

Trust Relationships: An Exposition of Three Propositions

A Thesis Submitted to the College of  
Graduate Studies and Research  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Education  
in the Department of Educational Administration  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon

By

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## Abstract

The argument presented here is that individual trust acts facilitate mutual exchange and are, therefore, the ground for the creation, elaboration and sustainability of organisations; specifically, democratic, educational organisations within Canada. The researcher assembles a composite definition of trust, which informs an analysis of themes found in the literature on both leadership and trust. The author argues three propositions based on trust to support the conclusion that trust determines follower receptivity to diverse leader behaviours.

*Proposition 1* is that, 'trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of trust. *Proposition 2* that, 'trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations: trust is causative in this regard than is leadership. *Proposition 3* is that, 'the objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an institution (i.e., in a democracy). Trust is a paradox since the institutionalization of distrust is required for its

function. This distrust takes the form of laws, sanctions, customs and norms.

Trust is defined by the researcher as a particular item of experience or reality; specifically, the expectation that one will be treated justly in exchanges with others. To trust means to make oneself vulnerable for the purpose of entering into such exchanges, expressly or through an act of law.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would to thank the following people for their intellectual, emotional and financial support, along with their participation throughout the preparation of this manuscript: Daniel and Irene Small, Dr. Murray Scharf, Dr. Patrick Renihan, Dr. Keith Walker, Dr. Sheila Carr-Stewart, Dr. Larry Sackney, Dr. Colin Butler, Dr. and Mrs. Alan and May Guy, Professor Robert Regnier, Dr. Megan Tschannen-Moran (College of William and Mary in Williamsburg Virginia), Fran Roberts, Sue Piot, Janice Schelle, Mary Lynn Gagne, Karen Fedora, Will Richards, and especially, my loving wife, Brenda.

Even though man is on the whole a practice-oriented being dependent on the ability to make the things of this world serve his vital needs, nevertheless, his true enrichment does not derive from the technical exploitation of nature's wealth but rather from the purely theoretical cognition of reality. (Pieper, 1992, p.47)

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## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This research was first conceived as a quantitative study designed to measure the perceived levels of trust among principals and faculty members in schools. However, it was not possible to conduct the study. The researcher recognized from the review of the literature an opportunity and a need for an expository thesis exploring the importance of trust relationships for followers and leaders. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to provide an exposition of three propositions related to trust and leadership. In order to achieve this purpose, the researcher has done the following: critically reviewed the relevant literature on trust and leadership, assembled a composite definition of trust and argued three propositions based on trust to support the conclusion that trust determines follower receptivity to diverse leader behaviours. The researcher also gives some indication of the significance of trust for further research.

In this thesis the assertion is made that the willing acceptance of a principal's leadership by teachers is

determined more by their perception of the leader's trustworthiness than by the leader's adoption and application of particular leadership strategies or discourses. This thesis also asserts that leadership styles may vary within the larger management philosophy or structure of an organisation, and that these management structures may oppress or liberate depending on how we perceive our experiences within them.

Because of this, the determining factor for a positive assessment of organisational life is the number and degree of healthy trust relationships that develop among individuals regardless of a leader's style as defined in the literature. Where trust relationships are strong among individuals, contradictions between management structures and leadership styles may be perceived as workable differences; where the bonds of trust are weak, such contradictions may be perceived as a justification for resistance or a cause of mistrust. The key point for organisational leaders is that leadership styles, which are usually selected and adopted to increase leader acceptance and efficiency, may achieve the opposite of what they intend, especially if the adopted leadership behaviours mask the identity or real intentions of the 'person' of the

leader. On a larger scale, a clear example of a trust conflict involving educational management, school based leadership and faculty is as follows: upon viewing provincial government test scores, the board office determines to increase literacy levels at a particular school site. At a principals' meeting, the superintendent asks principal X to elicit from teachers what resources or other district support they might need in order to raise literacy performance levels with a view to implementing their suggestions the following year. The leader solicits participation through a collaborative approach. Teachers provided a conservative cost estimate along with a list of curricular resources and a timeline to achieve their goals. The principal then returned to the board to discuss the teachers' recommendations. The board looked at the teacher's strategies and decided that budget constraints prohibited implementation. The principal returned to the school staff with an, 'It's a start.' attitude. Immediately, the teachers feel betrayed because their contribution of time and experience over a period of many weeks seemed to them, not valued.

In this case, some of the relationships among constituent groups are marked by a lack of trust. Perhaps,

the board did not trust teachers enough to be wise money managers, and, therefore, were denied resource funds. Perhaps the board encouraged the teachers to make recommendations knowing they did not have the funds to implement the teachers' ideas. In either case, the board's behaviour puts into question the professional judgment of teachers, which could cause teacher mistrust. Principals may have powerfully motivating school visions that conflict with a board's own educational philosophy. Each group has perceptions of trust in the competency, trustworthiness, professionalism, or resilience of others. They have a trust history with the individuals with whom they interact, and more abstractly, they have a perception of what they can expect from the 'offices' or 'roles' that one finds in the bureaucracy of education. Each group decides to what degree it will invest in the reliability and accountability of the others based on first time trust exchanges, or as a result of repeated exchanges involving the necessity to trust or not to trust.

Consider the example of a principal who declares himself to be a collaborative leader and announces shortly thereafter that he is going to have a collaborative workshop to identify and correct the problems of discipline

that occur during lunch hour. He then proceeds quietly to choose teachers for this workshop without informing or asking teachers to volunteer. At the first meeting, he provides the agenda and allows no new business to be discussed. As the weeks go by, it becomes obvious that the workshop is going to be run autocratically rather than collaboratively. One can see from this example that it is possible for a person to seem to be one type of leader, when really they are not that type at all.

