

2009

TRUST DEVELOPMENT IN THE TEACHER-PRINCIPAL RELATIONSHIP

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TRUST DEVELOPMENT IN THE TEACHER-PRINCIPAL RELATIONSHIP

(Spine title: Trust Development in the Teacher-Principal Relationship)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

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entitled:

Trust Development in the Teacher-Principal Relationship

is accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Date _____

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Abstract

The research literature has identified trust as a key aspect in successful school improvement. Major events, such as principal succession or school amalgamation, can affect staff relationships and be potentially detrimental to trust development and, therefore, school improvement. This study examined the nature of trust perception and development in the teacher-principal relationship. Behaviours that affected trust were identified and categorized under two components of trust: The Ability component and the Interpersonal Relations component. Existing models of trust development were examined but found to not adequately fit the transcript data. A new model of trust development was presented. This model takes into account the variable importance of the different components of trust depending on the stage of trust the teacher-principal relationship is in and it allows for multiple aspects of trust discernment for more developed relationships.

Keywords: trust, trust development, components of trust, school improvement, teacher-principal relationship

Acknowledgements and Dedications

I would certainly like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Robert Macmillan, for continued encouragement, prompt and precise corrections and suggestions, and for steering me in the right direction when warranted. Thanks, Bob.

Thank you to Dr. Derek Allison for fashioning lucidity out of some of my more awkward conjectures and letting me know when my sentences were “if not grammatically incorrect, certainly hideous.”

Thank you to Oscar the dog for keeping my feet warm and letting me know when it was time for a break (even if it was more frequent than we had previously agreed upon).

And thank you to my wonderful wife, Melanie, for extreme patience, understanding, and being the architect behind most of my motivational incentives. Thank you for everything you’ve done to help me in this process.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In September 2008, a consortium of representatives of Ontario principals' and supervisory officers' associations, councils of directors of education, and the Ministry of Education called the Institute for Education Leadership (IEL) released its commissioned report regarding succession planning for Ontario schools and school boards. The impetus for the study stemmed from an earlier report commissioned by the Ontario Principals' Council in 2001, which predicted that more than 80% of elementary and secondary school principals in Ontario would have retired by 2009 (Institute for Education Leadership [IEL], 2008a). Early indications of this predicament were underlined in 2003 by the Canadian Association of Principals, who reported several situations where schools were being led by unqualified new administrators, by principals lured out of retirement, or by no administration at all as the jobs were still vacant at the beginning of the school year (IEL, 2008a). To further compound the challenges faced by Ontario schools in finding qualified administrators, the IEL report identified a mismatch between qualified candidates and job applications for administrative positions. Even though nearly 1000 teachers complete their principal's qualification certification each year in Ontario, this does not directly translate into applications for new jobs and shortages are such that the Ontario College

of Teachers still has to issue letters of approval for individuals without these qualifications to act as principals or vice-principals (IEL, 2008a).

Given this unfavourable landscape, the IEL commissioned the aforementioned study to review the state of succession planning practices in Ontario today and to examine succession barriers and issues faced by school boards and schools. The IEL study unearthed a selection of personal barriers that negatively influenced teachers' decisions to pursue administrative roles as well as several logistical challenges to principal succession. To deal with these issues, the IEL advises that school boards should develop a comprehensive strategic plan towards succession planning that is anticipatory in nature, not reactive to vacancies, and is reviewed regularly. The Institute submits several recommendations in the report to help manage the challenges of principal recruitment and retention. These include recruitment of diverse leadership candidates, increased availability of principal qualification opportunities, more decision-making autonomy, and approaches that would allow principals to focus more of their time and resources on instructional leadership activities and less on the administrative and managerial aspects of the job (IEL, 2008a).

In addressing only the personal challenges for individuals pursuing administrative positions and the logistical challenges with recruiting and placing principals, the IEL ignores a major challenge in the succession process: how will leadership succession affect the culture of the school?

When a new principal is appointed, there is a “potential for instability in a school because previously understood working relationships between teachers and administrators are opened up for inspection and validation” (Macmillan, 2001, p 53). Macmillan investigated the school district strategy of rotating effective principals to select schools to help facilitate the implementation of district initiatives. In general, such a strategy results in frequent principal turnover experienced by the involved schools. Macmillan found that the teaching staff of such schools could feel “a sense of apathy toward successive administrators as they pass in waves through the school. When succession is frequent and predictable, the principal is treated as merely a temporary aberration” (p. 56). Though the IEL does not deliberately advise such an administrative policy, the challenging landscape they outline for recruiting and retaining principals may well result in many schools experiencing “revolving-door” administration. In fact, the institute tells of current situations that have retired principals or interim classroom teachers filling administrative positions on a short-term basis (IEL, 2008a). If the predicted high number of principal retirements occurs, coupled with continuing low numbers of qualified recruits, these situations will proliferate in the province.

Macmillan and his associates continued to examine the impact of principal succession on teachers in a three-year study of secondary schools in Nova Scotia, focussing on schools which were identified as

having a high frequency of principal turnover (Macmillan, Meyer, & Northfield, 2004). Early in the study, trust was determined to be of central importance in principal succession.

After our first few interviews, we realized trust was central; teachers and administrators talked spontaneously about trust and its influence on the development of a positive working relationship between the new principal and teachers beginning at the time of entry. (Macmillan, Meyer, & Northfield, 2004, p. 276)

Targeting trust and its influences on principal-teacher relations in their school interviews, Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield generated a model of trust development as a four phase continuum. The group used this continuum model to examine how principal behaviours, vice-principal actions (Northfield, Macmillan, Meyer, & Foley, 2006), and school district policies (Macmillan, Meyer, Northfield, & Foley, 2006) influence trust development between principals and teachers during a succession event.

Research Questions

This study examines interview data obtained by Macmillan and colleagues to further elucidate the nature of the teacher-principal trust relationship within the context of succession. A better understanding of this relationship can assist school boards in effectively managing succession events in their schools as they become more prominent in the unpredictable environment created by principal shortages. To achieve this understanding, the following questions were posed:

1. How is trust perceived and experienced in the teacher-principal relationship in schools?

- a. What behaviours/actions build, maintain or negatively affect trust?
- b. Can the behaviours/actions be grouped into different components of trust?
- c. Does each component have equal importance in contributing to the overall trust construct?
- d. Does the intensity level of one component offset the intensity level of another, and affect the overall perception of trust in an individual?

Definitions of Trust

Trust is defined by Blake and MacNeil (1998) as “the reliability of the relationship that exists between people, developed over time, caused by the behaviours that are formed by principles and competencies of a person” (p. 29). In their analysis of the nature of trust, Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) focused on the behaviours and competencies that build trust, including benevolence, reliability, honesty, and openness (p. 556) to construct their definition of trust. The presence of certain knowledge and skills, or *ability*, appears important for trust development, yet so, too, is the relationship component of trust Blake and MacNeil alluded to in their definition. Interpersonal relations provide “the vehicle through which the ability of another is assessed” (Macmillan et al., 2004, p. 278). Social trust throughout school communities (teachers, parents, students, principals) has emerged as a key element in school improvement, though

this study will focus on the individual teacher-principal trust relationship.

Expectations held about the role of the reciprocal individual within the social network or organization need to be regularly validated by actions. Individuals “attend simultaneously to the behaviour of others... how they personally feel about these interactions, and to their beliefs about the underlying intentions that motivate all of this” (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 21). Both the ability of the trusted individual and the relationship between the trusted individual and the trustor are, therefore, important aspects to consider when examining trust development.

Summary

The succession planning recommendations provided by the Institute for Education Leadership address personal barriers and logistical challenges involved with principal succession. The IEL succession framework also provides a section (IEL, 2008b) that outlines practices which develop skills, knowledge, and attitudes for successful school leadership. This resource does not adequately address the importance of the trust component of principal succession. Principal succession can affect staff relationships and be detrimental to trust development and, therefore, school improvement. This study examines further the nature of trust perception and development in the teacher-principal relationship.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Interest in school culture has been increasing in North America due to the demand for school improvement and to the political response to that demand with the implementation of extensive school reform initiatives. Trust, between the principal and teachers, and between parents and the school, is one dimension of school culture that is generally believed to be imperative to facilitating school reform. Bryck and Schneider (2003, p. 43) suggest that a culture of high trust reduces the sense of risk that many associate with change and allows school staff to feel sufficiently safe that they are open with each other and share opinions on what initiatives work and where improvements are required.

In an attempt to identify the qualities in educational professionals that build and sustain a culture of trust, several researchers have investigated the dynamics of the trust relationship between teachers and their colleagues and between teachers and school principals (Blake & MacNeil, 1998; Blase & Blase, 1996; Hoffman, Sabo, Bliss, & Hoy 1994; Hoy, Tarter, & Witkoskie 1992; Tarter, Bliss, & Hoy 1989; Ebmeier & Nicklaus, 1999). Of more basic importance than discussions on the building and sustaining of trust, however, is an understanding of what is meant by “trust” as a social and an organizational construct. As Hosmer (1995) observed, “there appears to be widespread agreement on the importance of trust in human conduct, but unfortunately there also

appears to be an equally widespread lack of agreement on a suitable definition of the construct” (p. 380). This chapter examines the importance of trust in organizations, particularly schools, and outlines the research that has attempted to define trust and its multiple facets. This review of literature concludes with the illustration of trust as a dynamic relationship and two models are presented that attempt to describe the development of trust.

In her philosophical work *Trust and antitrust*, Baier (1986) observed people “notice a given form of trust most easily after its sudden demise or severe injury. [They] inhabit a climate of trust as [they] inhabit an atmosphere and notice it as [they] notice air, only when it becomes scarce or polluted” (p. 234). Even though individuals may only *notice* trust in situations where it has been breached, they are subconsciously aware of the existence of trust and their capacity to trust something or someone. However, to trust is not a feeling or a sentiment, but rather, it has been argued, that to trust something is an individual’s conscious decision to reduce uncertainty in a situation of interdependence (Zand, 1971, p. 231). As life, including schools and other organizations, has changed and become more complex and less predictable, and people become more dependent on others to satisfy their needs, we are starting to recognize the existence of trust and its importance more than ever.

Trust has been identified as a key element in cohesive and productive relationships in organizations, making it necessary for

effective cooperation and communication (Baier, 1986; Mishra, 1996). The benefits of increased communication and cooperation due to a high level of trust are witnessed most noticeably when an organization survives, or even flourishes, in a time of crisis or major change (Mishra, 1996). A popular metaphoric definition for trust in organizations is that trust acts as the “grease” which “lubricates the smooth, harmonious functioning of the organization by eliminating friction and minimizing the need for bureaucratic structures that specify behavior of participants” (Limerick & Cunnington, 1993, p. 95). Trust reduces the complexities of organizational life allowing members to focus on their individual tasks and to work more effectively and economically (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 1998, p. 334). With trust, people are more likely to “disclose more accurate, relevant, and complete data about problems” (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 581). They are also more willing to share thoughts and feelings and to “value authenticity, to appreciate diversity, to risk creativity, to make decisions in concert with others and to become committed” (McBride & Skau, 1995, p. 276).

In a situation of declining trust “people are increasingly unwilling to take risks, demand greater protections against the possibility of betrayal, and increasingly insist on costly sanctioning mechanisms to defend their interests” (Tyler & Kramer, 1996, p. 3). One possible result of this situation involves the proliferation of rules and regulations as people make provisions to protect themselves against the possibility of

opportunistic behaviour on the part of others (Fukuyama, 1995). The replacement of a culture of trust with a bureaucratic system of formal rules can, however, have a detrimental effect on the organization.

Formal controls instituted to increase performance reliability can undermine trust and interfere with achievement of the very goals they were put in place to serve. Extreme elaborations of bureaucratic rules are likely to be counterproductive because they communicate distrust to those whom they are directed. (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 583)

This effect can be compounded in a school organization where, due to multiple and complex functions and goals, the “organizational operations under these circumstances demand frequent context-specific decision making, and... local problem solving” (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 20).

Schools that adopt a highly bureaucratic culture rely on a hierarchy of authority to coordinate and control which can hinder the professional discretion of teachers necessary for them to be responsive to the diverse needs of students (Tschannen-Moran, 2006, p. 3). Teachers’ trust in colleagues as well as in their principal has been found to improve flexibility and adaptability in schools (Tarter, Sabo, & Hoy, 1995), which can certainly be seen to contribute to findings that schools with a high culture of trust were “much more likely to demonstrate marked improvements in student learning” (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 43). Tschannen-Moran and Hoy have demonstrated, through various studies, that strong trust relationships between teachers and administrators are strongly related to productive communication in a positive school climate with observable increases in student learning,

teacher efficacy, and overall school effectiveness (Hoy & Sweetland, 1999; Tschannen-Moran, 2004; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000).

The importance of trust for all organizations, particularly for schools, is clear, thus the identification of what exactly “trust” is seems appropriate. Unfortunately, trust has been difficult to define as it is an extremely complex concept. Historically, trust definitions were simpler, unidimensional conceptualizations that failed to “discriminate [the concept] from related constructs such as cooperation or familiarity” (Mishra, 1996, p. 264). Contemporary attempts to define trust have deferred to multidimensional definitions (Mishra, 1996; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Bryk & Schneider, 2002), which highlight the many facets that are important in trusting relationships. Vodicka (2006) suggests that the many facets proposed can be summarized under: consistency, compassion, communication, and competency (p. 28).

