal power and members of the isolated C-plane.

Generally occupying the left-hand side of the B-plane in Figure 6, a closed loop linking B15, B16, and B17, featured a mutual trust relationship between B15 and B17. All three were members of the Science department, with one serving as department chair. Coiling around this central core is a strand including B9, B10 and B12 and their direct associates, B11, B13, and B14. All six members of this strand were members of the Foreign Language department. This strand was not a closed loop, but featured two mutual trust relationships linking B10 with the other two. Notably, this strand connected the inner network of formal power with the inner network of informal influence and plugged directly into the strand bridging the A1-A2-A3 inner network with the C-plane. Reaching

out to the A1-A2-A3 inner network and the network on the left, AB1 was an alienated member of a department generally aligned with the network on the right. P1 is a new faculty member formally affiliated with the academic department of the strand B9, B10, B11, B12, B13, and B4, but still trying to find his place in the relational network. BC2 and BC3 are relatively newer members of the academic department chaired by B16.

More of an axis between mutually connected C1 and C2 and their direct associates, C3 and C4, the C-plane is the least closed of the four inner networks evident from the sociogram at this school (see Figure 6). Upon examining the characters making up the sociogram, I learned that the four members of the C-plane all belong to the Mathematics department and that no other members of that department are represented elsewhere on the sociogram relational trust network of the school. Having joined the faculty four or fewer years in the past, mutual trust relations C1 and C2 were still connecting with the relational network of the school. C2 reached out to the B-plane and to C5, who was also connected to the B-plane, while C1 reached out to C3 and C4, experienced faculty members of C1's department. The department chair, C3, appeared to be a trusted attractor for many newer faculty members trying to join the school's relational trust network. Although they were not members of C3's department, P1 and P2 cited C3 as a trusted relationship. As already noted, relatively newer members of B16's academic department, BC1 and BC2 extended trust relationships towards their native department in the inner network on the left side of the sociogram and appeared to be moving towards the B-plane (see Figure 6), but both still reached out to C3 in the C-plane. Because C3 did not return a sociogram form, C3 had no outgoing relationships.

C3's five incoming trust relationships matched B15's, however, and was exceeded only by B2's six and A1's seven.

Finally, as uncovered in interview data, C5 was involved in forming a trans-departmental critical friends group incorporating fellow participants in a highly selective summer professional development opportunity and other relatively new faculty members. That organization is evident in a loose inner network connecting C2, C5, BC2, B5, B6, and B17, whose average years of service is just over four. C5's other connections relate to duties advising the student Judicial Board.

As already noted, in addition to the four subgroups described above, academic departmental structure was evident in the sociogram relational trust network of the school. To help the reader to visualize features of academic departments, I have identified members of the sociogram relational network of the school with their 6 academic departments, which I have named D1, D2, D3, D4, D5, and D6 (see Figure 6). First, note that academic department D2, in green, flows through the right side of the relational network diagram. Academic department D4 is relatively diffuse, though generally associated with D1. Together, D2 and D4 are populated with most members occupying positions of formal power. Notably, D2 is the department whose members include the Head of the high school, the Dean of Students, the Dean of Student Life and the Director of Service Learning, while D4's members include the Director of the School and the Personal Counselor.

Next, note that D5, in purple, flows through the left-hand side of the relational network diagram. Members of this department, taken together with the entirety of

department D6, form a thread of informal influence connecting members of the founding coalition to isolated members of the faculty in the C-plane. Seen this way, it almost seems that while the right-hand side of the network represent an epicenter of power in the relational network of the school, the inner network A1-A2-A3 plays the role of brain, gathering signals through A1 and A2 and sending signals through A2 and A3, providing an informal “safety net,” contributing to the trustworthiness of the relational network of this school. It was from this sociogram analysis that I first began to discern alignments of faculty members with the founding coalition, on the left-hand side, and the formal power structure on the right-hand side.

Alienating and enabling structure. Having examined ways in which connection and closure in the relational network of this school may facilitate the flow of communication and other forms of social capital through the network we will now examine the network for constraints, which may indicate bureaucratic elements in the organization ordering the flow of social capital through the system, either for better or for worse. Optimal levels of order avoid the extremes of either a chaotic or a repressive organization (Cole, 1991). Coercive bureaucracies interfere with self-organizing system level intelligence, while enabling bureaucracy facilitates organizational learning (Sinden, Hoy, & Sweetland, 2004). To gain some sense of the bureaucratic structures operating in the social system of this school, the second question on the sociogram questionnaire asked participants to name up to three colleagues, “essential to planning and/or implementing [a particular curriculum] innovation.”

Of 58 teachers and administrators, 37 individuals were ultimately included for analysis of this second question, 24 because they returned questionnaires and 13 who did not return questionnaires, but were included because at least one respondent mentioned them as essential to either planning or implementing a desired curricular change.

Although these totals are the same as for the first question, they represent a slightly different cross-section of individuals cited by others. Other differences exist between the profiles of the responses to the two questions. First, the particular individuals named as relational trust partners were typically different from those chosen as essential to effect change. Second, only B17 named more than the prescribed three colleagues necessary to effect curricular change, while B17, S2, and A2 named more than three relational trust partners. Curiously, 3 out of 4 individuals B17 identified as relational trust partners occupied formal positions of power, while all of the 5 individuals cited as necessary to effect curricular change were young members of the critical friends group cited by C5, above. Twenty-two-year veteran S2 named five colleagues serving an average of just over 20 years each as relational trust partners. S2 named 3 individuals occupying formal positions of power as necessary to effect curricular change. In the first sociogram question, A2 cited seven outgoing trust relationships with individuals affiliated with both sides of the B-plane and at varied stages of their careers at the school. In the second question, A2 named only one individual necessary to effect change: the Director of the School.

Analysis of responses to the first sociogram question revealed a thread connected to formal positional power running through the departments and subgroups generally

located on the right-hand side of the relational trust network diagram (see Figure 6) and an informal thread connecting individuals, departments and subgroups generally located on the left-hand side of the diagram. Responses to the second sociogram question also suggest differentiation between subgroups and departments in likelihood to appeal to positional authority to effect curricular change. Members of D2 and/or the right-hand strand were almost twice as likely as members of D5 and/or the left-hand strand to name individuals in formal positions of power as essential to effect curricular change.

Analysis of responses to the first and second sociogram questions taken together reveals interesting patterns relating to significant individuals and subgroups in the formal and informal structures evident in the relational network of the school. Of 58 members of administration and/or faculty, 40 are represented in sociogram data by either having returned the completed sociogram questionnaire (24 respondents), having been cited as one of 37 trusted relational partners, having been cited as one of 37 colleagues essential to effecting curricular change, or some combination. Of the 24 respondents, 6 received no citations. Among the 40 receiving citations, 6 received 1 citation and 12 received some combination of 2 citations. To facilitate analysis for trends, those receiving 3 or more citations are tabulated in Table 25, in order of decreasing numbers of unique citations.

Table 25

Significant Individuals, Subgroups in the Relational Network of the John Dewey School

Individual	Times cited as <i>trusted</i> (Qu. 1)	Times cited as <i>essential</i> (Qu. 2)	No. of unique respondents citing in either Qu. 1 or Qu. 2	Position	Affiliation(s)
B1	3	8	10 (1 in both)	Principal	D2, Right side
A1	7	6	9 (4 in both)	Dean	D5, A1-A2-A3
B16	3	8	9 (2 in both)	Chair of D5	D5, Left side
C3	5	4	7 (2 in both)	Chair of D1	D1
B3	4	4	7 (1 in both)	Chair of D2	D2, Right side
B17	4	4	7 (1 in both)		D5, Left side, Critical Friends
B2	6	2	7 (1 in both)	Dean	D2, Right side
B15	5	2	7 (0 in both)		D2, Left side
C5	2	4	6 (0 in both)		D1, Critical Friends
B5	4	1	5 (0 in both)		D5/D2, Right side, Critical Friends
S1	1	4	4 (1 in both)	Director	Staff
B10	4	2	4 (2 in both)		D6, Left side
B8	2	2	4 (0 in both)		D4, Right side
C2	2	2	4 (0 in both)		D1, Critical Friends
A2	4	1	4 (1 in both)		D2, A1-A2-A3
B11	1	2	3 (0 in both)	Chair of D6	D6, Left side

Significant individuals included A1 and B1. With 7 incoming citations as trusted, 6 incoming citations as essential, and 4 incoming citations as both, A1 was both highly

trusted and essential to change. With 3 incoming citations as trusted, 8 incoming citations as essential, and 1 incoming citations as both, B1 was viewed as more essential to change than trusted. While A1 seemed to lead the informal left-hand side of the relational network, the number of respondents naming B1 as essential to effect change in question 2 makes evident B1's leadership of the more formal right-hand side of the network. B1 was Head of the high school. By contrast, B2, another senior administrator, attracted 6 incoming citations of relational trust, but only 2 citations that B2 was essential to effect change.

The chairs of departments D5 and D1, aligned with A1, and department D1, aligned with B1, were next in significance, in terms of total numbers of incoming relationships—9, 7, and 7, respectively. The next most significant department chair is the chair of department D6, also aligned with A1, with only 3 incoming relationships. The chair of diffuse department D4 had only 2 incoming citations. Both departments D6 and D4, however, included relatively well-connected informal leaders, B10 and B8, with 4 incoming citations each. Other highly connected informal leaders included B17 and B15 of department D5, with 7 incoming citations each; C5 and C2 of department D1, with 6 and 4 incoming citations, respectively; and B5 of department D2, with five incoming citations. Only one member in the network, A3, came from De. Notably, four of the five highly connected informal leaders were members of the critical friends group, which might well be dubbed the rising stars in the relational network of the school.

Quantitative Analysis of Organizational Conditions

To evaluate measures of organizational conditions, the means and standard deviations of items relating to Teacher Orientation to Innovation, Teacher Commitment to School, Peer Collaboration, Reflective Dialogue, Collective Responsibility, Focus on Student Learning, and Teacher Socialization on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall means for each (see Table 26). None of the differences among organizational conditions was statistically significant and all means were greater than three on a four-point scale.

Table 26

Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the John Dewey School

	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	M = 3.47	SD = 0.41
Teacher Commitment to School	M = 3.55	SD = 0.82
Peer Collaboration	M = 3.08	SD = 0.51
Reflective Dialogue	M = 3.06	SD = 0.31
Collective Responsibility	M = 3.25	SD = 0.41
Focus on Student Learning	M = 3.35	SD = 0.46
Teacher Socialization	M = 3.47	SD = 0.47

^aFour point scales

As with measures of trust, faculty members were sorted by years of service to the school to look for significant differences between the groups in their perceptions of organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement (see Table 27). Again, no differences between the two groups were found to be statistically significant.

Table 27

Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the John Dewey School Sorted by Years of Service

		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.42	0.53
	4 or more years of service	3.49	0.38
Teacher Commitment to School	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.67	0.13
	4 or more years of service	3.51	0.43
Peer Collaboration	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.13	0.65
	4 or more years of service	3.07	0.48
Reflective Dialogue	Fewer than 4 years of service	2.93	0.24
	4 or more years of service	3.10	0.33
Collective Responsibility	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.37	0.46
	4 or more years of service	3.22	0.40
Focus on Student Learning	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.35	0.33
	4 or more years of service	3.35	0.49
Teacher Socialization	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.25	0.25
	4 or more years of service	3.54	0.09

^aFour point
scales

Discussion Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

Interview and observation data identified as a component of school culture a desire for enabling structure. Although both A1 and B1 occupied formal positions of

power, there was evidence that A1 was perceived as an organizer of enabling bureaucratic structures at the school. A1's large number (7) of incoming trust relationships suggested A1's influence in the school's relational network. A1 had incoming trust relationships from members of every department in the school (see Figure 6) and seemed to be accessible to new or marginalized faculty members (P2, AB1), mid-career leaders on the B-plane (B13, B17), senior support staff (S2), and members of A1's own highly trustworthy inner circle (A2 and A3). A1 was perceived to be essential to effecting change by a sizable number (6) of members of faculty and staff and A1 actually served in the past as the school's principal. A1's greatest expressed pride in an interview, however, was in the growth of an increasingly empowered group of younger teachers. Having helped to organize the school from the ground up in its early days of separation from its founding university, A1 seemed to view her role as sustaining the model of a faculty-run school and developing the leadership capacity of younger faculty members.

The Head's profile of incoming citations featured only 3 trust citations and 8 essential citations. These data triangulated with interview and survey data identifying a relative weakness in the area of Teacher-Principal trust. Some distrust followed from an apparent pattern of administrative disorganization, as is evident in the lack of organized points of contact in the day for faculty interaction, the lack of cohesion in a planned school assembly, and the overlooked faculty meeting to present this study. Some distrust followed from perceived acts of bad faith, such as what faculty members described as a coercive use of a supposedly collaborative process to "blackball" an idea, rather than being straightforward about saying "no." All things considered, these sociogram data

suggested that to some members of the relational network, B1 represented a point of coercive bureaucracy, introducing impediments to the development of social resources.

The first initiative within the first strategic priority of the John Dewey School elevated the centrality of purposeful inquiry: “At the center of all we do is a spirit of purposeful inquiry and a respect for the life of the mind” (*School Renewal Self-Study Report*, 2009, p. F-2). The informal enabling bureaucracy in the inner network on the left side of the sociogram and the Critical Friends group uncovered in sociogram analysis suggested a framework for purposeful inquiry. Although differences among measures of organizational conditions were not statistically significant, however, Peer Collaboration and Reflective Dialog were relative weaknesses.

Summary of Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

In the John Dewey School, how did relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization? The relational network of this school revealed high levels of connectivity and closure among one group, whose histories qualified them as community organizers of this school. In association with the subgroup linking the left side of the sociogram, this founding coalition represented informal influence in the political structure of the school. Serving as an effective conduit connecting members of multiple departments and faculty members at all career stages, this founding coalition is deemed essential to the trustworthiness of the relational network at this school. This

coalition seems to enact the “thatched” interconnectedness among autonomous colleagues envisioned by the Director as a resource for driving ongoing school improvement. As such, they likely contributed greatly to the uniformly high values reported on measures of organizational conditions contributing to school improvement.

The relational network of this school also revealed connectivity and closure in the departments associated with the formal power structure of the school. The profile of the leader of this group, however, provided evidence of breaks in the relational network, representing potential impediments to developing the material, human, or social resources of the school. Interview data suggested that the principal aspired to be both inclusive and reflective. There was evidence that faculty members saw those aspirations fully expressed in student relations. There was also evidence that some faculty members, especially those working at the school for longer than four years, perceived gaps between aspiration and enacted reality in terms of the Principal’s relations with faculty beyond those in positions of formal power. Keeping the scale of these gaps in perspective, however, measures of organizational conditions contributing to school improvement were uniformly high at this school.

Finally, possibly reflecting shifting organizational models for sustainable school renewal and faculty development, a third, relatively loose, coalition seemed to be forming in the relational network of the school. Professionally formed by the Director’s inquiry-based leadership and reinforced by instruction in modern progressive education at the Klingenstein Institute, these young faculty members formed a critical friends group transcending old coalitions. Although these “rising stars” received relatively lower levels

of trust connectedness, commensurate with their short tenures at the school, members of this loose coalition were disproportionately represented in the pool of faculty members perceived as essential to implementing change.

Brief Conclusion for the John Dewey School

Teachers and students at the John Dewey School perceived several social systems relating to relational trust, accountability to community standards, and cultural sustainability. First, the ongoing influence of a coalition of founding faculty members sustained the school's progressive values and nurtures trans-departmental, intergenerational relationships. These informal, trust-based relationships provided one framework for faculty members' self-referential comparisons between personal practice and community standards. The empowerment of the individual asserted by the founding coalition was now being replicated in a new generation in the form of a grass-roots critical friends group.

Second, the Director's inquiry-based leadership continually aligned formal statements of philosophy and policy initiatives with cultural norms, as well the school's temporal-spatial context. His eloquent application of social norms theory through ongoing School Renewal and other frameworks provided another basis for a self-referential cycle of evaluation and correction that assures sustainable accountability to community standards and evolving cultural norms.

Metaphorical Synopsis.

The John Dewey School did not see itself as institutionalizing fixed truths for all time. Community members express a more contextual, living philosophy of sustainability

contingent upon shared experience. The John Dewey School seemed to institutionalize a dynamic, transient reality reminiscent of the words of the philosopher for which the school was pseudonymously named:

We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future. (Dewey, 1938/1998, p. 51)

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS—THE DARLING-HAMMOND SCHOOLS

“Paradoxically, the self expands through acts of self forgetfulness.”

(Psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 113)

Chapter 6 continues to answer my research questions: (1) What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability; and (2) In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to community factors found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization? This chapter begins with a metaphorical introduction to the findings for The Darling-Hammond Schools, followed by a description of the schools' context and demographic information, analysis of the data and findings viewed through the lens of the research questions, and a brief conclusion. As in all schools studied, findings are based on interviews, surveys of trust and organizational conditions, and a sociogram questionnaire offered to all teachers and administration. They also proceed from observations of significant community gatherings, documented by field notes, and artifacts provided by the school. Participants and schools are identified by pseudonyms. For a complete description of data collection methodologies, see Chapter 3.

The Darling-Hammond Schools

Education reformer Linda Darling-Hammond was born in the early 1950s, a time when the American public education sector was on its way to accomplishing one of the great dreams of Progressive education, with 88.6% of the 59% of students graduating from American high schools at that time graduating from public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000). The decade of Darling-Hammond's birth would usher in an era of self-examination in the nation's public schools. Starting with a historic movement to provide equal educational opportunities to all races, this era would progress to expand educational access to children with disabilities in the 1970s and beyond. As the question of access to education became settled law, critique of the nation's system of public education pivoted on the axis of unequal outcomes among various demographic subgroups to consider the overall quality of the educational program, beginning in the 1980s and culminating in the 2001 enactment of the *No Child Left Behind* legislation. This thread of education reform expresses itself today in initiatives for national standards.

As public education was evolving through the 20th century, independent education was likewise challenged to respond to the changing educational scene, with decidedly mixed results. In 1939, an assembly of California independent school leaders heard of the results of a study performed by the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) acting in their regulatory capacity as the state university. The study found that, as a group, independent school alumni did significantly *worse* as freshmen at UCLA than did graduates of public schools. When the population of schools was disaggregated, however, the alumni of some independent schools performed consistently better than either public

school or independent school counterparts. The trend in the state was toward requiring teachers in independent schools to earn the same teaching credentials as public school teachers, although some at the California Board of Education hoped to avoid the damping effect of centralization on educational innovation. A group of the high performing independent schools, led by the founder of the third school in this study, among others, organized the California Association of Independent Schools (CAIS) in 1941 under the banner of “standards without standardization” (Mirell, 2001), anticipating by more than half a century the issue at the heart of the debate surrounding national standards engaging education reformers today.

Launching her career in academia as a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1989, Darling-Hammond became a national leader in education policy development for reform in the 1990s. Darling-Hammond served as Executive Director for The National Commission on Teaching & America’s Future, a blue-ribbon commission assembling a diverse group invested in teaching and teacher development. Asserting that a “caring, competent, and qualified teacher for every child is the most important ingredient in education reform” (p. 10), their September, 1996 report, *What Matters Most: Teaching for America’s Future*, offered a blueprint for teacher recruiting, preparation, and support. Darling-Hammond published *The Right to Learn* in 1997. The title of chapter 7 of that work, “Creating Standards without Standardization” (Darling-Hammond, 1997, p. 210), inspired me to select Darling-Hammond as the pseudonym for the third independent school in this study.

Founded in 1922, the third independent school in this study shares more than a phrase with contemporary public education reformer Linda Darling-Hammond. Superficially, Darling-Hammond and the leader of the third school share both gender and personal histories of moving from the East Coast to California in the same general timeframe. The two women both approached educational reform by respectfully approaching the framework they found and designing innovations that organically reinterpreted the historic context for future generations. The hyphenated name also suits the dual schools model operating at the school I will call the Darling-Hammond Schools.

Context and Demographic Information

Located in the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains of southern California, the Darling-Hammond Schools are described in their *College Guidance Profile 2009-2010* as “a unique affiliation of three fully accredited non-profit institutions.” Although the Darling-Hammond Schools value the social benefits of their coeducational boarding community, the schools enact a commitment to single sex education by consistently referring to the schools serving 191 boys and 178 girls as separate entities named for the founder and his wife, respectively. To honor that tradition, I will refer to the Darling School for Boys and the Hammond School for Girls. The third institution under the administrative aegis of the Darling-Hammond Schools is an educational museum displaying paleontological findings of student research expeditions alongside professional exhibits. Named for the influential teacher responsible for creating the inspiring educational experience of genuine field research by high school students, the Museum

continues to challenge modern students of the schools and daily visitors from area public and private schools to be “unbounded thinkers.”

As the traffic and smog of the freeways of Los Angeles give way to the motels and palm trees of Route 66, one can almost smell the lemon groves that once populated this prosperous college town. The rural values and wholesome climate that attracted the founder to plant his boarding school for boys in this location in 1922 have long since evolved into the context of modern southern California. The original school has evolved to include girls and a limited number of day students, but the modern coordinate structure of three institutions has managed to sustain the essential values of the founding school within the pale of its relatively self-contained boarding community. It would be easy to miss the understated sign announcing the shady driveway climbing the hillside to the gatehouse of the Darling-Hammond Schools’ 70-acre campus of more than 50 buildings.

According to one Honor Council advisor, the gate was installed in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001 in order to add an increased sense of security for school community members and their parents. Admissions policies reflect intentional decisions designed to protect essential features of the school. Although the Director of Admissions allowed that he could fill the schools with day students, the school community limits day students to no more than 10% of the student population. To protect the essential boarding character of the school community, Darling-Hammond requires students to board, if they live farther away than certain designated towns located very near the school. Eighty percent of faculty members live on campus. Tuition for boarding and day students is \$49,775 and \$35,395, respectively, including meals, books, fees,

basic health services, and most activities. Financial aid is allocated based on need and available resources.

The security attendant manning the gate the evening of my first visit expected me for Sunday evening chapel services and hopped into his golf cart to lead me up the hill, past the founder's former home, the paleontology museum, the old library, classroom space, and student dorms to the schools' singular Chapel. Inspired by a trip with his wife to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, the school's founder fired the adobe bricks and built the walls of the Chapel himself. Citing the founder's son, the present Head of Schools told me that although the founder was a Christian himself, he had not wanted to create a specifically Christian church, but a space that would welcome and bless a diverse congregation. The school today serves students and faculty of many nationalities and faiths, including community members in recent years from Australia, China, Egypt, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Denmark, Slovakia, South Korea, Taiwan, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam. In respect to the diverse backgrounds of community members, including a student population made up of up to 25% international students, the history and context of hymns are explained and the selection of readings and speakers include secular and sacred texts from non-Christian sources. To facilitate forging a community from so diverse a population, applicants must demonstrate proficiency in English to be admitted. Consistent with the school's competitive admissions, admitting only 1 applicant in 4, the school does not provide special programs for English Language Learners or students with learning differences. The counselor in the

boys' school did cite expertise in working with special needs students with Asperger's Syndrome.

Also consistent with the school's competitive admissions position, the Darling-Hammond Schools project a "superior" academic program in their *College Guidance Profile 2009-2010*. Scholastic Aptitude test means in 2009 were 630, 690, and 610 for critical reading, mathematics, and writing, respectively, at the Darling School for Boys. Corresponding scores at the Hammond School for Girls were 630, 660, and 610. National means for these scores were 501, 516, and 492, respectively in 2010 (Public Agenda, 2011). A faculty of 56, 75% with advanced degrees, serves this elite pool of 369 students, for a student/teacher ratio of 7:1. Over the past 3 years, the Darling-Hammond Schools administered over 1100 Advanced Placement exams to over 500 students, with 80% earning a score of 3 or better. Of 460 graduates of the Darling-Hammond Schools over the past five years, 43 were National Merit Finalists, 66 were Semi-Finalists, and 147 earned Letters of Commendation. Taken together, these National Merit honorees compose 55% of the schools' most recent graduating classes. Essentially 100% of students at this school graduate and go on to a range of selective colleges nationwide. About 80% of the most recent class will attend colleges rated in the top 10% nationwide and 4 times as many Darling-Hammond applicants to Ivy League Schools and Stanford are admitted as the national average.

Analysis for Research Question 1 for this Case

This section examines the data through the lens of the first research question: What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures

operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? This section begins with analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews, artifacts, and field notes. In particular, teacher and administrator perceptions of both intentional social systems built into the operations of the school and norms and standards seen as emerging from system interactions are considered as they relate to trust, accountability, and sustainability in the Darling-Hammond Schools. Next, this section offers quantitative analysis of survey data evaluating relational trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools in three dimensions: Teacher-Principal Trust, Teacher-Teacher Trust, and Teacher-Student Trust.

By the end of the study I had formally interviewed 24 members (45%) of the Darling-Hammond Schools faculty and administration at length, including the Head of Schools, the Assistant Head of Schools (Principal), the Museum Director, the Director of Admissions, the Academic Dean, the Dean of Faculty, the Director of Activities and Leadership, a Director of Athletics, the Director of Technology, the Chapel Council advisor, and three Dormitory advisors. My interview sample also included the Deans of Students at both the Darling School and the Hammond School, and faculty advisors to the Honor Councils of both schools. Four of those interviewed had served at the Darling-Hammond Schools for fewer than four years, while 21 had served for four or more years. Five interviewees were members of the English department, including two administrators and an Honor Council Advisor. Three interviewees were members of the History department, including 2 administrators and a longtime faculty member who studied at the

school in the days of the founder's leadership. One interviewee was a member of both the English and History departments. Three interviewees were members of the Mathematics department, including an Honor Committee Advisor and two dormitory advisors. Three interviewees were members of the Foreign Languages Department, including an Honor Council advisor and a dormitory advisor. Three interviewees were members of the Science Department, including two administrators and an Honor Committee advisor. Finally, two interviewees were members of the Fine Arts Department and five were unaffiliated administrators. (See Table 28.)

Table 28

Interview Participants from The Darling-Hammond Schools

Individual	Primary Role	Additional Role(s)	Years Service
Head of Schools		Chapel Council Advisor	≥4
A2	Assistant Head of Schools/ Principal	Parent, former History teacher	≥4
MD	Museum Director	Honor Committee Advisor, Science teacher	≥4
A3	Director of Admissions		≥4
AD	Academic Dean	English teacher	≥4
A5	Boys' Dean of Students	English/History teacher	≥4
A6	Girls' Dean of Students		<4
TS1	Director of Activities and Leadership	Science teacher	≥4
DT	Director of Technology		≥4
TE1	Dean of Faculty	English teacher	≥4
TE2	English teacher	Honor Cabinet Advisor	≥4
TE3	Director of Athletics	English teacher	≥4
TE4	English teacher		<4
TFA1	Fine Arts teacher		<4
TFA2	Fine Arts teacher	Parent of alumni, former Honor Committee advisor	≥4
TFL1	Foreign Languages teacher,	Dormitory advisor	≥4
TFL2	Foreign Languages teacher		≥4
TFL3	Foreign Languages teacher	Honor Cabinet Advisor	≥4
TH1	History teacher	Dormitory advisor, Alumnus	≥4
TH2	History teacher		<4
TM1	Math teacher	Honor Committee Advisor, Dormitory advisor	≥4
TM2	Math teacher	Dormitory advisor	≥4
TM3	Math teacher		<4
TS2	Science teacher	Department Chair	≥4

Additionally, I received 36 RT/OC surveys and 34 sociogram questionnaires. Through formal interviews, surveys, and sociograms, I collected data from a total of 44 members of faculty and administration (79%). I was also provided with every artifact I requested (see Table 29).