In this situation, leader-follower relationships weaken as the disparity between what is said, and between what is done, becomes apparent. Schools also can project a false identity, which can be discerned when comparing a school's mission statement or a leader's declared philosophy with achievement scores or with staff and student opinions of school climate and performance. There is a private and a public dimension to individuals as well as to organisations, set in a context of affected or authentic leadership, which in turn is nested in the superstructure of a management philosophy. The larger organisation itself may also wish to be seen as different from what it actually is for political, promotional or other reasons. At the individual level, lower ranking

leaders may conform themselves to the changing expectations of other higher ranking leaders who have the power to shape their career progress.

None of these mechanisms of promotion or models of organisation, however, typically increases the trust among leaders and their followers. More often than not these features of organisational life serve to increase the loyalty and trust among mentors and their apprentices, serving nepotism rather than trust. In order for the structures of education not to impede the work of educators, educational leaders need to understand their given roles and to inspire and maintain authentic trust relationships with their followers. The work of education is the delivery of an excellent formation in practical and theoretical knowledge, along with training in citizenship for the future generation. Perhaps no model of leadership, professional image building or management can hope to ensure success if that model is not built on a foundation of trust, a foundation which may or may not exist at all in a meaningful way in our schools. In Chapter 2, trust will be described as a phenomenon that enables leadership.

From this basic argument of trust being a defining component of organisational leadership, three propositions

are presented. First, trust and leadership require freedom of agency. In order for trust relationships to exist in schools, participants in trust and leadership exchanges must be free, self-aware agents with respect to their interests. Second, trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations. Trust is more causative in this regard than is leadership. Third, the objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an institution: in a democracy, trust is a paradox since the institutionalization of distrust is required for its function. This distrust takes the form of laws, sanctions, customs and norms.

In this thesis *Trust* is defined as a particular item of experience or reality: specifically, the expectation that one will be treated justly in exchanges with others. *To trust* means to make oneself vulnerable for the purpose of entering into such exchanges, expressly or through an act of law. This definition of trust reappears in the latter part of this chapter and forms the basis for the discussion of the three propositions.

In the first chapter, a critical overview of the literature on trust is presented along with a discussion of

allied concepts and a working definition of trust. In Chapter 2, themes found in the literature on trust are analysed in conjunction with leadership literature. In Chapter 3, the philosophical background of trust is discussed and illustrated with examples from personal experience and the content of informal interviews. In Chapter 4, the implications of this thesis for the literature, for academic research, and for school practice are put forward.

#### **Overview to "Trust"**

The concept of trust has been written about for centuries by economists, philosophers, social scientists, theologians and political scientists. Trust is ubiquitous, since it is an innate human capacity and may be found to operate wherever social groupings exist. Trust as a construct is problematic in that it is not easily understood or quantified, yet its effects are widely known and can be felt and described by almost anyone. Trust is a psycho-social phenomenon involving the deliberation of the mind and the will within the self and is frequently in concert with other agents. It is an abstraction, it is an action, a decision and an ongoing process. Sometimes we are totally free to enter into trust exchanges and sometimes

participation is foisted upon us. Other times, we assume the reliability of other people and are later mistaken; sometimes, people are trustworthy even though we may not be ready to trust them. Trust is a powerful engine for social exchange. Economists study trust to calculate the probability of cooperation or non-cooperation in contract negotiations or to predict the stability and profitability of exchanges. For example, the economic well-being of a nation may rely upon a calculation of the degree of trust that exists between trading partners. Philosophers study trust to grow in knowledge of the truth about such concepts as human agency, justice and law. Our belief in and our obedience to the laws of the land depend on how much we trust the Parliament of Canada to draft legislation accurately, that aligns with our most deeply held beliefs. Social scientists seek answers to problems that affect society and its institutions. As a nation, Canada is required to reflect on the quality of life it affords its citizens. In order to maintain this quality of life, governments need to make adjustments to the policies upon which our institutions are founded. Social scientists help provide the kind of information that brings about the awareness that may lead to such initiatives. Theologians

discuss trust as faith in God. Political scientists study trust to define political systems and to understand governance and the evolution of communities. We look at trust from different perspectives to assemble its meaning in our society, to keep pace with change, and to protect our experience and our quality of life.

When do we engage in trust exchanges? Trust comes into focus in all spheres of life from a fleeting summer romance to negotiations with terrorists in possession of weapons of mass destruction. Perhaps a better question is: When are we *not* engaged in issues of trust? We can choose to trust or not to trust people and things, but we must choose. Even if we claim indifference, that is a choice that affects trust. The contexts in which we find ourselves required to trust vary widely, but there is always one constant: the human being faced with the anxiety, however slight, of the decision to trust or not to trust. Consider the degree of trust we place in loved ones, in health care professionals, in educational institutions, in the builders of bridges and cars, and even in the makers of toothpaste. Every day we place our emotional, spiritual and physical selves in other peoples' hands. An understanding of trust can help us to navigate the complexity of interpersonal and societal

relationships. Trust has influence everywhere and needs to be addressed further in education.