Before discussing the four categories, we need first to examine the role *vulnerability* plays in the trust relationship. The literature suggests that whether or not the behaviour of the person trusted is consistent or inconsistent and their intentions are good or ill, it matters not to the trustor as long as they are unaffected by the behaviour. This brings to light the vulnerability of the trustor to “another’s possible but not expected ill will” (Baier, 1986, p. 235). Understandably, we need not trust an individual if we are not vulnerable to the absence of the predicted

compassionate behaviour or, worse yet, the presence of unpredicted malevolent behaviour.

The vulnerabilities present on a daily basis in a school community underline the importance of actions by members of that community, which build trust in others. “Regardless of how much formal power any given role has in a school community, all participants remain dependent on others to achieve desired outcomes... [creating] a sense of mutual vulnerability for all individuals involved” (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 41). Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that behaviours and actions that reduced the sense of vulnerability of another member of the school community greatly affected the building of a trusting relationship with that individual (p. 25).

Consistency, Compassion, Communication, and Competency

The following discussion of consistency, compassion, communication, and competency outlines these facets of trust, but more importantly, it describes the behaviours and actions that build trust in a relationship by reducing the sense of vulnerability in others.

At its most basic level, trust involves consistency of an individuals’ behaviour that develops over time in a relationship. Trust as predictability is commonly used in reference to inanimate objects, or organizations and institutions. Blake and MacNeil (1998) hazard against visualizing the trust relationship between individuals as simply predictability:

It is not uncommon to hear someone speak about how they trust their car when what is actually meant is that they depend on their car to perform as expected. They may get angry if their car does not act dependably, just as they may get angry if someone betrays their trust. The similarity ends there. The anger emoted from the undependable car could never compare to the anger or feelings of emotional hurt that results from the betrayal of trust. (p. 29)

Trust in an individual definitely has more emotional significance than whether or not that person acts dependably. This definition also does not explain how one does not trust a person who can predictably do the wrong thing or behave inappropriately. *Reliability* extends the idea of predictability to include a sense of benevolence and integrity in the actions of the trusted individual. This brings us to the second facet of trusting relationships: compassion.

At the school level, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that *integrity* suggested a consistency between what an individual said and what they did (p. 25). It was also important that what that person did indicated that they had another's best interest at heart (Brewster & Railsback, 2003, p. 4). Not only is the trusted individual acting consistently, but they are proceeding *compassionately* by showing that "one's well-being, or something one cares about, will be protected and not harmed by the trusted party" (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 557). Concerning school-based relationships, it was observed that trust deepened "as individuals perceive that others care about them and are willing to extend themselves beyond what their role might formally require in any given situation" (Bryk & Schenider, 2002, p. 25). Administrators can

show compassion through everyday practices such as allowing for personal time, promoting social events, offering forgiveness, creating flexible work schedules, and showing simple courtesies in their interactions with employees (Vodicka, 2006, p. 29).

Reducing a sense of vulnerability in others can also be achieved through behaviours related to communication. Open and sincere communication, or “openness”, is defined as a “process by which people make themselves vulnerable to others by sharing personal information” (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 558). Openness regarding professional information, such as communicating clear expectations, giving necessary apologies and legitimate feedback, also strongly influence trust relationships in organizations (Vodicka, 2006, p. 29). Open principal behaviour improves communication with teachers by creating “a work environment that is supportive and helpful, encourages teacher initiative, and frees teachers from administrative trivia so that they can focus on the teaching-learning task” (Tarter et al., 1989, p. 297). Such supportive principal behaviour has been shown to generate strong faculty trust in the principal (Hoffman et al., 1994, p. 497).

Whereas open communication facilitates trust, distrust can evoke defensive behaviours. Zand (1972) found that in a “defensive climate”, individuals have “difficulty concentrating on messages, [perceive] the motives, values, and emotions of others less accurately, and [increase] the distortion of messages” (p. 229). Furthermore, it has been shown that

teacher distrust in the principal results in the teachers protecting themselves by closing avenues of communication (McBride & Skau, 1995, p. 266; Bishop & Mulford, 1999, p.185). An important behaviour that facilitates open communication is the maintenance of confidentiality by both parties. Open communication with confidentiality is conducive to decreased vulnerability and, therefore, genuine, honest conversations (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 43). Open communication behaviours positively influence a trusting relationship and facilitate the exchange of relevant, accurate, and timely information as well as decreasing social uncertainty (Zand, 1972, p. 231) thereby reducing the sense of vulnerability.

An individual who behaves consistently and compassionately and communicates openly may, nonetheless, not be trusted. Even if a person has the best intentions, if they are not skilful and competent in the tasks that are required of them, their actions will not build trust and will not, therefore, reduce the sense of vulnerability in others (Baier 1986; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Competence is seen as being an individual's "ability to perform the tasks required by his or her position" (Brewster & Railsback, 2003, p. 5). Barlow (2001) observed that school principals have to earn the trust of their faculty by displaying a "high level of competence in working with and supporting people, especially when things are difficult, conflicted and uncertain" (p. 2).

Closely connected to a leader's competence in executing their formal role responsibilities is their ability to achieve desired outcomes for the organization. In the context of schooling, desired outcomes include learning objectives for students, effective working conditions for teachers, and positive school-community relations (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 23). Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that negative judgements concerning principal competence are quick to form

when buildings are not orderly and safe, and when individuals interact in a disrespectful manner. Other obvious signals of principal incompetence might include the absence of standard organizational routines, allowing gross student misconduct to go unaddressed, or failing to provide basic supplies and materials for instruction. (p. 24)

Whereas the lack of observed competence may inhibit the formation of a trusting relationship, Bryk and Schneider (2002) observed that the ongoing presence of gross incompetence, particularly if left unaddressed, can be "corrosive" to all trust relations and can undermine any school efforts towards improvement (p. 25).

Likely, the behaviours that successful leaders demonstrate to cultivate trust would mirror the four facets of trust discussed: consistency, compassion, communication, and competence. These facets combine to determine the overall degree of trust that one party has for another. Each facet also appears to have equal importance to the overall trust construct. Mishra (1996) observed that low levels of trust in terms of any of the dimensions would offset high levels of trust in terms of one of the other facets (p. 269). Bryk and Schneider (2002) also found that a

“serious deficiency on any one criterion can be sufficient to undermine a discernment of trust for the overall relationship” (p. 23).

Developing Trust Relationships

Inquiry into trust relationships, in schools or elsewhere, can be “like studying a moving target because it changes over the course of a relationship, and... can be altered instantaneously with a simple comment, a betrayed confidence, or a decision that violates the sense of care one has expected of another” (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 1998, p. 335). What is also evident is the nature of vulnerability can change between parties over the course of a relationship as relationships “ebb and flow” and the parties choose how to respond to instances of broken trust (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 570). There is a dynamic quality to trust and it is embedded in the ongoing relationship between the parties. Essential to the overall understanding of the trust construct is an understanding of this dynamic trust relationship.

Bryk and Schneider’s 2002 analysis of associations between trust and student achievement is probably the largest and most widely cited study of trust in schools. They conducted almost a decade of intensive case study research and longitudinal analysis in hundreds of Chicago area schools and made key observations about the changing quality of relational dynamics in those schools. As Bryk and Schneider examined the nature of trust as a property of the social organization of schools and how it related to school effectiveness, they developed an “explicit focus on

the distinctive qualities of interpersonal social exchanges in school communities, and how these cumulate in an organizational property that [they] term *relational trust*' (p. 12).

Social exchanges in schools are characterized by distinct role relationships where each party maintains an understanding about their role's obligations and also holds expectations about the obligations of other parties. (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 41). Relational trust requires that these expectations of other's obligations in the social network be regularly validated by actions and behaviours. Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that as a relationship grows between two parties, "individuals attend simultaneously to the behavior of others... how they personally feel about these interactions, and to their beliefs about the underlying intentions that motivate all of this" (p. 21). As individuals interact with one another, they constantly discern the intentions embedded in the actions of others, taking into account the previous history of interactions with those individuals. Maintenance and growth of relational trust occurs through exchanges where actions and behaviours validate role relationship expectations and obligations (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 20). Bryk and Schneider have extended the trust construct beyond the four facets discussed above and present trust as a relational, dynamic process that involves mutual learning, testing and strengthening throughout the duration of the relationship.

Bryk's and Schneider's (2002) construct of *relational trust* extends the understanding of trust from just a one-time judgement of trustworthiness based on the four facets of trust discussed above, to an ongoing process of continual judgement through frequent interactions. Even though this concept is more dynamic, it is stagnant and unidimensional insofar as it suggests that trust is a property that either exists or does not exist in a relationship. Others (Bottery, 2003; Macmillan, Meyer & Northfield, 2004) suggest that trust in a relationship progresses, stalls, or regresses through different stages of development. As such, the trust between two parties can be very different depending upon what stage of development the trust in their relationship is in.

Bottery (2003) argued that there are at least four developmental stages in a hierarchy of trust which become "more complex and valuable as they move from an essentially cognitive platform to incorporate motivational, affective and principled elements" (p. 249). At the first level of Bottery's hierarchy of trust is *Calculative Trust*. Calculative Trust involves a person making judgments concerning the probability that someone else "will do something that is beneficial to [them], or at least not harm [them]" (p. 250). Bottery argues a person uses a variety of indicators, likely including the four facets of trust discussed previously, to calculate whether another individual is someone who can be trusted.

In *Practice Trust*, continued interaction between individuals increases the amount of knowledge one has about another person,

allowing for more accurate calculations concerning that person's trustworthiness (p. 252). Because of the increased predictability of the others' behaviour with the familiarity of the relationship, Practice Trust is a more superior form of trust in Bottery's hierarchy.

The next stage in his hierarchy, *Role Trust*, emerges from a society in which there exists organizations and occupations that have specific value categories or a certain code of ethics that are applied to members as they are inducted into these roles. Upon encountering a person who is in one of these roles, an individual is inclined to trust the person "to carry out their role, even though they have neither the time nor opportunity to form strong personal bonds, or develop detailed knowledge" (p. 252) of them.

The fourth stage that Bottery discusses, and highest in his hierarchy, is *Identificatory Trust*. This stage involves trust from an interpersonal relationship at an intensity that is not witnessed at the previous levels. Bottery (2003) explains that Identificatory Trust,

Contains a calculative component, but this is relatively little used; it is nourished by a practice component, but this is not needed as much as at lower levels; and it draws from an ethical base, but moves beyond any mechanical application to a complex intertwining of personal thoughts, feelings and values. (p. 253)

He argues that the more developed trust relationships at the top of the hierarchy are superior to the lower level relationships because these levels of trust lead "to deeper more meaningful relationships, in which

people come to respect each other's integrity and care for each other" (Bottery, 2003, p. 245).

Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) disputed the "lockstep" approach to trust development that was inherent in Bottery's hierarchy. In their research on principal succession in schools, they envisaged trust development through different stages along a continuum (p. 279). Their model of trust development also has four stages in which the relationship becomes more complex as principles and affective, emotional connections become integrated into the relationship as it develops. Although a relationship *may* develop along the continuum from the first stage through to the last, Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) suggested that trust development is not a lockstep process and need not necessarily develop sequentially, or even positively, towards more complex and valuable stages (p. 279).

The first stage on the continuum is *Role Trust*. This type of trust is similar to Bottery's (2003) Calculative Trust in that it is based on judgements that someone will "do something that is beneficial to us, or at least not hurt us" (p. 250). The factors on which these judgements are made, however, are specifically based on expectations for the role of the trusted individual, which are defined by the legal and policy mandates for that role (Macmillan, Meyer, & Northfield, 2004, p. 280).

Given an opportunity to observe each other's actions, individuals can be placed into *Practice Trust*, where the accuracy of trust judgements

increases as they gain insight into the other's patterns of practice (Macmillan, Meyer, & Northfield, 2004, p. 287). Predictions can be made of the other person's behaviour only in situations that resemble those with which the individual has had previous experience.

The *Integrative Trust* stage can occur in a relationship if the individuals have had the opportunity to witness practice beyond the formal mandate of the other's role. They can then begin to develop an understanding of the belief system that drives the other's actions and the relationship will exist in the Integrative Trust stage if that belief system is judged to be coherent and acceptable (p. 288).

The final stage of trust on Macmillan's, Meyer's, and Northfield's (2004) trust continuum is *Correlative Trust*. An extensive, genuine interaction between individuals creates a level of trust that integrates emotions and the affective domain. The development of Correlative Trust is "not solely through expectation of the role, observation of practice or consistency of decisions with a belief system. Friendship and informal conversations build an emotional connection that enables individuals to identify with each other" (p. 289).

Summary

In an attempt to construct a multidimensional definition of trust, various researchers introduced multiple facets of trust, which were consolidated above into four main facets of consistency, compassion, communication, and competency. Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield

(2004) subjected the behaviours and actions that promote trusting relationships into further reorganization to present two separate descriptors of trust; one focused on *ability*, and the other on *interpersonal relations* (p. 278). This case study will identify the specific behaviours and actions performed by the principal in the subject school that affected trust. The observed behaviours will be grouped into two main components of trust. The ability component involves the knowledge, skills, and competence essential to performing the role of principal in a secondary school. The Interpersonal Relations component describes the behaviours and actions that allow individuals to perceive that others will care for their best interests and are willing to extend themselves beyond what their formal role might normally require of them in order to do so.