Table 29

Artifacts Examined at the Darling-Hammond Schools and Sources

Artifact	Source
Alumni magazines	Admissions Office
<i>Chapel Services and Hymnal</i>	Administration
<i>Recollections...from Stories, Letters and Interviews</i> . The writings and oral history of the founder of the school published by his son and grandson.	The grandson of the founder of the school
College Guidance Profile 2009-2010	Admissions Office
Faculty Supervision Manuals for Darling School and Hammond School	Administration
History of the School	Admissions Office
<i>Strategic Plan 2007-2012</i>	Academic Dean
<i>Student Handbook</i>	Deans of Students
Student newspaper (current issue)	Admissions Office

As in all cases, the following themes were explored: cultural structures; relational structures; and sustainability and change.

Theme: Cultural Structures

This subsection identifies significant components of the culture of the Darling-Hammond Schools and explores their interrelated effects on relational trust and mutual accountability to community norms and standards. The response of the Head of Schools when asked why she came to this school in the 1980s proved to be a significant framework for organizing this section: “I wanted to live a life of principles and purpose.” On a personal level, an inner desire for a life of virtuous action motivated the Head of Schools and she believed she could live that life through this school community. When I asked two significant leaders, A3 and TE2, for the mission statement of the school, twice I was told that the mission statement does not live in the printed words or “glossy publications” (TE2) of a school, but as it is expressed in daily life. On the level of the institution, as on the personal level, the desired end was not elevated language but virtuous action. Although I finally found a formal mission statement, the following statement of purpose and vision taken from the *Strategic Plan, 2007-2012* captures the essence of my findings: “The mission of the [Darling-Hammond] Schools is to develop leaders, men and women of character who demonstrate through their actions virtues of enduring worth” (p. 1). Personal and community virtues identified as defining the culture of the school are “honesty, responsibility, respect, fairness and compassion” (p. 1). The statement of purpose and vision envisions inspiring and nurturing individuals who will “think creatively and boldly, act with honor and distinction, lead with the courage to do what is right, and serve with a generous spirit” (p. 1). The threads of unbounded thinking, virtuous honor, courageous leadership, and generous service compose the cultural fabric

of this school, running through its history, systems of accountability, norms and expectations, and formal structures.

History. As the school of the present continues its ongoing consideration of its future, it does so from the vantage point of a history of “unbounded thinking.” I first encountered this phrase in the halls of the Museum on a poster, advertising the school’s Unbounded Thinking Symposium, which has since evolved into Unbounded Days. When I asked the current Museum Director about the poster, he cited an influential biology teacher from the 1930s as the source of the school’s historic charge for unbounded thinking. The teacher’s fossil-hunting trips with students ultimately led to the foundation of the Museum. It is significant that when a philanthropic alumnus endowed the school with a sizable donation to establish the Museum, he chose to name the Museum for his influential teacher, rather than using his own family name. Today, the Museum plays an integral role in the school’s curriculum, hosts visits from local students of all ages, and is emerging as an international leader in paleontology research. Although project-based and experiential learning are earning currency today, they have been a fact on the ground for generations at a school featuring both a Museum of Paleontology and a functioning Observatory. A member of the class of 2011 spoke for generations of alumni in the Spring 2010 issue of the Alumni Magazine: “At the [Museum], we get real-world experience working with other scientists. We become their research peers” (p. 15). In addition to honoring the tradition of unbounded thinking through frequent reference in discourse and thematic seminars, the modern schools translate the idea into practice as part of a strategic mission to establish and sustain the schools’ academic distinction.

The school's history of "honor and distinction" (*Strategic Plan 2007-2012*, p. 1) similarly informs its present culture. The words of the founder of this school still begin the first section of the *Student Handbook*: "Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community" (p. 7). The introduction continues: "Honor is the cornerstone of the ... community and is based on the belief that each individual must be self-governing, according to standards of honesty, integrity, respect, and fairness." The honor system at this school was transplanted to southern California from the William Small School, the founder's father's school in rural central Tennessee. Both schools value the freedom of living within a community of honor, but neither defines freedom as license. "Your word is your bond," a phrase of honorable obligation, has been passed on from generation to generation in this family of school leaders and still has currency at the Darling-Hammond Schools of today.

According to the current Head of Schools, the founder built the schools' beautiful Chapel as "the proper place for teaching the virtues that represent the finest character: honesty, responsibility, trustworthiness, the strength to do one's duty, and courage to uphold the right and fight for it" (*Alumni Magazine*, Spring 2009, p. 2). The message greets community members as they enter the Chapel space, where they find carved in oak the words of a Latin hymn also found at Mont St. Michel in France: "Ad amorem supernorum, Trahe desiderium!" which translates as "To the love of heavenly treasures, lift our hearts' desire!" Citing a 1972 interview, the current Head of Schools quoted the founder on the purpose of chapel in the Spring 2009 *Alumni Magazine*:

The chapel service is a place to rehearse the virtues we want to obtain. We get everybody together for 15 or 20 minutes, and we talk about those virtues and we tell about heroes.... That is how we teach boys to become honest and good men, and then they do some schoolwork so that they will be smart enough. (p. 2)

On the left-hand side of the aisle, where the boys sit in combined chapel services, a plaque of exotic wood honors the lives of alumni lost in World War II and the Viet Nam Conflict. The pulpit was the gift of the Catalina Boys' School. Because Catalina Island was considered vulnerable to Japanese attack, the founder took their boys in during World War II, and the pulpit is a gesture of their gratitude. I observed two coeducational Sunday evening chapel services and one single sex chapel service for each school. The formal, reverent tone of Sunday evening services was different from the friendly roasting of the speaker in the boys' chapel and the gentle humor of the girls' chapel, but all still maintained the founder's general formula of talking about virtues and telling about heroes.

Courageous leadership in faithfulness to predetermined standards of excellence is a tradition carried from the founder's father's school, The William Small School. In its early days, the Darling-Hammond School's grasp on viability was tenuous. One story came to me from a collection of writings of the founder, presented to me by the founder's grandson. After months of working to enroll students, the founder expected only 7 boys for the school's first opening day. Worse, all of the 7 hoped to work for their tuition and board and the founder was personally liable for \$60,000 in debt on the venture. On opening day, 7 additional boys arrived with \$1000 each, which saw the school through

October, at which time further loans became necessary. Between financial worries and the challenge of trying to gain control over certain unruly boys, the stress was overwhelming, at times. The founder wrote in a letter to his father dated September 30, 1922 that he had “been in about as deep blues as any man ever staggered under.” The founder’s father was influential in boarding school circles, and the father’s reputation and financial backing helped to encourage the son and to keep the new school afloat. The next school year began with 28 students and 2 new teachers on staff. Unfortunately, the founder learned that the teachers were inadequate and that 12 of the boys were beyond correction. Fearing that he was destroying his school, the founder sent the 12 boys home with full refunds and fired the teachers. In “Shoestringing,” a frequently retold account of those early years, the founder reported that when people heard what he had done, they brought their sons to his school, explaining “We’ve been looking for a school that had standards of behavior and the courage to live up to them.” From the first school year, the school used College Board Examinations as their academic standards. They would not give a grade of B or better unless they were convinced the scholar would earn an Ivy-League admissible score on the College Board Examination. Although the founder knew that high standards were unpopular with some students, he credited high standards with earning the school a strong national reputation.

In more recent memory, when the current Head of Schools was elevated from head of the school for girls to Head of Schools in 1991, it was with a charge to restore order. She is quoted in a history of the school as saying, “I was charged with getting us back to our mission of being a really rigorous college-preparatory, residential school,

looking for students on whom we could build” (Stephens, 1997, p. 113). It ultimately proved necessary to counsel some 25-30 students out of the school, because they proved to be a mismatch for the school she was charged to form. “That was tough,” she allowed. “It was very tough” (p. 114). The Head of Schools also presented her faculty, who were over time orienting themselves into more of a day school mindset, with a choice: “Do you really want to be at a residential school where we believe it’s just as important that you fill your adviser role and your residential role and your coaching role as you do your classroom role?” (p. 113). After ten years of laissez-faire leadership, some faculty members resisted the more centrally controlled leadership structure and “a number of painful changes in faculty took place” (p. 113). Longtime faculty member TH1, who credited the Head of Schools with “re-founding” the school, colorfully honored her courageous willingness to defend standards of excellence bounding the school community: “She will exercise a certain ruthlessness in right conduct.” The effect of her efforts to assemble a faculty and student body of fully committed leaders was evident one night, when I went to a dorm to interview TM1, a math teacher on dorm duty. He was helping a prospective student, the son of a grounds crew worker at the schools, to prepare for the entrance exam. Gentle and respectful, TM1 was writing problem after problem, probing the boy’s understanding. The teacher reminded me of an optometrist, patiently triangulating on the right correction by trying one lens after another, repeatedly asking, “Better or worse?” It was 9:00 at night.

The school’s older library, a gift to the school from the parents of a young alumnus who had died early in his college career, can be viewed as a monument to

generations of courageous leaders trained at this school. Designed by the famed architect Myron Hunt, the library is furnished with a large mission style table and chairs, providing the setting for Board meetings and other gatherings. A Millard Sheets painting of a desert landscape hangs in the left balcony overlooking the space. Sheets' son attended the school in about the 1960 era. The walls are adorned with wooden plaques created in the school's woodshop under the direction of the founder's wife. Each senior created a motif descriptive of his character or time at the school. One boy carved a telephone, representing the time he spent conversing with his sweetheart. Others depicted hobbies, favorite books, or scenes from campus. A future Admiral carved the U.S. Navy symbol on his plaque. The plaques bore the names of many influential and wealthy California families, whose sons were prepared for lives of principled leadership at the school. Administrator A3, leading me on my tour of the library, described the plaques as markers of missed opportunities for fundraising. Operating the school as a proprietary school, the founder had not engaged in much fundraising, a shortcoming addressed by his successors. Honoring the leadership of influential teachers, however, many of the early buildings were named for teachers, rather than the many generous donors who have since developed the school community's material and human resources.

Accountability. Beyond the confines of chapel services and the example of courageous leaders, the school community has developed a program of character education that relies heavily upon the leadership of students. In the school's 1929 catalog, the founder laid the groundwork for what is seen today: "For his best development...the boy should be trusted and placed in positions of responsibility" (quoted in Alumni

Magazine, Spring 2009, p. 4). Every adult leader I interviewed mentioned the importance of the schools' intentionally multi-faceted student leadership structures in the character development of the youthful stewards of the schools' honor system, chapel program, and dorm expectations. With adult guidance, student members of the girls' Honor Cabinet and the boys' Honor Committee plan and implement a program for moving new community members from the tentative engagement of new members to the deep commitment at the inner core of this trust-based community. Honor Cabinet advisor TE2 said, "Character education has become more important than the disciplinary aspect of the honor code.... We've implemented a model...that works at prevention of problems more than discipline" (Alumni Magazine, Spring 2009, p. 7).

Teacher and former Honor Committee advisory TFA2 described the process by which the school examines even its accountability structure: "It's something we've wrestled with every year." He described the ideal the school is pursuing as a "code of behavior manifest in one's character," as opposed to a system of rules. One meeting of the girls' school's Honor Council I observed was dedicated to debriefing the effectiveness of a recently held Honor Symposium featuring student-led workshops and scenarios. The girls' feedback was honest and focused on areas of strength and those needing refinement.

The honor system at this school celebrates virtues and educates characters, but it also responds to threats to community safety in the form of community members taking advantage of the trust of others. Faculty member/alumnus TH1 recalled the words of the founder as he informed the community of the dismissal of a student: "We all loved that

boy, but he had to go.” The boys’ school song, sung lustily to a march tempo at the boys’ chapel service, honored both the freedom and the sternness of a school community bound by honor: “...Where men wrought fearless of thought/ Freedom for hearts made free. O Alma Mater sternly fair, Mother of Spartan mould, In Freedom’s name we shall cherish they fame, Honor the Blue and Gold!” (*Chapel Services and Hymnal*, p. 60).

Having established honor as the basis of trust and trust as the basis of community, the Student Handbook goes on to assert that the “community is built upon the principle of mutual support for honorable behavior” (p. 7). The Student Handbook then defines “boundaries of responsibility for honorable behavior,” which begin with acting honorably and extend to responsibility for the actions of others in one’s presence. “Students are not expected to exceed their capabilities, but are expected to take reasonable action to ensure the safety of self and others” (p. 7). Students are advised to state that dishonorable action is wrong or unsafe and to try to stop it. Students are expected to report the behavior to someone with the authority and ability to help and instructed to “leave the scene and to encourage others to do the same if other efforts have failed” (p. 7).

When I observed the weekly meeting of the boys’ Honor Committee, the boys’ discussion followed up on a recent case resulting in the separation of one boy from the community and the suspension of another. Unlike the days of the founder, confidentiality prevents committeemen from discussing the case with other students, but the Committee was concerned about community impact of the separation. Committeemen reported that the conversations they were overhearing led them to believe that friends were hurt, but that they were coming to understand the extent to which people had gone to help the

student before the final separation had occurred. When I observed the girls' Honor Council, the girls were following up on a recent case not resulting in separation. Their conversation ran toward establishing a precedent worth repeating in how the Council follows up after future cases. One girl expressed the general sentiment: "I don't think the point is just to establish the rules, but to see how they are doing...to be more human/approachable." Stressing the educational component of their role, the girls did not want to have a follow-up "meeting" with offenders so much as a conversation, perhaps in a friendly setting, such as a coffee shop. Both groups, in their distinct ways, reflected on how best to support honorable behavior within the community.

Norms and expectations. Unbounded thinking and academic distinction continue to be important norms and expectations of this school community. One initiative to establish the schools' academic distinction emerged from the Head of Schools' reading of Tony Wagner's *Global Achievement Gap: Why Even Our Best Schools Don't Teach the New Survival Skills Our Children Need—And What We Can Do About It* (2008). In 2009, the schools' summer reading for students, parents, administrators, and teachers included this book, which was cited in informal conversations with 2 faculty members and with the Head of Schools. The fall of that year, three vanloads of faculty members traveled to San Diego to visit High Tech High, a network of public charter schools cited in the book. Reaching across the seldom-breached boundary between public and private education, faculty members returned inspired to expand the roles of project-based learning, interdisciplinary instruction, and collaboration in their curriculum. Although some independent schools affect an aloof stance towards their public school counterparts, there

is evidence that this school is responding to a shifting environment that includes significant innovation in public education. The Head of Schools' willingness to transcend traditional boundaries to distinguish her school is reminiscent of the founder's 1941 initiative to organize independent schools of distinction, forwarding the objective of *Standards without Standardization*. The Spring, 2010 Alumni Magazine showcased the school's outreach to a public school innovation to inform its own evolution. The current Head of Schools expanded on the idea of reaching across artificial boundaries to attain genuine individual and community excellence:

These are students who will someday be working in virtual networks, across boundaries and functions...Right now they are learning to ask questions and to work with others trustfully. They are learning to have an agile mind. These are skills that will continue to be necessary in the 21st century. (Alumni Magazine, Spring 2010, p. 9)

Like any independent school operating in both the metaphorical free market of ideas and the literal market of private education, the Darling-Hammond Schools aim to distinguish themselves. Prospective families visiting the school website or receiving the schools' admissions packet might notice the brand published alongside the name of the school: "Way beyond the standard." Current stakeholders, from members of the Board to the youngest students, might notice the same phrase on the schools' published Strategic Plan. Although no individual interviewed mentioned the "Standards without Standardization" of the founder's 1941 initiative for independent school reform or the more current application of the phrase to public school reform, the stewards of the

modern school seem to have married the idea with their construct of unbounded thinking to challenge individuals and the school to vault “Way beyond the standard.”

The school’s norm of academic distinction falls within its expectation of courageous leadership. When I visited this school, several interviewees (Head of Schools, A2, MD, A3, A5, DT, TE2, TFA2, TFL3, TH1, and TM2) referenced the importance of developing honorable leaders of society with the courage to uphold the highest standards and to admit mistakes, even when doing so is difficult. The school’s honor system requires courage of community members, but leadership development is also central to the mission of the school. Returning to the Chapel, two banners are found in the front. To the left, on the boys’ side, is the founder’s family crest and motto: “*Principes non Homines*,” or “Leaders not Men.” To the right, is a banner created for the girls’ school with the motto, “*Sapientia, Amicitia, atque Honor*,” or “Wisdom, Friendship, and Honor.”

The day I visited the girls’ school chapel service, a teacher known for always carrying a camera in support of her duties advising yearbook, was the speaker. The teacher’s students introduced her with a bit of humorous advice for those who might encounter her around campus: “Pose!” Following the founder’s formula of virtues and heroes for chapel services, the speaker’s topic was *Real Life Allegories*. Folded in among humorous anecdotes on engineers, parachute packers, and clowns, one story illustrated her point about the importance of being faithful, even in small things. According to the speaker, when the band Van Halen traveled, they required a bowl of M&Ms in their dressing room with the brown candies removed. The speaker explained that the band traveled with a multi-million dollar stage weighing as much as a 747. If each

specification was not met precisely, the stage could not withstand the concert, potentially resulting in injury or great damage and expense, as had happened in one concert. The brown M&Ms were a subtle test to see whether the ground team had been attentive to each detail. The speaker urged the girls not to go through life looking for the brown M&M test, but seeing that they performed each task with complete integrity, in effect enacting the school's leadership motto: "Way beyond the standard." In closing, the speaker gave an account of a moment of personal testing, when she had been "astounded at the lies her mind conceived" to avoid accepting responsibility for a broken tape player. Allowing that she only passed the test because of a predetermined decision to do the right thing, the speaker advised her audience, "When you admit that you made a mistake, you acknowledge that you are smarter than you used to be." The service ended with the singing of the girls' school's song, *Daughters Strong*.

In my first visit to Sunday evening chapel and the school's weekly family style dinner gathering, I observed evidence of the school's norm and expectation for generous service. As I arrived for chapel, a student member of the Chapel Council confidently introduced himself to me with a firm handshake. Students were preparing the space for the arrival of their peers, setting out service books. The Head of Schools was helping students to locate the resources they would need. She stopped briefly for introductions and then resumed her duties preparing the students as they prepared a fitting chapel service for the schools. Upon entering the structure, I met the guest speaker and her faculty contact, a physics teacher. I could hear the students practicing their introductions and the Head of Schools' instruction to speak slowly. As students arrived, the boys sat on

the left and the girls on the right, facilitating the student dorm prefects' task of taking attendance. By modeling, by direct instruction, and by entrusting students and faculty with genuine responsibility, the Head of Schools established a pattern of servant leadership replicated throughout the school community.

The organist began with Bach's Toccata in D minor, a Halloween tradition evoking chuckles from the congregation. After the prelude, a student connected the song and the holiday, identifying its title and composer. The first hymn, *God Teach Us Peacemaking, Justice and Love*, was introduced by a student with context provided, including a brief description of the work of the lyricist and exegesis of the salient features of the lyrics. The student noted the ecumenical nature of the lyricist's work and her repeated allusions to the Hebrew *shalom*. Another student introduced and read a brief passage from Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, featuring Washington's recommendation for "pure, unselfish, useful living" (1907, p. 293). Describing her as "that person we all want to be", a student introduced the speaker, a Civil Rights attorney speaking about the Prison Library Project she advises. By way of text, another student read statistics regarding incarceration rates in the United States and yet another student read Debra Spencer's *At the Arraignment* (2004). One salient phrase from that poem was in the words of Jesus in reference to his death to save the human race of lawbreakers: "A desperate extravagance, even for me./ If you can't be merciful, at least be bold" (32-33). Chapel programming offered evidence of the purposeful planning that goes into consideration of both content and audience. The theme of generous or even extravagant service was developed through every element of the program, while a respect for the

diverse backgrounds of community members was also evident in the attention to unfolding context and balance in points of view represented. The same attention to engaging human beings with the school's principles and purpose was evident in programs of academic study, character education, and service learning.

Describing her Prison Library Project (PLP), the speaker noted that some prisoners are different from the students in her audience, but that many are surprisingly similar. A student might be in the presence of a friend selling drugs, be charged as an accessory, and become subject to time in prison owing to mandatory sentencing regulations. Relating to the audience's college selection experiences, the speaker described a daughter of a prisoner seeking help without the aid of her parent. The speaker expressed her gratitude to a group of sophomore girls, who had helped PLP that August. The students had worked their way through a backlog of four months of prisoner letters, bringing the program current for the first time and earning the girls a spot in the speaker's "personal hall of fame." Later, over dinner conversation, I learned that the service-learning program at the school is not organized as part of a graduation requirement or other extrinsic reward, but for the sake of those served.

After chapel services, I had the opportunity to enjoy dinner with the speaker and the Head of Schools. As we entered the hall, we meandered between rows of wooden tables and chairs and students waiting patiently for the word to be seated. The Head of Schools asked for two volunteers at her table to relocate to another table, making room for us visitors. When these boys were settled, she rang a small bell into a microphone and led a brief responsive prayer:

Leader: “We thank you, Creator God, for your many blessings.”

Response: “Help us to do your will on earth. Amen.”

All were seated and the meal was served family style. One student was the waiter. His task was to go to the kitchen and bring back trays of food, setting them before the Head of Schools to serve. The practice was repeated at every table, with a different teacher or senior acting as server. Milk and water were already on the tables and students were offered seconds of everything. Although most meals at the school are served in traditional cafeteria style, these periodic family style events reinforce the importance of expressions of gratitude and generous service within this school community.

Leadership, community, and service interact in this school’s construct. A servant-leader does not begin by projecting aims, but by assessing community needs. The school has enacted various policies and practices beyond common meals to develop that sensitivity to surroundings needed to develop community-oriented leadership. I uncovered a unique take on technology at this school. In describing the many miles of cables networking the school and connecting community members to the outside world, the network manager was also careful to describe corresponding boundaries established by the school. The use of social networking is carefully constrained to pre-determined hours designed to protect academic study time and to foster face-to-face interaction. The Director shared that new students to this boarding school often suffered symptoms of withdrawal from their social networks, more painful even than the homesickness one expects of a new boarding student. Another feature of youth culture notable by its absence was the “ear bud.” I learned that it was considered culturally inappropriate to

isolate oneself in an electronic cocoon when walking between classes. In fact, if someone's response to a passing greeting seemed "off," community members typically reached out to see if something is wrong, according to TS1. Sensitivity to needs is a prerequisite for generous service and community-oriented leadership.

Formal structure. Informal norms and standards for honorable virtue and intentional programs of character education are built upon a formal axiomatic structure for honor, developed by students in the early days of the current Head of Schools' tenure. She had come to lead the girls' school where she hoped to live a life of "principles and purpose" at a time when the school was struggling with its identity. The opening of the girls' school had challenged long traditions of "Pappy's boys" and the relativistic context of southern California in the 1980s challenged the virtue-based honor system of the school. Advised by the man who would become Assistant Head of Schools, the Honor Committee undertook a 1993 study of what had gone wrong. Their report began with the following axioms:

- (1) Right and wrong are objective and can be known;
- (2) Membership in the community implies sincere intent to behave rightly;
- (3) The honor code assumes a responsibility of the individual to assure adherence;
- (4) The honor committee is the student agency charged with assuring the healthy effect of the honor code;
- (5) The key principles of the school's honor code emerge out of the school's major rules and other regulations. (Stephens, 1997, p. 43)

From this internal examination, the reflective practice observed today was born. The modern handbook offers evidence of ongoing reflection:

Members of [the school] community: Understand that right and wrong are objective and can be known; act with good intent, common sense, and attention to the safety of self and others; tell the truth, representing themselves honestly in word and deed to each other; respect each other's person and property; accept responsibility not only for their actions, but also for what other members of the community do in their presence. (p. 7)

In the same way as the formal structure of the honor system offered evidence of student and teacher leadership, the formal structure provided by the daily schedule offered additional evidence of grass-roots influence. Asserting that the school “asks for higher standards, greater expectations, and deeper engagement not only in the world of ideas but also in the life of the community” (Alumni Magazine, Spring 2010, p. 4), the report described the unbounded thinking and planning used to retool the school's curriculum and instruction. A committee of teachers, administrators, and students representing each grade level from both schools evaluated and changed the daily schedule to allow for longer blocks of time for more sustained exploration, greater flexibility, and a less frenetic pace. The director of academic resources (AD) established a challenging standard for the work of the schedule committee: “We wanted to do something that would change teaching and learning—to force a new pedagogy” (p. 4). In interviews with school leaders and teachers, the form of the “new pedagogy” the school aimed to impose became evident: The open-ended problem-based learning observed in the site visit High Tech High, which reconnected the modern schools with their historic standard of “unbounded learning.” In the year after implementation, the group continued to meet to

evaluate impact, which was characterized by the Head of Schools as giving “the pace of the day a more manageable, human quality” (p. 7). According to interviewees (A3, A5, TFA2, TFL2, and TM2), the school community has taken good advantage of its relative freedom from external constraints to create a schedule to reinterpret and sustain the school’s tradition of unbounded thinking and genuine learning, contributing to the schools’ academic distinction.

The schools’ coordinate structure, offering features of single gender and coeducation, was described as “another area of academic distinction” in the Spring 2010 Alumni Magazine. Sustaining separate identities for schools for girls and boys within the same institutional framework is itself an act of unbounded thinking to solve problems associated with incorporating girls into the school’s historic single-sex structure. For eight years, the girls’ school has participated in the Independent Schools Gender Project (ISGP) by surveying adults and students of both genders over time and comparing the schools’ findings to those in national survey findings so that “the community could build on areas of strength and address those in need of improvement” (Alumni Magazine, p. 8). Members of the school community also participated in ISGP conferences, where the Hammond School gathered ideas incorporated into their *Dies Mulieres*, a celebration of choices and opportunities for girls. In keeping with the school’s unique coordinate structure, the Darling School also organized *Men in the Arena*, described by the Assistant Head of Schools in his blog as an exploration for boys of “what it means to be a man in today’s world.” Three interviewees cited the role of feedback from ISGP initiatives in assessing the impact of the schools’ coordinate structure and as informing decisions.

In modern day-to-day operations, the Head of Schools, administrators A2, A5, A6, and teachers TE1, TE2, TS1 and TFL3, along with a librarian, credited the school's coordinate structure with roughly doubling the number of leadership opportunities for students. There are honor councils, student government structures, and councils of dorm prefects for each school, as well as the coeducational Chapel Council, with single sex divisions. Student leaders are called upon to serve the community by planning, implementing, and evaluating their respective programs. They are also called to courageous leadership as advisors and juries of their peers, monitoring student body alignment with community virtues. To an unusual degree, student leaders are entrusted with the confidence of both peers and adult leaders.

Theme: Relational structures

In the days when English settlers in Ireland controlled the region around Dublin, a stake, or pale, marked the boundary of their territory. Within the pale, English citizens could operate with relative liberty, secure in the protection of familiar English laws and traditions. While the Darling-Hammond Schools exhibit elements of school as family, including evidence of the institutional DNA of the William Small School founded by the father of the Darling-Hammond Schools' founder, the social structure most like the Darling-Hammond school community is the professional association. Professional associations are bounded communities, controlling initiation of members into the profession, establishing and enforcing standards of professional practice, and elevating codes of professional ethics. Members in good standing of a profession, like members of

this school community, may practice with relative freedom and safety, so long as they remain within the pale of shared standards of best practice.