***Trust as a Two-Factor Variable***

In 1980, Cuthbert studied interpersonal trust as a variable and found that his results confirmed an earlier study conducted by Driscoll (1978). Cuthbert (1980) conclude that interpersonal trust is a two-factor variable. The first is a "broad-based stable factor, the second . . . a situationally influenced factor" (Cuthbert, p. 810). The broad-based factor Cuthbert described is an attitude. In neoclassical attitude theory, there are considered to be three components to an attitude: the first component is affective, the second is cognitive and the third is behavioural" (Cuthbert, p. 810). Cuthbert asserts that the attitudinal factor compares closely with the affective component of an attitude, and the situational component is "identical" to the cognitive component of an attitude. The affective component of an attitude is,

[A]n emotional one, developed through classical conditioning . . . [T]he cognitive component . . . consists of the perceptions, beliefs, and ideas about the specific attitude or object. The most important part of the cognitive component is the evaluative

beliefs, that is, favourableness or un-favourableness . . . It could be concluded that interpersonal trust is an attitude in the classical sense; determined by a generalized affective component towards the class of which the trust object is a member. Then it is modified by the cognitive component, which narrows the scope of the attitude to a specific trust object with unique characteristics within the class. Finally, it is acted upon in a certain way depending upon the importance of the situation, the stakes or consequences. (Cuthbert, pp. 810-811)

One important finding of this study was that "the situational factor, [aligned as it is with the cognitive aspect of an attitude], explains a greater amount of the variation in interpersonal trust scores than does the broad-based 'attitudinal factor'" (p. 810). In other words, people *think* more than they *feel* when trying to decide if they are going to trust someone. As Cuthbert states, changes in attitude are in part largely explained by changes in the cognitive component of the attitude and to a lesser degree explainable by change in the affective component (p. 811). Cuthbert's research provides a cogent description of how the decision to trust evolves in the

minds of those considering entering into a trust relationship. This finding is relevant to the argument presented later in this thesis under the heading of Proposition 3. In that passage, the researcher asserts that the acquisition of self-knowledge is a form of preparation for deciding to trust or not to trust. If the cognitive component of trust is able to influence a person's attitude as Cuthbert (1980) proposes then, it may also be possible for individuals to modify their own trust behaviour.

### ***Conditions of Trust***

Cuthbert's (1980) research on situational factors laid the groundwork for later work on trust such as Butler's (1991) paper, *Toward understanding and measuring conditions of trust: Evolution of a conditions of trust inventory*.<sup>1</sup>

An assessment of Butler's (1991) article reveals the assumption that one could produce trust by creating favourable conditions in which trust could occur. The problem with this idea is that if the bonds of trust are strong at the outset, there would be no need to increase the favourableness of organisational conditions. Butler (1991) adds that, "each condition addresses a different aspect of Zand's definition (1972), which focuses on 'one's willingness to increase one's vulnerability to another

whose behaviour is not under one's control'" (Butler, p. 650). Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999) also recognized the importance of the concept of vulnerability in their definition of trust. In the section, Proposition 2, the causative character of trust is discussed and the assertion made that trust permits social exchange to occur at an elemental level. Trust is the cause, not the effect of social exchanges or conditions.

### ***Three Types of Trust in Working Relationships***

Shapiro, Sheppard, and Cheraskin (1992) described deterrence-based trust, knowledge-based trust and identification-based trust in their article, *Business on a Handshake*. The article stresses the impact of situational factors such as the context in which the trust exchange occurs and the length of time the trust actors have known each other. Their analysis begins with a statement concerning the distinction people make between the importance of trust in interpersonal relationships as opposed to business relationships. They claim, "the role of trust in business relationships evokes controversy" (p. 365). Perhaps this is a carry over from the widely held belief that the world of business thrives on and prides itself on the Darwinian model of highly competitive

exchanges. Only the most naïve inductees would extend trust under such a model.

Deterrence-based trust<sup>2</sup> is based on fear and opportunism. (For more detail see notes at the end of this thesis) Under this model, people choose to be honest because not being honest would hurt them in some way. This contribution to the literature originated in Socrates' time, between the years 470 and 399 B.C.. Where deterrence based trust is in operation, people are only honest to protect their self-interest. If the deterrent were removed, the same individuals might choose to be dishonest in the hopes of achieving the same objective with less vulnerability.

Predictability underlies knowledge-based trust. Deutch (as cited in Shapiro et al., 1992, p. 369) asserts, "people often act cooperatively toward those they expect to be cooperative". The issue of predictability centres on the degree of knowledge that individuals and groups have of one another. When people know each other well, they can anticipate either cooperative or uncooperative behaviour and this makes trust possible (p. 369). I would add that they still could choose to act in a way that suggests they trust when they may not. They might still be relying on the

strength of sanctions to protect them, which is really the same as the argument for deterrence-based trust. The ideal for an organisation would be that everyone could expect and experience a high degree of cooperative behaviour because they were trustworthy.

The third type of trust is identification-based trust, which is considered by Shapiro, Sheppard and Cheraskin (1992) to be the "highest order of trust . . . [because] it assumes that one party has fully internalized the other's preferences" (p. 371). This model of trust assumes a high degree of group member conformity. In this situation "the fact that someone is from the same company in some way makes him or her [seem] more trustworthy" (p. 372). Shapiro et al. (1992) list several ways that identification increases in organisations. One way to do this is the "creation of joint products or goals" (p. 372). In a school division, a joint goal among schools might be to improve student performance on literacy tests. According to the identification-based trust model, schools would be more inclined to trust a school board's decision to improve literacy because the board shares accountability for student performance with the school-based administrators and the teaching staff. Closely aligned with the idea of

sharing goals is the idea of sharing values, which Shapiro et al. (1992) describe as "the perfect form of trust" (p. 373). The form is perfect "when an individual comes to feel that his/her interest is best met by achieving the partner's interest" (p. 373). This turn of mind also leads to learned incompetence, groupthink and a host of other organisational transgressions that often drop out of awareness. An example of this might be a mediocre school where the leader and the teachers support each other in their incompetence. If a very ambitious teacher were to arrive in such a context, the staff might try to ostracize that individual for making them look bad. Sharing values works best with good values.