Further understanding of the components of trust is important in this analysis not to help define trust, but rather to examine development of the trust relationship. The theories of trust development proposed by Bottery (2003) and Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) will be used to help examine the importance of the separate components of trust in their contribution to the overall trust construct.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Whether a school experiences principal turnover due to retirement or, perhaps, following the implementation of a school district management strategy (Macmillan, 2001, p. 53), the succession event can “highlight a re-examination of school culture and protocols and bring to bear a sense of vulnerability on the part of all constituents and illustrate the importance of building and maintaining trust” (Northfield, Macmillan, & Meyer, 2006, p. 2). To answer the question, and sub-questions, regarding the nature of the teacher-principal trust relationship presented in Chapter 1, a focussed case study research strategy was used. Yin (2003) suggested that such studies “are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (p. 1). This focussed case study is an interview based exploration of trust relationships between a principal and his staff during a period of stress and change.

This study is part of a larger, three-year study examining principal succession and its impact on teachers undertaken by Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield in Nova Scotia between 2003 and 2005. The data analyzed and discussed here were obtained from the interview transcripts of a single secondary school preferentially selected from the twelve schools in the larger study because of its uniqueness. The main study commenced

with a survey of all junior and senior high schools in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada. Schools selected for further study came from a pool of schools that had experienced more than one principal succession event since 1996. This date was selected because it was the institution of the new Education Act which amalgamated and realigned school boards in the province. After the survey selection process, twelve schools throughout the province, representing schools from urban and rural settings and large (> 1000) and small (< 1000) institutions, were chosen for further study. Interviews were conducted on a sample of ninety-five teachers and principals throughout the twelve schools. Each interview lasted between thirty and forty-five minutes and was tape recorded after permission had been granted by the interviewee. Of the teachers selected for interview, there were individuals who were new (< 5 years), mid-career (> 5, < 15) and senior (> 15) teachers.

The main study focused on secondary and middle schools for two reasons. First, due to the balkanized culture often present in secondary school settings (Hargreaves, 1994), successful entry can potentially be quite difficult for a new principal. Second, Fullan (1999; 2001) states that the amount of time and the degree of energy required to implement school reform at the secondary level is at least twice that of elementary schools. While time is an important factor in every school, secondary teachers and principals do not have the luxury of being able to discuss at length their respective roles and their expectations of each other. From

the outset, actions of the new principal are scrutinized as a means to understand how the individual will administer the school, and to what degree teachers can trust the principal.

The school chosen for this interview based exploration was a brand new facility resulting from the amalgamation of two different secondary schools. The principal had a previous history, both socially and/or professionally, with many members of the teaching staff. However, because of the integration of the two school staffs, there were still interview subjects who did not have a previous history with this administrator. Within the same school staff, the principal was a new administrator to many, yet had already developed that professional relationship with others. To add tension to this distinct situation, the principal experienced chronic absenteeism in the first two years of the study largely due to health complications. These factors combined to provide an intriguing setting under which to investigate the perceptions of trust in the teacher-principal relationship.

The first round of interviews was conducted in June of 2003, at Balmoral Secondary School¹. This was an older, sick school that was scheduled to be closed after the amalgamation with Fisher Secondary. The interviews conducted in June 2004 and June 2005 were at the new facility, York Collegiate. Seven teachers were interviewed in the first round. Of these seven, three were interviewed in 2004 and 2005, as well.

¹ All school names given are pseudonyms

Of the four teachers that replaced those teachers from the first round that were not available for interviews after moving to the new facilities, three were from Fisher Secondary and new to the principal's staff. The principal was only available for the third round of interviews. A copy of the interview questions is provided in Appendix A.

All interviews were transcribed in preparation for the data analysis. Transcribed interviews were read to obtain a general sense of the overall meaning, tone, and depth of the data. Reflection on the overall meaning of the data provided the foundation for detailed analysis using a simple coding process (Cresswell, 2003, pp. 191-193). The information was organized into categories and the categories were labelled with appropriate terms. Most categories were examples of specific perspectives held by the participants or indicators of relationships or other social structures. Observed interconnectedness between categories of the coded data contributed to the development of themes used in the data analysis.

Limitations

In a study such as this, there is no empirical way of knowing to what extent this single school is similar to or different from other secondary schools; even ones that have recently amalgamated under similar situations. The subject sample is small and the transcripts offer no way to establish the probability that the data presented is representative of some larger population. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) argue that despite the fact that case studies cannot be

representative, where they generate new thinking or theories “that thinking has a validity that does not entirely depend upon the cases from which it is drawn” (p. 11). The theories of trust development presented here could provide insight to social or organizational situations different from the case school studied.

There were also logistical limitations inherent in the way this study was conducted. Reviewing data from previously conducted interviews prevented control over the content of the questions asked. If there were relationships, perspectives or other categories of data presented in the interview transcripts that the researcher was interested in developing further, there was no opportunity presented to tailor the questions in subsequent interviews to do so. Further, any qualitative information, such as emotion or tone, which could be observable by the interviewer, was not available to the researcher. Such discernments could only be made through examination of what was said in the interview transcripts.

Chapter 4

Analysis

As noted in Chapter 3, the research and analysis presented here is part of a larger, three-year study examining principal succession and its impact on teachers in twelve schools throughout the province of Nova Scotia. For this particular inquiry the focus on the single school that was chosen was not related to principal succession; indeed, the principal was well known and had had long-term professional and personal relationships with many of the interviewed staff. Instead, this school offered a unique opportunity to examine the dynamics of trust relationships between teachers and an already trusted administrator as they experienced a different dramatic event. The event, which is outlined in more detail below, involved the staff escaping from the poor working conditions of decrepit school by amalgamating with another existing school in a brand new facility. Similar to principal succession, this event can also “highlight a re-examination of school culture and protocols and bring to bear a sense of vulnerability on the part of all constituents and illustrate the importance of building and maintaining trust” (Northfield, Macmillan, & Meyer, 2006, p. 2).

This analysis presents the specific behaviours and actions performed by the principal of the subject school that were identified in teacher interviews as affecting the trust relationships between him and his staff. Those behaviours identified are categorized into two

components of trust: Ability and Interpersonal Relations. The remainder of the analysis examines ways in which components of trust influenced the development of the trust relationship, focusing on the importance of the Ability component and the Interpersonal Relations component of trust to the overall trust construct.

York Collegiate

York Collegiate is a brand new facility located near a prime industrial area of Nova Scotia. The student population of about nine hundred consists of two student bodies that were blended upon the amalgamation of two older secondary schools; one rural and one more urban. The old urban school, Balmoral Secondary, was a sick building being vacated due to extreme mould conditions. The new building allowed for a reorganization of schools in the area, which led to the closing of the rural school, Fisher Secondary. The principal for the duration of the interviews, Ken, was the principal at Balmoral Secondary before the new school was built. The first year of interviews, in fact, was conducted at the environmentally hazardous Balmoral Secondary. While Ken was heavily involved in the construction of the new building and the hiring of staff for York Collegiate, a vice-principal from Fisher Secondary, Sean, was assigned to assist Ken and the incumbent vice-principal at Balmoral, Heather. Both Heather and Sean were still vice-principals with Ken at York Collegiate for the duration of the study. Unfortunately, the dual responsibilities still took their toll on Ken.

I did delegate, but the community and the board still looked at me as being in charge of both... and, um, it played some serious hazards on my health. It just wore me down, I was trying to, to be everything for everyone in two positions. And um, I should've made, taken a stand saying sorry people whoa, we got to stop here. Yes you've got another VP to take some of my roles at the high school, but I'm still being looked at like everyone to make decisions... well I can't do that and be on top of building the new school. So some things we missed in both places. (PM011)²

The issue of principal absenteeism experienced at Balmoral Secondary while Ken was busy with the construction of the new school continued at York Collegiate, though now it was related to "health problems" linked to the stress of building the new facility while he was still responsible for running Balmoral Secondary.

The absence of Ken seemed largely justified in the eyes of most teachers interviewed in the first two years, especially those who came from the "cesspool" Balmoral, in the sense that the ends justified the means. Accounts of miscarriages, environmental and respiratory problems, and leaves of absence were shockingly common in the teachers' descriptions of the situation at Balmoral. Furthermore, the year prior to the first year of interviews, the school itself was physically spread out in 16 different sites across the community when the board stepped in to try to salvage the compromised working environment. Ken was seen, by many of those interviewed, as the driving force behind the successful escape from Balmoral to York Collegiate. An event that had an extremely positive effect on morale for the teachers involved in the move.

² The first letter signifies whether the individual is a teacher (T) or principal (P). The second letter is the individual's gender and the number is the personal identifier.

[On a scale of 1 to 10], for me, it's 10... and I come from that goddamn swamp down there and I don't mind swearing on this. Because I was in that place for 28 years and it was a sick building and some of my friends are gonna die earlier because of working in that place and they never got us out of there and coming here is like a godsend. The environment was absolutely terrifying, this is heaven compared to the other. (TM170)

The importance of this possibly heroic action by the principal in terms of trust development cannot be ignored, yet it in no way paints the entire picture for the trust relationships between Ken and the teachers at York Collegiate. It is argued here, and elsewhere (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bottery, 2003), that individuals in a trust relationship are constantly attending to the actions of others and continually discerning how these behaviours fit into the larger picture of the other's trustworthiness. Even though the actions that brought forth the relocation to the new school likely went a long way to building trust in Ken, both in terms of Ability (the competence to get the job done and successfully move the school) and Interpersonal Relations (showing personal regard for the teachers involved), this singular experience cannot sustain trust throughout the duration of the relationship without support and revalidation through day-to-day practices. The analysis below examines the actions of the principal, whether grand or menial, that affected trust development at York Collegiate.

Behaviours/actions that develop trust

Tschannen-Moran (1998) found that trust in the principal is strongly influenced by the actions and behaviours of the principal (p.

348). It has already been suggested in Chapter 2 that the actions and behaviours of a principal that foster trust can be separated into two main components: Ability and Interpersonal Relations. The actions and behaviours that affect trust which were uncovered in the interview transcripts at York Collegiate also have the same, noticeable dichotomy.

The Ability component of trust

The behaviours categorized under this component of trust dealt with the knowledge, skills, and competence essential to performing the role of principal in a secondary school. The surprising thing was that even though these behaviours are few and relatively straightforward they were not being performed as desired by the teachers. Even as Ken worked hard, to the detriment of his own health, to ready the desperately needed new facility, many teachers on staff outlined simple competency in everyday responsibilities as attributes of their ideal principal.

For me personally, I want someone who is very organized, strong discipline, stand up person, someone who is prompt and does things quickly and efficiently. I am not looking for the administrator to solve the world's problems or every kid's problems. I want him or her to deal with things quickly and efficiently and to be supportive of me in what I need. (TM70)

Prompt response to issues was a common trait desired in an ideal administrator and, unfortunately, a commonly perceived shortcoming for Ken. In some cases, it did not even matter if the task was performed adequately before an imposed deadline. The perception of delaying on the part of the principal was enough to cause concern. When asked if her trust in Ken had changed over the duration of his administration, one

teacher responded that because of Ken's inability to support her promptly, it had.

Just a one episode that made me worry because I needed something done by a certain time, help by a certain time for a special needs student. And of course there's delay, delay, delay. And that's just stress...[I]t was done and it was taken care of. So, but it was last minute, that was the only thing, that, that made me question [my trust in him]. (TF168)

In terms of how efficiently Ken performed his role responsibilities, the teachers found a lack of follow-through in many situations. This went beyond not dealing with an issue in a timely manner and became an evasion of the problem altogether. One teacher found such evasion a common occurrence at monthly staff meetings.

It's usually like, Ken might say this isn't the time or place to talk about this... you know, we'll deal with this issue at a later date, but it's never brought up again... I'm wondering if these people ever feel that it's never really taken care of. (TF172)

By the third year of interviews, the monthly staff meeting had evolved into a complaint session where teachers would air their grievances concerning Ken's inconsistency between word and practice. A teacher recounts how a typical staff meeting would turn after someone brought up concerns about a lack of follow-through on an issue.

So then that can start in the staff meeting and then somebody else would go yeah and then dah, dah, dah, dah. So it's like, kind of ganging up and it just spreads like wildfire and when I think of that, I think God, morale must be really bad or, I don't know if it's morale though... And it just goes crazy, like it's all around you, and you're like, oh my God... Ken doesn't deal with it very well...looks like there's gonna be tears coming to his eyes and he sometimes gets very defensive. I dread [staff meetings] only for that reason because I think, oh no, what if it ends up to be in a, if it

turns into one of those sessions? And I feel bad for Ken, I feel bad. (TF172)

Although less dramatic, another result of Ken's frequent inconsistency between word and practice is that some teachers began to avoid seeking Ken's assistance altogether or would expend their time and effort on practices of their own that would ensure they received the support they required.