Characteristics. To guide professionals in defining professional standards, Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) ask, “Which workers in the profession best realize the calling and why?” The authors go on to explain: “A list of admired workers, along with their virtues, should reveal the standards embodied in the profession” (p. 11). In the same way, heroes are celebrated at the Darling-Hammond Schools to establish standards of aspiration for community members. The founder’s father, the founder and his wife, the Biology teacher who founded the Paleontology Museum, the Head of Schools and a civil rights attorney who advises a prison literacy program have already been identified as “admired workers” to define community standards of unbounded thinking, honor, courageous leadership, and generous service.

An excerpt from a chapel talk delivered by the Head of Schools provided additional evidence of how Darling-Hammond practices the formula of Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) for professional association by holding up heroes to establish standards for a community built on trustworthy individuals. The chapel talk celebrated the cancer-shortened life of a long-time faculty member, “a real ... hero we lost last week, and whom we could all be the better for emulating” (Alumni Magazine, Spring, 2009, p. 2). Although the faculty member “took the work of her students very seriously,” continued the Head of Schools, “like most heroes, she didn’t take herself too seriously” (p. 2) Describing the teacher’s “strength of character and moral courage”, the Head of Schools went on to characterize the teacher as a “staunch student advocate” who

had nonetheless stood firm when called upon to hold even her own son accountable to the school's standards of conduct. Describing contemporary culture as having "been duped into giving trash a standing ovation," the Head of Schools went on to challenge her audience to follow the exemplary teacher's noble example: "One of my hopes for you is that you not play a role in greeting the mediocre with applause, but rather that you ... will put your gifts to noble ends" (p. 3).

Establishing the standards offered by the teacher's heroic example of choosing right action over personal comfort, the Head of Schools concluded her talk by charging students to do as their founder, teachers, advisors, and coaches would have them do: "Think about, rehearse, pray for and practice honesty, responsibility, fairness, respect, and compassion. Be heroic. Be that person worthy of public honor for your courage, moral strength, and honorable behavior" (Alumni Magazine, Spring, 2009, p. 3). The Head of Schools promised failures of virtue, but she also celebrated the heroism of admitting failure, asking forgiveness, and starting again. The standards of virtue celebrated by the Head of Schools in the heroic life of the late teacher align with cultural characteristics identified at the Darling-Hammond Schools: unbounded thinking, virtuous honor, courageous leadership, and generous service.

Socialization. In interviews and conversations with members of faculty and administration at the Darling-Hammond Schools, TFA1, TM3, and TS2 described their experiences as community members in terms of retreating to the mountaintop from the surrounding milieu. The transition from life beyond the school to life within the safety of its gates begins with the schools' attracting potentially well-suited members of the school

community by projecting the schools' mission and virtues. Gardner, Czikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) charge those engaged in professional practice to clarify professional mission by engaging with the question "Why should society reward the kind of work that I do with status and certain privileges?" (p. 10). As they annually refresh the pool of students and faculty members making up the school community, the Darling-Hammond Schools must answer a similar question: "Why should prospective parents, students or faculty members reward the kind of work that we do with their investment in our program?"

A faculty meeting I observed captured the essence of this question. Newly returned from a recruiting trip to Asia, the Director of Admission provided reassuring feedback to the faculty: "We are *huge* in China." The Director of Admission then went on to provide guidance to teachers for an upcoming Open House. Describing the domestic admission scene as "flat" and a "buyers' market" for parents, the Director emphasized that parents want to know about the education the school provides. He commended the school's history of engaging students in self-directed scholarship, research apprenticeship, and project-based learning: "[Darling-Hammond] stands apart for moving forward and taking bold steps" (field notes from faculty meeting). Advising the faculty that parents want to know what is going on in the classroom and expressing his pride in innovative classroom practice at the school, the Director of Admissions emphatically urged teachers to, "present *that* in Open House...It is an opportunity for parents to see instances of value added for their tuition dollars" (field notes from faculty meeting). In the same vein, Alumni publications and the College Profile are replete with

examples of the competitive advantage the school gives its alumni in the college preparation and placement processes.

When prospective members of the school community visit the campus, their first stop is the Admissions Office, intentionally located in the home once occupied by the founder and his family. A cast of four juvenile footprints marks the entrance, one for each of the founder's sons as little boys. Opening the wooden screen door, the visitor enters the former family living room. A large fireplace of natural stone stands at the far end of the room, where the visitor can see a stone projection used as seat when the room was the scene of educational dialog between the founder and members of his faculty. Admissions literature is displayed on the coffee table and sideboard and family photographs decorate the walls. Moving down the hall to the left of the living room, a visitor passes a kitchen on the left, with its original painted wood cabinets. A small table and two chairs under a window overlooking the front of the house evoke images of the founder and his wife taking their morning coffee. Across the hall is the former dining room where I imagined many hungry boys had dined, starting with the founder's sons. Now a conference room, this room was the site of many of my interviews. Moving down the hall, a visitor passes through office space once serving as bedrooms for the founding family. The Director of Admission affirmed my observation that Darling-Hammond intentionally introduces visitors to the school by grounding them in its founding history.

Upon matriculation, new students are initiated into the school culture through a rich array of student programs, some expressing long practiced traditions like chapel and the signing ceremony for the Honor Pledge. There is evidence that even long-held

traditions, however, are continually reevaluated by and for new generations of community members.

The day I observed a meeting of the boys' Honor Committee, the boys and advisor DM engaged in a discussion of the meaning of the signing ceremony. Some questioned whether freshmen should be given the opportunity to sign the Honor Pledge. On the logic that freshmen needed some experience in the community before they could make informed decisions, recent freshmen had been required to wait until the second opportunity to sign. Honor committeemen were concerned about protecting boys from signing out of compulsion rather than genuine conviction. One committeeman even shared that he had not yet signed, only because he did not feel the need to sign in order to participate in the spirit of the honor pledge. In an interview, teacher and Honor Committee advisor TM1 said that the signing signified a belief in the honor code "as a lifestyle" and a commitment to carry its principles forward into life beyond the school. Although a vote was not held, a general consensus that the freshmen should not be excluded from the opportunity to participate in the signing ceremony seemed to emerge.

I also observed the girls' Honor Council working with their advisors, TE2 and TFL3, to develop and evaluate freshman orientation sessions. Beyond initiation, both the boys and the girls thoughtfully evaluated their procedures for helping honor offenders to learn from their mistakes and to be restored as reliable members of the school community. TM1 asserted that the role of the Honor Committee is "not just to find out the facts [surrounding violations] and to punish the student, but also to work with the student to help him to understand that this is a growth opportunity." In other words, the

socialization of members into a community reliant upon trustworthy individuals continues for as long as they participate in community life.

On the subject of attracting faculty members well-matched to the schools' purpose, I have already described the Head of Schools' characterization of her early leadership years as a difficult time of presenting faculty members with a choice between embracing their roles as members of a residential community and moving on to other employment. There is ample evidence that she has since assembled, initiated, developed, and retained a faculty that fulfills its role within the school's clearly defined mission. I observed numerous instances of members of faculty and administration working beyond the classroom to facilitate the development of self-directed student leadership as part of a peer mentoring strategy akin to apprenticeship and professional development.

The shared responsibility of living and working together to create a well-run boarding community is a natural mechanism for orienting new faculty members to community expectations, which are also articulated in separate Faculty Supervision Manuals for the boys and girls schools. Although the two Manuals are organized differently and present somewhat different tones, they espouse the same core policies and procedures for dorm supervision and advisory duties. Although there is an expectation that students will do the right thing, even when no one is watching, proactive measures prescribed for adults include being present throughout the community, engaging in direct conversation with students about appropriate behaviors, paying attention to changes in the behavior or appearance of students, appropriately socializing with students, and encouraging students to exercise leadership in their school. In these ways, adults in this

school community both monitor student behavior and continually develop students' capacities for self-regulation. Although adults are presumed to be professional, their residential supervisory performance is reviewed annually through both self-evaluation and feedback from the Deans of Students and the Director of Residence on how well teachers share in the responsibilities of acting *in loco parentis*.

TM1 described his own journey from the world beyond the gates to his place advising the Honor Committee, an institution at the heart of this school community. A friend who had worked at summer school at the Darling-Hammond Schools had approached TM1, because he knew of TM1's belief in the importance of education beyond the classroom. In an interview, TM1 said, "After school is really where all of the teaching occurs...It's life, it's great, it's not like work at all." He met his mentor, who claimed never to have worked a day in his life, the day TM1 first interviewed for a teaching position. Following a casual conversation in the mentor's backyard in which not one question about the classroom emerged, the mentor said, "Okay, great to meet you," and immediately telephoned the Head of Schools to recommend him for hire. TM1 attributed his mentor with recognizing in him an aptitude for life in this boarding community. Describing a relationship which grew into his own consideration of his mentor as a father figure, TM1 recalled spending a lot of time listening to older teachers: "You have two ears and one mouth, so open the ears and close the mouth." Referring to the broad experience and empowering leadership practices of the Head of Schools, TM1 said, "I respect everything she says. She keeps her finger on the pulse of the education

process, but...she has put a lot of good people in charge of the details so she doesn't have to worry about it."

Relational trust. Offering an example of how individuals need to be proud of the image they see when they look in the mirror in order to affirm their personal identity, Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon (2001) charge professionals engaged in good work with what they call a "universal mirror test: "What would it be like to live in a world if everyone were to behave in the way I have?" (p. 12). That is the essential question behind both professional codes of ethics and the Darling-Hammond Schools' honor code.

An interesting variation I observed in this school's construct of honor is its focus on honor as earned merit, as opposed to a focus evident in some honor systems on a pre-emptive presumption of honor. While interviewing alumnus/teacher TH1, I asked about the founder's dictum establishing honor as the predicate for community: "Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community." With the words, "honor is the reward earned by right conduct," TH1 redirected my focus from honor as the cause to honor as the effect.

The circle of cause and effect as it relates to character development and honor are also evident in the Head of School's chapel talk celebrating the heroism of the honorable teacher and charging students to be likewise worthy of honor. While trusting students with opportunities to choose right is one way the school develops students' personal identities as honorable members of the school community, the school does not leave the outcome open to subtle interpretation. Beginning with the Admissions Office, continuing

through programs of initiation and ongoing celebrations of virtue, and extending to comprehensive programs developing honorable leadership among community members, the school fully practices the transparency advocated by Axelrod (1984) for the emergence of a trust-based community of cooperators, as described in Chapter 2. Acting with the school administration, the Honor Council and Honor Committee ensure that the school community does not tolerate substandard behavior, enacting Axelrod's admonitions to punish defectors and restore cooperation as smoothly as possible. The school community offers members significant freedom within the bounds of the honor code enforced by a self-regulating community of students, faculty, and administration. Similarly, professional associations offer practitioners professional autonomy within the bounds of codes of ethics enforced by a self-regulating community of professionals,.

Archival documents, observations, and interview data suggest that the school has, in fact, established a social system of feedback loops in which the individual's identity as a self-regulating person of honor is both amplified by and sustains the relational network of the school as a self-regulating honor system: Honor merits trust, trust sustains community, and community nurtures trustworthy honor. More poetically, the school song celebrates "freedom for hearts made free" (*Chapel Services and Hymnal*).

In the early days, when the founder had to dismiss half of his student body and faculty, he wrote that he almost despaired of achieving this self-sustaining cycle of individual and community virtue and excellence. The founder's father, who was the storied founder of the William Small School, reassured his son in a letter: "You cannot have the discipline and habits of [William Small] School at the start. I started without any

trained boys to lead... It took one or two years before I dared to have a pledge based on [a boy's] word of honor as a gentleman." The father went on to describe how the leader establishes the feedback loop: "You will have to adapt yourself and your school to conditions of environment as shown in public sentiment... You can gradually elevate that sentiment in school and out... Make rules gradually... Stress character above everything—scholarship *too* above sports..." (*Recollections...from Stories, Letters and Interviews*, 1998).

When the founder had established his school's national reputation, he faced Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon's 2001 question of professional mission. Why, indeed, should society continue to reward institutions like his with independent status, if their alumni were poorly prepared to succeed upon matriculation to the UCLA? The school's early reliance upon the rigorous standards of the College Board actually ensured that its alumni were well prepared to excel in college, but the founder did not stop with defending the effectiveness of his own school. He went on to incorporate with other high-achieving independent schools to form the group that would become the California Association of Independent Schools and a prototype for the National Association of Independent Schools. Established on the virtues of "standards without standardization" (Mirell, 2001), these organizations are the institutional equivalents of professional associations for independent education.

Theme: Sustainability and Change

Gareth Morgan (1986) describes the challenge of understanding the living phenomenon of culture. Individuals and their cultures are continually engaged in dynamic

cycles of mutual causation. At the Darling-Hammond Schools, the founder's seemingly linear dictum connecting honor with trust and trust with community is actually cyclic. A community of honor bound relationships produces honorable heroes, who in turn construct the shared reality of a trust-based community of reliable relationships. On the one hand, once a system of constructive feedback loops establishes a sustainable equilibrium between the individual and school culture or the school and broader culture, even relatively sizable challenges to the status quo may result in only incremental shifts in the equilibrium. On the other hand, near boundaries between two equilibrium states, even minor perturbations in the status quo may result in a seismic swing from one equilibrium state to another. Although they operate relatively free of external supervision, leaders at the Darling-Hammond Schools have been challenged to develop the institutional systems sustaining school culture and to participate in constructive interactions with the dynamic world beyond their gates. This subsection describes how the leadership and institutions of the Darling-Hammond Schools sustain the school's essential elements through continental drift and seismic change.

Leadership. Leadership is always important in the life of a school. Given the Darling-Hammond Schools' charge to develop moral, courageous leaders, effective models of leadership in the Darling-Hammond Schools are especially important. My first meeting with the Head of Schools at Sunday evening chapel and dinner offered a glimpse of at least three leadership functions at this school. Before chapel, I observed the Head of Schools as moral standard-bearer for her school community, as she guided student members of the Chapel Council in their preparations for the service focusing on the

Prison Library Project. After chapel at the family-style dinner, I observed the Head of Schools in the role of physical provider for her school family and gracious hostess. After dinner, as the Head of Schools walked me back to my car, I observed her in the role of protector of her realm. There were wildfires on the surrounding hillsides and the Santa Ana winds were blowing, so the Head of Schools took a moment to take a report from firefighters regarding an encroaching fire. In the two decades of the tenure of the Head of Schools, the campus had been evacuated four times, once for an earthquake and three times for fires. Contingency planning for the leadership team at the Darling-Hammond Schools had included organizing the entire school to walk to a prearranged shelter. The last two fires had come quite close. At about 3:00 in the morning, the school had been told to expect the campus to be burned to the ground. The teacher who told me this story, TE2, said that many prayers went up that night and that the fires stopped just shy of the brand new \$1,000,000 track. The only structure lost that night was a hand-me-down hot tub behind a faculty member's house.

My talks with the Head of Schools illuminated the leadership roles observed that first evening: standard-bearer, provider, and protector. The courtship between the future Head of Schools and the Darling-Hammond Schools had been somewhat protracted. The future standard-bearer reported that she had been won over by a meeting with the girls' Honor Council, in which she had been impressed with the girls' ability to articulate difficult concepts in meaningful and wise ways, contributing to her sense that this school had a sense of mission. Not a sitting head and the product of Manhattan's public schools, the future Head of Schools' background was not a natural fit, but after five or six visits,

the deal was sealed. When asked where and how she had absorbed the standards she would bear, the Head of Schools reflected that her family was steeped in the importance of living a life of “principle and purpose.” She also cited a voracious appetite for reading and a love of great stories, which expressed itself in unrelenting research into the life and teachings of the founder and his wife. Aware that alumni wanted to sustain their founder’s school, the Head of Schools found resonance with his ideals and understood that those principles would provide the focus the school needed. Her own narrative style was also well suited to the founder’s model of offering heroic exemplars to teach the schools’ virtues.

The morning of my interview with the Head of Schools, I had a few moments to reflect on the values reflected in the substance of the administration building, once a dormitory. Solid plaster and masonry walls bearing inch-thick pickled pine paneling and fired clay tiles ground the floors and area rugs to the earth below, speak of enduring value, even in an earthquake zone. The rugged, exposed beams celebrate the system supporting the roof over our heads. The walls of the reception area are adorned with the honor pledges of the two schools and a humorous telegram from Will Rogers to the graduating class of 1934. The furniture looks like family heirlooms. The effect of years of use is a warm patina, as opposed to a fraying at the edges. Appropriately, the foundation of moral standards and the system supporting graceful maturation of both individuals and the school were the substance of my interview with the Head of Schools.

First, the Head of Schools described her own maturation from a neophyte leader to a “very experienced” leader over two decades at the same school. Within that context,

the Head of Schools described the maturation of her leadership team and the school community they serve: “Our culture has really matured and we have been very focused in these last 20-something years on a singular sense of principles and purpose and a lot of planning.” Next, the Head of Schools described the consistent message of honor thoughtfully expressed to students, “and [students] feed it back.... First, we all strive to live by the ideal of the honor system and keep working at it when we fail; and, second, honor distinguishes us as a school and it distinguishes us as people, and it will for all our lives.” The Head of Schools went on to describe the students’ maturation on the scale of “moral reasoning and internalization of the principles of the honor code.” As students mature from freshmen to seniors, they understand that they are not operating in a “police state.” Among alumni, honor, “is more or less coming from something internal that has become meaningful to them.” Honor Committee Advisor and teacher/administrator MD echoed the Head of Schools on the difference between an honor code and a system of rules: “The Honor Code is really a way to live. You can’t just write it down.”

In the domain of moral reasoning, the Head of Schools leads by example, applying the standards of moral excellence to all of her leadership decisions. She laughingly referred to the “Mike Wallace test.” The Head of Schools asserted that if someone were to stick a microphone in her face, “I want to be sure that I don’t stutter, that I have really thought this through and reasoned it out and have come to a decision that I would feel was in full keeping with the [standards] of the school.” Asked about the standards enacted at the school, the Head of Schools cited, “institutional determination and commitment to strive for excellence in all that we do.” She referenced standards of

behavior and “the standards of accountability to one another, to our schools’ mission and to our principles. It is just a daily part of how we live.” As standard-bearer, the Head of Schools identified five virtues, “qualities of mind and spirit that we are trying to instill and see reflected in behavior”: responsibility, respect, fairness, empathy, and trust.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the school had to identify its essential values and strengthen the institutions sustaining those values amid seismic shifts in the surrounding cultural environment. The Head of Schools responsible for that re-institution describes the essence of the school as the honor pledge based on the Athenian Code: “And I pledge to transmit this place not only not less but greater and more beautiful than it was transmitted to me” (*Strategic Plan 2007-2012*, cover). When asked how this school is similar to her ideal school, the Head of Schools identified the school’s strong sense of community, principled decision-making, and forward thinking planning with her ideal school. In identifying how the Darling-Hammond Schools are different from her ideal school, the Head of Schools spoke as provider, protector, and sustainer. She wished for an earlier start on developing the strong financial base of a robust endowment.

The Head’s desk faces the door of her office to greet visitors, who are treated to a lovely garden view of blooming white roses, yellow lilies, and a fountain planted in papyrus. The view from the window offers an excellent vantage point from which to observe the comings and goings of community members walking from class to chapel or lunch. A conversation area sits directly across from the Head’s desk. Speaking to the Head’s role as provider, tossed on the couch and propped against the near wall on that

day were plans associated with a 45 million dollar capital campaign, with about one third of that sum designated to restore endowment in the wake of investment losses.

Citing the founder's 1962 retirement speech, the Head of Schools has charged the modern school community to "fulfill the promise of [the school] and to fulfill our promise to [the school]" by building a school to last (*Strategic Plan, 2007-2012*, p. 1). In her interview, the Head of Schools framed the problem of resource development in terms of "financial viability." Strategies for institutional advancement include a "very aggressive" planned giving program for bequests, a major capital campaign, and extensive travel by the Head of Schools and chief development officers in order to "steward, cultivate, [and] educate" supporters. Leaders at the Darling-Hammond Schools provide for the school by reaching beyond the gates protecting the campus entrance.

Leaders at the Darling-Hammond Schools also consciously define the boundaries within which the school community operates. Having defined the school as a boarding community of a certain size, the Board and school leaders implemented admissions and hiring policies to support that decision. Having defined the school's academic mission as distinction in college preparation, the school community designs the curriculum and the daily schedule to achieve that end. Whether a school defines itself as boarding or day, as single-sex or coeducational, or as academically specialized or comprehensive, intentional self-definition is a first step in establishing bounding principles to guide planning and decision-making. When asked how school reformers might cultivate a self-regulating community achieving excellence, however, the Head of Schools identified certain non-negotiables: "You have to create trust. You have to have the right people—not everyone

is prepared to work well in the self-regulating community—and those people need to be in the right places and they need support and education.”

Identifying elements of her school community that might transfer into other contexts, the Head of Schools began by asserting that a leader’s responsibility and accountability should come with autonomy. For school reform to succeed, the Head of Schools identified certain leadership needs, beginning with a clear vision: “[Reformers] need clarity and understanding of purpose—not only where we’re going, but what are our purposes? Why is this important?” Next, the Head of Schools said that successful school reformers need benchmarks by which to measure progress. The Head of Schools also emphasized garnering the support of the stakeholders, “and that takes a lot of time and energy, largely by the...principal or superintendent.” Pointing to certain “shining examples” of leaders who have succeeded in dramatic school turnarounds, the Head of Schools returned to the premise from which she began. Leaders must be given, “some space in which to operate...and a little autonomy for bringing the right people in.” Citing a trend with universal import, the Head of Schools associated a decrease in the number of people entering the profession of education with a “very frightening supply problem.”

Institutions. In field notes, I identified a reflective aspiration toward integrity between principles and action both expressed in and sustained by the schools’ essential institutions. The founder faithfully stewarded the honor system ideals he carried from his father’s well-established school, carefully nurtured the flame of moral and academic excellence through the tenuous early days of the school, and defended standards of excellence in behavior and achievement without submitting to standardizing influences

encroaching on his autonomy as leader. The modern Head of Schools brought with her a family legacy including a moral imperative to live a life of principle and purpose. She arrived at a critical juncture in the schools' history, as the Darling-Hammond Schools teetered between sustaining their historic mission as an honor system, single sex boarding school and drifting towards an ethically ambiguous, coeducational day school. As Axelrod (1984) brought formal rigor to the strategic decision-making of iterated dilemmas and applied his logic structure to schools, the new Head of Schools and her leadership team made axiomatic the virtues of generations of the founder's family, embracing them as the principles on which they would rebuild the school and invigorate its institutions. The vital honor system is the living enactment of the schools' moral reasoning.

One institution by which the school transmits values, builds community, and develops leaders is its vibrant chapel program. Administrator A3 said of the Head of Schools, "She is very firm about chapel." He was recalling a time when the Head of Schools enacted her conviction about the essential nature of chapel by presenting certain recalcitrant faculty members with a choice between supporting the institution and termination. The administrator went on to describe the personal investment the Head of Schools makes in ensuring that chapel is led by students and faculty and that the program respectfully engages the diverse community with the virtues of the school.

Finally, the schools enact a multi-generational mandate for leadership development through a variety of institutions. Several interviewees credited the single sex coordinate structure with doubling leadership opportunities for students. Boarding life

offers additional opportunities for students to develop personal responsibility as a foundation for leadership. The schools charge advisors with encouraging student leadership and invest in a Director of Student Life, who supports students in planning myriad events from field trips to social events to symposia.

Quantitative Analysis of Relational Trust

To evaluate Relational Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools across the dimensions Teacher-Principal Trust, Teacher-Teacher Trust, and Teacher-Student Trust, the means and standard deviations of the corresponding items on the RT/OC survey were calculated, as were the overall means and standard deviation (see Tables 30, 31, and 32).

Table 30

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Principal Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools

Teacher-Principal Trust Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with the principal. ^a	3.08	0.73
The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers. ^a	3.37	0.84
The principal looks out for the personal welfare of the faculty members. ^a	3.27	0.72
I trust the principal at his or her word. ^a	3.41	0.73
I genuinely respect my principal as an educator. ^a	3.44	0.83
The principal at this school is an effective manager who makes the school run smoothly. ^a	3.38	0.74
The principal places the needs of students ahead of his or her personal and political interests. ^b	3.41	0.77
To what extent do you feel respected by your principal? ^b	3.61	0.68
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.37	0.15

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent.

Table 31

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Teacher Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools

Teacher-Teacher Trust Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
Teachers in this school trust each other. ^a	2.91	0.66
It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers. ^a	3.19	0.74
Teachers respect other teachers who take the lead in school improvement efforts. ^a	3.32	0.67
Teachers in this school respect those colleagues who are expert in their craft. ^a	3.47	0.61
To what extent do you feel respected by other teachers? ^b	3.53	0.63
Mean and Standard Deviations of Means	3.28	0.22

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent.

Table 32

Descriptive Statistics for Teacher-Student Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools

Teacher-Student Trust Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
To what extent do you trust students. ^a	3.60	0.60
To what extent do you feel respected by students? ^b	3.65	0.49
Mean and Standard Deviation of Means	3.63	0.03

^aFour-point scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

^bFour-point scale: not at all, a little, some, to a great extent.

Owing to small sample size, these data should not be used to generalize to other settings, but they help to triangulate qualitative data. With means of 3.37, 3.28, and 3.62 for Teacher-Principal, Teacher-Teacher, and Teacher-Student Trust, respectively, all

relational trust would be characterized as strong, as defined by Bryk & Schneider (2002). Teacher-Student Trust ($M=3.62$, $SD=0.55$) at the Darling-Hammond Schools scored significantly higher than Teacher-Teacher Trust ($M=3.28$, $SD=0.69$); $t(70)=7.31$, $p=0.0237$). There were no statistically significant differences in Teacher-Teacher and Teacher-Principal Trust or in Teacher-Student and Teacher-Principal Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools.

Descriptive statistics and t-tests were also performed on groups of teachers formed on the basis of whether they had been at the Darling-Hammond Schools for fewer than four years or for four years or more. Although longer serving teachers consistently averaged a bit higher on all Trust scores (see Table 33), none of these differences was statistically significant.

Table 33

Descriptive Statistics for Trust by Years of Service at the Darling-Hammond Schools

		Mean	Standard Deviation
Teacher-Principal Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.26	0.63
	4 or more years of service	3.41	0.66
Teacher-Teacher Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.15	0.64
	4 or more years of service	3.31	0.53
Teacher-Student Trust	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.43	0.59
	4 or more years of service	3.68	0.63

Discussion of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

With a mean score of 3.37, Teacher-Principal Trust is strong to very strong at the Darling-Hammond schools, as defined by Bryk and Schneider (2002). Highest scoring items related to respect. Teachers felt respected by their principal (M=3.61, SD=0.68) and genuinely respected their principal as an educator (M=3.44, SD=0.83). In keeping with Bryk and Schneider's definition of "very strong trust", teachers indicated that the principal looks out for their welfare (M=3.27, SD=0.72), but puts student needs first (M=3.41, SD=0.77).