### ***Evolutionary Stages of Trust***

Lewicki and Bunker (1996) add to the work of Shapiro, Sheppard and Cheraskin (1992) by describing how the three types of trust fit into an evolutionary or transitional model where trust actors get to a higher level of trust by succeeding at a lower one. Lewicki and Bunker (1996) take the three types of trust as outlined by Shapiro et al. (1992) and offer a "stage-wise evolution of trust" (p. 124) which replaces Shapiro's "deterrence-based" trust with what they call calculus-based trust. The contribution of Lewicki

and Bunker (1996) is to draw attention to the fact that trust evolves through repeated exchange, that some individuals or groups never evolve and that the evolutionary process can work in reverse when trust violations occur (pp.124-128). Lewicki and Bunker (1996) "believe that deterrence-based trust is grounded not only in the fear of punishment for violating trust but also in the rewards to be derived from preserving it. In [their] view, trust is an ongoing, market-oriented, economic calculation" (p. 120). Shapiro et al. (1992) place calculus-based trust at the bottom of a hierarchical structure that places stable identification-based trust at the top. Knowledge-based trust holds the middle position. According to Shapiro et al. (1992), "trust develops gradually as the parties move from one stage to another" (p. 124). When people have little or no knowledge of each other, they tend to calculate gain and risk factors associated with entering into an exchange with the other party. In corporate language this is known as due diligence. Once due diligence has been undertaken and the parties contract to exchange services, calculus-based trust comes into play. At this phase, the parties still have little or no willingness to be vulnerable to each other.

However, after repeated exchanges, both parties may grow in knowledge of the other party's reliability. The increase in trust at this point signals the movement towards the second level of the hierarchy: knowledge-based trust. Again, after repeated exchanges each party may learn to anticipate the other's needs. If this happens, identification-based trust is possible.

This research shows the dynamic character of trust and explains how there is a commerce of trust at work in organisations. Tyler and Degoyer's (1994) research explores further the idea of trust as a medium of exchange in organisations.

### ***Trust and Authority***

Tyler and Degoe (1994) explored trust as it relates to authority relations within hierarchical groups (p. 331). One of their convictions is that trust is a social commodity. They found that, "people respond to benevolent intentions to a greater degree than they do to competence when reacting to authorities" (p. 345). They also focused on the importance of procedural justice as a determinant of trustworthiness.<sup>3</sup>

The work of Taylor and Degoe confirms the claim made in the present study that cognition plays an important role

in determining whether or not meaningful trust exchanges are possible.

### ***Trust, Organisational Forms and Management***

Creed and Miles (1996) related trust to organisational forms and to managerial philosophies.<sup>4</sup> The authors would like to convince the reader that if organisational forms and managerial philosophies could be brought together into a configuration theory, then trust could be separated out (p. 35). They believe, that doing this, "would make explicit some direct effects of trust levels on organisational performance and give trust a level of objectivity comparable to that assigned to controls and incentives" (p.35). They add, that the "configurational theory has the potential for improving the predictive content of existing contingency approaches" (p. 34). Supposedly, if researchers and leaders knew enough about trust, they could add it to their kit of command and control strategies.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps, these strategies would only be effective if they were not perceived as control strategies by followers.

### ***Trust, Transactions and Opportunism***

Cummings and Bromily (1996) argue, "trust reduces transactions costs in and between organisations" (p. 303).

They say that opportunistic behaviour requires organisations to spend money and time monitoring and controlling (p.303). Their belief is, that if greater trust existed among employees and between organisations, the cost of doing business would decrease.<sup>6</sup> The significance of Cummings and Bromily's contribution to the literature is that they identified how opportunism increases transaction costs and draws attention away from the core objectives of organisations. Opportunism is an art for some people and a policy or a practice for others; the real danger of opportunism for organisations is that when it occurs, principles are often sacrificed and cannot easily be restored.

### ***Specific Research on Trust in Schools***

Hoy, Tarter and Witoskie (1992) assert that supportive leadership fosters effectiveness and a professional culture of trust. That is, supportive principal behaviour not only contributes to effectiveness but also elicits teacher collegiality, trust in the principal and trust in colleagues (p. 39). In their study, leadership behaviours causally determine effectiveness and a culture of trust.<sup>7</sup> Their position is the opposite of the present researcher's thesis, which is that trust is the cause of social

exchanges and other positive experiences within organisations. Tschannen-Moran's (2001) work provides a basis for further exploration of the relationships among leadership styles and perceived levels of trust within schools.

### **Trust and Allied Concepts**

As shown in the previous section, 'Trust' like 'power' or 'justice' is a difficult concept to define, primarily because that which is signified by the word 'trust' is not a proper noun. The word trust is a descriptive word, but it is not the name for a thing. The word trust has an agreed upon meaning depending on the context in which it is used. And it is that agreement that gives trust its power in a given context. For economists, trust is a form of social capital that may reduce the cost of transactions in exchanges and may help to predict the viability of a joint venture. For psychologists trust is a phenomenon that is part cognition and part affect, or trust may also be a disposition indicating a particular level of moral development. For sociologists, trust facilitates relationships that generate and influence communities and organisations. As a construct, trust remains somewhat

enigmatic because it is polyvalent and subject to interpretation and adoption by numerous disciplines.