I can't always trust that he's going to do what he says he's going to do...follow through. Wondering if he's going to do the same thing next time. And that's not easy. I have learned to deal with it now I usually do it myself. And if I really want it done, I'll put it in paper and I'll badger him. (TF73)

Another area in which the teachers interviewed said they expected consistency from the principal is regarding student discipline. A female teacher indicates how she thinks student discipline issues have caused other teachers not to respect Ken fully because "I don't think they think he's consistent enough or strict enough" (TF172). Another teacher went as far as to say that inconsistencies in terms of student discipline have negatively affected her level of trust in Ken.

Sometimes I find [trust decreases] in terms of discipline. You know, you send a referral to him about something and, sort of the kids get a slap on the wrist. When, when you read the school rules, that's not what you're expecting or if you sent that same referral to a [different] student. Uh, the consequences wouldn't be the same. (TF175)

The final behaviour that emerged in the interview transcripts related to the Ability component of trust is perceived confidence of the principal. A teacher in the first year of interviews was concerned with the

competency of the principal that preceded Ken at Balmoral Secondary because he “wasn’t willing to stir things up. He sometimes avoided the confrontation that would come his way... I felt that there was a need for someone who was willing to face the music” (TF68). As alluded to above, teachers’ perceptions of Ken’s confidence, as brought to the forefront during monthly staff meetings, were that he was following the path of his predecessor and also doing his best to avoid confrontation.

Even though there’s been people that have been disrespectful in staff meetings. I don’t think he’s ever stood up and said anything to them. He walked out of a meeting once and I don’t blame him. But what I would have liked is to have seen those people talked to. (TF73)

The essence of the concern over this evasiveness appeared to lie in the anxiety that staff members other than the administration are determining practice in the building for everyone else. The above teacher recommended that the school administration should not “let anyone push them, one way or the other. And if they want to stand up and, and you know, say what they want in front of the group, not to let anyone badger them” (TF73).

In this case, the behaviours related to the Ability component of trust that were most important consisted of the following: dealing with issues in a timely manner; consistency between word and practice, or follow-through; consistency with student discipline; and confidence to stand-up to confrontation. Ken’s perceived competence in these areas by the majority of the teachers interviewed (40% over the duration of the

study; 67% after school amalgamation) was inadequate. It stands to reason that one would conclude the overall trust relationship between the principal and teachers on this staff would be quite low. However, this was not the case at all. The story is altogether different when one examines behaviours and actions within the Interpersonal Relations component of trust.

The Interpersonal Relations component of trust

Barlow (2001) queried, “do people bond because they trust, or do they trust because they bond” (p. 12). Regardless of one’s opinion on this chicken-egg predicament, it is evident that Interpersonal Relations are an important component of the overall trust construct. The behaviours and actions categorized under this component of trust suggest that individuals believe that others will care for their best interests and when this happens, they are willing to extend themselves beyond what their formal role might normally require of them in order to do so. The noteworthy singular event of Ken overworking himself, to the extent of jeopardizing his health, so that Balmoral Secondary could move into new facilities, showed extreme personal regard for the health of all other parties involved with the sick school. Again, the importance of this incident regarding teachers’ perceptions of the Interpersonal Relations component of trust cannot be ignored. However, as mentioned above, maintaining a trusting relationship requires consistent revalidation through more day-to-day actions. This section examines Ken’s regular

practice outside of the school amalgamation event in terms of the Interpersonal Relations component of trust.

Teachers regularly commented on Ken's showing personal regard for individual teachers concerning issues affecting their lives outside of their roles at Balmoral Secondary or York Collegiate. One male teacher related a time when he was going through a tough divorce and Ken arranged for Ken and him to take a day off and spend it out on a boat together to get away from the stress. In another instance, Ken showed his support for professional development in his staff by encouraging a guidance counselor to apply for an extended leave to attend a learning conference.

TF68: I started in 2001 and I went to him and I told him about the conference. I said... hopefully when it gets closer to the conference I will get some release time from the board to work on it. I did get the time and he had to write the letter of support. He was supportive and happy for me. He knew full well that it would make a difference in his life if I am not in the school. It was the position that I filled that would cause change. Ken views me as a support of him and me not being here would impact on him. He was happy for me.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that is characteristic of his way?

TF68: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: You think that it is a needed characteristic of a principal?

TF68: I think that anyone goes into an administrative position, you get people in your schools that are amazing people that you want to hang on and keep. Chances are that is not going to happen because they will move on... I think Ken is the kind of person that will support anyone. That is an important characteristic.

Bryk and Schneider (2002) also found that a common way principals can show personal regard for teachers is by creating and supporting opportunities for teachers' career development (p. 25).

The teachers at York Collegiate were also very cognizant of how Ken regularly showed personal regard for the students. Almost every teacher interviewed specified that this was something they really liked about Ken and indicated that this was a behaviour they would include in the skill set of an ideal principal.

I love how he deals with kids. He really is a kid person. He really loves the kids and enjoys the kids and they know it. It is not uncommon to find a kid in his office that is upset and they have gone to talk to him. They like him and they trust him. I think that is an important part of it. (TF68)

There were abundant examples of Ken supporting school sporting events, the band program, and school musicals through either himself and his wife showing up to as many events as possible, actually participating in musicals himself, or just generally trying to get the students as involved as possible. The teachers noted that Ken was often seen talking and joking in the halls with students. But even further, "he's not doing it because it's his job, he's doing it because he wants to be out there. He wants to know the students" (TF172). A music teacher felt a real connection with Ken because of the personal regard he showed for one of her more troubled students.

We had a kid at serious risk here. He was in the music program and there was a debate whether or not this kid could go on the music trip to Boston because he was failing every course in the school. His mental health and physical safety was at risk. We both

figured that if this trip was pulled away from him it would be detrimental to his physical safety. His emotional health for sure. Ken took a stand with the teachers because the policy is that if kids are failing then you cannot go on trips. The school is bigger than that. Music was keeping him in school. (TF72)

Tschannen-Moran (1998) describes *salience* as the “ability to break through barriers of stereotyping and behave in ways consistent with one’s personal self; basic personality is a prime motivator of behavior; not some prescribed role” (p. 344). Many of the teachers interviewed were impressed with Ken’s authenticity of character. Ken went about his job as principal with a very high level of salience. For example, some teachers described Ken as a “truly crazy, loving person”, a principal good for “support, trust, and good friendly conversation”, and someone who was “honest” and brought “energy and passion” to the job of principal. In the first year of interviews, before two sustained years of issues regarding ability due to absenteeism, one teacher commented that Ken would need no specific initiatives to build trust because “his personality builds trust. He is a very moral person and when it comes down to it he just allows you to build trust by him being him” (TM74). A poignant example of how Ken would be himself day-to-day was given by the music teacher.

Ken would wander down to my classroom and go back and grab a trumpet and sit and play [with the students]. Ken would come to my concerts and dance. He would dress up if I asked him to dress up. Ken would do absolutely anything for the kids and for the [music] program. (TF72)

Other than salience, another feature that reinforces Ken’s authenticity of character with the staff was his capacity to apologize for mistakes and

accept personal responsibility for negative outcomes with his policies.

Ken himself describes his outlook on the importance of admitting when he, as a school leader, had made a mistake.

There have been a, a couple occasions, probably more than a couple, but I only want to admit a couple, that I've made some booboos. And I admit, and I say, sorry, I made a mistake here. Um and I think that's an important aspect of being a leader, is that you, it's important to admit when you haven't made the right decision. Um, and that you will try to fix it if you can, and if you can't, you got to live with it and in the future that you will look very seriously at trying to avoid those sort of situations. (PM011)

A number of teachers related situations when Ken apologized to members of staff other than themselves. Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) describe a similar situation where the *story* of a principal's willingness to apologize for an inappropriate comment to an individual teacher helped to cultivate trust in the principal, even among those who had not personally been involved (p. 571).

The straightforward action of being frequently visible in the school appeared to have had a very positive influence on Ken's trust relationship with his staff. The effect of high visibility appeared to be three-fold. First, visibility in the school amplified the perception of Ken as a school leader. A male teacher praised Ken for being "a little more out there in terms of being out of the office. [He is] less of a manager and more of an administrator... a school leader" (TM74). Second, and importantly in the case of the development of a "new" school, Ken's visibility communicated to those involved high commitment to the school. Ken's constant presence made it "obvious in the school and within the community that

he was committed and that was clear from the beginning. He and his wife were at everything, and I think it was noticed by people” (TF75). Lastly, Ken’s visibility in the school encouraged others to believe that he was very approachable.

Um, I think the students love it. That he’s not just in the office doing work, that he’s a real person. So when something comes up, I feel like, I can go talk to him, because he’s a person cuz he’s out here. He’s, he’s visible, he’s approachable, maybe that’s the word, approachable. (TF172)

One teacher’s perception of Ken’s approachability was so strong that she commented “I have no doubt in my head that his door is always open and I believe that I could even call him at home” (TF73).

Linked with approachability are Ken’s skills in regard to maintaining confidentiality. Several teachers who were comfortable seeking Ken’s assistance and indicated that they trusted him listed confidentiality as an important facet of a trusting relationship.

Feeling that you can, you know, trust someone and it’s confidential or depending on situation, that something you say or it’s confidential that, or you feel comfortable enough with that person that you can trust them to say something and it won’t be all over the place. (TF172)

Several teachers indicated that behaviours relating to respect also suggested that Ken was a trustworthy principal. Mostly, these were simple behaviours such as looking at people “in the eye when he talked to [them]” (TF73) or “honouring” staff members by entrusting them with important tasks for the school. Other times, Ken’s respect for his staff surfaced in how he viewed his professional relationship with them.

He basically said that I am going to function under the assumption that you know what you are doing professionally. You do what you need to and tell me what you think you need to tell me when you need to tell me. If I have any concerns then I will come to you. (TF68)

Ken also collectively showed respect for all members of staff by soliciting teachers' opinions in the decision making process.

I would say it is very collaborative. I don't think too many decisions are made at the administrative level without allowing for input from the staff. They are very open that way. They welcome any input, ideas, suggestions about anything that is going on in the school. (TM74)

This corresponds with the Tschannen-Moran's and Hoy's (2000) finding that a participative decision making process is positively related to a trusting culture in schools (p. 584).

Personal regard for teachers and students, authenticity, respect, confidentiality, visibility, leadership, commitment, and approachability were identified as behaviors and actions that acknowledged to the teaching staff that Ken was willing to extend himself beyond his formal role of principal to care for their best interests. It is evident from the interview transcripts, and through his own affirmation, that Ken almost exclusively entertained actions that were beyond the minimum requirements of his job description.

My door is always open to the staff and students and parents. I often give them more time than I give myself. So I'm busy working, I got a pile of work to do, can you see somebody? Sure I, sure I can. Well that pile doesn't move, but I deal with that. They're more important, the people interaction, the paperwork will get done someday, I may miss some deadlines, well, again, we're only human. But my job is here to direct and lead and support the human beings here. (PM011)

The combination of Ken's absence due to the construction and staffing of the new school, of his unpredictable absenteeism due to health concerns that arose after moving into the new facility, and of Ken's personal focus on actions mainly in the Interpersonal Relations component of trust, created an engaging trust situation. There was a distinct imbalance in the contributions of the two components of trust to the overall trust construct, with the Ability component being the inferior of the two. The remainder of this analysis uses the current theories for trust development in an attempt to explain what effects, if any, such disparity has on the overall trust construct.

The components of trust and trust development

Both Mishra (1996) and Bryk and Schneider (2002) proposed that each component of trust holds equal importance to the overall trust construct, in that a serious deficiency in one component could undermine the entire trust relationship. The following statement from a teacher at York Collegiate, in response to a question as to whether there are teachers on staff whom he does not trust, indicates that even in the face of a perceived deficiency in one component of trust, a somewhat strong trust relationship is still possible.