Similarly, with a mean score of 3.28, Teacher-Teacher Trust is strong to very strong at the Darling-Hammond schools, as defined by Bryk and Schneider (2002). As with Teacher-Principal Trust, highest scoring items within Teacher-Teacher Trust related to respect. Teachers felt respected by other teachers (M=3.53, SD=0.63) and indicated that teachers respect expert colleagues (M=3.47, SD=0.61). Bryk and Schneider defined very strong Teacher-Teacher Trust in terms of an atmosphere of respect among colleagues and strong respect for expert teacher leaders. Relatively lower scores related to whether teachers viewed it "OK" to share feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers (M=3.19, SD=0.74) and whether teachers trust each other (M=2.91, SD=0.66). Even relative areas of relative weaknesses convey the general trust and confidence characteristic of "strong trust", as defined by Bryk and Schneider.

Responses to the RT/OC survey identified no significant differences in the strong to very strong Teacher-Principal and Teacher-Teacher Trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools. Similarities in relative strengths uncovered a generalized atmosphere of respect

within the Darling-Hammond Schools. Teacher TFA2 connected the respect evident among community members with the honor system and its influence on all aspects of a school, including classroom deportment: “I trust that I can leave the classroom open and that students will respect other people’s work...I really trust that they will respect the place and take care of it as their own.” In yet another example of a cycle of mutual causation, he went on to describe how respect for community and individual freedom foster and reinforce one another at the Darling-Hammond Schools: “”They have an awful lot of ownership and it is a place where students can be themselves.”

Summary of Findings of Research Question 1 for this Case

What are teacher and administrator perceptions at the Darling-Hammond Schools of structures operating to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? Over time, leaders at this school have implemented policies and practices defining the school as a boarding school of a particular size, fulfilling a commonly understood purpose, guided by clearly articulated principles. These structural features established by leaders forming and reforming the school approached the optimal population density and order for system effects, as reported by Cole (1991) in studies of seemingly chaotic ants interacting to create systemic order. The school’s exact population size does not set a standard for other schools to emulate, but is optimal within its particular context and mission. The school has been able to establish a sustainable population of students and faculty members well suited to the school’s college preparatory and leadership development purposes from the pool of available candidates.

That population is sufficiently large to allow for interaction, but not so large as to overwhelm individuals attempting to connect. Structures from the schedule, to class size, to the advisory program, to restrictions on the isolating effects of social media provide sufficient order to facilitate relationships, while allowing for sufficient freedom of individuals operating within the system.

Key administrators asserted that principled implementation of purposeful planning is itself a structural feature developing relational trust, assuring accountability to standards, and sustaining a culture based on these. Pursuant to principles projected by senior leadership, there is evidence of collegial planning within the faculty in the form of committee work on the daily schedule and a curriculum research trip to High Tech High. The preponderance of the evidence in this study suggested a broad pattern of leaders in asymmetric relationships sharing a vision, defining the boundaries, and then supporting “followers” in developing as leaders by entrusting them with bounded autonomy. One administrator described the Head of Schools herself as a respectful listener with her Board. Faculty members replicated the pattern of leadership bounded by ethical decision-making as they guided students in planning genuine honor initiations, meaningful chapel services, effective service projects, and even systems of mutual support in making wise and healthy decisions.

This combination of constraint and freedom connected the structure of principled planning with the macro-micro feedback loops of complex systems. We have seen how the school has established a cycle of honoring heroes to develop honorable individuals, forming the basis for trust and community. An unrelenting commitment to planning,

evaluation, and accountability within the Honor Council and the Honor Committee created the framework within which the school regulates itself to sustain standards of honorable distinction. Rather than finding the beginning of a linear chain of causation between the system of trust-based, honorable relationships and the trustworthy, honorable individuals in relationship, the honor system and the honorable individual engaged in a constructive cycle of mutual causation.

The Darling-Hammond Schools have not settled for simply claiming academic excellence, but have established structures holding themselves accountable to measurable standards. From the first, the school tied grading standards to performance on College Board exams. As a result, they earned the trust of the Ivy Leagues schools and Stanford University, as well as the state of California. Consequently, they have earned the trust of important stakeholders. Today, the schools' admissions wait lists and academic profile of high achievement suggest that Darling-Hammond's reputation attracts top scholars, who in turn sustain its reputation in the next iteration of graduating classes, enacting a feedback loop reinforcing academic excellence.

The intentionally redundant program of leadership development within the school's unique coordinate structure develops relational trust and mutual accountability within the Darling-Hammond Schools. Although interviews and observations with faculty members and administrators tended to focus upon the rich array of leadership opportunities for students, each student leadership structure is associated with a different faculty advisor exercising a leadership role. Each faculty member serves as an advisor to a single-sex group of students at a particular grade level and each grade level of both

schools has a lead advisor to coordinate communications between families and the school. Faculty members share dorm duty, and more senior faculty members may lead a residential team. Enacting the motto of the original boys' school, "Leaders not men," these leadership structures guide the development of faculty members towards increasingly reliable interpretation of the school's vision and purpose and contribute to developing the relational trust necessary for mutual accountability.

Although I found no evidence that the school's thoughtfully designed and faithfully implemented honor system borrowed intentionally from Axelrod's (1984) game theoretic analysis to support the evolution of cooperation, the honor system nonetheless puts into practice each of Axelrod's five suggestions. First, Axelrod's charge to "enlarge the shadow of the future" (p. 126) places each strategic decision within the broader context of future interaction and community effects. The Head of Schools' long history of leading by "principles and purpose" has led to recruiting and training a team of adults prepared to weigh long-term community effects in their strategic decisions. Described by TM1 as so passionate about their disciplines that "kids have no choice but to follow," the faculty nonetheless came together to create a schedule that returned to students the precious resource of time, in order to allow for "flexibility and breathing room" (TM1). Even students are expected to consider long-term community effects in their own decisions and to act to preserve community safety when peers make unconsidered decisions. Enacting Axelrod's (1984) advice to "change the payoffs" (p. 133), the school both raises the stakes for those considering selfish behaviors and celebrates the benefits of freedom within a trust-based community of cooperators. Multidimensional programs

designed and implemented by adults and students at the Darling-Hammond Schools enact Axelrod's dictates to "teach people to care about each other" (p. 134), "teach reciprocity" (p. 136), and "improve recognition abilities" (p. 139), making the advantages of cooperative strategies more evident. The effect seems to be an organically evolving system for expanding cooperation and community.

Beyond purely rational calculation, the honor code encompasses the moral reasoning of culturally enacted values, norms, and expectations. Honor Committee advisor TM1 described the Honor Code as "the way you'd want to see things happen in your neighborhood." Citing news accounts of individuals standing passively by when someone is robbed or raped, or the daily experience of people crossing to the other side of the road to avoid encountering a homeless person, TM1 asked, "Do you want to live in a place like that?" Emphasizing the transformative power of genuine adoption of the principles of the honor code translated into the school and neighborhood, TM1 continued: "That's what the honor code is about. Your boundaries of responsibility as a human being." As such, the honor system offers perhaps the most important structure for sustaining a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability at the Darling-Hammond Schools.

Analysis of Data and Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

To gain a clearer understanding of how relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement, this section will first analyze data gathered from sociogram questionnaires for insight into the relational connectivity and the

corresponding trustworthiness evident in the relational network of the school. This section will then offer quantitative analysis focusing on items from the RT/OC survey related to teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.

Sociogram Analysis for the Relational Connectivity of Trustworthy Networks

As in all cases, responses to sociogram questionnaires were used to map connectivity and closure in the faculty's relational network at the Darling-Hammond Schools. The first question asked participants to name up to three colleagues with whom they share, "professional relational trust," defined on the form as colleagues with whom respondents, "would risk exposing professional vulnerabilities ... and ... expect that [the colleague] would give honest, helpful feedback." Of 81 teachers, administrators, and staff, 59 individuals were ultimately included for analysis of this first question, 34 because they returned questionnaires and 25 who did not return questionnaires, but were included because at least one respondent mentioned them as trusted colleagues.

As in other cases in this study, I began by identifying teachers with the greatest numbers of connections and then arranged these highly connected individuals on planes, in order to facilitate the organization of other teachers between and around them. After creating an orderly graph, I coded teachers by their locations in the network (see Figure 7). Members of the administrative team and various academic departments are also identified as designated in the key. Because 25 of those included in the graph depicted in Figure 7 did not indicate their own trusted relations and because all 81 individual faculty,

administration, and staff members are not included, the network of connections cannot be viewed as quantitatively complete, but the findings are qualitatively meaningful.

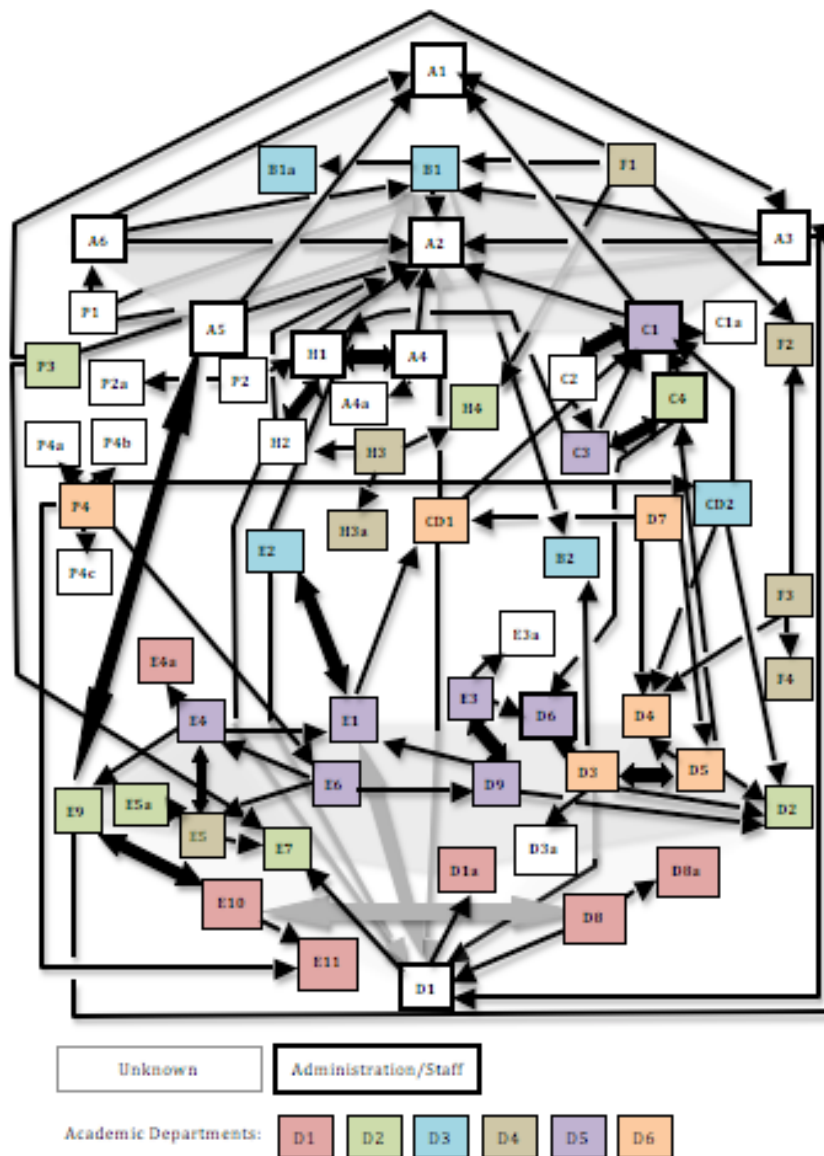


Figure 7. Relational trust network at The Darling-Hammond Schools, 2009-2010.

Closure and connection. In networks of a given size, the degree of closure, as measured by the number of mutual trust relations and the completeness of trust circuits, corresponds to the trustworthiness of the system. Closed, connected systems facilitate the flow of communication and the growth of the social resources of trust and trustworthiness in the relational network (Coleman, 1990). Large, two-headed arrows in Figure 7 indicate relationships in which each party named the other, indicating strong, mutually reliable relationships and relatively greater system closure. The relational trust network created from the responses of the faculty, administration, and staff of the Darling-Hammond Schools reveals evidence of substantial organization within the entire network linking the three institutions into an integrated whole. The network also reveals evidence of the unique coordinate structure of two schools and a museum within a school, as well as several inner circuits.

Features of subgroups. John Goodlad was quoted by Goldberg (1995) as saying, “We rarely address the school as a total entity. We don’t prepare teachers for school, but for classrooms” (¶ 19). Given that the entire group is a special type of subgroup, the level of organization evident at the level of the school as a whole merits discussion at the Darling-Hammond Schools. First, note the almost crystalline organization of the network. Now consider that A1 is the Head of Schools, A2 is the Assistant Head of Schools, and that A3, C1, A4, H1, A5, and A6 are leading administrators of the school. Neither A1 nor A2 returned a sociogram questionnaire, but they were noted as trusted by 4 and 9 colleagues, respectively. The organization evident in this diagram, with lines of communication flowing to and from the administrative team, would be expected in a

formal organization chart, but this picture drawn from the responses of individuals constrained to identify their 3 most trusted colleagues suggests an enacted organization at this school defined by trust relationships. B1 received 4 incoming trust citations from members of the administrative plane and one from a departmental colleague. Two of B1's 3 outgoing citations go to departmental colleagues.

Also note D1, who cited 3 trust relationships, including one mutual relationship with E1. Attracting 7 citations of relational trust, D1 provided a second major organizational hub. As many of these linkages as possible were arranged on the same plane, along with their close associates. On this second plane, E1, D2, and D4 attracted four incoming trust citations each. Significantly, E1 shared mutual connections with D1 and E2. Occupying a central location in the trust lattice structure, E1 both bridged the right and left sides of the second plane and linked the two planes.

I next applied departmental analysis to discern the logic of the system. In addition to the administrative team already evident in the upper plane, staff members appear in the periphery of the administrative team as white boxes with thinner lines. Department D5 appears coiling around the second plane, with individual E4, the department chair, participating in a completed circuit on the left side of the plane. D5 connects with D1 at two points, one of which is mutual. Department D1 generally flows around the perimeter of the second plane and features one prominent mutual connection in the lower foreground. Identification of department D6 makes evident a logic behind the circuit on the right side of the second plane, with department chair, individual D5, at its center. Department D4 generally flows around the right side of the diagram. Although

department D3 does not have representatives in the second plane, members of D3 occupy significant points bridging the upper and lower planes. Finally, D2 is generally sprinkled throughout the structure.

Curious about the logic behind the members of D1 in plane 2, as well as the closed circuits on the outer left and right of the upper plane, I looked for member affiliation with either the boys' school or the girls' school. Although the school functions as a single entity, with certain upper division coeducational class offerings, the school supports the single sex structure by assigning each faculty member to one school or the other through single sex advising assignments, as well as chapel, dorm, and other duties. Based on advisory assignments found in the two schools' respective faculty supervision manuals, I located as many faculty members as possible in one school or the other, as well as individuals affiliated with the Museum (See Figure 8). Faculty members affiliated with the girls' school are shaded in orange and those affiliated with the boys' school are shaded in purple. The overall trend toward girls' school affiliates appearing on the left side of the diagram and boys' school affiliates appearing on the right side. Finally, note the well-organized circuit around C1, who attracted five incoming trust relationships. Here we find the museum staff and affiliated teachers. Notably, the museum director extends trust relationships to the Head of Schools and the Director of Institutional Development. Analysis of sociogram data provides evidence of the authenticity of the coordinate structure described in school literature.

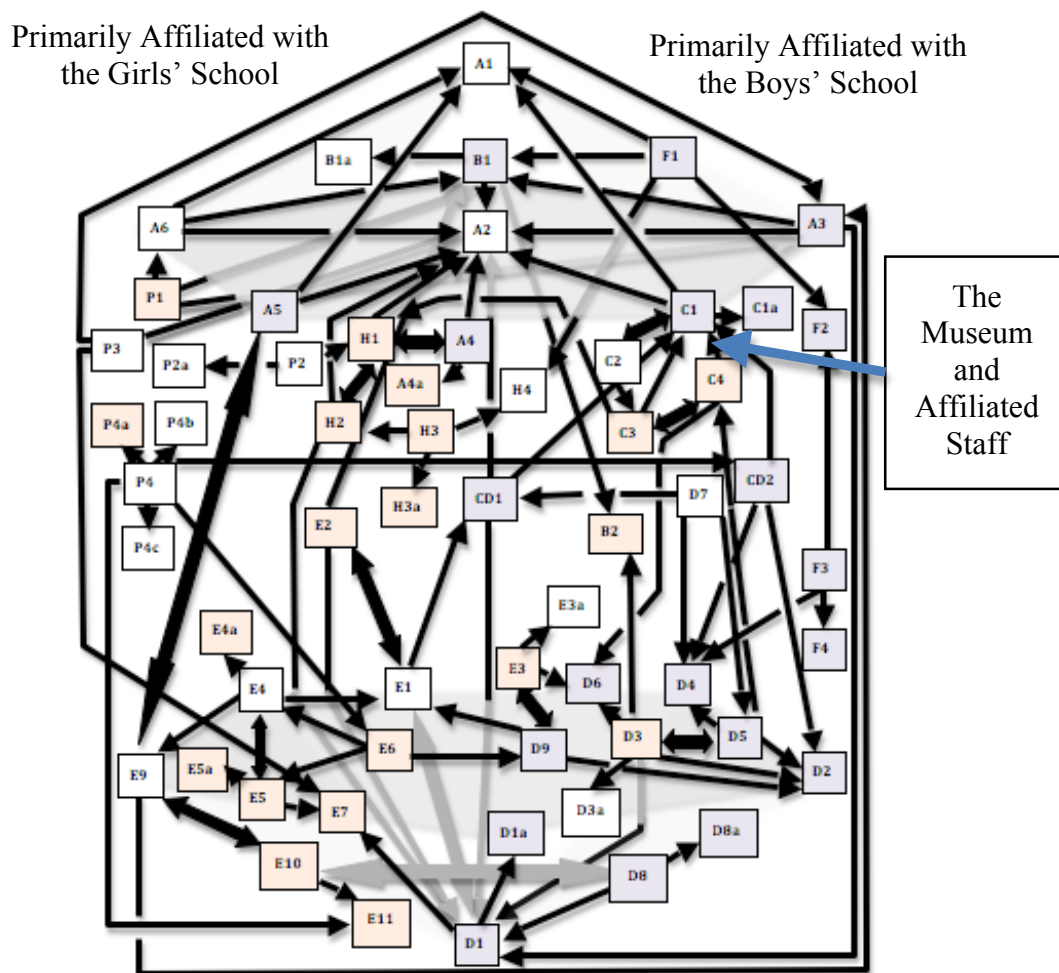


Figure 8. Coordinate structure within the relational trust network of The Darling-Hammond Schools, 2009-2010.

Note the circuit around girls' school affiliate, H1, who attracted 4 incoming trust relationships, including 2 mutual trust relationships. One is with A4, H1's counterpart in the boys' school. The other is with the counselor in the girls' school, who connects with D1, the counselor in the boys' school. E5a, E5, E7, and D2 were members of department D2 located in the second plane. Their connections to departments D5 on the left and D2

on the right appear to be related to collaboration as advisors and dorm supervisors within the girls' and boys' schools respectively. With the second plane coming into focus as a plane at least partially organized by trust relationships emerging from collaboration on duties associated with student life, individual D1's role as a school counselor is consistent with D1's influence within this plane.

Alienating and enabling structure. In the same way as connection and closure in a network tend to facilitate the flow of communication through the network and may facilitate a cycle of escalating relational trust and trustworthiness, constrictions in the network may indicate bureaucratic elements in the organization ordering the flow of social capital through the system. To gain some sense of the bureaucratic structures operating in the social system of this school, the second question on the sociogram questionnaire asked participants to name up to three colleagues, "essential to planning and/or implementing [a particular curriculum] innovation."

Of 81 teachers, administrators, and staff, 47 individuals were ultimately included for analysis of this second question, 32 because they returned questionnaires and 15 who did not return questionnaires, but were included because they were named by at least one respondent as colleagues essential to either planning or implementing a desired curricular change. Responses to this question sample a slightly different cross-section of the faculty and staff. Two individuals who completed the relational trust question opted out of the second question. Of 51 named trusted and 39 named as essential, 32 were named as both by some respondent while 4 were named by no respondent on either question. A total of

61 individuals out of 81 members of faculty, administration or staff at this school responded to and/or were named in at least one sociogram question.

To facilitate analysis for trends, the 20 individuals receiving 3 or more citations are tabulated in Table 34, in order of decreasing numbers of unique citations. Beyond these 20 individuals, 15 received citations from 2 unique individuals, 22 received citations from 1 unique individual, and 24 from the 81 faculty and staff members received no citations from the 61 members returning sociogram questionnaires. With 15 unique individuals citing A2 as trusted, essential, or both, A2's leadership role in the daily operation of the school as Assistant Head of Schools (Principal) is evident. A2's 9 incoming citations as a trusted partner and 13 incoming citations as essential to change reflect substantial overlap between the enacted and formal structures of the school. In a career at the school spanning more than 20 years, A2 has served as teacher, coach, dorm parent, Honor Committee representative, Director of Alumni Relations, and Director of Institutional Advancement, where he led campaigns raising some \$40 million for the school over 9 years and developed a fund dedicated to faculty professional development. As Assistant Head of Schools, A2 was responsible for recruiting, developing, and retaining the faculty, many of whom cited him as trusted or essential. Since data gathering has been completed in this study, A2 has been promoted to Head of Schools, replacing A1 upon her recent retirement to *Head Emerita*.

Table 34

Significant Individuals, Subgroups in the Relational Network of the Darling-Hammond Schools

Individual	Times cited as <i>trusted</i> (Qu. 1)	Times cited as <i>essential</i> (Qu. 2)	No. of unique respondents	Position(s)	Affiliation(s)
A2	9	13	15 (7 in both)	Assistant Head of Schools -Principal	Administration
A3	3	9	11 (1 in both)	Dean	Administration Boys' School
A1	4	7	9 (2 in both)	Head of Schools Chapel Council	Administration
B1	5	7	8 (4 in both)	Chair of D5	D5 Boys' School
D1	7	3	8 (2 in both)	Counselor	Boys' School
E4	2	6	7 (1 in both)	Chair of D3	D3
C1	5	2	6 (1 in both)	Director Honor Committee	Museum Boys' School
D4	4	3	5 (2 in both)	Teacher Dorm Head	D2
C3	2	4	5 (1 in both)	Teacher Dorm Council	D3, Museum Girls' School
CD1	2	4	5 (1 in both)	Teacher	D2
E1	4	3	4 (3 in both)	Teacher	D3, Museum
D5	2	4	4 (2 in both)	Chair of D2	D2 Boys' School
H1	3	1	4 (1 in both)	Dean	Administration Girls' School
E7	3	2	4 (1 in both)	Chair of D1	D1 Girls' School
E9	3	2	4 (1 in both)	Teacher	D3
D2	4	0	4 (0 in both)	Teacher	D1 Boys' School
D9	2	2	3 (1 in both)	Teacher	D3 Boys' School
C4	2	2	3 (1 in both)	Teacher/Dean	D1, Museum Girls' School
D6	3	0	3 (0 in both)	Student Life Teacher	D3 Boys' School
E10	2	1	3 (0 in both)	Teacher	D4 Girls' School

B1, with 8 unique citations, was department chair of D3. Of 7 incoming citations of B1 as essential to initiating curricular innovation, only 2 were members of B1's department, suggesting a more widespread influence than pure positional power. Although he had served at the school for fewer than 4 years, B1 appeared as a central figure among the well-developed administrative team, attracting 4 of his 5 trust citations and 4 of his 7 essential citations from this group. Widely described as passionate about his discipline and his students' engagement with it, B1 reached out to department members as trusted and essential, with the exception of naming A2 as trusted and A1 as essential.

Representing the student life side of a boarding school, counselor D1 was widely cited as trusted and essential by members of both the boys' and the girls' schools. Other significant individuals with known roles in the advisory, boarding, or student life structures at the school include Honor Committee advisor C1, Dorm Head D4, Dorm Council advisor C3, Dean of Students H1, and Director of Student Life D6.

Receiving 43 incoming citations as trusted and/or essential, members of the Science department are influential. The historically significant teacher whose "unbounded thinking and teaching" have been honored in the establishment of the school's museum and symposium emerged from this department. The influence of the Science Department continues today in collaboration with the museum, in operation of an observatory, and in the school's current investment in project-based learning. Populated by several Spanish speakers, the Foreign Language Department forms a closed loop while bridging the faculties of the Boys' School and the Girls' School. Although the

Head of Schools had been affiliated with the Girls school, the concentration of Administration and Staff within the Boys school may be meaningful.

Quantitative Analysis of Organizational Conditions

To evaluate measures of organizational conditions, the means and standard deviations of items relating to Teacher Orientation to Innovation, Teacher Commitment to School, Peer Collaboration, Reflective Dialogue, Collective Responsibility, Focus on Student Learning, and Teacher Socialization on the RT/OC survey were calculated, along with the overall means for each (see Table 35).

Table 35

Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the Darling-Hammond Schools

	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	M = 3.21	SD = 0.68
Teacher Commitment to School	M = 3.38	SD = 0.81
Peer Collaboration	M = 3.05	SD = 0.64
Reflective Dialogue	M = 2.91	SD = 0.82
Collective Responsibility	M = 3.14	SD = 0.67
Focus on Student Learning	M = 3.43	SD = 0.69
Teacher Socialization	M = 3.11	SD = 0.76

^aFour point scales

Teacher Commitment to School at the Darling-Hammond Schools scored significantly higher than Reflective Dialogue. Focus on Student Learning at the Darling-Hammond Schools scored significantly higher than Peer Collaboration and Reflective Dialogue (see Table 36).

Table 36

T-tests for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the Darling-Hammond Schools

	M	SD	t	df	p
Teacher Commitment to School	3.38	0.81	2.45	70	0.0169
Reflective Dialogue	2.91	0.82			
Focus on Student Learning	3.43	0.69	2.42	70	0.0180
Peer Collaboration	3.05	0.69			
Focus on Student Learning	3.43	0.69	2.91	70	0.0048
Reflective Dialogue	2.91	0.82			

As with measures of trust, faculty members were sorted by years of service to the school to look for significant differences between the groups in their perceptions of organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement (see Table 37). No differences between the two groups were found to be statistically significant.

Table 37

Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Organizational Conditions at the Darling-Hammond Schools Sorted by Years of Service

		Mean	Standard Deviation
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.16	0.53
	4 or more years of service	3.19	0.53
Teacher Commitment to School	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.33	0.48
	4 or more years of service	3.47	0.65
Peer Collaboration	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.12	0.40
	4 or more years of service	2.97	0.50
Reflective Dialogue	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.15	0.47
	4 or more years of service	2.62	0.73
Collective Responsibility	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.13	0.59
	4 or more years of service	3.09	0.58
Focus on Student Learning	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.37	0.55
	4 or more years of service	3.50	0.49
Teacher Socialization	Fewer than 4 years of service	3.10	0.51
	4 or more years of service	3.15	0.61

Discussion of Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

The extraordinary order in the relational network of the school is an effect of an unusually stable leadership team over the past two decades. As Head of Schools, A1's role at the school has matured over more than 20 years of leadership there. Hired to lead the Girls' School less than 10 years after they joined the 60-year-old school for boys, A1 describes the experience of maturing as a leader, as a leadership team, and as a school community: "We had a lot of basic work that still needed to be done in my early years...I felt the leader needed to have a strong hand on the tiller for that work to be done." Over time, as school leaders matured as a team, A2 reflected that, "so has our confidence and

our trust in one another and our understanding of how we work together,” allowing for increasing delegation of day-to-day operations. With a leadership focus on, “a singular sense of principles and purpose, and a lot of planning,” the culture has matured. “That continuity and stability and growth have enabled me to focus increasingly on the bigger picture, the longer term for [the school’s] real stability and continuity going forward.” Today, A1 devotes more of her time in strategic planning, community building, and on development, and, “a little less on the daily operations and things that I did spend a lot of time on in the early years.” A1’s role sustaining the vision of the school is evident in the incoming trust relationships from 4 individuals with especially long association with the school, including a faculty member who is also an alumnus from the days when the school’s founder still led the school. A1’s delegation of day-to-day operations is evident in her relatively lower numbers of essential citations than those received by A2 or A3, both in operational administration.