### ***Definitions of Trust***

The researcher presents the following list of trust definitions from four research domains to invite the reader to discover themes that fall roughly into three categories. These three categories correspond to the content of the three propositions mentioned at the outset of this thesis. Since the trust propositions are useful as classification system, then the substance of the propositions should resonate in most, if not all, of the definitions listed here. To remind the reader, the first proposition states that trust actors must be free and self-aware agents with respect to their interests. Second, trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations. Third, the objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an institution.

The following definitions represent many versions of trust accounts to be found in the literature. In creating this list, the researcher observed that there were many more definitions of trust from domains other than education. Perhaps this is an indication that more work

could be done in this area by educational researchers. This observation may also show that discourses such as leadership have overshadowed trust in educational literature.

### ***Education***

- Trust [is] defined as one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is: benevolent, reliable, competent, honest, and open (Tschannen-Moran, 2000, p. 318).

### ***Economics***

- Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26).
- Trust [is the] belief that those on whom we depend will meet our expectations of them (Shaw, 1997, p. 21).
- Trust will be defined as an individual's belief or a common belief among a group of individuals that another individual or group (a) makes good-faith efforts to behave in accordance with any communities

both explicit or implicit, (b) is honest in whatever negotiations preceded such commitments, and (c) does not take excessive advantage of another even when the opportunity is available (Cummings & Bromily, 1996, p. 303).

### ***Management***

- Trust inside organisations fall into three identifiable categories: [strategic trust, organisational trust, personal trust] (Galford & Drapeau, 2002, p. 6-7). This account describes trust without giving definition to trust itself.
- Trust needs to be thought of in at least three ways: [as a principle, as a measure of self-esteem, and as a form of competence] (Marshall, 2000, p. 48).

### ***Psychology***

- Trust is an attitude that affects our emotions, beliefs actions, and interpretations. When a person trusts another, he or she has positive feeling towards that other person and positive expectations about what the other is likely to do. (Govier, 1998, p. 9)

### ***Sociology***

- The focus of trust—or what we call *authentic trust*—is not just hoped-for outcome of this or that event or

transaction. Trust is not merely reliability, predictability, or what is sometimes understood as *trustworthiness*. It is always the *relationship* within which trust is based and which trust itself helps create. Authentic trust does not necessitate the exclusion of distrust. (Solomon & Flores, 2001, p. 6)

- The encapsulated-interest account of trust holds that the trusted encapsulates the interest of the truster and therefore has incentive to be trustworthy in fulfilling the truster's trust. The encapsulation happens through causal interactions in the iterated one-way trust game exchange (or prisoner's dilemma), and thick relationships. None of these, however, is itself definitive of the trust relation. They are all merely ways to give the trusted incentive to take the interests of the truster into account (Hardin, 2002, p. 24).
- Trust can be said to be based on the belief that the person, who has a degree of freedom to disappoint our expectations, will meet an obligation under all circumstances over which they have control. If unforeseen circumstances arise which could prevent the fulfilment of those obligations, through no fault of

the parties concerned, it will not be perceived as a case of betrayal. Thus, although we are willing to forgive mistakes or intended consequences, the intended betrayal of our trust is a cause for enormous pain and distrust (Misztal, 1996, p. 24).

- Trust is a bet about the future contingent actions of others (Sztompka, 1999, p. 25).
- The basic conceptualization of relational trust presented thus far is essentially a three-level theory. At its most basic (intrapersonal) level, relational trust is rooted in a complex cognitive activity of discerning the actions of others. These discernments occur within a set of role relations (interpersonal level) that are formed both by the institutional structure of schooling and by the particularities of an individual school community, with its own culture, history, and local understandings (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 22).
- Trust is the generalized expectancy held by teachers that the word, action, and written or oral statement of others can be relied upon (Tarter, Sabo & Hoy, 1995, p. 43).

- [Trust is] a state involving confident positive expectations about another's motives with respect to oneself in situations entailing risk (Boon & Holmes, as cited in Lewicki & Bunker, 1996, p. 117).
- . . . trust is the firm belief in the honesty, truthfulness, justice, or power of a person or thing. More specifically, trust is defined in psychological-sociological literature as belief by a person in the integrity of another person (Phelps & Dufresne, 1989, p. 268).

Among the many descriptions of trust, certain shared terms are discernible. For example, many definitions of trust include words such as "expectations," "exchange," "interaction," "future," and "belief in something or someone." Using these shared terms the researcher finds that the definitions can be sorted into categories that correspond to the three propositions. For example, definitions that contain language such as, "future expectations" or "discerning intentions" echo the rational choice theory of trust where the trust actor assesses their own willingness to enter into an exchange after a process of mental calculation. These definitions relate to the first proposition that explores the idea of freedom of

agency, self-awareness and volition: the trust actor thinks about the consequences of committing before actually doing so. Where definitions stress the role of trust in "community" and the interaction effects of dispositions and attitudes, we consider the relational aspects of trust as outlined in proposition number 2. Definitions that emphasise contractual obligations and transactions costs may be identified with the third proposition, that trust may have an abstract object. Here, that object is *the rule of law*. In this category, an individual may decide to enter into an exchange knowing that the law will protect them even if their business partner acts unjustly.