Um, do I feel that every teacher in this school maybe is doing what I would like him or her to be doing in a classroom, as much as I like him or her, no, probably not... they're not necessarily making choices that I would make in a classroom, this doesn't mean that I don't trust them as individuals. (TM74)

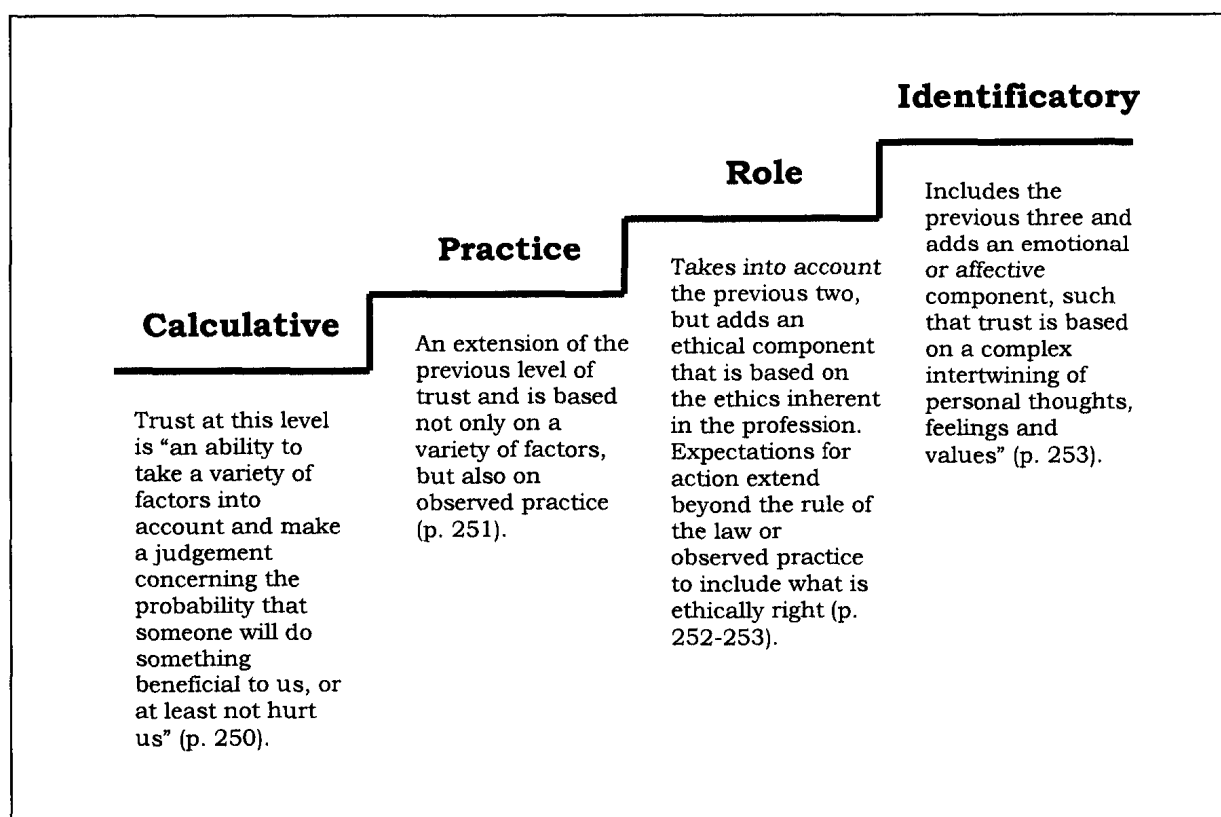
It is suggested here that the extent to which a deficiency in one of the components of trust affects the trust relationship depends on what stage of trust development in which the relationship is. As introduced in Chapter 2, four stages of trust development have been proposed as have two different theories on how relationships progress through these stages. Both theories of progression, hierarchy-based and continuum-based, will be examined.

Bottery (2003) theorized that trust developed through his proposed forms of trust in a hierarchical manner, with the trust relationship becoming more complex and valuable as it evolved from a basically cognitive platform to incorporate ethical and affective elements (p. 249). As a relationship developed, it could be promoted from Calculative trust all the way up to Identificatory trust (see Figure 4.1). Likewise, a relationship could be demoted to a lower level of trust which, Bottery suggested, could have “very damaging effects upon the relationship” (p. 252). Bottery further suggested that more developed relationships are more valuable and significant, therefore trust violations in relationships at this level are the “most hurtful and damaging” (p. 254). There are two ways to interpret the York Collegiate data using Bottery’s hierarchy, and both involve concerns.

The first concern is regarding Ken’s deficiency in the Ability component of trust. If this component holds equal importance

throughout the hierarchy, then it should have caused a demotion of the trust relationships he had with his staff.

Figure 4.1: Hierarchy-based stages of trust development



Forms of trust as proposed by Bottery (2003)

From the sentiments conveyed in the transcripts it would appear that many of the teachers interviewed may have developed relationships with Ken that could be classified at the higher levels of Bottery’s hierarchy. Any demotion of trust should have had noticeable “hurtful and damaging effects” on relationships at these levels. The teachers who appeared in the transcripts to have higher trust relationships with Ken had various reactions to Ken’s inadequate Ability behaviours, but none of the teachers seemed to feel that their personal relationship with Ken was

greatly affected. There were several explicit examples of teachers accepting or tolerating the situation as it was in the transcript data.

[Ken's] legacy would be kind of inconsistent to a lot of people or just kind of like, not controlling the ship, like strictly enough.... Whereas I would see it as it's fine, like [the vice-principals] take care of that part, but we need someone to take care of the, the morale. (TF172)

Other teachers used Ken's illness to justify and cope with his deficiencies.

I think it's his heart, his heart, he had so much heart in this place, you know, like, he just put so much into it. He put himself into it, his whole self. And I think that he was overwhelmed and I don't even think he knew what the extent to which he was overwhelmed. And because of that, I think that you know, like, things got overloaded. (TF73)

Another teacher went so far as to deny any inadequacies in their relationship. Even though this teacher supported Ken "very strongly", he was aware that concerning Ken's ability as a principal "there are some on staff who would have different perspectives... some people on staff find him difficult to work with, but you'd have to ask them about that" (TM170). In the face of behaviours that would lessen trust, the teachers interviewed seemed to accept, excuse, or deny Ken's actions and, it can be argued, did not experience a demotion of their relationship to a lower level of trust in Bottery's hierarchy.

The second concern involved in interpreting the York Collegiate data using Bottery's hierarchical theory of trust development includes the influence of the separate components of trust changing as the relationship develops through the hierarchy. Behaviours related to the

Ability component of trust, such as consistency, confidence and others related to competence, can be seen to wield more influence at the Calculative and Practice Trust stages. Interpersonal Relations component behaviours, such as personal regard, authenticity, and approachability, could be seen to make up the ethical and affective element that Bottery describes as emerging in the higher stages of trust. In this interpretation, Ken's inadequacy in the Ability component of trust would be expected to noticeably affect those relationships at the Role and Practice stages to a greater degree.

Though an insufficiency of ability and competence would likely affect those relationships at the Role and Practice Trust levels first, the higher level relationships should also be negatively affected as the foundation of the trust construct erodes. Bottery (2004) explains that his stages of trust (see Figure 4.1) build on each other as the lowest level of trust, Calculative, incorporates "motivational, affective and principled elements" to ascend to his highest level of trust; Identificatory Trust (p. 6-7). While there is evidence of a negative effect on the overall trust relationships in the interview transcripts, the loss of trust is *specific* to those behaviours related to the legal mandate of principals. Some transcripts went so far as to indicate that the teachers no longer trusted Ken as a principal, but they still trusted him personally. Even though they could not predict his actions where his formal role was concerned,

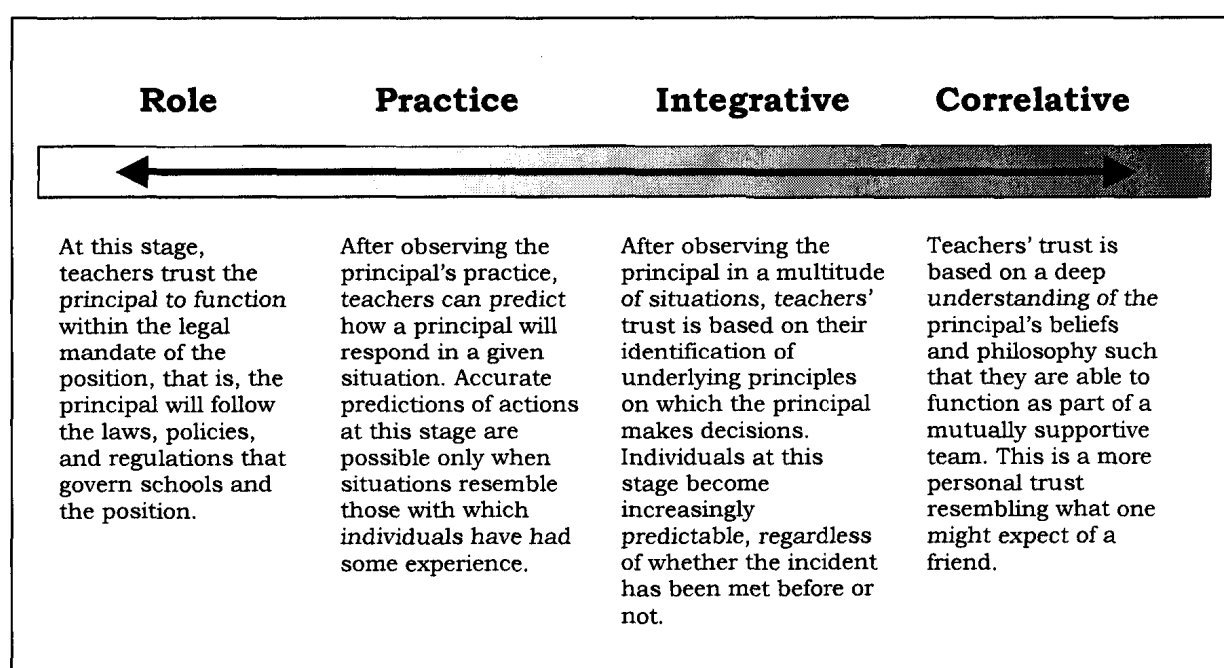
they could still identify with his principles and expressed understandings of his beliefs.

The alternative continuum model proposed by Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) views trust development as developing through four stages along the continuum presented in Figure 4.2. This view speculates that trust development is not “lockstep”, as suggested in Bottery’s hierarchy, as there are not definite divisions between the stages. Placement of a relationship along the continuum will depend on the individuals’ expectations for role competencies, their opportunity to observe actions in the other that integrate with these expectations, their understanding of the trusted individual’s underlying beliefs of what is right, and the development of an emotional interpersonal connection between the two individuals in the relationship. The development of this relationship does not necessarily need to be sequential or does it need to start with Role Trust. Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2005) theorized that the relationship between teachers and principals would change as trust progressed, stalled or even regressed along the continuum in response to interpretations of the actions and behaviours of the trusted individual.

This continuum model of trust development appears to better account for the York Collegiate transcript data. Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) propose that trust has “valence” meaning that trust is “positive when positive action is expected and can be predicted to happen

with some degree of accuracy. Conversely... trust is negative when an individual can be predicted with some degree of accuracy to act in a way which is contrary to accepted or desired practice” (p. 277). The valence of trust then suggests that Ken’s deficiencies in the Ability component of trust would result in a negative regression along the continuum in the direction of Role Trust.

Figure 4.2: Continuum-based trust development in schools



Adapted from Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield, 2004

By the same token, Ken’s Interpersonal Relations behaviours and actions should positively affect the trust relationship progressing in the Correlative Trust direction. It can be argued that since specific positive and negative effects of the components of trust are dependent on individual interpretations and observations of behaviours, the net result for different teachers may be that their trust regresses rapidly, slowly,

stalls in development, or increases. This interpretation could explain individual teachers who did to not appear to experience a lessening of trust because their situation did not give them frequent opportunity to observe Ability shortcomings.

I do not feel that I have a lot of contact with the office for discipline reasons, which is great. That may just be me. People that use the office or administrators a lot more maybe a blown away by the changes. Luckily, I don't need that a lot so I haven't seen any changes made... I still strive to do the things that I have always done. That has not gone up or decreased because of administration... I do my job for myself and for my kids... not for my administrator. (TM70)

The dynamic and fluid transition between the different types of trust in the continuum model seems to fit the teacher-principal relationship better than the lockstep transitions presented in the hierarchy model. The progression through the continuum as positively or negatively influenced by the Ability and Interpersonal Relations components of trust to an equivalent degree, however, is still incongruous with the York Collegiate data. For some interviewees, Ken's inconsistent Ability component behaviours were associated with decreased levels of Role Trust, with relatively little effect on other kinds of trust, especially Integrative and Correlative trust as conceptualized in the continuum model. In short, while some teachers continued to trust Ken personally, they were less willing to trust him in the performance of his official role responsibilities as a principal. The simultaneous perception of the different stages of trust by the trustor is a new observation that is inadequately explained using the continuum model for trust

development. In Chapter 5, a modification to the continuum model is presented in an attempt to account for this finding.

Summary

Even though this exploration of interview transcripts offered insight into the uniquely interesting event of a school staff escaping an environmentally hazardous school to a brand new facility, the examination of behaviours and actions that affected trust focused on those that were commonly experienced in the day-to-day support and revalidation of the trust relationship. Those behaviours identified were categorized under two components of trust: Ability and Interpersonal Relations. The Ability component of trust dealt with those behaviours essential to performing the role of principal in a secondary school and consisted of the following: dealing with issues in a timely manner; consistency between word and practice, or follow-through; consistency with student discipline; confidence to stand-up to confrontation. Behaviours in the Interpersonal Relations component of trust allowed the teachers to perceive that the principal would care for their best interests and would extend himself beyond his formal role responsibilities to do so. These included personal regard for teachers and students, authenticity, respect, confidentiality, visibility, leadership, commitment, and approachability. It was determined that the principal at the study school appeared highly proficient in Interpersonal Relations behaviours, but

showed inadequacies concerning behaviours related to the Ability component, largely due to chronic absence.