A3 had only served at the school for 4 years during the school year under study, but he has a much longer-term connection to A2, who is an alumnus and trustee of the Connecticut boarding school whose founding Headmaster was A3’s grandfather and whose former Headmaster is A3’s father. A3’s relatively shorter term of service at the Darling-Hammond Schools and his position of responsibility for curriculum are likely factors in his relatively lower number of incoming citations for relational trust and his relatively higher number of incoming citations as essential to planning and/or implementing curricular innovation. A3 was also responsible for schedule innovations viewed by some as contributing to ongoing cultural development. In the reorganization

pursuant to the retirement of A1, A3 moved to a position more closely connected to student life, possibly following in the footsteps of A2 by serving in diverse capacities within the school's leadership team.

Summary of Findings of Research Question 2 for this Case

In the Darling-Hammond Schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, and teacher socialization? Created only from faculty and administration responses to the trust question on the sociogram questionnaire, the relational trust network of the Darling-Hammond Schools bears a close resemblance to a formal organization chart for the schools. The pathways of authority flowing from the Head of Schools through her leadership team into the broader faculty are apparent in the relational trust network of the schools. The formal leadership structure is consistent with the findings in research question one that the schools operate within a master-apprentice model, with principles guiding leaders' decision-making and leaders establishing the schools' vision and boundaries. Given that the strategic imperative of academic distinction guides leaders, it is not surprising that within the faculty and administration, Focus on Student Learning scored significantly higher than Peer Collaboration. Focus on Student Learning also scored significantly higher than Reflective Dialogue, suggesting that the current initiative to inspire and cultivate unbounded thinking may not yet be fully expressed in the daily practice of the faculty and administration of the schools.

The relational network of this school also revealed connectivity and closure in the three institutional structures coordinated under the aegis of the Darling-Hammond Schools. The inner network connecting faculty members associated with the museum showed especially strong closure, along with powerful connection to the resource centers and academic programs of the schools. Two closed loops joined to connect faculty members associated with the girls' school on the left side of the relational trust network. The boys' school faculty displayed two hubs seemingly associated with residential duties and a rather large loosely held loop interacting with members of the girls' faculty. Although one might wonder whether the careful construction of two schools and a museum operating relatively autonomously within a single campus might be more espoused than enacted, the relational network suggests that the two schools are, indeed, both distinct and interrelated.

Brief Conclusion for the Darling-Hammond Schools

Teachers and students at the Darling-Hammond Schools perceived several social systems relating to relational trust, accountability to community standards, and cultural sustainability. First, from the Head of the Schools to student leaders, purposeful planning and principled decision-making guided school community members towards faithful practice of commonly held virtues. Second, a robust program of leadership development created an infrastructure for growth and development towards leader accountability to community standards. Third, a history of upholding rigorous standards for academic excellence distinguished the school in the marketplaces of student recruitment and college admissions. Finally, the schools honor system established an escalating cycle of

trust and trustworthiness. Although the Darling-Hammond Schools exhibited highly organized structures through which authority flows from the world of ideals to the realm of educational practice, the schools' corresponding emphasis on leadership development and personal honor meant that teachers and students enjoy significant professional autonomy in matters within their discretion.

Metaphorical Synopsis.

Linda Darling-Hammond (1997) identified the shortcomings of externally imposed standardization: "Bureaucratic solutions to problems of practice will always fail because effective teaching is not routine, students are not passive, and questions of practice are not simple, predictable, or standardized" (p. 67). The education reformer also recognized the ways in which bureaucratic layers may so isolate deciders and practitioners as to thwart genuine accountability. By establishing constructive feedback loops between individuals, their school community, and the broader culture, the Darling-Hammond Schools managed to nurture sustainable growth in the social capital of trust and accountability to shared standards. They seem to have found ways to have it all: standards without standardization.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS ACROSS CASES

“Social capital is more important than individual human capital because it generates human capital faster, among all teachers and for every child.”

(Michael Fullan and Andy Hargreaves, 2012, ¶11)

Chapter 7 continues to answer my research questions: (1) What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability; and (2) In the same three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to community factors found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization? This chapter analyzes the data across cases, synthesizes significant findings of the research questions, and ends with a brief conclusion.

Cross-Case Analysis of Data and Findings of Research Question 1

This section examines the data at three independent schools through the lens of the first research question. How are structures operating within each school to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability similar and/or different? Do perspectives of teachers and administrators at three schools converge

towards shared understandings of structures important in cultivating excellent schools in the relative absence of outside supervision?

This section begins with cross-case analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews, artifacts, and field notes. In particular, teacher and administrator perceptions of both intentional social systems built into the operations of the school and norms and standards seen as emerging from system interactions are considered as they relate to trust, accountability, and sustainability in the William Small School, the John Dewey School, and the Darling-Hammond Schools. Next, this section offers quantitative analysis of survey data evaluating relational trust at the three schools in three dimensions: Teacher-Principal Trust, Teacher-Teacher Trust, and Teacher-Student Trust.

Each of the three case studies included extensive examination of artifacts, including historic and current publications of the school; unfettered observation of significant events in the life of the school, documented by field notes; and interviews of faculty and administration, which proceeded until saturation was reached. Comparative analysis of qualitative data across the three cases studied will be organized applying the same themes as those used in within case analysis: cultural structures; relational structures; and sustainability and change.

Theme: Cultural Structures

This subsection examines similarities and differences in how the histories of each school relate with the broader context. It then compares how each school's systems of accountability, norms and expectations, and formal structures interact with the social capital of relational trust.

History. Each individual case has been placed within its context in place and time, both literally and metaphorically. Born in the 19th century in rural Tennessee, the William Small School was metaphorically associated with the nation's agrarian founding father, Thomas Jefferson, whose soaring rhetoric established an aspiration for government based on natural rights and individual freedom. Beginning as the Demonstration School for a major university and later organized as an independent school, the John Dewey School was pseudonymously linked with the prolific philosopher of progressive education. Facing the 20th century challenge of establishing standards of excellence without suffering the limiting effects of standardization, the Darling-Hammond Schools were associated with a champion of teacher leadership within the educational reform movement. While the schools' settings range from rural Tennessee, to a university city in Tennessee, to the foothills of southern California, each school's history in time was played out against the backdrop of a shared national history. This section compares and contrasts how each school interacted with the broader context.

Beginning from the Reconstruction era, a period when the social infrastructure shattered by the Civil War had to be rebuilt on new foundations, national trends over the schools' shared histories tended generally towards increasing centralization. The Progressive Era and the Great Depression ushered in a larger role for the federal government in social programs. As the nation rebuilt its economy in the post-war years and corporate America adopted increasingly centralized management, the nation's system of public education likewise began to organize itself along increasingly hierarchical lines. Establishing civil rights in education, by race and by disability, was followed by an era of

national educational reform. Each of the schools in this study saw corresponding structural changes (see Table 38).

Table 38

Historic Structural Transformations at Three Independent Schools

National Trends	~1870-1900 Reconstruction	~1900-1930 Progressivism	~1930-1960 Centralization	~1960-1990 Civil Rights	~1990-2010 Educational Reform	
The William Small School	The Founder's years Proprietary school		The Founder's Son Incorporation	Independent School Bounded Re-engagement		
The John Dewey School		Demonstration School University Management			Independent School	
					Teacher leadership	Corporate leadership
The Darling-Hammond Schools		The Founder's Years				"Re-founding"
		Proprietary School	Incorporation and Association			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •School for Boys •School for Girls •Museum

The William Small School began as a proprietary school owned by the founder and his brother. In the same way as an honorable reputation distinguishes an individual, the school's reputation for developing hardworking, honorable Rhodes Scholars and leaders was essential to its success. Rejecting what the founder saw as a lesser standard, the school resisted the Carnegie credit during the founder's years, but was eventually forced to accede. Although accreditation ultimately imposed an externally applied standard, it never supplanted the essential of a good reputation. Generations after the founding of the school, the traditions and language of its "glory days" continue to be the standard community members aspire to in modern practice. The school eventually

incorporated as a board-run school, associated with other independent schools, engaged in varsity athletics, and recruited globally. The individual qualities of personal honor and hard work, however, continue to be expressed in significant teacher autonomy and student self-governance at the William Small School.

Similarly, the John Dewey School sustained certain essential elements through both the revolutionary change of divestiture from its founding university and the evolutionary change of increasingly corporate organization as a Board managed independent school. The school was built on the foundation of progressive philosophy: individualized education, academic freedom, and social justice. The educational cooperative leading the school in its early years as an independent school intentionally embraced the legacy of progressive education. Establishing the school's progressive spirit of inquiry and historic commitment to diversity as normative baselines, the present Director applied the framework of social norms theory to stake common ground between the teacher-leaders who participated in the reorganization of the school and a generation of newcomers on the Board and in administration. Providing for both shared leadership and strategic planning, the School Renewal process for reaccreditation met the needs of both groups. Elevating inclusive diversity as a community virtue allowed both influential organizers and those exercising positional power to practice along essentially parallel paths. Whenever shared leadership was perceived to be inauthentic, however, conflicts between words and practice strained the fabric of relational trust.

As at the William Small School, an influential founder drafted the narrative of the Darling-Hammond Schools. As at the John Dewey School, a philosophical successor

realigned a drifting school with its founding principles and positioned the school to fulfill its purpose. Working with the Board and her administrative team, the Head of the Darling-Hammond Schools began the process of resolving conflicts between stakeholders of the school of 1990 and those of its progenitor institution by clearly defining the schools' mission going forward so that it aligned with the school's historic purpose: delivering excellence in academic preparation and character development within a single-sex boarding context. The Head of Schools made difficult choices to ensure that she had a faculty and student body ready to rally around that mission. The Head of Schools embarked upon an ongoing program elevating personal and community virtues. She and her team articulated axioms and principles to guide personal and community decision-making and established frameworks for continuous evaluation of programs against the principles and purpose of the school.

The father-son relationship between the founders of the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools explains certain similarities between the two schools: their attribution of individual honor and reputation as community features and the relationships among honor, trust, and community. Possibly contributing to similarities between the Dewey School and the Darling-Hammond Schools is that both are located within university towns. The Dewey School continues to interact with its founding university by hiring its alumni, sending members of faculty and administration across the street separating the school from the university to take classes, and participating in various studies conducted by university researchers. The Darling-Hammond Schools are located within a town famous for several small research universities, whose influence is

evident in the citations from Darling-Hammond faculty and administration to the research of at least one prominent professor. Darling-Hammond also actively engages in national research projects on character education and single gender education, as well as pure scientific research through their museum of paleontology and observatory. In the same way as teachers and administrators at Dewey naturally turn to social norms theory to design their policies and programs about Substance Abuse, for example, teachers and administrators at Darling-Hammond sprinkle interviews with references to Csikszentmihalyi, Gardner, and Wagner.

By contrast, academic literature cited at William Small was David Hackett Fischer's 1989 account of the pedigree of conceptualizations of honor brought to America from four waves of British immigrants. The participant cited Fischer in order to shed light on the conscience and practice of the school's founder and, by extension, the school itself. The towering strategic advantage left by the founder of the William Small School to his heirs may contribute the school's continued reliance upon the founder's reputation. No longer producing Rhodes Scholars at a record setting pace, the modern school does genuinely enact the founder's charge by effectively preparing a relatively ordinary student body for college success and by sustaining a culture built upon personal honor. Leaders at Darling-Hammond also revere their founder, but have been more successful at adding honor to the pedigree of his ancestor, the founder of William Small. Leaders at Darling-Hammond follow the examples of both flexible founders by charting a constantly correcting course to school leadership.

Accountability. The William Small and Darling-Hammond schools share similar language and certain practices surrounding their honor systems. Since the founder of Darling-Hammond was the son of the founder of the William Small School and the son seems to have aimed to recreate the essential elements of the honor system, it is interesting to consider which elements have been sustained in the journey from Tennessee to California and over time. Students at both schools participate in an annual signing of the Honor Pledge, enacting the often repeated maxim of the elder founder that, “your word is your bond.” Everyone signs the pledge at the William Small School, but boys at the Darling-Hammond Schools have thoughtfully struggled with the idea of protecting the meaning of the signing by making it optional. While students at William Small still sign each assignment, I did not observe that practice at Darling-Hammond. Significantly, conspicuous trust is practiced at both schools as a strategy for developing personal honor. Especially at Darling-Hammond, “honorable” heroes are purposefully held up as exemplars, so that honor as the effect of the system becomes the cause of the next generation of honorable heroes. The primary hero at William Small seems to be the founder. Community members at both schools frequently mention the safety with which one can operate within their honor systems.

The Honor Councils and Honor Committee at both schools are composed of students selected by students to hear cases of violations of honor, serving as structures by which students hold one another accountable. The panels recommend sanctions up to and including dismissal. Students judged to be unready for the freedom of an honor system community or a significant threat to the safety of a system built on trust may be

dismissed, but adult administrators own the final decision at both schools. Although there is evidence of an ebb and flow in the level of leadership exercised by the Honor Council in nurturing the broader culture of the William Small School, the Council seems to have been treading water in the recent past, primarily fulfilling its accountability function by meeting to hear cases. Expressing Darling-Hammond's more prevalent practice of formal planning, however, the schools' committees meet on a regular basis to plan for and evaluate student engagement with the honor system. Both William Small and Darling-Hammond emphasize doing the right thing, even when no one is watching, but the "boundaries of responsibility" and systems for "mutual support" for students who observe unacceptable behavior are more thoroughly articulated at Darling-Hammond (see Table 39).

Table 39

Accountability at Three Independent Schools

The William Small School	The John Dewey School	The Darling-Hammond Schools
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The honor of mutually accountable individuals • Shared responsibility for creating a safe space for freedom: Peer hearings • Your word is your bond: Signing the pledge book and assignments—pledge posted ubiquitously • Conspicuous trust: “Do nothing on the sly.” • “Trust but verify” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible freedom • Boundaries of freedom: adults responsible for creating safe space for students • Peer hearings • Global and local environmentalism • Social norms theory and substance abuse policy • Student drafted Declaration of Values published but not cited • Integrity of community and opportunities for growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Honor and Community: “Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community” (founder). • Shared responsibility for creating a safe space for freedom: Peer hearings • Student drafted axioms and boundaries of responsibility and mutual support embedded in diverse policies • Comprehensive program of character education sustained by students. • Your word is your bond: Signing the pledge book • Conspicuous trust: “Do nothing on the sly.”

Dismissing the honor pledges and other trappings of genteel competitor schools, the John Dewey School seems to intentionally avoid the specific language of the honor system, even while it espouses and practices certain elements of the trust-based community (see Table 39). Like the axioms at the Darling-Hammond Schools, Dewey has a carefully crafted Declaration of Values, developed and adopted by students with adult guidance several generations of students ago. Although Dewey’s Declaration of Values is seldom referenced today, its framework of integrity within the context of

accepting responsibility for one's freedom is widespread. The Honor Council at William Small drafted a similar document in the 1990s, but no one was able to locate it.

Students drafting the Declaration of Values at Dewey intentionally rejected any expectation that students would turn in offenders, although confronting an offender is suggested. The Dewey School has both a Student Discipline Board to handle issues of discipline and a Judicial Board to consider issues of academic integrity. Faculty members and administrators at William Small and Darling-Hammond expressed some ambivalence as to whether teachers should carefully monitor students, with many accepting the risk of failures of virtue as the price of developing moral capacity. Expressing a prominent value for safety, teachers and leaders at Dewey unequivocally advocated careful proctoring to protect students from crimes of opportunity.

Norms and Expectations. Members of faculty and administration at the William Small School perceived that the locus of control resides primarily with the individual: independent headmaster, autonomous teachers, and self-regulating students. By choosing to join the school community, however, individuals agreed to accept the terms of a system larger than their own narrow interests. The principle governing relationships was the honor of mutually accountable community members bound to honor the commitments attached to their decision to associate. Reflecting the agrarian values of the nineteenth century founder, the school emphasized an egalitarian faith in hard work over privilege and a rural distrust for centralized hierarchical control (see Table 40).

Table 40

Norms and Expectations at Three Independent Schools

The William Small School	The John Dewey School	The Darling-Hammond Schools
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autonomy and self-regulation related to mutual trust and respect • Free choice of association related to trustworthiness • Tireless workers and family honor: “Pedigree your ancestors” (founder) • Active engagement: “Do not ever be a spectator” (founder) • Locus of control: the individual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on growth • Inclusive diversity • Informal individualism • Locus of control: the individual—alongside a desire for greater coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual and community virtues: unbounded thinking and academic distinction, honor as the result of principled choices, courageous leadership, and generous service • Feedback loops between the individual and community

Members of faculty and administration at the John Dewey School also celebrated the individual, but from the perspective of modern progressivism, with its focus on growth, diversity, and informal individualism (see Table 40). The faculty featured both informal coalitions and formal organization into professional learning communities and circles of support associated with strategic planning and school renewal. Faculty members at Dewey, however, were more isolated within their respective classrooms and subgroups than many would wish. One described working at the school as a granular experience, in which he craved more opportunities to construct shared meaning as a member of a professional community.

Among the three cases studied, members of the faculty and administration at the Darling-Hammond Schools expressed the greatest awareness of the interactions between the individual and the relational system of the school: “Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community.” On the one hand, Darling-Hammond exhibited the most clearly recognizable philosophical framework guiding individual and corporate decisions, suggesting a locus of control beyond the individual. On the other hand, by celebrating individual virtues such as a commitment to excellence, personal honor, and courageous leadership, that framework returned the locus of control to the individual. The individual and the community were viewed as participating in feedback loops sustaining the growth of both. As might be expected in such a system, individual virtues were attributed to the community and the community aimed to instill within individuals the virtues of community stewardship: responsibility, respect, fairness, empathy, and trust. There was consonance between the schools’ challenge to individuals to practice unbounded thinking and to the community to reach “Way beyond the standard.” The schools’ celebration of “freedom for [individual] hearts made free” (*Chapel Services and Hymnal*, p. 60), was matched by a system of mutual support for accountability that carved out and protected a community within which freedom might safely operate. The schools placed individual character education within the context of community by framing the conversation in terms of developing individual and corporate leadership. Darling-Hammond Schools invested in apprenticeship for leadership by entrusting students and faculty to design, implement, and evaluate various community programs, so long as they operated within the constraints of community principles.

Formal Structure. Alongside the informal norms and expectations of a school are the formal structures supporting culture. The flat organizational structures evident at the William Small School enacted the school's distrust for artificially imposed hierarchies. From its founding, the William Small School has prized its independence from external standardizing influences, the school's teachers have prized their autonomy within their classrooms, and the students have valued their relative freedom from adult supervision and monitoring. As a result, structures ranging from faculty networks to the honor system itself tended to be more organically formed.

The John Dewey School also exhibited a flat organizational structure. Strategic planning within the framework of the School Renewal program of reaccreditation, however, provided a bit more formal structure than was evident at the William Small School. Even so, stakeholders expressed a desire for more formal structure to coordinate and amplify efforts.

The Darling-Hammond Schools exhibited the greatest level of formal organization, which the Head of Schools attributed to the extended time leaders have shared together as a team. The coordinate structure of the schools, with layers of leadership for the Girls' School, the Boys' School, the Museum, and the dormitories supported the development of a community of leaders. The intentionally organized honor system, with its axioms and programs for moral education, was a structure for developing the capital of relational trust flowing through the school. The thoughtfully implemented Chapel program and daily schedule were formal structures supporting the school's purpose and mission.

Like the other schools, however, organizational frameworks did not translate into a hierarchical organizational chart. Rather, the formal structures tended to facilitate action at the local level.

Theme: Relational Structures

An individual's first social interactions are within the nuclear and extended family. Schools, unions, and professional associations are relational structures formed to develop and protect individuals in their varied marketplaces. Parties, movements, and nations represent the interests of citizens within the broader culture. As the individual moves from the family to the school, the workforce, and the broader culture, he or she may participate in many layers of association, before reiterating the cycle by entering into relationship with another individual to form a new family. This section associates the relational structure of each school in this study with a different social structure.

The relational structure of the William Small School was most like that of an extended family. Its organic transmission of traits and values from generation to generation attributed the honor of the founder and his family to all of the individuals who have chosen to enter into and sustain relationship with the school family and its traditions. Individuals belonging to the founding coalition at John Dewey made familial references and displayed the natural quality and peculiar features of a family. Within the broader structure of the school, however, this study uncovered several coalitions interacting around shared aims, more than from common heritage. William Small and Darling-Hammond founders were, in fact, members of the same family. As boarding schools, William Small and Darling-Hammond functioned effectively *in loco parentis*,

and the purposeful planning evident in the social structures of Darling-Hammond corresponded to the nurture evident in a family. While Darling-Hammond defended carefully defined community boundaries, however, the schools' relatively greater interaction with the world beyond the gates expressed the outward focus of a community moving beyond familial social structures. The William Small School expressed the self-referential inward focus of a family gathering for dinner at the end of a day.

Although the founding coalition at the John Dewey School displayed certain features of family, the relational structure of the John Dewey School was more like an evolving political movement. Like union organizers or Civil Rights leaders, members of that founding coalition came together to meet a common threat to the common safety, in their case, the University's decision to cut ties with its Demonstration School. To describe the shared leadership practiced in those early days, one founding coalition member quoted Civil Rights leader Ella Baker: "Strong people don't need strong leaders." The players changed over time and power was ultimately consolidated in the hands of the Board, which professionalized operations. The Board was wise enough, however, to hire a director who organized the movement in ways that largely honored the celebration of diversity and informal individualism of the school's original community organizers.

Like professional associations, all three schools protected their images and developed the resource of their value to potential clients. All established boundaries defining institutional purpose and controlled who may be a member in good standing. The William Small School emphasized how the element of informed choice in

association signifies a decision to participate in a mission and a set of standards larger than those of the individual. The Darling-Hammond Schools educated prospective community members in school history and values and emphasized the painful necessity of removing individuals when sustained misalignment with school principles or purpose interfered with achieving the aims of the school. To an unusual degree, however, the Darling-Hammond Schools established and sustained the formal structures of professional associations to guide new community members from initiation, through internship, to full membership as practitioners capable of mutually accountable self-governance relative to codes of professional conduct. Replicating the features of professional association evident at the scale of the school, the Darling-Hammond Schools organized with peer institutions to form the California Association of Independent Schools, leading the nation in defining excellence in independent education by both policy and example. More recently, the Darling-Hammond Schools have refreshed their practice by engaging with modern educational reform in the public arena.

Theme: Sustainability and Change

This section began with subsections comparing and contrasting teacher and administrator perceptions of various cultural and relational structures operating within each of three independents schools. The William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools were endowed with the characters of their founding leaders, while the John Dewey School expressed the Progressive philosophy of its founding institution. All three schools offered evidence of the influence of the contexts within which they were founded. This subsection compares and contrasts how the three schools sustain cultures

based on relational trust and mutual accountability within the historically changing broader context of educational practice. As in each case, cross case analysis will consider the roles of leaders and institutions in sustainability and change.

Leadership. Historic leaders at all three schools faced existential crises for their institutions. At the William Small School, the inability of the founder's eldest son to adapt his father's model of independent schooling to an era of increasing interaction with institutions beyond the school and its partners in higher education led to a contraction in resources that almost killed the school. Although the youngest son of William Small's founder excelled at leading the Darling-Hammond Schools through the same challenge, subsequent leaders at the Darling-Hammond Schools faced a loss of definition and purpose as they expanded to include girls and international students against the relativistic backdrop of their southern California university town. The divestiture of the John Dewey School from its founding university left the organization essentially dead, although its constituent members survived to re-found the school (see Table 41).

Table 41

Leadership and Sustainability at Three Independent Schools

The William Small School	The John Dewey School	The Darling-Hammond Schools
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Succession and decline • Cautious engagement and professional association • Respect for agrarian culture and trust-based autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divestiture and reorganization • Strategic planning and professional association • Social norms theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relativism, expanding mission, and re-founding • Leadership in professional association • Honor, trust and professional community

Pursuing parallel paths through the 1970s and beyond, all three schools eventually assumed distinctive variations of the professional forms of independent schools. A rural retreat, the William Small School maintained its agrarian identity, even as market forces drove the school to engage in interscholastic athletics, international recruiting, and accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) and the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). While modern leaders can point to strategic planning documents and emerging layers of faculty leadership, teacher autonomy within their classrooms is still highly prized and perceived interference from parents or the state is still resolutely resisted. Embracing the shared leadership and strategic planning inhering to the School Renewal model of reaccreditation, the John Dewey School practices the essential forms of professional association at the level of the school. The sustainable feedback loop of honor and community defines professional association at the level of the school at the Darling-Hammond Schools. To an unusual

degree, the Darling-Hammond Schools have replicated their construct of community on the scale of inter-institutional interaction, leading others in professional association (see Table 41).

Arguably, current leaders at the three schools succeed to the degree that they reinforce constructive feedback loops between honor, trust, and community. The recently departed leader of the William Small School honored the revered founder of the school by engraving his words on the buildings of the school, but the headmaster was widely perceived to be out of step with the agrarian culture of the school. By contrast, the Interim Headmaster's understanding of the school's construct of honor and the trust he invested in an autonomous faculty were quickly earning community support for his initiatives. Invited to comment upon factors school reformers should take into account to cultivate self-regulating excellence, the Interim Headmaster at William Small, who had a long career of independent school and higher education leadership, recalled the hunger of certain superintendents and principals he had encountered when running IDEA Fellows Institutes in the early days of public education reform. Allowing that not everyone was as interested in reform as those who chose to convene to hear T.H. Bell or Theodore Sizer, the Interim Headmaster spoke out for local control: "I do think that in the perfect world, a principal runs the school completely, like an independent school is run... My vision would be to see a system of principals united to improve their schools. They've got such good ideas."

On cultural sustainability and change, the Director of the John Dewey School propounded really understanding the school's history and context. Citing Diane Ravitz,

the Director noted that, “there’s such a pressure for trying to create scalable models, and...not every success can be scaled the way we would hope could be the case...Not every improvement is replicable, because everybody’s context is different.” The Director continued with his informal formula for local school leadership: “Not to be the consummate relativist, but you need to be part historian and part demographer or consultant within your own school to understand where you are.” The Director’s application of social norms theory provided the framework for understanding the baselines as essential to either sustain desirable cultural features or to respectfully design interventions to transform cultural norms and expectations.