The researcher asserts that the three propositions are a useful tool for classifying extant literature on trust, and for further clarifying the definition of the construct. The researcher submits the following definition of trust, assembled from the themes and language found in the literature cited above: trust is a term used to describe the expectation that one will be treated justly in an exchange. However, this definition does not include the idea of agency, which is another aspect of the word trust when it is used as a verb. To trust means to make oneself

vulnerable in an actual exchange motivated by the expectation that one will be treated justly.

Interestingly, this conceptualization of trust dates back to Plato's *Republic* and to Glaucon's explanation of the origin of laws and customs (p. 44). Glaucon explains that laws and customs were created to make mutual exchange possible. According to Glaucon, people developed laws to protect themselves from other persons that could cause them harm in an exchange. They realized from experience, that in exchanges, one person could suffer loss or damages, while the other person benefited. In a small community, this kind of short sightedness backfires since people must decide either to continue to live together after an exchange turns out badly or to defect. This may involve physically moving away or psychological emigration. Trust makes trade possible and allows laws to promote fair treatment between parties. A more optimistic view of human nature suggests that people can interact fairly and consistently without sanctions; yet, human history bears little evidence that this is true.

***Allied Concepts***

There are many concepts allied to trust, such as trustworthiness, commitment, reliability, competence, predictability, promise, cooperation, honesty, openness, vulnerability, courage, faith, mutual agreement, contract and fiduciary duty. Of these, the idea of a fiduciary duty stands out as one that closely parallels the argument presented later in the form of the three propositions. One of the aims of the present research is to "assist the transfer of the conceptual to the practical" (Ellis, 1988).

***Trust and the Fiduciary Concept***

This thesis asserts that trust is a defining feature of organisational leadership and that leadership requires the exercise of power. In schools, principals have power over the work life of teachers in collaborative and non-collaborative environments alike. Therefore, their power relationship is characterized by asymmetry. For this reason, a discussion of what constitutes a fiduciary relationship and a fiduciary duty comes within reach of the main discussion of this paper. Ellis (1988) provides a cogent definition of a fiduciary duty:

Where one party has placed its 'trust and confidence,' in another and the latter has accepted—expressly or by

operation of law—to act in a manner consistent with the reposing of such ‘trust and confidence,’ a fiduciary relationship has been established. (pp. 1-2)

This contrasts with earlier definitions of a fiduciary duty that required the holding of property in trust for the beneficiary. As Ellis (1988) observes, trust property [is no longer] required to be involved . . . the reposing of trust and confidence, once accepted, impresses the fiduciary with a duty to act in a circumspect manner toward the beneficiary. This duty is aptly described as one of “utmost good faith” (p. 1-2). This “utmost good faith” requires the fiduciary to be loyal and faithful to the beneficiary.

The judgement in *Frame v. Smith, Wilson* (as cited in Ng, 2003) provides criteria for identifying fiduciary relationships:

1. The fiduciary has scope for the exercise of some discretion or power.
2. The fiduciary can unilaterally exercise that power or discretion so as to affect the beneficiary’s legal or practical interests.

3. The beneficiary is peculiarly vulnerable to or at the mercy of the fiduciary holding the discretion or power. (pp. 1-2)

If principals exercise "power over" teachers, and the researcher submits they do, then the first criterion for identifying a fiduciary relationship holds.

If principals have the power to affect teachers' "practical interests," then they may be seen as fiduciaries. Consider beginning teachers who repose trust in school leaders because they believe that the leaders can provide them with practical knowledge and survival skills that come from years of experience. Beginning teachers place their trust and confidence in leaders hoping that the leaders will help them make the transition from student-interns to fully-fledged professionals. Consider the well-known statistic that reveals a high drop out rate for teachers within the first five years of their career. Perhaps this reveals that principals are not meeting their duty of mentorship where beginning teachers are concerned. Or perhaps, teacher education programs do not adequately prepare students for the workforce.

Principals may also affect the practical interests of teachers by not being loyal to them when they are embroiled

in conflicts with parents over incidents of student misconduct. Teachers could lose face in the classroom and this might make classroom discipline very difficult. The student, empowered by the principal's lack of respect for the teacher, might develop a sense of entitlement and become more unruly.

A teacher could be "peculiarly vulnerable" to a principal when seeking a reference or an evaluation in support of a job application, especially if the principal disdains that teacher personally. That principal has the power to write a reference in confidence that may be biased or even derogatory. In such a case, that principal uses role authority to persuade others not to support the teacher in question. This is probably an infrequent occurrence since the principal's behaviour, if detected, might be actionable in a court of law.

The researcher acknowledges that this analysis of the fiduciary concept is probably "outside the fiduciary law proper," (La Forest, 1998) yet the literature on fiduciary law suggests that principals often are in a fiduciary relationship with teachers.

A further problem for anyone seeking remedy for a breach of fiduciary duty is that, "there must be proof of

exploitation; that is, there must be evidence that the particular form of taking advantage was in some way objectionable" (La Forest, 1998). Even in extreme cases, such as child abuse or sexual harassment, concrete evidence for a breach of a fiduciary duty is hard to produce. How much more is this true for common examples of betrayals or slights such as those arising from idle gossip, thoughtlessness or indifference? La Forest (1998) states that "the presence of a power dependency relationship will in most cases constitute strong evidential support for a finding of exploitation" (p. 126) However, this only serves the beneficiary if a criminal or civil law has clearly been broken. At this juncture, the researcher holds that, while the fiduciary concept is relevant to the debate around leader-follower trust relationships, other concepts may be of greater practical importance for educational practice. These concepts will be mentioned at the conclusion of this paper.