The disparity that existed between the two components of trust allowed for their influence to the overall trust construct to be examined in more detail. After considering the applicability of two models of trust development, several important observations were made. The extent to which the deficiency in the Ability component of trust affected the overall trust relationship appeared to be associated with the stage of trust reached in the relationship. Even more notably, the data indicated that a teacher could have a high level of trust in their principal with regard to Interpersonal matters, yet they could simultaneously have a lower level of trust in matters concerning his Ability. Although the contributions by the separate components of trust to the overall perception of the trust relationship appeared to fluctuate in importance at the different stages of trust, the existing models of trust development did not adequately fit the transcript data.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

The study of York Collegiate offered a unique opportunity to investigate the dynamics of a variety of teacher-principal trust relationships in a school setting. The interview transcripts offered the perceptions of individuals who had worked with the principal for a long time, teachers who had experienced the dramatic event of escaping an environmentally hazardous school with the principal, and teachers from the other school in the amalgamation that had no professional history with the principal. As discussed in Chapter 4, trust relationships are characterized and constructed by the involved parties' interpretations of the actions and the perceived motives behind those actions. At York Collegiate, the behaviours and actions that affected trust relationships between the principal and staff were identified. These behaviours were categorized into two main components of trust: the Ability component and the Interpersonal Relations component. Both Mishra (1996) and Bryk and Schneider (2002) proposed that each component of trust holds equal importance to the overall trust construct.

The separate dimensions of trust are assumed to represent components of an overall trust construct. These dimensions combine multiplicatively in determining the overall degree of trust that one party has with respect to a given referent. That is, a low level of trust in terms of any of the dimensions offsets high levels of trust in terms of the other dimensions. (Mishra, 1996, p. 269)

The principal at York Collegiate was heavily involved in the construction and staffing of the new school while he was still in charge of

Balmoral Secondary. His frequent absenteeism continued after the move into the new facility, but this time due to health reasons. This absenteeism, combined with his penchant for lowering the priority of his formal role responsibilities in lieu of building strong personal relationships with staff and students, manufactured an immense disparity between the two components of trust. Inconsistent with the proposal of Mishra (1996), the low level of the Ability component of trust did not directly equate to the undermining of the overall trust relationships of those involved.

Theories of trust development (Bottery, 2003; Macmillan, Meyer, & Northfield, 2004) were examined to see if transcript data from teacher interviews appeared to match the developmental stages of trust in the two models. Ultimately, neither theory adequately accounted for the York Collegiate data. A more complete account can nonetheless be developed by merging of the continuum based developmental model of trust with the notion that the importance of the two components of trust are not equal in all situations, but can fluctuate dependent on the situation.

This chapter proposes a new model for understanding the mechanism by which the components of trust influence the development of the trust relationship through the different stages of trust. Unanticipated findings concerning sequential trust development and the ideal level of trust for a school principal are also introduced. The chapter

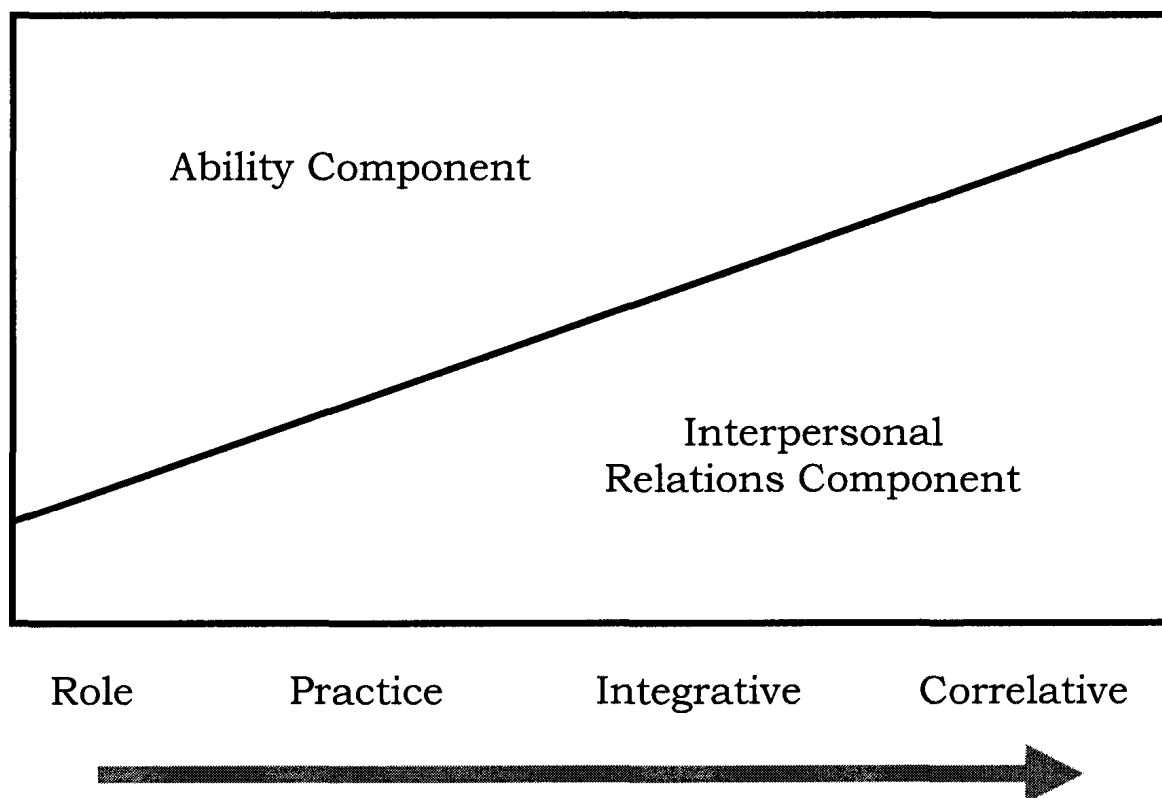
concludes with a discussion of implications for schools and recommendations for future research.

Model for trust development

The continuum model of trust development seemed to account for the observations in the transcript data better than the hierarchy-based model. Since in the hierarchy model, the higher levels of trust build off the previous stages (see Figure 4.1) concerns in the Ability component of trust should be experienced equally by relationships at all levels of trust. The transcript data did not support this. The idea of valence presented with the continuum model better accounted for separate relationships at different stages being affected to different degrees. Positive actions, like Ken's Interpersonal Relations behaviours, should affect all of his relationships in positive manner. Negative actions, such as Ken's lack of Ability behaviours and actions, should affect the relationships in a negative manner. Any differences in the magnitude or direction a particular action had for different relationship could be accounted for through a difference in perception of the action by the individual or unequal opportunities to observe the action. However, the continuum model does not account for the situation uncovered in the York Collegiate transcripts where certain actions affected trust in one area but not the entirety of the overall trust construct. Several teachers, especially in the last year of interviews, expressed that they no longer trusted Ken as a principal, but they still trusted him as a person. These individuals felt

that they could not predict his actions where his role was concerned, yet it appeared they could still identify with his principles and have a deep understanding of his beliefs. The model presented here attempts to explain this observation.

Figure 5.1: Modified Continuum of Trust Development



The modified continuum of trust development model presented in Figure 5.1 takes into account, according to the suggestion outlined in Chapter 4, changing influences the two components of trust can have on the level of trust depending on the stage of trust the principal-teacher relationship has reached. As Figure 5.1 shows, discernments of trustworthiness at the Role Trust stage are largely affected by those behaviours and actions categorized under the Ability component of trust.

The Ability component of trust recedes in importance while the Interpersonal Relations component increases when the Correlative Trust stage is reached. This model helps explain how Ken's inadequacies in the Ability component of trust loomed larger for teachers new to the staff, or for other teachers who had not had the time or opportunity to develop their trust relationship to a higher stage. Teachers who seemed to have a level of trust more towards the strong interpersonal aspects inherent in the Correlative stage of trust with Ken, though not completely unaffected by the deficiencies in his Ability component, did not seem to experience a lessening in the personal aspects of their relationship.

The Modified Continuum model of trust development, as it stands, does not account for the transcripts of staff members who experienced a lessening of trust in certain aspects of their relationship with Ken. Before adapting the model to help address this observation, the changing trust relationship between Ken and a female teacher on his staff, Megan, is outlined to give a more detailed perspective on this situation.

In the first year of interviews, Megan indicated that she trusted Ken as an administrator and implied that she perceived, and appreciated, his willingness to go beyond his formal role responsibilities to support his staff.

I have a very good working relationship with him. I think I can ask him anything and I think that he would go out of his way to be positive about the answer. I have no doubt in my head that his door is always open and I believe that I could even call him at home. (TF73)

The first year of interviews, however, were conducted at Balmoral Secondary and Megan gave some indication about how hard it had been to have Ken absent for a large part of the year while he was putting together the new school.

Now this year has been very different because he hasn't always been there. He hasn't been here physically because of the move... He is wearing a lot of hats so this year we haven't had the leadership like it would have been other years. It has been hard this year. (TF73)

After moving into the new school, things settled down enough for Ken to be present more regularly, allowing Megan and Ken's trust relationship to develop further. Megan related that her trust in Ken had increased because "I've worked so closely with him now. And so I have begun to trust him and I know that he's a man of integrity" (TF73). When prompted to further explain her trust in Ken, Megan, upon hearing her own words, felt compelled to address Ken's absences and the consequences they might have on his Ability behaviours and actions.

I find him very supportive, I find that he um, he does what's best for us. I do think that he's worn out right now. I think he has worn himself out. .. I think that uh, that the uh, greatness, fastness, awesomeness of his job uh, was overwhelming. And you could see it in his demeanour as the months went on... he seemed to wear down. Uh, he seemed like uh, he was keeping all together till the school got here and got going. (TF73)

Though Megan justified Ken's absences, it did not prevent her from suffering the resulting consequences herself.

When I did ask him things, he did respond um, that he would look after it. As the new school was coming last year, that didn't always happen. And um, it was hard for me then to ask him something because I wasn't sure if it was going to get done or not. (TF73)

By the last year of interviews, Ken's inconsistencies and deficiencies in his formal role as principal due to his absences caused Megan to admit that her trust in him "has diminished over three years, in that I know he's not consistent. That I can trust him with some things and I can't trust him with others" (TF73). Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) describe Correlative Trust as developing from friendship and emotional connections building a relationship that is more indicative of family, rather than a working relationship (p. 289). Megan appears to perceive her personal relationship at the Correlative Trust level with Ken as still strong, yet her professional relationship has shifted toward the Role Trust stage.

I saw him as being stronger and I saw him as being um, more consistent of a principal. And um, I think because of the lack of trust, I really don't see him as strong now, as a leader. And um, do I like him as much? Yes, that hasn't changed my, I like him as a person. But would I choose him as a principal? I don't know, I don't know, I really don't because he supports me but um, I don't, he supports me personally but I don't, I don't see him supporting me totally. It's hard to say, gosh, I don't know. (TF73)

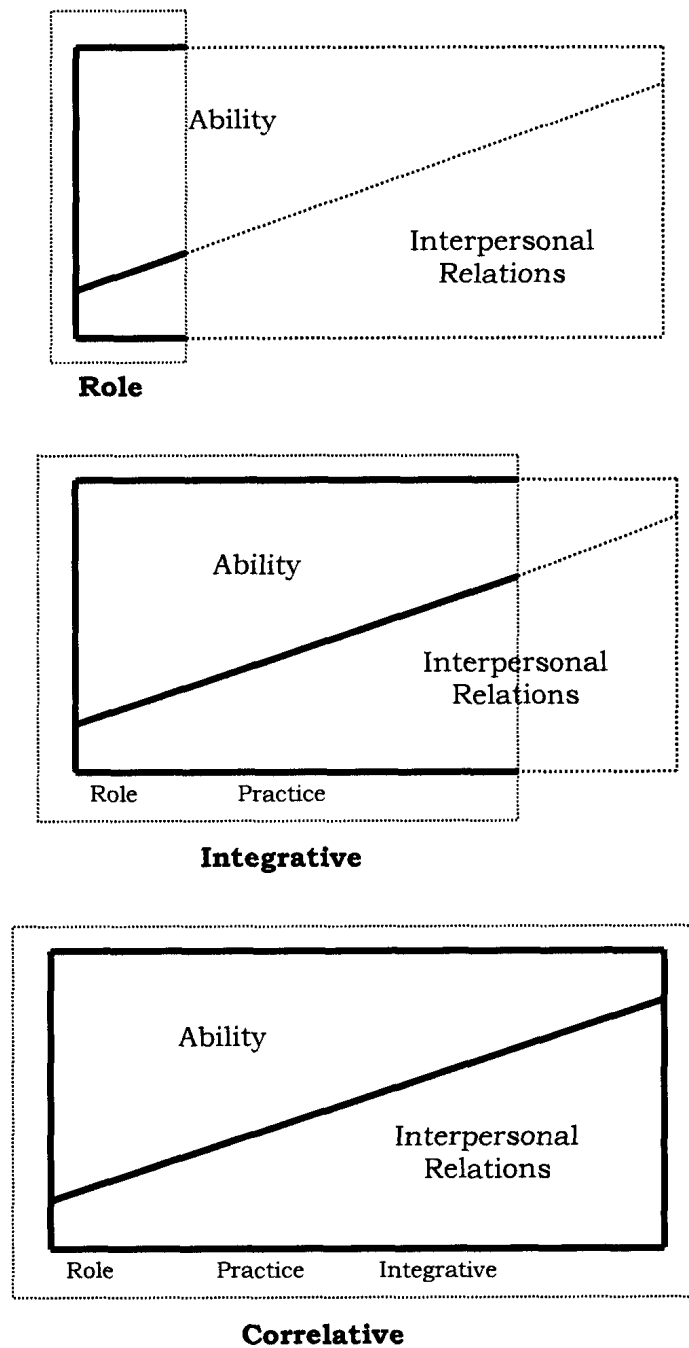
This last passage movingly outlines the essence of the situation at York Collegiate. Due to Ken's aptitude, or even flair, for behaviours and actions in the Interpersonal Relations component of trust, individuals with strong interpersonal relationships with Ken feel "supported personally" and trust Ken "as a person". The deficiencies experienced in the Ability component of trust leave these individuals conflicted towards their opinion of the overall trust relationship as it pertains to their

professional relationship at school. Some, like Megan, can actually identify that there are parts of Ken's administration that they do and don't trust. As mentioned above, however, individuals on staff who have not had the opportunity to develop more valuable trust relationships with Ken have a clear opinion towards their trust relationship: a deficient Ability component of trust equates to lower level of trust. These observations suggest a further adaptation to the modified continuum model that allows for the model to alter as the relationship develops along the continuum from Role Trust to Correlative Trust.