On sustaining school culture and leading transformational change, the leader of the Darling-Hammond Schools eloquently translated her school’s founder’s relationship between honor, trust, and community into the daily life of the school. Actively guiding the chapel program, the Director engaged all community members in the exercise of teaching cultural virtues by honoring community heroes. Setting an example of courageous leadership, the Director was firm in defending the schools’ purposeful excellence in single sex boarding education and the fundamental principles of the school’s honor system. Closing the loop of escalating individual and community trust and honor, the Director enacted her confidence in a faculty committed to academic distinction and in students committed to honor by entrusting key leadership functions to the whole community. Invited to comment on broader educational reform, she envisioned the challenges of forming a professional community operating on the larger scale: “When you give people responsibility and accountability you also like to give them autonomy.

You have to create trust.” Citing the “shining examples” of turnarounds of difficult schools, the Head of Schools asserted that, “invariably it comes down to the...leader having a real vision and setting out a program and having a little autonomy for bringing the right people in. I don’t think you can do it any other way.” Addressing a steep challenge to education reform, the Head of Schools identified what she called a “very frightening supply problem” in the teacher development pipeline.

Institutions. At all three schools, effective institutions for sustaining cultures of relational trust and mutual accountability were built on foundations consistent with those values. The history and the values of the eloquent founder of the William Small School provided the basis for the school’s honor system and chapel program. While the outward forms of the honor system have evolved over time, it continues to express the school’s essential trust in the honor of mutually accountable individuals, influencing classroom practice, extracurricular programs, and residential life. The shared meals and other elements of boarding life were institutions for cultural sustenance. While chapel has transformed to embrace an international school community, it still serves as a gathering point for the school to develop, articulate, and celebrate its shared narrative.

At the John Dewey School, progressive philosophy provided the basis for levels of relational trust and mutual accountability evident in the school’s institutions. The coalition who reorganized the Demonstration School as an independent school explicitly embraced the school’s legacy of progressive education, which they interpreted as informal individualism, an appreciation of diversity, and academic freedom with personal responsibility for freedom. These terms were embedded throughout institutional policy,

from the strategic planning of the Board and administration, to School Renewal reports of faculty and parents, to faculty and student handbooks defining best practice and discipline. Interviews and observations also offered evidence that, while institutions such as schedules and facilities supported individual freedom, they also limited opportunities to develop mutual accountability to community standards.

As at the William Small School, the honor system at the Darling-Hammond Schools was an institution sustaining a culture of relational trust and mutual accountability. As at the John Dewey School, however, the Darling-Hammond Schools articulated a more formal understanding of the system's philosophical underpinnings and cultural implications. The cycle of mutual causation between honorable individuals and communities articulated by both the founder of the Darling-Hammond Schools and the current Director informed essentially all of the schools institutions: policies, mentorship programs, programs of curriculum and instruction, daily schedule, chapel, and boarding life.

Quantitative Analysis of Relational Trust

Examination of RT/OC survey data for trends within each case have already been detailed. This section uses t-tests to identify statistically significant differences among cases (see Table 42).

Table 42

Descriptive Statistics for Relational Trust at Three Independent Schools

		Mean	Standard Deviation
Teacher-Principal Trust	The William Small School (N=23)	3.02	0.60
	The Dewey School (N=26)	3.00	0.71
	The Darling-Hammond Schools (N=36)	3.28	0.74
	Weighted Mean	3.12	
Teacher-Teacher Trust	The William Small School (N=23)	3.08	0.30
	The Dewey School (N=26)	3.60	0.34
	The Darling-Hammond Schools (N=36)	3.18	0.68
	Weighted Mean	3.28	
Teacher-Student Trust	The William Small School (N=23)	3.33	0.49
	The Dewey School (N=26)	3.72	0.35
	The Darling-Hammond Schools (N=36)	3.62	0.55
	Weighted Mean	3.51	

Differences in Teacher-Principal Trust at the William Small School ($M=3.02$, $SD=0.60$) and the Dewey School ($M=3.00$, $SD=0.71$) were not statistically significant (see Figure 9). However, the Darling-Hammond Schools ($M=3.28$, $SD=0.74$) scored significantly higher than the William Small School ($M=3.02$, $SD=0.60$) on measures of Teacher-Principal Trust; $t(56)=2.7409$, $p=0.0064$. The Darling Hammond Schools ($M=3.28$, $SD=0.74$) also scored significantly higher than the Dewey School ($M=3.00$, $SD=0.71$) on measures of Teacher-Principal Trust; $t(60)=5.1012$, $p<0.0001$. The relatively lower measures of Teacher-Principal Trust at the William Small School are easily understood, given that the leadership of the school was in transition on the heels of widespread dissatisfaction with the previous leader. The Head of the high school at the Dewey School, however, had been in place for over twelve years, suggesting that scores

on measures of Teacher-Principal Trust at the Dewey School might be expected to be more similar to those at the Darling-Hammond School (see Figure 9).

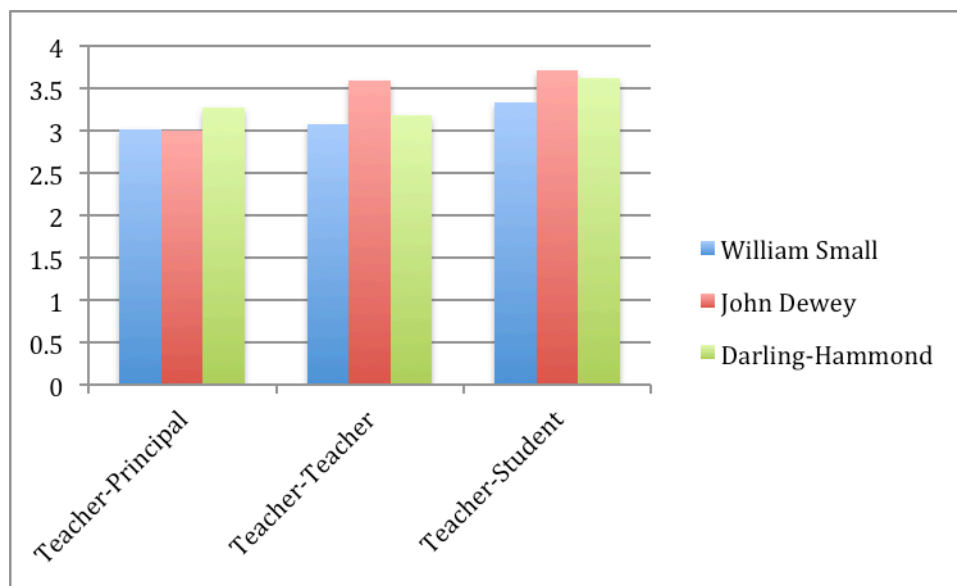


Figure 9. Cross-case comparisons of relational trust.

By contrast, the Dewey School ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.33$) scored significantly higher than the William Small School ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.61$) on measures of Teacher-Teacher Trust; $t(47) = -3.818$, $p < 0.001$. Likewise, the Dewey School ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.33$) scored significantly higher than the Darling-Hammond Schools ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.68$) on measures of Teacher-Teacher Trust; $t(60) = 2.958$, $p = 0.004$. There were no significant difference in measures of Teacher-Teacher Trust between the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools. One variable separating the Dewey School from the other two is that the Dewey School is a day school, the William Small School is

historically a boarding school with significant numbers of day students, and the Darling-Hammond Schools is predominantly a boarding school.

Finally, the Dewey School ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.35$) scored significantly higher than the William Small School ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.49$) on measures of Teacher-Student Trust; $t(47) = -3.275$; $p = 0.002$. There were no significant difference in measures of Teacher-Student Trust between the John Dewey School and the Darling-Hammond Schools.

Looking at aggregates of all schools, measures of Teacher-Student Trust ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.60$) scored significantly higher than measures of Teacher-Teacher Trust ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 0.47$); $t(83) = 2.7822$, $p = 0.006$. Measures of Teacher-Student Trust ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.60$) also scored significantly higher than measures of Teacher-Principal Trust ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 0.69$); $t(83) = 3.9323$, $p < 0.001$. However differences between measures of Teacher-Teacher and Teacher-Principal Trust were not statistically significant across cases.

I also looked at differences in aggregates of teachers who had served at their schools for fewer than four years and those who had served for four or more years. Longer serving teachers ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.47$) scored significantly higher than newer teachers in measures of Teacher-Student Trust; $t(81) = -3.042$, $p = 0.003$.

Findings of Cross-Case Analysis of Research Question 1

What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability? First, although these schools were selected because of their shared

independent governance structures, it is interesting to note the diverse structural conformations displayed by this group of schools as they evolved towards their present similar form, ranging from a family-owned proprietary school to a university-managed demonstration school to a stakeholder-run cooperative. Within each school, teachers and administrators valued local control and identified individuals capable of self-regulation as essential to their trust-based school cultures (see Table 43).

Table 43

Cross-Case Analysis of Structures to Develop Trust-Based Cultures

William Small School	John Dewey School	Darling-Hammond Schools
Individual locus of control: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agrarian individualism • Teacher autonomy • Student Honor Council 	Individual locus of control: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive individualism • Academic freedom • Focus on growth • Inclusive diversity • Responsible freedom 	Individual locus of control: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heroes develop community, which develops heroes. • Teacher leadership: unbounded thinking, experiential education • Student leadership: multiple structures for boys and girls
Philosophical framework of the words and stories of the founder: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings, classroom walls, publications, and Chapel • Character education: classroom teachers, extra-curricular programs (outdoor education) • Student-led honor system: conspicuous trust with accountability for defection 	Philosophical framework of progressive education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board-led strategic planning implemented through teacher-led School Renewal • Administrative policies applying social norms theory to implement a focus on growth • System of Integrity based on student-drafted Declaration of Values 	Philosophical framework of Honor, Trust, and Community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Character education: Chapel program to develop virtues and celebrate heroes and student-led programs • Student-led honor system: conspicuous trust with accountability for defection • Axiomatic definition for honor system
Infrastructure for relationship: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealtime and academic life • Chapel—space and time • Regular schedule of faculty meetings • Challenge of resources: need for improved faculty housing 	Infrastructure for relationship: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenge of land-locked campus: need for spaces for relationship • Seasonal schedule of strategic planning 	Infrastructure for relationship: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mealtime and residential life Daily academic schedule • Chapel—space and time • Regular schedule of faculty meetings • Contained technology

Second a shared philosophical framework built on a value for trust and accountability was perceived as essential at all three schools. To support the development of relational trust, teachers required school structures to be genuinely aligned with the

framework. To sustain the culture, the philosophical framework needed to be sufficiently flexible. Finally, teachers and administrators at each school cited the importance of well-maintained infrastructures for relationship in the emergence and sustenance of a culture built upon relational trust and mutual accountability.

Locus of control. Local control on the scale of the school was translated as an individual locus of control at all three schools, albeit in distinctive ways (see Table 46). Teacher autonomy was an important feature to teachers and administrators at the William Small School. Adults at this school also valued the student-led honor system, which one described as the best educational program at the school. Progressivism informed the individualism prized by teachers and administrators at the John Dewey School. They interpreted their progressive legacy as encompassing informal individualism, academic freedom, focus on growth, inclusive diversity, and responsible freedom. At the Darling-Hammond Schools, teachers and administrators saw individual and institutional development as essentially interdependent. Teachers exercised individual control by leading development of curriculum and instruction. Teachers transferred control to students by challenging them to unbounded thinking and through programs of experiential education. Also often cited at the Darling-Hammond Schools were a comprehensive system of student leadership structures and the multiplication of effects owing to the schools' coordinate structure, with parallel systems for boys and girls. Perhaps reflecting an extreme version of distributed leadership, teacher-student trust was the strongest dimension of relational trust evident at all three schools.

Philosophical framework. Cited by teachers and administrators at all three schools, a second structural feature supporting the emergence and sustenance of a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability was a shared philosophical framework built on a value for trust and accountability (see Table 46). At the William Small School, school structures built on the framework of the words and stories of the founder included widespread posting and publication of their historic narrative. Classroom teaching, advisory programs, and extra-curricular programs such as the school's Outdoor Education program combined to promote character development aligned with the historic values of the school. Perhaps most saliently, teachers and administrators at the William Small School cited the safety and freedom enjoyed by members of this honor system school community.

At the John Dewey School, the philosophical framework of progressive education was developed at multiple structural levels (see Table 46). Although a formal board now manages this independent school, the Director's decision to implement strategic planning through the School Renewal model of accreditation allowed him to successfully graft board leadership onto the progressive educational cooperative he inherited. Similarly, by applying social norms theory in policy development, the Director succeeded in honoring the school's philosophical focus on growth while implementing needed structures for accountability. On a less formal level, the Declaration of Values drafted by a former generation of students and a grassroots program of service learning still informed the school's System of Integrity and enacted the progressive principle of responsible freedom. Genuine alignment of school structures with the school's philosophical

framework contributed to relational trust. A perception of a lack of authenticity in appealing to school philosophy appears to have detracted from teacher-principal relational trust.

At the Darling-Hammond Schools, the founder's often-quoted statement provides the philosophical framework for a culture built on relational trust and mutual accountability: "Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community." It can be difficult to know where to join the well-established cycle of circular causation between individual and community honor evident at the Darling-Hammond Schools. Although the Head of Schools advised a carefully planned and implemented Chapel program to teach virtues and celebrate heroes, the program of character education at Darling-Hammond was unusually dependent upon the planning of the student-led Honor Councils. Conspicuous trust was evident at all scales within the system of the school, and a thoughtfully implemented honor system was in place to assure mutual accountability. Although the axioms of the honor system did not define its workings in the founder's day, the principles articulated by a committee of teachers and students in the days described as the "re-founding" of the school have helped subsequent generations of community members to sustain a true course.

Infrastructure for relationship. Teachers and administrators at both the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools cited the importance of mealtime and other features of residential life as structures supporting relationships. At the William Small School, however, with 30% boarding students and 70% day students, differing responsibilities between boarding and day faculty also divided the faculty into two

classes. At the John Dewey School, a land-locked campus contributed to limited interaction at mealtimes owing to a lack of common space. Teachers tended to eat alone or in small clusters in their rooms and off-campus lunch has become a prized privilege among students. Possibly signaling shifting priorities for the use of limited space, strategic planning had identified common space for relationship as a consequential need at the John Dewey School. By taking three meals a day together and celebrating regular family-style dinners the Darling-Hammond Schools created space for relationship.

Both the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools featured dedicated space and scheduled time for community gatherings in Chapel. The chapel space at William Small occupied an upstairs room in the administration building and was decorated with photographs of the founder and past classes. Tiers of seats were oriented towards a small central stage. Constructed by the founder to resemble the mission at San Juan Capistrano, the chapel at the Darling-Hammond Schools occupied the highest place on the campus. Both schools scheduled regular, if not daily, time for chapel. The John Dewey School conducted community gatherings as needed in a multi-purpose space used as both a gymnasium and an auditorium. Students improvised seating on the floor, generally facing the stage on one side of the room.

The schedule was an infrastructure for relationships evident in varied forms at all three schools. Although the daily schedule was only cited by administrators at the William Small School to offer evidence of planning for implementation of a new system for reporting student progress, a weekly schedule of faculty breakfasts effectively supported relationships. Administrators identified a need to locate resources to help

boarding faculty to carve out private time. The daily schedule was not mentioned at John Dewey and an unreliable schedule of faculty meetings was evident. Teachers and administrators at Dewey perceived the seasonal schedule of meetings associated with School Renewal and annual strategic planning, however, as significant structures supporting the relational structure of the school. Faculty and administration at the Darling-Hammond Schools perceived the daily schedule as both the cause and the effect of relational structures at the school. The schedule was the work of a committee of stakeholders charged with the task of promoting academic distinction within a humane framework. Teachers and administrators at Darling-Hammond also met weekly to reflect and plan.

Cross-Case Analysis of Data and Findings of Research Question 2

This section offers cross-case analysis of data gathered from sociogram questionnaires at three independent schools for similarities and differences in the relational connectivity and corresponding trustworthiness at each school. This section then offers cross-case quantitative analysis of responses to items on the RT/OC survey related to teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.

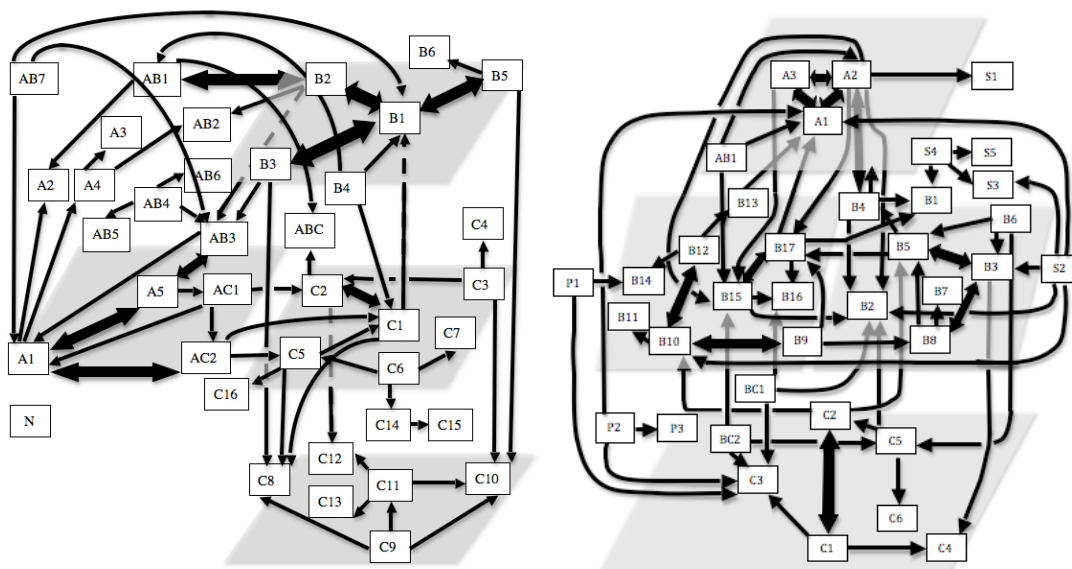
Sociogram Analysis for the Relational Connectivity of Trustworthy Networks

In all three cases, sociogram findings offered insight into the relational trust networks of the schools. In the case of the William Small School, I identified a hub exhibiting extraordinary closure of female leaders who had long-standing, multi-

dimensional relationships (see B1-B6 in Figure 10a). I also identified a second hub of younger faculty members bound by the shared experience of serving as boarding faculty (see A1-AB6 in Figure 10a). Finally, the C-hubs seemed more loosely closed, but relatively lower rates of survey returns among those faculty members likely contributed to the smaller number of mutual citations of relational trust. Administrators were largely missing from the relational trust network of the William Small School.

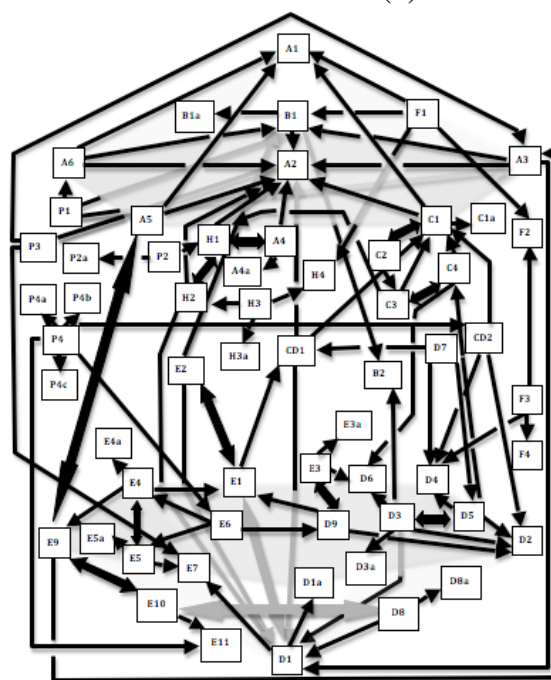
Compare the relational trust network constructed from sociogram surveys of the William Small School to that constructed for the John Dewey School. As at William Small, John Dewey exhibited a hub exhibiting strong closure among three long-serving female leaders (see A1-A3 in Figure 10b). At John Dewey, however, the A-hub connected with a sub-network linking the left side of the network, parallel to the power network of administrators flowing through the right. As at William Small, young faculty members at John Dewey seemed to be organizing a sub-network, expressing principles of critical friends groups learned as Klingenstein fellows, as opposed to shared dorm duties.

By contrast, the relational trust network of the Darling-Hammond Schools exhibited the most formal organization. The administrative team, in the upper hub, exhibited the closure one might expect from a team of long-time collaborators. The schools' unique coordinate structure also presented itself in the relational trust network.



(a.) William Small School

(b) John Dewey School



(c) Darling-Hammond Schools.

Figure 10. Cross-case comparisons of relational trust networks.

The museum staff exhibited a tightly closed hub (see C1-C4 in Figure 10c), and girls' school advisors tended to align on the left of the diagram while boys' school advisors tend to align on the right of the diagram. As at William Small, shared dorm duty likely contributed to the relational trust alignments along gender lines at the Darling-Hammond Schools.

Alienating and enabling structure. In all three schools, participants responded to questions aiming to identify any alienating bureaucratic impediments to the free flow of information and other forms of social capital flowing through the system. At no school was alienating bureaucracy a major feature, appearing only in isolated incidents. At William Small, there was evidence of alienating bureaucracy in the process of implementing a software change, viewed by many teachers as responding to parents while disempowering teachers. At John Dewey, there was differentiation between academic departments in the likelihood of appealing to positional authority to effect curricular change, with the department occupied by members in formal positions of power being more likely to identify those in positions of power as essential to change. Although significant order was evident at the Darling-Hammond Schools, the relatively higher level of teacher-principal trust at Darling-Hammond suggests that faculty members at the school perceived the order to be enabling, rather than alienating bureaucracy.

Quantitative Analysis of Organizational Conditions

Teacher-Teacher trust at the Dewey School scored significantly higher than at either the William Small School or the Darling-Hammond Schools. Faculty responses to

survey questions at the John Dewey School scored significantly higher than those from faculty members from the William Small School on Teacher Orientation to Innovation, Peer Collaboration, Reflective Dialog, Collective Responsibility, Focus on Student Learning, and Teacher Socialization (see Table 44).

Table 44

T-Tests— The Dewey School vs the William Small School

		M	SD	t	df	p
Teacher-Orientation to Innovation	The William Small School	2.65	0.48	-6.437	47	<0.001
	The Dewey School	3.47	0.41			
Peer Collaboration	The William Small School	2.35	0.61	-4.602	47	<0.001
	The Dewey School	3.08	0.51			
Reflective Dialogue	The William Small School	2.76	0.53	-2.5	47	0.016
	The Dewey School	3.06	0.31			
Collective Responsibility	The William Small School	2.71	0.57	-3.848	47	<0.001
	The Dewey School	3.25	0.41			
Focus on Student Learning	The William Small School	2.83	0.44	-4.034	47	<0.001
	The Dewey School	3.35	0.46			
Teacher Socialization	The William Small School	2.54	0.78	-5.097	47	<0.001
	The Dewey School	3.47	0.47			

The Dewey School also scored significantly higher than the Darling-Hammond Schools on Teacher Orientation to Innovation and Teacher Socialization (see Table 45).

Table 45

T-Tests— The Dewey School vs the Darling-Hammond Schools

		M	SD	t	df	p
Teacher-Orientation to Innovation	The Dewey School	3.47	0.41	2.512	60	0.015
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	3.12	0.63			
Teacher Socialization	The Dewey School	3.47	0.47	2.660	60	0.010
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	3.11	0.56			

Faculty members at the Darling-Hammond Schools scored significantly higher than the highly autonomous faculty at the William Small School on Teacher Orientation to Innovation, Peer Collaboration, Focus on Student Learning, and Teacher Socialization (see Table 46).

Table 46

T-Tests— The Darling-Hammond Schools vs the William Small School

		M	SD	t	df	p
Teacher Orientation to Innovation	The William Small School	2.65	0.48	-3.004	57	0.004
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	3.12	0.63			
Peer Collaboration	The William Small School	2.35	0.61	-3.902	57	<0.001
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	2.97	0.59			
Focus on Student Learning	The William Small School	2.83	0.44	-3.503	57	0.001
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	3.38	0.65			
Teacher Socialization	The William Small School	2.54	0.78	-3.243	57	0.002
	The Darling-Hammond Schools	3.11	0.56			

Aggregating the data, I compared grand means of the seven Organizational Conditions for each school. The Dewey School's mean score of measures of Organizational Conditions ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 0.20$) was significantly higher than the William Small School ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.26$); $p < 0.001$. The Dewey School's mean score of measures of Organizational Conditions ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 0.20$) was also significantly higher than the Darling-Hammond Schools ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.21$); $p < 0.001$. Although scores for Organizational Conditions at the Darling-Hammond Schools were consistently greater than or equal to scores at the William Small School, and two of those differences were statistically significant, the differences in mean measures of Organizational Conditions between the William Small School ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.26$) and the Darling-Hammond Schools ($M = 3.1$, $SD = 0.21$) was not significant at the 95% confidence level ($p = 0.070$).

I also looked at differences in aggregates of teachers at all schools who had served at their schools for fewer than four years and those who had served for four or more years. Longer serving teachers ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 0.54$) scored significantly higher than newer students in measures of Teacher Commitment to School ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.70$); $t(81) = -2.346$, $p = 0.021$ across cases.

Findings of Cross-Case Analysis of Research Question 2

In three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus

on student learning, and teacher socialization? To respond to this question, I analyzed data by constructing a grid in two dimensions: Relational Trust on the vertical axis and Network Trustworthiness on the horizontal axis (see Figure 11). The Relational Trust axis was ordered using Bryk and Schneider's categories (see Table 7). Applying Coleman's (1965) terms, the Network Trustworthiness axis ranges from lacking in order to high network closure and connectivity. Relative rankings of schools on network trustworthiness were assigned based on evidence of system closure and connectivity in sociogram analysis. Evidence of enabling organizational structures in surveys of organizational conditions and isolated incidents of coercive bureaucracy were also considered in assigning the schools' relative levels of network trustworthiness.