### ***Working Definition of Trust***

On the basis of the concepts explored above, the researcher puts forward a definition of trust, informed by the literature, and also by the content of the three propositions to be presented in Chapter 3. *Trust* is defined

as a particular item of experience or reality:  
specifically, the expectation that one will be treated justly in exchanges with others. *To trust* means to make oneself vulnerable for the purpose of entering into such exchanges, expressly or through an act of law. This definition includes elements of an expectations account, elements from Hardin's (2002) encapsulated interest account and elements from fiduciary law (Ellis, 1988; La Forest, 1998; Ng, 2003).

Since trust has these features, the remainder of this thesis is dedicated to describing the relationship between trust and leadership (Chapter 2) and developing the propositions that argue that trust is the foundation upon which leadership is based (Chapter 3).

## **Chapter 2**

### **TRUST AND LEADERSHIP**

In this chapter the researcher discusses the importance of trust in organisations with respect to the power relationships between leaders and followers. The assertion is made that leadership competencies reflect two basic modes: the bureaucratic, with its emphasis on management, and the collaborative with its emphasis on human relationships. The researcher also argues that positive trust exchanges enable various leadership styles, whereas negative trust exchanges militate against follower acceptance of leader behaviour and initiatives. By the end of the chapter the researcher claims that individual trust acts facilitate mutual exchange and that those acts are the ground for the creation, elaboration and sustainability of organisations.

The foundation of any organised society is trust. Without a thorough understanding of trust and its effects, leader-follower conflicts remain a mystery. Trust is an attitude that thrives among people who have the capacity for honesty, commitment and service to others. Trust plays

an important role in organisational life especially in power relationships between principals and teachers. In such a situation, teachers are required to be vulnerable to principals and vice-principals because of their lower place in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Theologians, philosophers, psychologists and politicians, have long studied trust and its effects, but it wasn't until the 1950's that trust became the object of empirical study. Trust studies "grew out of the escalating suspicion of the Cold War and optimism that a scientific solution could be found to the dangerous and costly arms race" (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999, p.184).

During the 1960's, citizens grew to mistrust leaders, governments and other hidden societal forces due to their frank exposure to the Vietnam War, Watergate and the assassination of John F. Kennedy. In 1967, an academic named Rotter considered trust to be a generalized personality trait (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999, p.185). By 1990 social scientists such as Gardener were writing about "achieving workable unity" (Gardener, 1990, p. 16) by spending time building community. Gardener also discusses the role of trust and states that, "leaders must work to raise the level of trust." In 1997, Gilley wrote that,

"[C]ommunity helps us understand that no one in our connection can lose without all of us losing something" (Gilley, p. 158). The relevance of this for schools is that when betrayal occurs, the whole community suffers a loss of trust. The challenge for administrators is to create trust relationships that support the school's ability to meet goals and to live up to their vision. Paul (1995) writes that, "consequences mount as trust is eroded . . . and inevitable future problems are set up" (p. 212). Trust is a relationship: if teachers do not trust their administrator and vice versa, then a lack of cooperation might result, which could prevent improvements within the school. In order for school leadership practices to be accepted, principals and teachers have to trust each other and share their beliefs concerning the purpose of their work in society. Ideally, incidents of betrayal should be rare. When leaders' words do not match their deeds, the leadership style empties of influence: especially transformational leadership, since the first axiom of the transformational style is to lead by example. This refers back to Bass and Avolio's (1994) idea of idealized influence (p.3). In *The Trusted Advisor* by Maister, Green and Galford (2000), the authors state that "institutional

trust is an oxymoron since people don't trust institutions, they trust people" (p.25). When people are asked to place their trust in institutions, they often look for proofs of trustworthiness from the people in leadership roles that represent the institutions. The locus of power for authentic leadership rests in the demonstration of trustworthiness through repeated exchanges. When a leader's actions conflict with their espoused values, the vitality of the institution weakens until the leader loses reputation and is seen by followers as someone who cannot be trusted.

The concepts of trust and leadership style converge in the work of MacGregor (as cited in Owens, p. 237), who asserts, "leaders engage with followers in seeking to achieve not only the goals of the leader but also significant goals of the followers". This definition implies a relationship built on the fulfilment of shared and individual objectives. Owens (2001) adds, "leaders, are therefore not merely concerned with the leadership style and techniques that they intend to use but also with the quality and kinds of relationships that they have with followers" (p. 239). From this perspective, any factors affecting working relationships could potentially impact on

the utility, or survival, of a given leadership style. In a sense, the type of leadership that is possible in an organisation depends on perceptions of trustworthiness. These perceptions affect organisational actors' interpretations of reality in important ways. If a leader believes that followers are trustworthy, and they may or may not be, then the leader might choose to adopt a collaborative leadership model. Since, in the leader's mind, trusted followers do not need close supervision. From another point of view, if a leader believes followers are untrustworthy, and they might be very trustworthy, then the leader might adopt a command and control approach to press for organisational outcomes. It may also be possible that within the same organisation, there could be groups of *trusted followers*, who later turn out to be dissimulators and *organisational suspects* that turn out to be loyal.

The leader-follower relationship discourse stems from human capital and transformational leadership strategies, which solicit contributions and authentic participation from followers. Leadership, in this context, seeks to downplay the term 'follower' in favour of terms such as 'collaborator' or 'partner.' Contemporary leadership must contend with the complexities of authentic power sharing.