The Tapestry-through-the-window Model of trust development (see Figure 5.2) adapts the modified continuum model to allow for multiple aspects of discernment for more developed relationships. The "tapestry" represents a construct of all four levels of trust: Role, Practice, Integrative, and Correlative. The elements that make up the different levels of the tapestry remain the two components of trust: Ability and Interpersonal Relations. The "window" through which the trustor understands the relationship is dependent on how mature and evolved the relationship is. A less evolved trust relationship, or a new trust relationship, "sees" the tapestry, or trust construct, through a narrow window focussed on the Role Trust section of the tapestry (see the top image in Figure 5.2). The Correlative Trust relationship, allows the trustor to clearly view *all* aspects of the tapestry, not just a window focussed on the Correlative Trust section.

The Tapestry-through-the-window model of trust development helps to account for the range of trust discernments evidenced in the interview transcripts for York Collegiate, where deficiency in one component of trust can affect individuals to different degrees.

Figure 5.2: The Tapestry-Through-the-Window Model



First, the model accounts for the changing relationship between Ken and teachers, like Megan, that appear from the transcripts to have developed a strong, personal relationship with him. As discussed previously with Megan, these teachers see Ken as deserving of their trust and describe how they feel he will do whatever he can to support them. After two years of chronic absence, many of these teachers acknowledge concerns with Ken's formal role responsibilities as principal of the school, though their interviews indicate that they still believe he is supportive and generally a trustworthy person. According to the model, these individuals can view all stages of the trust relationship. Ken's weakness in the Ability component is significantly affecting how they perceive trust in the Role domain without greatly altering their more personal, Correlative relationship with him.

Second, the Tapestry-through-the-window model, specifically the first panel in Figure 5.2, accounts for the perception of two teachers new to Ken's administration. Both sets of transcripts related a lack of trust by the teachers in their new administrator. One teacher felt comfortable approaching Ken if she needed some assistance but held reservations if the support would come on time, if at all. The second teacher went as far as to say that if she really needed something, she would chose to approach one of the vice-principals instead of Ken. In the limited time they have had to develop a relationship with Ken, according to the model both teachers would have a narrow view on the trust construct focussed

at the Role Trust stage. In the absence of observed validation of their role expectations in Ken, these teachers' relationships may not develop towards the Integrative or even Practice Trust stages where Ken's strong Interpersonal Relations behaviours can have a greater affect on their overall trust relationship.

Sequential progression of trust development

Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) found that the sequence of trust development "can be compressed if the principal and teachers have had previous experience of each other as colleagues" (p. 291). One female teacher at York Collegiate reinforced this observation by explaining trust developed easily with Ken because "he did not come to the school fresh. That is a big issue. He taught in this school and was vice-principal" (TF68).

Many teachers that appeared to have a more developed trust relationship with Ken also had instances of past experience with him, whether as a colleague, a long-time neighbour (TF175), or even having been a previous student of his (TF168). Interesting insights provided by the York Collegiate data concern teachers who appear *not* to have had previous experience with Ken professionally, or otherwise. As discussed above, these teachers appear to be stalled at the Role Trust level in their relationships with Ken. This is illustrated by no other than Ken himself.

I think the way I view it, it may have changed somewhat because of, many of the people who I worked with for many years in the past have retired and I feel that uh, I'm in, a little more isolation

now. My, peers have disappeared, they're around the community, but they're not in a working relationship. And um, the younger staff are just younger. We have different interests... they don't know me as the other ones did. I started out teaching with them, being in the classroom with them and fighting and being, you know, just as ticked off as they were over administration. So we grew together that way, and now so I'm, I'm still, a little bit of an isolated feeling. And it feels strange. (PM3011)

It seems likely that progression through the levels of trust will usually occur sequentially. As discussed previously, Ken's deficiencies in behaviours relating to the Ability component of trust would, as the model above suggests, delay or stall trust development at the Role Trust stage for new teachers who do not have personal connections with him. This would explain the trust relationships Ken experienced with "younger" teachers who "don't know me as the other ones did" (PM3011).

Contrary to what Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) suggested, trust development between Ken and teachers who had previous experience with him does not appear to have accelerated through the stages of trust as much as it seems to have allowed the higher trust levels to develop and exist even in the presence of diminished Role Trust. "Compression" of trust development still implies that the stages along the way are developing. It appears plausible to postulate here that Role Trust development was skipped or ignored (initially) by those teachers with previous experience with Ken. Even so, and as discussed above, concerns over Role Trust-linked Ability deficiency appears to have eventually influenced the overall trust relationship with many of these teachers.

Personal vs. professional relationship

The above reflections on trust progression allude to a noteworthy influence provided by relationships of a personal and emotional nature between certain teachers and the principal. Though a teacher with a strong personal relationship with Ken could arguably be experiencing trust development at the Integrative or Correlative stages (see Figure 5.2), some intriguing differences occur in some situations that are worth examining. Most notably, the personal relationship between Ken and one male teacher, Steve, points towards personal ties having an influence on professional relationship trust discernments. Steve has a rich history with Ken as both a colleague and on a social level.

He's a friend. We started teaching together at Balmoral Secondary in 1974 together. I've watched his kids grow up. I've gone rabbit hunting with him. I've gone golfing with him... I went through a divorce and he arranged one day, he says, look, we're just taking off, we're going down and we're going out on a boat. And he took me out, he took me out for a day in the water and we painted the guys cottage and it was one of the best therapeutic things you could've ever done. (TM170)

This strong, emotional bond led Steve to respond, when asked if he trusted Ken, "Oh hell yeah" (TM170). However, to justify his trust in Ken, Steve presented hypothetical situations where he believed Ken would act in a trustworthy way. Steve indicated he felt Ken would support him "if I needed it in a time of difficulty with parents of the school board or... *if* there is an accusation made about improper conduct such as sexual assault" (TM170, emphasis added). More than just feeling that Ken would support him, for that belief would clearly come from a close

personal bond, Steve seems to transfer this belief to their professional relationship.

[In a staff meeting, Ken will say] well, have we solved the smoking problem at York Collegiate? Well obviously no. Have we solved the drug problem at York Collegiate? Well obviously the answer is no. What have we done to do this? And if he says, you know like, we have decided to talk to the RCMP... I believe he will do it, and I believe he will enforce it... and he may not always be able to achieve it. But at least, if he says he's gonna work for that, that's where it's going. (TM170)

As discussed previously, interpretations of similar staff meeting issues by a teacher who was new to the school and did not have the same deep personal relationship with Ken, lack the same belief that Ken would act appropriately.

It's usually like, Ken might say this isn't the time or place to talk about this... you know, we'll deal with this issue at a later date, but it's never brought up again... I'm wondering if these people ever feel that it's never really taken care of. (TF172)

Even though there is clear evidence in the transcripts of teacher uncertainty in Ken's administration, specifically regarding behaviours in the Ability component of trust, Steve was still highly confident in his friend's capabilities. One key aspect in explaining this is that Ken's deficiencies in the Ability component of trust stem largely from his frequent absenteeism from the school and not from a perceived lack of skills in any particular area. Teachers with previous professional experiences with Ken may feel that he would acceptably perform his role responsibilities, if only he had the time and opportunity. Someone with a close, personal relationship with Ken, such as Steve, could expand this

idea further and almost have a *belief* that he is a trustworthy individual in all aspects; a belief that does not require regular validation through day-to-day actions.

Ideal level of trust for principals

Bottery (2003) theorized that as a trust relationship evolves to incorporate ethical and affective elements the relationship becomes more valuable (p. 249). The assumption is that this stage of trust is an ideal to which individuals in a relationship strive towards. In the context of a teacher-principal relationship, Macmillan, Meyer, and Northfield (2004) observed that some relationships “stalled” at the Role or Practice Trust stages. They posited that in “some schools and for some principals and teachers, this stage of trust may be seen as desirable” (p.291).

This study suggests that an ideal level of trust for principal-teacher relationships depends highly on the situation of the school. Ken’s strong Interpersonal Relations behaviours were vital to teachers at Balmoral Secondary where personal regard for teachers and students was essential in the sick school environment. Further, the construction and staffing of, and transition to, the amalgamated York Collegiate involved situations which fell outside the typical expectations a teacher would normally have for the role of their principal. A deep understanding of Ken’s beliefs and philosophies would serve the staff well during that unpredictable period. Even during the first year at York Collegiate, strong Integrative and Correlative Trust relationships with the principal would

have assisted the teachers as they set up policies and routines and developed the culture of the new school. Unfortunately in Ken's case, he was absent frequently during this first year. As soon as the new school was up and running and the day-to-day issues became more predictable and decisions more characteristic of a principal's formal role, the expected level of trust noticeably shifted into the Role and Practice Trust stages. Due to Ken's deficiencies in the Ability component of trust, which is important at these stages (see Figure 5.1), one teacher suggested Ken was no longer the ideal principal to run the school.

TF73: Yes, I think he's retiring at the end of next year. Really, truly though, I felt in my heart that it would've been better for him and the staff and the students for him to retire this year, but I've never said that.

Interviewer: Right. Is there concern about his leaving or is there concern about his staying?

TF73: I think there is concern about his staying.

It seems likely that the teacher-principal relationships at a school could "stall" in their development at the Role and Practice Trust stages and that these relationships could function suitably until the school faced episodes of uncertainty and unpredictability such as teacher layoffs, student or faculty deaths, or school amalgamation and reorganization.

Implications

Recommendations for schools

It is suggested here that behaviours relating to the Ability Component of trust are typically the most important in the teacher-

principal trust relationship. Certainly development towards the Integrative of Correlative stages of a trust relationship that may result from Interpersonal Relations behaviours can be seen as valuable, but the existence of a Correlative Trust stage in the relationship in the absence of the Role and Practice stages, as witnessed at York Collegiate, is not ideal. In the absence of episodes of uncertainty, teachers prefer predictability in the actions of their principal, especially with regard to: dealing with issues in a timely manner; consistency between word and practice; consistency with student discipline.

That being said, if an administrative change is occurring in a school that is about to undergo a major adjustment, or if that school is frequently in a realm of uncertainty for other reasons, it would likely be best to look for a candidate with established history with the individuals on staff. The school would also benefit from the inclusion of capable vice-principals to support successful performance of Ability component related behaviours.

The York Collegiate case also clearly outlined the hazards of the existing amalgamation protocol in the school board. The frequent absence of the principal resulting from obligations to the construction and staffing of the new school appeared highly influential on the resulting reduction in Role and Practice Trust levels with teachers at that school. Furthermore, the stress on Ken of opening the new school and still trying to run Balmoral Secondary resulted in additional absence

related reductions in trust after the new school opened; particularly with staff members who did not have previous experience and, thus, existing trust relationships, with him. An enhanced procedure for school amalgamation should include an acting principal to provide relief from regular duties for the principal of the new school as they focus on the obligations involved in opening the new facilities.

Recommendations for further study

Unfortunately, the transcripts from a three-year period are likely not complete enough to observe trust development between two individuals in a specific relationship. The York Collegiate data fortunately offered several distinct relationships that provided snapshots along a more generalized trust development continuum. Close observation of trust development from the onset of a specific principal and teacher relationship through a longer period of time could support more strongly the tapestry-through-the-window model and other elucidations made regarding the ingredients of trust development. The intrinsic difficulties of such research are embedded in the limitless variability of a professional or personal relationship. For example, as mentioned above, a situation may arise where a Role or Practice level of trust is appropriate to the situation and the relationship stabilize at this stage, regardless of adequate Interpersonal Relations behaviours on the part of the administrator.

Some insight could possibly be achieved through observing other trust relationships between teachers and principals with whom they already have an established personal or professional history, and comparing that with trust relationships between teachers and principals who do not have a history. Barring circumstances that prevent the principals with pre-existing history from adequately performing Ability or Interpersonal Relations behaviours, it would be valuable to see if these relationships were “more valuable” than the trust relationships with new principals.