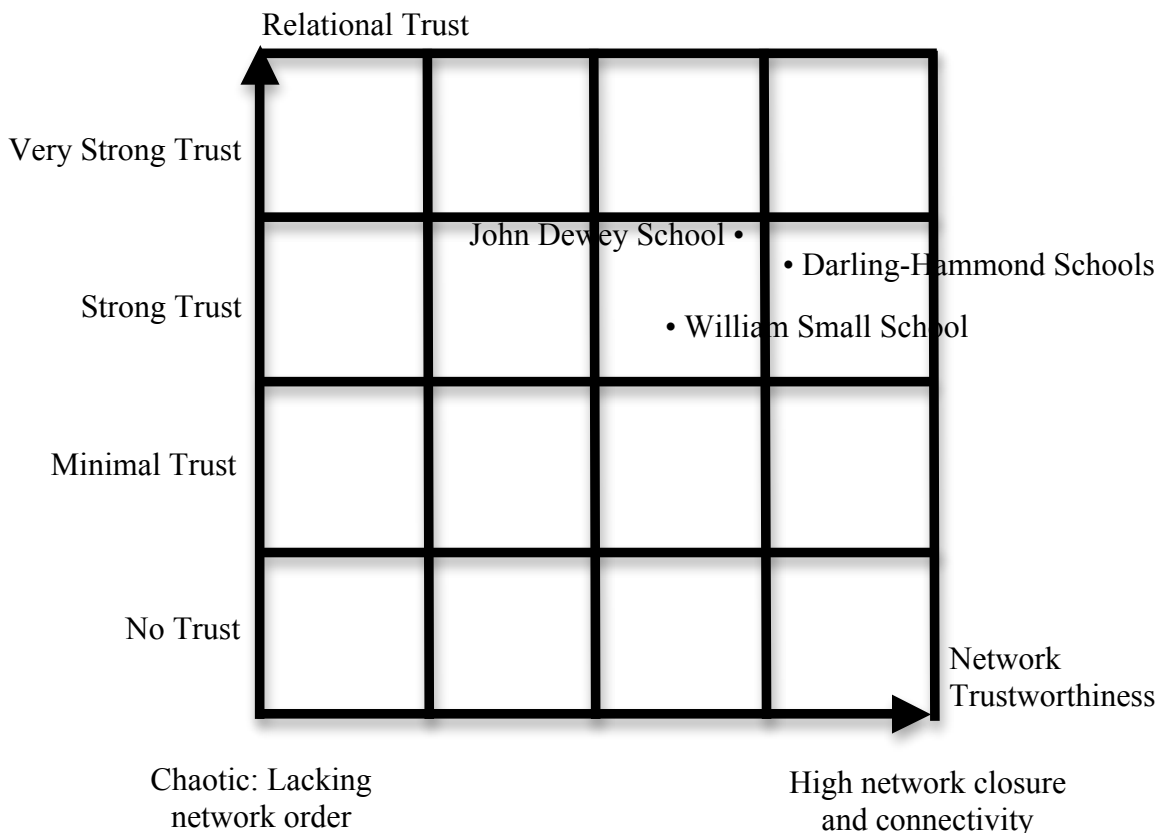


Figure 11. Relational trust vs. network trustworthiness.

Based on surveys of relational trust, all schools displayed strong trust overall, with the William Small School displaying the weakest relational trust across all dimensions and the John Dewey School displaying the strongest relational trust of the three (see Figure 11), despite a significantly lower level of teacher-principal trust within the school. Exhibiting the highest teacher-teacher trust of the three schools, the John Dewey School also exhibited relatively higher scores on inventories of organizational conditions. Next highest on organizational conditions, the Darling-Hammond Schools exhibited the highest teacher-principal trust. In the midst of a transition in leadership, the

William Small School's teacher-principal trust seems to have suffered from initiatives perceived as coercive and interfering with teacher autonomy. Relatively lower scores of William Small teachers on organizational conditions assessing collective action within a professional learning community may reflect the school's tradition of autonomous teachers operating on the scale of the classroom.

Emerging from an era of broad dissatisfaction with school leadership, the William Small School offered less evidence of the closure and connectivity in its relational network than either of the other two schools. Relatively lower scores on organizational conditions such as peer collaboration and teacher socialization suggested relatively lower levels of enabling organization. At the John Dewey School, sociogram analysis uncovered evidence of closure and connectivity in the relational network, largely organized along two trunks representing informal influence and formal power, along with an emerging critical friends group. Relatively higher scores on organizational conditions suggested an effective framework enabling collaboration, identified by participants with the School Renewal model for strategic planning. Incidents of disorganization and even perceived coercion by the Head of the high school related with lower levels of teacher-principal trust than of other dimensions of relational trust at the school. Faculty responses to the RT/OC survey and interview data revealed that they would value improved opportunities for organized interaction. The Darling-Hammond Schools exhibited the most clearly recognizable organizational structure, with the closure and connectivity evident in the relational trust network uncovering both the administrative team and the coordinate structure of the school. High levels of teacher-principal trust suggested that

faculty members interpreted the organizational structure as competent leadership enabling organizational mission, as opposed to administrative interference with good work.

Conclusion of Findings

The data collected for this study were analyzed based on the theoretical framework of James Coleman's social capital theory (1990) as applied in Bryk & Schneider's study of why some urban elementary schools granted local control improved, while others did not (2002). Bryk & Schneider treated relational trust as a form of social capital and a core resource for school improvement, correlating with teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. Coleman's social capital theory is grounded in theories of complex systems. The macro-micro feedback loops creating cycles of mutual causation between an orderly system structure and a free agent operating rationally within that structure came to the foreground as mechanisms for internal accountability, especially as a result of findings at the Darling-Hammond School. Also emerging as a significant construct for individual freedom constrained by system order was the professional association. The constructive feedback loops by which systems support the development of social capital and the principles of professional learning connect this study of three independent schools to contemporary research on successful school reform through capacity building. On reviving teaching by developing professional capital, Fullan and Hargreaves (2012) wrote:

Social capital is more important than human capital because it generates human capital faster, among all teachers for every child. Leaders have immense power with social capital to strengthen their school communities, develop greater trust, and build more effective collaboration—to raise the social capital in the school that develops their students' human capital in the future. (¶11).

The purposes of this study were to explore how relational trust is fostered in three particular independent schools and to uncover interactions between relational trust and features of professional community in these schools. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 analyzed the data from the three schools within and across cases through the lens of the research questions: (1) What are teacher and administrator perceptions at three independent schools of structures operating to develop the resource of relational trust, to assure accountability to community standards, and to sustain a culture based on relational trust and mutual accountability; and (2) In three independent schools, how do relational trust and the relational connectivity of trustworthy networks relate to organizational conditions found to contribute to school improvement: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization?

Findings on Research Question 1

While all three cases featured an individual locus of control, they also exhibited structures supporting the relationship between the individual and the community.

Individuals at both the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools often cited the safety and freedom of living within an honor system community, while teachers

and administrators at the John Dewey School valued the “responsible freedom” of a school community built on individual integrity. Safety and responsibility pertain to the individual’s relationship with the system and other members; freedom is the individual benefit of relational trust. Beginning with conspicuous gestures of trust in the individual, all schools ended in community, as summarized at the Darling-Hammond Schools: “Without honor there can be no trust, and without trust there can be no community.”

Beginning with overt expressions of their faith in students’ capacities for self-monitoring, all three schools engaged in intentional programs of character development. At Small and Darling-Hammond, the programs were embedded in honor systems that pervaded other programs of the school. Service on the Honor Committee was described by one faculty member at the William Small School as the best learning experience at the school. At Dewey, character education was embedded in programs promoting healthy decision-making and respectful celebration of diversity. All schools implemented structures for students to hold one another accountable to community standards. Aggregating the data from the three cases, teacher-student trust surpassed both teacher-teacher and teacher-principal trust. In effect, each of these schools largely treated the student body as a professional learning community, sharing leadership with students and intentionally developing their professional capacity.

Evidence of the professional learning community among faculty members varied across cases, but all schools exhibited relatively strong to very strong relational trust and varying configurations of formal structures and informal norms and expectations for mutual accountability to school standards. The John Dewey School demonstrated the

strongest evidence of collective action among groups of faculty members and the strongest teacher-teacher trust. Darling-Hammond demonstrated the strongest evidence of organized professional association and the strongest teacher-principal trust. Although faculty community at Small seemed to be challenged by the dual nature of work dividing the boarding and day faculty, individual faculty members modeled the “tireless work” (interview and document data) and dedicated professionalism expected of students. While all three schools featured programs for professional development and formal frameworks for faculty evaluation, faculty members were largely responsible for self-regulation. Formal organizations of influential teacher leaders have emerged at each school as Deans of Faculty, grade-level deans, and a variety of directorships and advisory roles.

Concerning sustainability, all schools have seen ups and downs in their funds of social capital. In their formative years, the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools required a firm hand to establish orderly patterns capable of self-sustaining expansion and learning. While Dewey’s early years as an independent school were exciting for the educators engaged in forming the new entity, the school threatened to spin out of control before the Board hired an ordering force. In every case, once an orderly rhythm was established, successful leaders fed a cycle of escalating trust by distributing power, flattening hierarchies at the school. In every case, whenever a leader’s trust was perceived to be less than genuine or a leader’s ability to create orderly structures for interaction was perceived to be lacking, the school communities displayed evidence of deflation in the social capital of trust and contraction in the emergent phenomenon of community learning.

Findings on Research Question 2

If the systems' theoretical structure undergirding the theoretical framework of this study emerged as significant to the structural first research question, it is not surprising that Bryk and Schneider's (2002) application of that theory connects this study to subsequent work built, at least in part, on the foundation of their work on trust in schools. Focused on the role of trustworthy networks on the emergence of teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization, research question 2 led findings in this study in the direction of professional community, in particular, and capacity building more generally.

At the Darling-Hammond Schools and the John Dewey School, subjects referenced professional learning and community and data supported findings that professional community and organizational learning were significant effects of the schools' relational networks. At the Darling-Hammond Schools, several respondents independently applied the work of psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi to community effects. Initially concerned with psychological effects within the individual, Csikszentmihalyi ultimately linked earlier work, such as *Creativity: Flow and the psychology of discovery and invention* (1997) to organizational effects (Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, and Damon, 2001). Practitioners at the Darling-Hammond School both referenced that body of work on professional learning and enacted significant features of professional community: commitment to the "principles and purpose" (Head of Schools) of shared mission; collective inquiry through collaborative teams on significant decisions

concerning the schedule and curriculum; active experimentation towards continuous improvement; and a willingness to make honest assessments and difficult decisions in order to achieve desired results (Dufour & Eaker, 1998).

At the John Dewey School, professional community was evident in a self-organizing critical friends group, but even more apparent in a pervasive focus on inquiry and application of Perkins' (2003) social norms theory. The baselines and interventions of Perkins' theory informed the school's thoughtful substance abuse program, aligned formal policies with existing norms, and guided leaders in strategic planning. Reinforcing the trend is the School Renewal reaccreditation process the school has chosen. Based on the work of John Goodlad (1997), School Renewal does not try to impose standards and structures from beyond the school, but treats the school as the unit of analysis and allows significant latitude to qualifying institutions to establish their own frameworks for strategic planning and evaluation.

Although the William Small School offered strong evidence of support for individual growth and development alongside some evidence of informal organization for collaboration, a historic expectation for autonomous teaching and failures of relational trust along the way seem to have contributed to smaller funds of the social resources relating to professional community. The Darling-Hammond Schools' scores on organizational conditions were significantly higher than those at the William Small School on teacher orientation to innovation, peer collaboration, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization. The scores for the John Dewey School were significantly

higher than those for William Small on all organizational conditions except teacher commitment to school.

Professional communities do not survive long if they exist for their own sakes (Gardner, Csikzentmihalyi, and Damon, 2001). The ultimate objective is developing the capacity of a school to accomplish its mission and purpose: developing the capacity of the students. Certain features of Newmann et al.'s (2000) construct of capacity building are more or less taken for granted at these three independent schools, including teacher knowledge, skills and dispositions, and technical resources. As we have seen, program coherence at these schools tended to focus through unique programs developing integrity and honor within the framework of professional community. Newmann et al.'s principal leadership was important at all three schools, but was also distributed to encompass teacher leadership and even student leadership through the structures associated with the honor systems at two of the schools and the construct of responsible freedom at the third. No single component or list of components is sufficient to explain the community learning and capacity development evident to varying degrees at these schools. Rather, the levels of trust operating in the relationships between and among freely interacting individuals and their groups connected by more or less trustworthy networks combined to initiate and sustain cycles of expansion, and sometimes contraction, in the social, human, and even material capital of the schools.

Summary

This study of three independent schools aimed to identify structures developing relational trust, assuring mutual accountability to community standards, and sustaining cultures built on these values. The study further attempted to explore relationships between relational trust and network trustworthiness on organizational effects associated with high capacity professional learning communities: teacher orientation to innovation, teacher commitment to school community, peer collaboration, reflective dialog, collective responsibility, focus on student learning, and teacher socialization.

Important structures at all three schools entrusted individual community members with significant freedom, while widely distributing a leader's responsibility for community effects. Honor systems, programs for character education, strategic planning, and policies guiding daily life asserted the values of individual freedom and personal responsibility evident in self-regulating professional associations. Allocation of scarce resources, from the scheduling of time to the use of space, offered evidence of the priority placed on developing relational resources at each school. The ebb and flow in social capital over time, however, demonstrated that structure alone is not sufficient to sustain cultures built on relational trust and mutual accountability. Countercultural structures and those perceived as inauthentic or coercive detracted from the social capital of relational trust and mutual accountability at the three schools.

The final chapter will discuss how schools might apply findings about trust and trustworthiness to establish priorities and develop capacity. It will place these three independent schools within the broader educational context and explore how findings of

this study contribute to understanding of school community. Finally, I will make recommendations for future study and offer concluding thoughts on relationship building to develop capacity within the profession of education.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine how relational trust and trustworthy relational networks interact with community factors associated with school improvement at three independent schools founded and operating in diverse contexts. The data offer clear evidence that teachers and principals at all three schools perceived relational trust to be integral to the development and improvement of trustworthy relational networks forming the fabric of their school communities. Serving as a resource for individual and organizational capacity building, relational trust was viewed as both an investment in trustworthy relational networks and a return on that investment. At the John Dewey School, investments in the faculty as a professional learning community were evident. Presuming a developmental component to character, the honor systems at the William Small School and the Darling-Hammond Schools extended capacity building initiatives to students, essentially treating their student bodies as professional learning communities. Although outside observers often focus on the capacities of incoming students to explain the success of independent school communities, analysis of the data of this study offers abundant evidence of the attention given by leaders at these schools to the task of developing the capacities of their students, adults, and school communities.

This chapter will begin by developing a two-dimensional model for individual and organizational capacity building based on this research. The chapter will apply the model to the three schools studied and consider implications of the model. Finally, the chapter will make recommendations for future study and offer concluding thoughts.

A Two-Dimensional Model for Individual and Organizational Capacity Building

Because this study focused on independent schools standing apart from externally imposed accountability structures, I analyzed the dimension of relational trust against organic network trustworthiness in cross-case analysis. Within the broader context, however, trustworthiness is often associated with accountability. Based on my research, I have developed a model, which considers levels of relational trust and accountability to standards as interrelated but separate dimensions operating within school communities, either contributing to or detracting from individual and organizational capacity (see Figure 12).

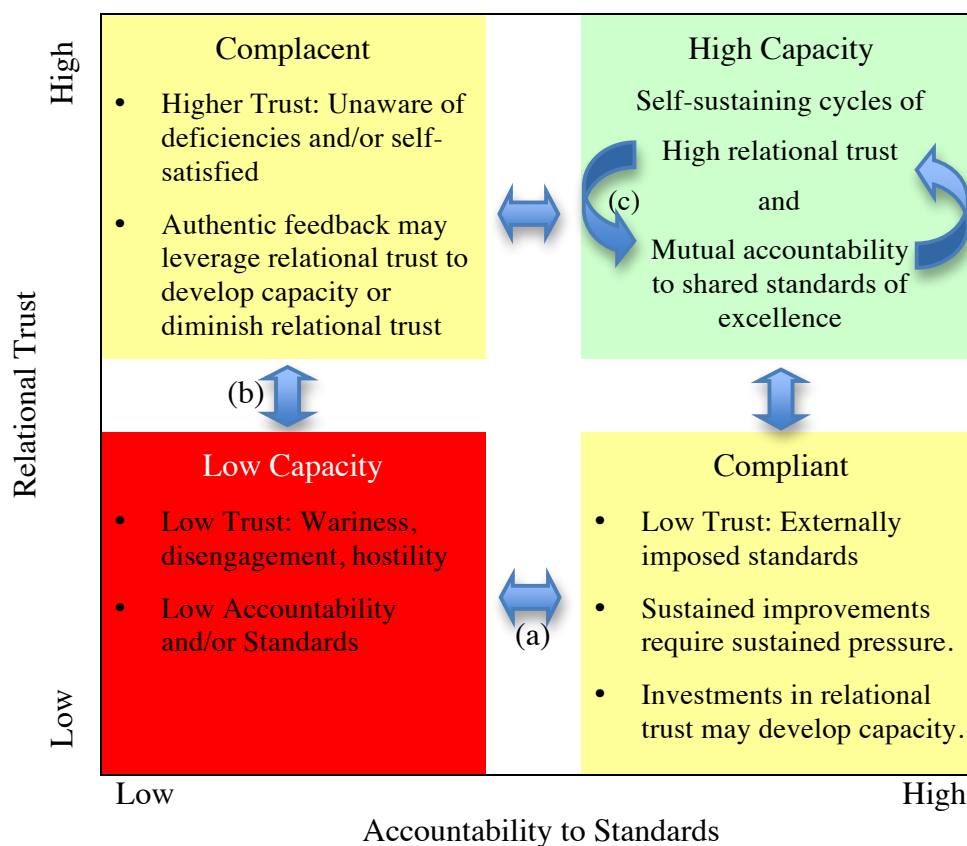


Figure 12. Relational trust, accountability to standards, and capacity.

Where relational trust was lower within the school communities studied, leaders tended to retain decision-making, disrupting cycles nurturing organic school improvement, as described by Bryk and Schneider (2002). Associated with low relational trust, the hoarding of leadership functions impacted the dimension of accountability to standards, resulting in an external locus of control. Externally imposed standards or accountability structures sometimes resulted in compliance (see Figure 15.a), but standards misaligned with individual or cultural values detracted from the resource of

relational trust and undermined the emergence of self-sustaining, high capacity individuals and schools. Similarly, whenever standards and/or accountability were lower (see Figure 15.b), this study uncovered evidence of schools exhibiting a complacent form of relatively higher relational trust unsupported by corresponding merit. Conversely, this study also uncovered evidence of escalating cycles of relational trust and mutual accountability to shared standards of excellence at all three schools (see Figure 15.c).

This section begins with a discussion of how leaders influenced relational trust and organizational learning at each of the three schools studied. This section then discusses how leaders cultivated mutual accountability to high standards without bureaucratic standardization at the three schools. Finally, this section considers how the dimensions of relational trust and accountability to community standards interacted to develop culturally shared meaning and individual and organizational capacity at each of the three schools studied.

Relational Trust and the Evolution of Individual and Organizational Capacity

Each of the three independent schools studied has had its ups and downs. The William Small School began in a state of emergency in 1870, rose to national prominence around the turn of the twentieth century, and then lost its accreditation in the 1920s. Forced to dismiss half of the already inadequate student body and faculty, the founder of the Darling-Hammond Schools described a sense of crushing despair in the school's second year, before becoming a leader among independent schools in the 1950s. The John Dewey School lost the support of its founding university in the 1970s and had to navigate a course from the freewheeling cooperative that emerged to the corporate

structure desired by the board. As the schools were called upon to respond to the vicissitudes of fortune, each experienced periods of expanding material, human, and social resources characteristic of capacity building and each suffered through periods of contraction. Bryk and Schneider (2002) described interactions among intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational levels in nurturing the growth of the resource of relational trust for school improvement. Successful leaders at each of the three schools replicated the emotional safety and appropriate challenge of individual learning, fostering relational trust on the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational scales of their learning communities.

Intrapersonal forces and relational trust. Leadership strategies supporting the evolution of school cultures rich in relational trust paralleled the winning strategies for the evolution of cooperation in iterated Prisoner's Dilemma: (1) initiate cooperation, (2) quickly punish defection, (3) provide frameworks for renewed cooperation, and (4) be transparent in order to help other individuals to align their strategies with emergent cooperation (Axelrod, 1984). Leaders who successfully established constructive feedback loops amplifying relational trust through the complex systems of their schools initiated cooperation by making overt gestures of trust, even before evidence of individual trustworthiness was established. At the two honor system schools, the honor system began with an extravagant statement of trust in the capacity of students to behave honorably and was sustained by ongoing expressions of faith in each new generation of students. At the John Dewey School, leaders were less willing to expose students to the risk of trust in potential cheating situations, but leaders expressed clear appreciation for

the extent to which the system relied upon widespread support and high levels of trust in faculty leadership. By initiating cooperation, leaders at all three schools translated respect and integrity on the intrapersonal level to the interpersonal and organizational levels.

Simple expressions of trust, however, were not sufficient to sustain constructive feedback loops building individual and community capacity. At each of these schools, as trust was the basis for community, honorable accountability was the basis for trust. The student honor systems, faculty evaluation frameworks, strategic planning for distributed leadership, and market forces of school choice represented accountability structures for individuals and the community. At their best, these frameworks supported quick response to defection to shared standards and clear pathways for renewed cooperation. In the language of circular causality, neither trust nor accountability existed optimally without the other. In terms of social capital theory, either trust without accountability or accountability without trust tended toward contraction in social resources, while trust with accountability nurtured an inflationary cycle in both. On the intrapersonal level at the three schools studied, self-respect, self-efficacy, and personal integrity informed individual discernment of the intentions of others.

Interpersonal forces and discernment of the intentions of others. Bryk and Schneider (2002) described how intrapersonal resources operate on interpersonal relationships within a school, nurturing the growth of the resource of relational trust for school improvement. Structures supporting mutual dependence among all parties and shared cultural understandings at these schools contributed to levels of trust operating within interpersonal exchanges between and among major roles in a school: principals

and teachers, teachers and teachers, and educators and students. Student-led programs of character development and discipline built intrapersonal and interpersonal respect and contributed to the transparent operations helping individuals to participate by choice in emergent cooperation. Collaborative faculty leadership in strategic planning and school operations offered frameworks for individuals to align individual professional aims with those of their professional learning communities.

Organizational forces and relational trust. School size, stability, and reputation contributed to establishing and sustaining cycles of escalating relational trust at the three schools studied. Serving some 200, 359, and 370 students in their high schools, respectively, the William Small School, John Dewey School, and Darling-Hammond Schools are all small schools by design. The Small Schools Movement (Meier 1995) and its variations represent strategies for nurturing relational trust. Enacting Axelrod's first strategy for fostering the evolution of cooperation (1984), smaller schools "enlarge the shadow of the future" (p. 126) by increasing the likelihood of future interaction. Contributing to the growth of relational trust at the Darling-Hammond Schools and the John Dewey School and subtracting from the fund of relational trust at the William Small School was the stability of the school's organizational structures in the former and a leadership in transition in the latter. Institutional reputation certainly developed relational trust at all three schools. Strategies for cultivating each school's appreciation for its unique contributions and celebrating genuine successes contributed to relational trust, while a continual drumbeat of bad news would have detracted.

Organizational locus of control and association by choice also contributed to levels of relational trust. Leaders at all three schools espoused distributing significant decision-making authority to those lower in school hierarchies. When expectations for autonomy and actual practice did not align, however, relational trust suffered. Other leadership behaviors detracting from relational trust were disorganization, which undermined confidence in the Principal at John Dewey School, and isolation, which led to a failed tenure for the outgoing Head at the William Small School. All schools benefited from voluntary association. While many participants noted the fact that community members associated by choice as significant to their success, however, none felt that selective admissions practices were important.

The most salient example of the macro-micro feedback loops operating between and among the scales of the system and the individual was the effect of the school's honor system on both individuals and community as understood at the Darling-Hammond Schools: "Without honor [intrapersonal] there can be no trust [interpersonal]; without trust there can be no community [organizational]." The resource of relational trust flowing through the relational network of the school was the bridge connecting intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational scales and contributing to a culture committed to personal and academic excellence.

Mutual Accountability to High Standards Without Bureaucratic Standardization

The often-cited safety of living and working within the trust-based relational networks of the learning communities studied replicated the emotional safety required for personal investment in individual learning. Alongside emotional safety, individuals and

organizations require appropriate challenge for optimal learning. These schools consistently insisted upon high standards, while resisting bureaucratic standardization, allowing the schools to adapt to wide variation in the pools of available human and material resources. Even in their most difficult times, every school studied accepted the high standard of preparing all students for college as the only appropriate challenge for their institutions. The founder of the William Small School built a school with a reputation for college preparation second to none in his day. The founder of the Darling-Hammond Schools used the standard of the College Board to establish grading practices that ensured that his graduates excelled at UCLA, Stanford, and the Ivy League, protecting his institution from state standardization. The Dewey School actually began and functioned for generations as a University School.

Even though the historic traditions of all three schools established the standard of college preparation for all students, no school studied expressed the belief that their success depended upon competitive admissions practices or rich material resources. The William Small School began with an undistinguished student body, who were challenged by their headmaster to “pedigree their ancestors,” a story still used at the school to inspire a relatively ordinary student body to extraordinary graduation rates and success in college. Appropriate to their pool of relatively less academically gifted students and smaller financial resources, challenging students and faculty to be tireless workers was a widely applied strategy by which teachers and leaders at the William Small School upheld community standards.

The John Dewey School went out of its way to attract and enroll a student body reflecting the demographic diversity of its urban setting, within the constraints of financial resources. To ensure that Dewey's relatively diverse student body was prepared for college, school leaders translated community ideals celebrating diversity, individualism, and freedom into investments in multiple layers of individualized support. The Darling-Hammond Schools, whose leadership position among competitor institutions afforded the most elite academic admissions standards of the three, did not settle for high academic standards as their appropriate challenge. Aiming "way beyond the standard" of college readiness in its academically elite student body, Darling-Hammond celebrated and cultivated honorable leadership throughout its student body, intentionally preparing students for adult lives of honorable leadership. Although the three schools were operating with different levels of human and material resources, each invested the social capital of relational trust and cultural norms and expectations to support individual and organizational learning.

Culturally Shared Meaning and Capacity Building

While the three independent schools evolved culturally shared meanings in diverse ways, all offered evidence of how nurturing social resources contributed to community learning and developed capacity. The William Small School's processes for constructing shared meaning were the powerful social forms of family. Associating by choice with the school community, study participants valued the freedom, safety, and growth they experienced as a result of aligning individual values and objectives with community norms and expectations established by the progenitor of this school family.

Replicated and adapted through family lore and meaningful traditions, values and expectations included honor, hard work, and self-regulation.

Leaders at the John Dewey School consciously implemented structures for constructing shared meaning. The Director identified social norms theory as the theoretical framework influencing policies for changing individual behavior and designing interventions to channel social behavior toward desired cultural norms. Faculty teams associated with the School Renewal program of self evaluation engaged in ongoing cycles of school improvement and reevaluated progress regularly. The stability of priorities over multiple cycles of the School Renewal process offered evidence of a focus on inquiry becoming engrained within the culture of the school. The “granularity” and isolation described by some faculty members, however, suggested that formal structures such as the School Renewal process were operating counter to a cultural value for individualism.

Citing the importance of culture in structural change, Schlechty (1997) wrote, “it is in the culture that any organization finds meaning and stability” (p. 196). Reflecting decades of stable, professional leadership, the Darling-Hammond Schools organically sustained a culture based on shared understanding of the interrelationships among honor, trust, and community. Facing a school adrift in the 1990s, the present Head of Schools, who had chosen the school for its founding principles and purpose, invested herself in building school structures upon those principles. Fully integrating the first of Dufour and Eaker’s (1998) characteristics of professional learning communities, the mission, vision, and values articulated first by the founder and later by the Head of Schools had long since

been “embedded in the hearts and minds of people throughout the school” (p. 25). From the perspective of shared meaning, the Darling-Hammond Schools engaged in ongoing collective inquiry within collaborative teams relating to curriculum and daily life. Enacting a value for unbounded thinking and experiential learning dating from the 1930s, the contemporary Darling Hammond Schools engaged with regional innovations in project-based learning and national models for single sex education, expressing the action orientation, experimentation, and continuous improvement characteristic of professional learning communities.

Although Fullan (2001) described transformational processes as “reculturing” (p. 44), his meaning was neither as coercive nor as externally imposed as the term might suggest. Rather, Fullan defined a reculturing that “activates and deepens moral purpose through collaborative work cultures that respect differences and constantly build and test knowledge against measurable results” (p. 44). Leaders at the three schools studied succeeded to the extent that they activated and deepened moral purpose within the cultures they joined, as when the Director at John Dewey professionalized his school in ways that respected its progressive heritage and when the Head of Schools at Darling-Hammond realigned the school with its core values. Leaders who tried to impose cultural change eventually suffered the fate of the recently departed Headmaster at the William Small School.

Organizational consequences of strategic investments in developing relational trust included the capacity building professional community evident at both the Darling-Hammond Schools and the John Dewey School. Darling-Hammond’s professional

community resembled a professional association, characterized by individual freedom bounded by professional standards and codes of ethics. Dewey's professional community manifested in the tradition of collective inquiry and action more typically associated with the education literature. Both tended towards organizational learning. Although William Small's teachers certainly practiced within professional standards, their relative autonomy within their classrooms meant that the faculty community largely forewent opportunities for organizational effects.

Correspondingly, of the three schools, William Small saw significantly lower levels of the all seven organizational effects evaluated on the RT/OC survey, except for teacher commitment to school, suggesting a generally less supportive work culture and less positive orientation toward change. The John Dewey School exhibited the highest levels overall, with Darling-Hammond also exhibiting a supportive work culture. Although no attempts were made to compare student achievement or growth at any school, in the unique world of independent schooling, one way in which the effects of school improvement become evident is in escalating admissions standards, reflecting increasing market demand for a desirable spot in the student body. For qualitative comparison only, cumulative mean SAT scores at Darling-Hammond and John Dewey Schools topped 1900, while those at William Small were about 1670. Students from all schools did well, however, on measures of achievement, such as Advanced Placement exams.

Implications

My model focusing leadership strategies for capacity building on the related dimensions of relational trust and accountability to standards has implications beyond the three schools studied and may apply to school reform initiatives beyond the world of independent education. As in the independent schools studied, accountability to standards may take various forms in the broader world of public education, depending upon levels of relational trust. When relational trust is low, accountability may range from the neglect evident in a low capacity school (low relational trust and low accountability) to the coercion evident in a compliant school (low relational trust and high accountability) (see Figure 16). When relational trust is high, accountability may range from a lack of responsibility in a complacent school (higher relational trust and low accountability) to the organic mutual accountability of highly trustworthy networks operating within high capacity schools (high relational trust and high accountability).

In response to the problems of low capacity schools constituting the only choice for many students living in their school zones, the nation enacted the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001. Adequate yearly progress toward the commendable goal of academically proficient children, regardless of demographic subgroup, was measured using high stakes assessments of student performance relative to curricular standards. Consistently ineffective schools faced sanctions up to and including takeover by school districts and states. Reform initiatives before NCLB and since have taken varied forms, which may be categorized by my model.

Higher Accountability, Lower Relational Trust

Amid a sea of critics, few would fault NCLB for low aspirations. In a speech to the NAACP in July, 2000, presidential candidate George W. Bush anticipated the bill's focus on the high goal of closing longstanding achievement gaps among certain subgroups with these words, "I will confront another form of bias: the soft bigotry of low expectations." Exercising high accountability to externally imposed standards without corresponding investments in the resource of relational trust has succeeded, at times, in moving certain schools in the direction of compliance with NCLB goals. More often, however, the annual cycle of discouraging news has tended to further deplete social resources within so-called "failing" schools, reinforcing contraction and decline.

Speaking about a School Improvement Grant (SIG) program targeting the lowest performing 5% of American schools, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan described a failure among some educational leaders to genuinely engage with these low capacity schools: "States and district officials have traditionally tinkered in these schools—instead of treating them as educational emergencies" (March 19, 2012). The belief among such leaders that certain schools are destined to fail expressed low levels of relational trust, resulting in correspondingly low personal investment in the task of school improvement. Beyond the intrapersonal and organizational levels of challenged students and schools, there is evidence of contracting resources on the level of the broader system of public education. The nation faces the prospect of unmanageable numbers of schools requiring takeover owing to systemic inability to meet the goal of 100% proficiency by 2014. In exchange for federally approved plans of action, the Department of Education has

negotiated waivers from certain NCLB requirements with 39 states, (U.S. Department of Education, August 6, 2013).

Translating higher expectations into effective programs, Duncan (2012) described elements of successful turnarounds: extraordinary principals and ambitious teachers collaborating to improve instruction based on feedback from student data and authentic teacher evaluation. Although the School Improvement Grant program represents investment in material resources, the relational trust and mutual accountability evident in successful turnarounds represent essential investments in human and social resources. To disrupt a cycle of contraction in the fund of trust in the nation's system of public education requires investment in the social capital of shared cultural understandings of educational excellence and improved metrics by which to gauge national progress.

Lower Accountability and/or Standards, Higher Relational Trust

By contrast, to the disengagement characteristic of low relational trust, the complacent schools of my model believe that they can achieve, but may lack adequate accountability structures to give authentic feedback on performance relative to high standards of student and teacher excellence. Isolated enclaves, some complacent schools may celebrate what they do well without even realizing that they do not measure up. Other complacent schools and systems may be satisfied with high achievement relative to low standards, as appeared to be the case in the state of Tennessee prior to the adoption of more rigorous standards for student proficiency in 2010 and teacher evaluation in 2011. Although complacent schools may have greater relational trust than low capacity or compliant schools, however, developing mutual accountability to standards and

corresponding school improvement are likely to further develop their funds of relational trust.

Before the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) of the 1940s identified certain independent schools as graduating students inadequately prepared for college, many of those schools may have justifiably been categorized as complacent schools. A genteel presumption of trustworthiness absent the high standards of college and career readiness did not produce high capacity schools, irrespective of the socioeconomic status of students. Whether public or private, even high achieving schools risk complacency if their achievement reflects the capacity students bring with them to school, rather than the growth nurtured by an appropriately challenging education. Leaders of complacent schools should pursue strategies to develop trustworthy relational networks within and beyond the schools, elevating cultural norms and expectations and improving opportunities for meaningful, honest feedback and interaction.

Populations exhibiting the same demographic profiles as the populations of the schools studied tend to enjoy greater academic success than those from more challenged populations, regardless of school governance or school community effects. This fact does not support dismissing these findings as irrelevant to the broader scene. Rather, understanding how large cultural trends impact the relational resources students bring with them to school makes more urgent the need to develop strategies for developing relational trust where this resource is in short supply. Bryk & Schneider's 2002 study on trust in schools and Bryk's body of work on the phenomenon (Bryk, 1988; Bryk, Camburn, & Louis, 1999; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Bryk &

Schneider, 1996, 2002; Bryk, Sebring, Kerbow, Rollow, & Easton, 1998) consistently found that undergirding the effects of race and socioeconomic status on school improvement was the level of relational trust available to develop capacity. If anything, it may be even more critical for educators serving students who bring fewer relational resources with them to school to implement strategies to develop relational trust among students and schools than for educators serving students already equipped with the social capital they will need for success.

Recommendations for Future Study

To move education reform from externally imposed accountability toward organic school renewal based on building individual and organizational capacity, practitioners, policy makers, and researchers require improved understanding of how classrooms and schools function as complex systems. Future study applying understandings of capacity building and complex systems stands to inform what Fullan (2012) has called *systemic* education reform . How might we create professional communities sharing best practices and developing capacity throughout the system of public education? In particular, what are the systemic effects of newly emergent networks of interschool groups functioning as professional learning communities in our region, state, and nation? How might improved understanding of professional communities be applied to policies designed to solve what the Head of Schools at the Darling-Hammond School described as a “frightening teacher supply problem?”

Additional school evaluation tools are needed to support research in system effects within professional learning communities. Reliable instruments for evaluating

relational trust and organizational conditions are available. While sociogram analysis proved to be highly enlightening in this study, less unwieldy tools to help researchers to map the relational networks of schools and even to quantify closure and connectivity in the relational networks of the schools would be helpful. With the advent of artificial intelligence, the design of experimental simulations of school communities using simple programming tools merits additional study. Through experimental simulation using principles of complex systems, education researchers might apply technologies already in use in other industries to bring us closer to improved reliability and validity in qualitative research.

Concluding Thoughts

When I began this study, I was a teacher leader at an independent school. I undertook this study in the rather poorly defined hope that certain features of the honor system community might translate beyond the narrow demographic band served by that school to benefit a broader cross section of students now learning in the nation's system of public education. As data gathering transitioned to analysis and writing, I took a position as a leader engaged in helping to establish a new kind of public school for our county. Beyond the usual charge to meet the needs of our diverse population, representing the demographic and ability ranges of our local school system, our school has been charged with innovation in curriculum and instruction, leadership within the district, and collaboration with other platform schools in statewide and national networks. My learning curve has been steep, but one of the most important lessons I have learned is that not only does the isolated genre of independent schools have something to contribute

to the ongoing conversation among researchers and practitioners interested in authentic school reform, but the complex system of public education has much to say to the independent schools of our nation. The genteel, qualitative, cultural accountability of the former and the powerful, quantitative data-driven, improvement of the latter could both benefit from more mixing of methods.

I hope this multi-site case study of three schools from the relatively unexamined territory of independent education will answer in its small way the call of Fullan, who asked in 2001 for more case studies of how diverse schools build capacity to improve student learning. I also hope that by examining how the dimensions of relational trust and accountability to standards relate with capacity building, I have contributed a model offering greater depth of understanding of the system mechanisms and leadership strategies operating to develop community resources within schools (see Figure 16).

There was a time when education reform referenced the noble role of education in social reform. Returning to the quote with which this study began, “What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy” (Dewey, 1899, p. 15). Having accomplished the more modest aims of Dewey’s Progressive era, including widespread access to secondary education, educators are now challenged to eliminate achievement gaps while adjusting our sights to higher standards. The violence of school takeovers and the relentless chorus of complaints have depleted the system’s reserves of social capital, even as schools of hope are beginning to emerge from the ashes. Most of all, I hope that the future of education reform in America

will be one of renewal and refreshing as we invest in the work of restocking the social resources we need to develop our teachers and our schools for the benefit of all of our children.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Study Information Sheet

The Related Phenomena of Relational Trust and Trustworthiness
in Independent Schools Espousing Honor System Values:
An Independent School Construct of School Accountability.

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study for a doctoral dissertation at The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. The purpose of the study is to explore the perceptions of teachers and principals in three independent schools founded on the model of Sawney Webb's honor system in order to identify factors relating relational trust, trustworthiness, and organizational conditions associated with accountability to standards without resorting to external standardization.

Information about Participants' Involvement in the Study

This study will gather data using a variety of methods. All teachers at three participating schools will be asked to complete the Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey and Sociogram Questionnaire. The two together should take about 15-20 minutes to complete. In addition, principals, leaders relevant to the study—including honor committee advisors, faculty mentors, and deans of students, and at least four randomly selected members of the general teaching faculty will be interviewed in confidential, private sessions lasting between 30-45 minutes per participant. Observations of chapel and various faculty/student meetings relevant to the study will be conducted by the researcher. Finally, documents such as policy manuals, self-study reports, and archival reports of other researchers will be examined by the researcher.

Risks

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study.

Benefits

The anticipated benefits derived from this study include giving a voice to independent school educators in the research base on school improvement and providing general information of potential use to your school's efforts at self-improvement.

Confidentiality

Information in the study records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to the researcher conducting this study. No reference will be made in oral or written reports potentially linking participants to the study. Participants will be assigned a code number and the names of participating schools will be changed to ensure confidentiality.

Contact

If you have questions at any time about the study or procedures, you may contact the researcher, Stephanie Barnes Ogden, at 201 Campus Lane, Knoxville, TN 37918, or by telephone at (865) 300-0460, or by e-mail at sogden1@utk.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at The University of Tennessee at (865) 974-3466.

Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed. Return of the completed questionnaire constitutes your consent to participate.

Appendix B

Informed Consent Statement

The Related Phenomena of Relational Trust and Trustworthiness
in Independent Schools Espousing Honor System Values:
An Independent School Construct of School Accountability.

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study for a doctoral dissertation at The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. The purpose of the study is to explore the perceptions of teachers and principals in three independent schools founded on the model of Sawney Webb's honor system in order to identify factors relating relational trust, trustworthiness, and organizational conditions associated with accountability to standards without resorting to external standardization.

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_____ Participant's Initials

Emergency Medical Treatment

The University of Tennessee does not “automatically” reimburse subjects for medical claims or other compensation. If physical injury is suffered in the course of research, or for more information, please notify the researcher in charge (Stephanie B. Ogden, (865) 300-0460).

Contact

If you have questions at any time about the study or procedures, you may contact the researcher, Stephanie Barnes Ogden, at 201 Campus Lane, Knoxville, TN 37918, or by telephone at (865) 300-0460, or by e-mail at sogden1@utk.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at The University of Tennessee at (865) 974-3466.

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Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed. Return of the completed questionnaire constitutes your consent to participate.

Consent

I have read the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

Appendix C

Teacher Interview Protocol

Overarching Question

1. Describe your experience as a teacher at this school.

Relational Trust in Complex Systems

2. Describe your perceptions of how the honor system is expressed among students.
3. Give me an example of how the honor system influences your teaching.
4. Some people say that it is the principal's responsibility to monitor and direct all aspects of the instructional program. What would you say to them?
5. What do you think the ideal department meeting would be like?
6. Suppose you were concerned about your effectiveness teaching a particular class. What would you do?

Self-Regulating Network Trustworthiness

7. Describe how you were introduced to this school community.
8. What standards do you see enacted at this school?
9. How does this school deal with the issue of accountability to community standards?
10. How do you obtain feedback on the school's progress?
11. Some argue that it is the teacher's job to protect students from cheaters by carefully proctoring exams. What are your thoughts on this subject?
12. How do you feel about this school's policies governing consequences for honor violations?

Trust, Trustworthiness, and School Improvement

13. If you were dissatisfied with your textbook or other materials, how would you proceed at this school?
14. If you imagined working at your ideal school, in what ways would it be similar to or different from this school?
15. What factors do school reformers need to take into account when trying to cultivate self-regulating community excellence?

Demographics:

16. For how long have you been teaching at this school?

Appendix D

Administrator Interview Protocol

Overarching Question

1. Describe your experience as a leader at this school.

Relational Trust in Complex Systems

2. Describe your perceptions of how the honor system is expressed among students.
3. Give me an example of how the honor system influences your leadership.
4. Some people say that it is the principal's responsibility to monitor and direct all aspects of the instructional program. What would you say to them?
5. What do you think the ideal faculty meeting would be like?
6. Suppose you were concerned about your effectiveness managing a particular situation. What would you do?

Self-Regulating Network Trustworthiness

7. Describe how you were introduced to this school community.
8. What standards do you see enacted at this school?
9. How does this school deal with the issue of accountability to community standards?
10. How do you obtain feedback on the school's progress?
11. Some argue that it is the teacher's job to protect students from cheaters by carefully proctoring exams. What are your thoughts on this subject?
12. How do you feel about this school's policies governing consequences for honor violations?

Trust, Trustworthiness, and School Improvement

13. If you were dissatisfied with the attendance policy, how would you proceed at this school?
14. If you imagined working at your ideal school, in what ways would it be similar to or different from this school?
15. What factors do school reformers need to take into account when trying to cultivate self-regulating community excellence?

Demographics:

16. For how long have you been an administrator at this school?

Appendix E

Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey and Sociogram Questionnaire

The purpose of the Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey is to determine teacher and administrator perceptions of relational trust, trustworthiness, and their relationships with various organizational conditions.

All responses including actual names will be maintained in a secure location to ensure the confidentiality of participants. Any reports generated from this study will focus on gross trends, rather than the responses of individual participants.

Please circle the *one* answer that best represents your perception for each question.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this task.

Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Agree	4 Strongly Agree	
1. It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with the principal.	1	2	3	4
2. Teachers in this school trust each other.	1	2	3	4
3. In this school, teachers have a "can-do" attitude.	1	2	3	4
4. The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers.	1	2	3	4
5. I wouldn't want to work at any other school.	1	2	3	4
6. The principal, teachers, and staff collaborate to make this school run effectively.	1	2	3	4
7. This school really works at developing students' social skills.	1	2	3	4
8. Experienced teachers invite new teachers into their rooms to observe, give feedback, etc.	1	2	3	4
9. The principal looks out for the personal welfare of the faculty members.	1	2	3	4
10. It's OK in this school to discuss feelings, worries, and frustrations with other teachers.	1	2	3	4
11. All the teachers in this school are encouraged to stretch and grow.	1	2	3	4
12. I would recommend this school to parents seeking a place for their child.	1	2	3	4
13. When making important decisions, the school always focuses on what's best for student learning.	1	2	3	4
14. A conscious effort is made by faculty to make new teachers feel welcome here.	1	2	3	4
15. I trust the principal at his or her word.	1	2	3	4
16. Teachers respect other teachers who take the lead in school improvement efforts.	1	2	3	4
17. In this school, teachers are continually learning and seeking new ideas.	1	2	3	4
18. I genuinely respect my principal as an educator.	1	2	3	4
19. I usually look forward to each working day at this school.	1	2	3	4

Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey. Continued.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Agree	4 Strongly Agree	
20. The school has well-defined learning expectations for all students.	1	2	3	4
21. The principal at this school is an effective manager who makes the school run smoothly.	1	2	3	4
22. Teachers at this school respect those colleagues who are expert in their craft.	1	2	3	4
23. I feel loyal to this school.	1	2	3	4
24. The school sets high standards for academic performance.	1	2	3	4
25. The principal places the needs of students ahead of his or her personal and political interests.	1	2	3	4
26. The school day is organized to maximize instructional time.	1	2	3	4
27. The principal has confidence in the expertise of the teachers.	1	2	3	4

1 Not at all	2 A little	3 Some	4 To a great extent	
28. To what extent do you feel respected by your principal?	1	2	3	4
29. To what extent do you feel respected by other teachers?	1	2	3	4
30. To what extent do you trust students?	1	2	3	4
31. To what extent do you feel respected by students?	1	2	3	4
32. To what extent do teachers design instructional programs together?	1	2	3	4
33. To what extent do teachers make a conscious effort to coordinate their curriculum/instruction with other teachers in their disciplines?	1	2	3	4
34. To what extent do teachers make a conscious effort to coordinate their students' instructional programs with other teachers?	1	2	3	4

Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey. Continued.

1 None	2 Some	3 Most	4 Nearly all	
35. How many teachers in this school are willing to take risks to make this school better?	1	2	3	4
36. How many teachers in this school are eager to try new ideas?	1	2	3	4
37. How many teachers in this school are really trying to improve their teaching?	1	2	3	4
38. How many teachers in this school feel responsible that all students learn?	1	2	3	4
39. How many teachers in this school help maintain discipline in the entire school, not just their classroom?	1	2	3	4
40. How many teachers in this school take responsibility for improving the school?	1	2	3	4
41. How many teachers in this school feel responsible for helping students develop self-control?	1	2	3	4
42. How many teachers in this school set high standards for themselves?	1	2	3	4

1 Once a year or less	2 2-4 times a year	3 1-2 times a month	4 Several times a week	
43. How often do you have conversations with colleagues about the goals of this school?	1	2	3	4
44. How often do you have conversations with colleagues about curriculum development?	1	2	3	4
45. How often do you have conversations with colleagues about managing classroom behavior?	1	2	3	4
46. How often do you have conversations with colleagues about how students learn?	1	2	3	4
47. How often do teachers in this school share and discuss student work with other teachers?	1	2	3	4

Relational Trust/Organizational Conditions Survey. Continued.

48. I have been a teacher at this school for...	... Fewer than 4 years	... 4 or more years
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Sociogram Questionnaire

The purpose of the Sociogram Questionnaire is to get a sense of the level of connectivity within the social system of this school. Please answer each question completely.

For this section I do need your name, because that is how other respondents will refer to you. In all responses, participant names will be replaced with codes. From your responses, a map of the school network of relations will be prepared.

In order to protect the confidentiality of participants, all responses including actual names will be maintained in a secure location until they are destroyed. Please indicate your name from the list of faculty provided below:

Ardison, A.	Atwood, K.	Banker, M.	Brown, A.
Brown, B.	Childers, M.	Colbert, J.	Costante, R.
Crawford, M.	Crisp, L.	Dean, L.	Doucette, C
Fowler, B.	Gilbert, S.	Gregory, B.	Gunning, S.
Gutridge, C.	Harbin, S.	Heiser, W.	Helbig, J.
Hohmann, P.	Holtzclaw, F.	Hondorf, B.	Johnson, LeAnne
Kile, D.	Kile, L.	Koh, J.	LaFon, K.
Lane, L.	Letitia, J.	Luttrell, M.	Macdonald, M.
Manikas, N.	Mann, S.	McCray, P.	Meyer, C.
Milligan, S.	Mitchell, A.	Norris, R.	Ogden, S.
Peccolo, M.	Pennington, D.	Pierce, D.	Pope, J.
Rowcliffe, A.	Schmid, J.	Shellist, E.	Stewart, M.
Tinker, R.	Weng, J-L.	Wilhoite, D.	Withrow, L.

Sociogram Questionnaire. Continued.

1. Choose the names of up to three colleagues with whom you share professional relational trust. That is, you would risk exposing professional vulnerabilities to these people and you expect that they would give honest, helpful feedback.

Ardison, A.	Atwood, K.	Banker, M.	Brown, A.
Brown, B.	Childers, M.	Colbert, J.	Costante, R.
Crawford, M.	Crisp, L.	Dean, L.	Doucette, C
Fowler, B.	Gilbert, S.	Gregory, B.	Gunning, S.
Gutridge, C.	Harbin, S.	Heiser, W.	Helbig, J.
Hohmann, P.	Holtzclaw, F.	Hondorf, B.	Johnson, LeAnne
Kile, D.	Kile, L.	Koh, J.	LaFon, K.
Lane, L.	Letitia, J.	Luttrell, M.	Macdonald, M.
Manikas, N.	Mann, S.	McCray, P.	Meyer, C.
Milligan, S.	Mitchell, A.	Norris, R.	Ogden, S.
Peccolo, M.	Pennington, D.	Pierce, D.	Pope, J.
Rowcliffe, A.	Schmid, J.	Shellist, E.	Stewart, M.
Tinker, R.	Weng, J-L.	Wilhoite, D.	Withrow, L.

2. Suppose you wanted to initiate a particular curriculum innovation. Choose the names of up to three colleagues you view as essential to planning and/or implementing the innovation.

Ardison, A.	Atwood, K.	Banker, M.	Brown, A.
Brown, B.	Childers, M.	Colbert, J.	Costante, R.
Crawford, M.	Crisp, L.	Dean, L.	Doucette, C
Fowler, B.	Gilbert, S.	Gregory, B.	Gunning, S.
Gutridge, C.	Harbin, S.	Heiser, W.	Helbig, J.
Hohmann, P.	Holtzclaw, F.	Hondorf, B.	Johnson, LeAnne
Kile, D.	Kile, L.	Koh, J.	LaFon, K.
Lane, L.	Letitia, J.	Luttrell, M.	Macdonald, M.
Manikas, N.	Mann, S.	McCray, P.	Meyer, C.
Milligan, S.	Mitchell, A.	Norris, R.	Ogden, S.
Peccolo, M.	Pennington, D.	Pierce, D.	Pope, J.
Rowcliffe, A.	Schmid, J.	Shellist, E.	Stewart, M.
Tinker, R.	Weng, J-L.	Wilhoite, D.	Withrow, L.

Again, thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

Appendix F

E-mail Exchange with Dr. Anthony Bryk

From: president <president@carnegiefoundation.org> July 14, 2009 6:45:21 PM
 Subject: RE: Relational trust in independent schools
 To: Stephanie Ogden

Dear Stephanie,

Thank you for your message to Dr. Tony Bryk. He is happy to give permission for the use of his survey as long as it is appropriately used. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Best,

Ruby Kerawalla
 Executive Assistant to the President
 The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
 51 Vista Lane
 Stanford, CA 94305
 Tel: (650) 566-5136
 Fax: (650) 326-0208
 e-mail: kerawalla@carnegiefoundation.org
 www.carnegiefoundation.org

-----Original Message-----

From: Stephanie Ogden [mailto:Stephanie_Ogden@webbschool.org]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 2009 10:39 AM
 To: president
 Subject: Relational trust in independent schools

Hello, Dr. Bryk.

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. My dissertation research examines the dimension(s) of relational trust in independent school communities practicing honor system values. My study is a mixed-methods, multi-site case study exploring perceptions of teachers and administrators at three schools founded by different generations of the same family: The Webb School in Bell Buckle, TN (founded by William R. "Sawney" Webb in 1870), The Webb Schools in Claremont, CA (founded by Thompson Webb in 1922), and The Webb School in Knoxville, TN (founded by Robert

Webb in 1955). The schools do not regularly communicate with one another, but they enact the same principles and purpose through a shared view of an honor system as a trust-based community. I hope that the product of this study will be an independent school model for school accountability. I am also interested in translating these values into the public school system, and am therefore in the process of organizing a foundation whose first project will be to launch Knoxville's first charter school.

Your work with Barbara Schneider, along with Julie Kochanek and Sharon Greenburg, Trust in Schools, provides a theoretical framework for both the organizational/governance issues I plan to study, as well as a potential platform from which to project independent school values into the public school system. I would like to slightly modify the survey questions you used and to perform the appropriate analysis to evaluate the validity of the instrument in the independent school setting. I hope to develop a quantitative measure of relational trust in these communities, to be triangulated with interviews and archival information to identify the schools' mechanisms for nurturing trust-based communities and how relational trust relates to the self-governance evident at the individual scale in an honor system and at the school scale, in an independent school. I have attached a list of questions adapted from your study from which I hope to craft a survey relevant to mine.

I am writing to ask for permission to use your survey questions in this way. Please advise me of what I need to do to garner that permission. In addition, if you have any other advice you would like to offer, I would be most grateful. I deeply admire your work.

-Stephanie B. Ogden (865-300-0460)
The University of Tennessee at Knoxville (sogden1@utk.edu)
The Webb School of Knoxville (stephanie_ogden@webbschool.org)

VITA

Stephanie Barnes Ogden was born in Fort Bragg, North Carolina and resides in Knoxville, TN. Ogden was a Cooperative Education student assigned to the Chemistry Division at the Oak Ridge National Laboratories, publishing findings from her research in physical organic chemistry. Ogden earned her B.A. in Chemistry with Honors from the University of Tennessee in 1982 and her Master of Mathematics at the University of Tennessee in 1993, where she began her teaching career in the Department of Mathematics. Ogden taught Mathematics and was a dean at the Webb School of Knoxville from 1991-2011. The Tennessee Association of Independent Schools awarded Ogden its highest honor, the Hubert Smothers Award for Excellence in Teaching and Extraordinary Contributions to Education in 2008. Ogden is an Advanced Placement Calculus Question Leader and has contributed to Advanced Placement Calculus test development, CLEP examination standard setting, and content and bias review for the Tennessee State Department of Education Algebra 2 End-of-Course Exam.

Intending to found a charter school, Ogden completed her Graduate Certificate in Educational Administration (PreK-12) in 2009 and founded the Schools of Influence Education Foundation in 2010. Ogden completed her doctorate in Education with a major concentration in Leadership Studies in Education in 2013. Currently, she is Principal Investigator on Knox County Schools' Race to the Top grant and Dean of Research and Development at the L&N STEM Academy, where she enjoys teaching Calculus and developing regional capacity in mathematics education.