Also worthwhile would be an examination of the role that legends, gossip, and other stories play in trust development between teachers and principals. Since trust discernment is based on individual interpretations of others’ actions and behaviours, trust development in a relationship could be positively or negatively affected in response to stories told of actions and behaviours of the principal. More specifically, it is possible that trust could develop at the Integrative and, perhaps, the Correlative Trust level between a teacher and a principal with whom they have no history at all, based entirely on the retold accounts of others.

Summary

Mishra (1996) and Bryk and Schneider (2002) proposed that each component of trust holds equivalent influence on the overall trust construct. The data presented in this study suggests that a low level of one component of trust need not necessarily equate to lower trust in the

overall relationship between two individuals. The modified continuum of trust development model was presented to merge the continuum based developmental model of trust with the notion that the importance of the Ability and Interpersonal Relations components of trust are not equal in all situations, but can fluctuate dependent on the stage of trust the principal-teacher relationship has reached. This model was further adapted to create the Tapestry-through-the-window Model of trust development, which allows for multiple aspects of discernment for more developed relationships.

The Tapestry-through-the-window model accounted for several aspects of the interview transcript data examined, specifically the perceptions of Ken's deficiencies in the Ability component of trust by individuals with strong personal relationships with him and the lack of strong trust development between Ken and teachers interviewed that were new to his administration. These observations allowed for further suggestions regarding sequential progression of trust and ideal levels of trust in the teacher-principal relationship.

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Appendix A – Interview Questions

Teachers

THE INTERVIEW

As we start this interview I want to tell you that the purpose of this study is to examine the personal experiences of teachers in schools where there has been a change in principal. The information from this research will be used to write my Master of Education thesis. I have received permission from the School Board to invite you to be interviewed but I want to reassure you that the information will not be given to the School Board.

As a participant in this interview, I want you to understand:

- That you are free to refuse to answer any questions posed.
- That at any time during the interview, you may ask to have the tape recorder turned off.
- That you may withdraw from participating at anytime and the interview data will be destroyed
- That the taped interview will be transcribed and the information kept confidential.
- That the transcript will not be identified with my name, but will be coded with an identification number. I will ensure that your identity and number will be kept confidential.
- That the tape and the transcript will be kept in a secure location.
- That you will not be identified as the source of any quotation.
- That you are able to stop being involved in the project at any point; before you are interviewed, during an interview, or following the interview.

I want you to understand that the data collected are to be used strictly for analytical research and educational purposes. I need you to give permission for release of the data in the public domain within the confidentiality guidelines outlined above, including use of the data in written reports, and educational conference contexts. I want to reassure you that your name will not appear in these reports unless you give explicit written permission and that you have read the report in which your name will appear before the report is released.

Background

- What inspired you to become a teacher?
- How would you describe your school?

A decision to make a change

- How did you first learn about the change in principal that was to occur in your school?
- As an educator, did you think it was time for a change in principal? Why?

The selection process

- Tell me what you know about the selection process for principals.
- From a teacher's perspective, what factors do you think should determine decisions about when a principal succession should occur?
- What factors or criteria should be considered when a change in principalship is forthcoming? From a teacher's perspective, how would such factors be considered in determining the match between a principal and a school?

- From your perspective as a teacher, what role should teachers play in the selection process for new principals?

The announcement phase

- How did you find out that you would be getting a new principal?
- Was the way you were informed appropriate? If not appropriate, how would you have preferred to have been informed?
- What was your immediate response to finding out about the new principal? How did it impact your interaction with colleagues?

The actual arrival of the new principal

- What, in your opinion, could be done to help a new principal make the transition to a new school? What support mechanisms should be in place for the new principal? For teachers?
- What communications did you have with your new principal prior to school start up in September? What other actions did he take prior to arriving regarding staff?
- If you were a new principal, what might you do to ensure a good start to the school year?
- Research says that the transition period for a new principal can be anywhere from a few weeks to several years. Can you pinpoint a time when you think the transition for the new principal was complete? How did you know?

School Culture

- As a teacher, has your classroom been affected due to a change in principal? In what ways?
- From your perspective as a teacher, describe one significant impact, positive or negative, that could be credited to the new principal.
- In what areas or ways has the new principal influenced or impacted the school since he/she arrived?
- From a teacher's perspective, describe the changes that have been to your liking and those not to your liking?
- What types of changes had you hoped for?
- Think back to before the arrival of the new principal and compare the previous year to this year. Can you describe any changes in the culture of the school that you've noticed? (Why do you think things have stayed the same?)
- Describe teacher morale in your school. Has teacher morale been affected by the change in principal? How?
- Has the new principal shared his vision of the school with you and the staff? How has the change in principal affected the direction of the school compared to previous administrations?
- Have you been involved in any of these changes in direction? Have you felt that your opinion has been solicited for such changes? How?

Working Relationships

- How has the change in principal affected your working relationship with the administration?
- Have any initiatives been promoted since he arrived?
- From your perspective as a teacher, has the level of collaboration changed between staff? If so, how? Can you give me an example?
- Has the atmosphere towards professional development been affected positively, negatively or not at all with the change in principal?

- You work with a number of diverse populations here. Has the change in principal affected the school's relationship with the communities it serves? How?
- You have a number of liaison people in the community who act as resources. Has the use of these people as community resources been affected in anyway? How?

Workload

- Has the change in principal impacted either your academic or non-academic workload at all? In what ways?
- From a teacher's perspective, how has principal succession changed work pressures for yourself or for others?
- Has your motivation towards work changed as a result of principal succession? How?
- Has your view of yourself as a teacher changed as a result of principal succession and, if so, how? If not, why? How has the change in principal impacted your level of commitment?
- Has your status in the school changed with the arrival of the new principal and, if so, how? If not, why?
- Has your informal influence within the school changed and, if so, how? If not, why?

Wrap-up

- Hypothetically speaking, if you were superintendent in charge of personnel, what suggestions would you make about the process of principal succession in your school board?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about principal succession?

Vice-principals

THE INTERVIEW

As we start this interview I want to tell you that the purpose of this study is to examine the personal experiences of educators in schools where there has been a change in principal. The information from this research will be used as part of a SHRRC research project examining the phenomenon of principal succession. I have received permission from the School Board to invite you to be interviewed but I want to reassure you that the information will not be given to the School Board.

These questions are focused on trying to understand succession from the standpoint of principals and teachers and how these events affect the people involved.

Background

- When did you decide to enter administration? What inspired you to become an administrator?
- How long have you been a vice-principal?
- As a vice-principal, how many succession events have you experienced, including this one?

The selection process

- Tell me what you know about the selection process for principals in this board.
- What factors do you think should determine decisions about when principal succession should occur?

- In your opinion, what factors or criteria should be considered when trying to match principals with schools?
- What role should vice-principals play in the selection process?
- Did you have input?
- What role should teachers play in the selection process for new principals?

The announcement phase

- Did you think it was time for a change in principals at this school? Why? Why not?
- Why do you think this principal was appointed for this particular school?
- When did you find out that the principal would be appointed here? How did you find out?
- Was the way you were officially informed appropriate? If not appropriate, how would you have preferred to have been informed?
- What was your immediate response to finding out about the new appointment? How did it impact your interaction with colleagues?
- How was the staff of this school informed of the change in principals? Was this appropriate? If not appropriate, how would you have preferred to them to have been informed?
- How would you describe teachers' perceptions of the principal's reputation upon arrival?

Your actual arrival as principal of the school

- What was done to help the principal to make the transition to this school? What would have made the transition better? What support mechanisms should be in place for succeeding principals? For teachers?
- What communication did you have with the principal prior to his/her arrival? What communication did the principal have with the school's staff prior to arrival? What did you do to help the transition for teachers?
- What was the most effective thing that the principal did when her/she arrived?
- What was the most difficult issue or surprise that the principal had had to face upon arrival? How was it handled?
- Have your perceptions of the priorities and responsibilities of your role changed since the principal's arrival coming here? How have they changed?
- Do you consider the transition to be over? Can you pinpoint a time when you think the transition for the new principal was complete? How did you know?

School Culture

- What was your perception of the school prior to principal's arrival? Has this perception changed?
- Have you noticed any change in how teachers interact between themselves, with you or with the principal? If yes, how would you describe these changes? (Why do you think things have stayed the same?)
- Were you aware of any changes that the staff hoped for as a result of the principal's appointment?
- How would you describe teacher morale? Has teacher morale changed since the new principal's arrival? How? What caused this shift?
- Has the principal shared his/her ideas for the school? Are these ideas different from his/her predecessor's? How have the staff reacted to these ideas?
- Who has been involved in either leading or participating in any changes? Has the principal had to solicit help for such changes? How?
- Have any change initiatives been implemented since the turnover? How were these received?

Working Relationships

- How would you describe your working relationship with your staff?
- With the principal? Have your responsibilities changed?
- Have any initiatives been promoted by staff since the new principal arrived?
- From your perspective, has the level of collaboration changed between staff? If so, how? Can you give me an example?
- Since the arrival of the new principal, how would you describe teachers' attitude towards professional development? Is this different? Is it more positive, negative or neutral?
- Have you had the opportunity to work with the community you serve? Has the principal?

Workload

- Describe your workload. Is it heavier or lighter than expected? In what ways?
- Has your motivation towards your job changed since the principal's arrival? How?
- Has your view of yourself as an administrator changed as a result of this new appointment? If so, how? If not, why?
- How would you describe the level of your commitment to education now?
- How are decisions made in this school? Describe an example.

Wrap-up

- Overall, how would you assess this succession event? What have been the positives and the negatives? What went well? What didn't go so well? What would you have done differently?
- What do you think of principal turnover or succession, generally, from both a professional and personal stand point?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about principal succession?

Principals**THE INTERVIEW**

As we start this interview I want to tell you that the purpose of this study is to examine the personal experiences of educators in schools where there has been a change in principal. The information from this research will be used as part of a SHRRC research project examining the phenomenon of principal succession. I have received permission from the School Board to invite you to be interviewed but I want to reassure you that the information will not be given to the School Board.

These questions are focused on trying to understand succession from the standpoint of principals and teachers and how these events affect the people involved.

Background

- When did you decide to become a principal? What inspired you to become a principal?
- How long have you been a principal?
- As a principal, how many succession events have you experienced, including this one?

The selection process

- Does your board have a rotation policy for administrators? What do you understand to be the reason for such a policy?
- Tell me what you know about the selection process for principals in this board.

- What factors do you think should determine decisions about when principal succession should occur?
- In your opinion, what factors or criteria should be considered when trying to match principals with schools?
- What role should principals play in the selection process?
- Did you have input?
- What role should teachers play in the selection process for new principals?

The announcement phase

- Did you think it was time for you to change schools? Why? Why not?
- Why do you think you were appointed principal for this particular school?
- When did you find out that you would be appointed principal here? How did you find out?
- Was the way you were officially informed appropriate? If not appropriate, how would you have preferred to have been informed?
- What was your immediate response to finding out about the new appointment? How did it impact your interaction with colleagues?
- How was the staff of this school informed of the change in principals? Was this appropriate? If not appropriate, how would you have preferred to them to have been informed?
- How would you describe teachers' perceptions of your reputation upon arrival?

Your actual arrival as principal of the school

- What was done to help you to make the transition to this school? What would have made the transition better? What support mechanisms should be in place for succeeding principals? For teachers?
- What communication did you have with this school's staff prior to your arrival? What did you do to help the transition for teachers?
- What was the most effective thing that you did when you arrived?
- What was the most difficult issue or surprise that you had to face upon arrival? How did you handle it?
- Have your perceptions of the priorities and responsibilities of your role changed since coming here? How have they changed?
- Do you consider your transition to be over? Can you pinpoint a time when you think the transition for you as principal of the school was complete? How did you know?

School Culture

- What was your perception of the school prior to your arrival as principal? Has this perception changed?
- Since your arrival, have you noticed any change in how teachers interact between themselves or with you? If yes, how would you describe these changes? (Why do you think things have stayed the same?)
- Were you aware of any changes that the staff hoped for as a result of your appointment?
- How would you describe teacher morale in your school? Has teacher morale changed since your arrival? How? What caused this shift?
- Have you shared your ideas for the school with your staff? Are these ideas different from your predecessor's? How have your staff reacted to these ideas?
- Who has been involved in either leading or participating in any changes? Have you had to solicit help for such changes? How?
- Have you implemented any change initiatives since coming here? How were these received?

Working Relationships

- How would you describe your working relationship with your staff?
- Have any initiatives been promoted by staff since you arrived as principal?
- From your perspective, has the level of collaboration changed between staff? If so, how? Can you give me an example?
- Since your arrival, how would you describe teachers' attitude towards professional development? Is this different? Is it more positive, negative or neutral?
- Have you had the opportunity to work with the community you serve?

Principal's Practices

- Describe your workload. Is it heavier or lighter than expected? In what ways?
- Has your motivation towards your job changed since arriving here? How?
- What did you expect that you would have to do when you became the new principal? What surprised you that you had to do that you didn't expect?
- Has your view of yourself as an administrator changed as a result of your appointment? If so, how? If not, why?
- How would you describe the level of your commitment to education now?
- How do you make decisions in this school? Describe an example.

Wrap-up

- Overall, how would you assess this succession event? What have been the positives and the negatives? What went well? What didn't go so well? What would you have done differently?
- What do you think of principal turnover or succession, generally, from both a professional and personal stand point?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about principal succession?