Changing the language of organisations will not be enough to assure this authenticity. Sharing power requires some degree of surrender. If a leader believes that their power comes from their position, then their leadership is not leadership, but headship. Authentic leadership is entrusted authority (Getzels, as cited in Owens, p. 235). Superordination is the process of naming a successor to fill a station already occupied. In schools, the role of principal and all its attendant powers is one such station. Superordination is a feature of a highly bureaucratic organisation. The power that comes from this role is called positional power. Entrusted authority is the power given to the leader by the followers. The degree to which followers trust their leaders is often directly proportional to the degree of power they are willing to lend. This is the crux of all participatory or transformational leadership models. In order for transformational models to work, the upper echelon of an organisation cannot share power conditionally: they must trust their team to meet the objectives of the organisation without close supervision. In turn, the followers trust the leader for having trusted them.

Whether an organisation is primarily bureaucratic or non-bureaucratic may not be of importance if trust relationships are weak. In a bureaucracy, a controlling leader can use the power of the position to assure compliance to organisational objectives. But outward compliance does not necessarily reflect inner commitment to organisational objectives. Under such a regime, workers 'obey' but they might not be inclined to contribute to the organisation in ways that would be innovative. However, if trust relationships in a bureaucracy are strong, then it is possible for the bureaucratic structure to be efficient, and this efficiency might rival even high-functioning transformational organisations. One example of this might be the military, where the chain of command, a feature of Weber's bureaucracy, is protected at all costs.

Collaboration by itself is not sufficient to guarantee openness, honesty or even motivation in an organisation. It is possible for leaders and followers to trust one another, while at the same time not work to improve their organisation. In a school without a vision and without high standards, this type of stagnation might persist until the leaders and followers are made aware of their performance, perhaps, by some form of external review. In order for

large systems to be effective, trust relationships must exist in, and overlap across, the domains of the organisational geography whether they are integrated vertically or horizontally. In some contexts, trust is a medium of exchange in profitable organisational interactions and exists in the interstitial spaces between individuals and constituent groups.

Leadership competencies reflect 2 basic leadership modes: the bureaucratic with its emphasis on management and the collaborative with its emphasis on relationships. Most leadership styles can be classified into one of these two main categories, although considerable overlap exists between them.

### **Leadership Accounts**

This section provides a description of the evolution in the literature of various models of leadership and the ideas upon which they are based. At the end of this section, the researcher identifies two main categories of leadership competencies and argues that trust is essential for their functioning.

#### ***Transformational Leadership***

Transformational leadership falls under the grand heading of progress, material and scientific, since it was

originally conceived as a way to increase productivity at Fiat, a European automobile manufacturer (Bass & Avolio, 1994). As early as 1922, when Max Weber's writings on bureaucracy were posthumously published, the idea of inspirational leadership existed. Leading by inspirational example is one of the features of transformational leadership. In 1947, Oxford Press published an English translation of Weber's *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* or, *The theory of social and economic organisation* (1947). One of the themes discussed in the text is charismatic authority and its relation to forms of communal organisation. He states, "What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples'" (p. 359). Weber's suggestion is that a leader's personality has the power to attract disciples. The second aspect of the leader-follower bond is the recognition on the part of the follower of the leader's charisma. This recognition is a sign and proof of the leader's special gift and a precondition for the followers' devotion to the leader, and therefore, to the organisation. In this thesis, the researcher asserts that a leader's ability to inspire trust

and to be trustworthy is the force behind an effective leader's personality and charisma.

Weber's use of terms with Christian connotations such as disciple and charisma is consistent with his earlier writings on the relationship between the Protestant Ethic and Capitalism. For Weber, there are very real connections between the world of economic productivity and the world of spiritual values. In order to understand the relationship between grand narratives, one has to go beyond looking at grand narratives as free-standing monoliths and start to think of them as multiple, semi-transparent layers of signs and images, that speak to each other. This metaphor of transparency reflects a post-modern mistrust of the 'one best way' to view the reality of organisations. In Weber, we see a description of the structures underlying social organisations and the function that other discourses have within those structures. Weber's writings, which focus on the total organisation as opposed to the human-machine interface, are referred to as the classical management school of thought (Owens, 2001, p. 41).

In 1994 Bernard Bass and Bruce Avolio published, *Improving Organisational Effectiveness Through Transformational Leadership*. The book contains a system of

management designed to, "maximize the return on human resource (HR) capital" (p. 47). In the book, they outlined the 'Four I's' of transformational leadership. They are idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. The first 'I' suggests that transformational leaders "behave in ways that result in their being role models for their followers . . . [They] are admired, respected and trusted" (p. 3). The second 'I' asserts that transformational leaders also, "motivate and inspire those around them by providing meaning and challenge to their followers' work" (p.3). The third 'I', intellectual stimulation, highlights the importance of innovative, creative thinking, which comes about as a result of "questioning assumptions, reframing problems, and approaching old situations in new ways" (p.3). The fourth key feature of transformational leaders is that they "pay special attention to each individual's needs for achievement and growth by acting as a coach or mentor. [F]ollowers . . . are developed to . . . higher levels of potential" (p.3). Kroeck (1994) explains that, "many firms are becoming transformed from a model of control of human resources to one of mutual commitment between employees and organisation" (Bass & Avolio, 1994,

p. 186). Kroeck further explains that the transition, "[Parallels] a change from more transactional to more transformational management strategies" (p. 186). When human resource policies designed to elicit trust and commitment were in place, worker morale increased and absenteeism decreased (p. 187). As transformational leadership practices affected change, worker trust in management increased. Trust levels increased when workers perceived that management valued their individual contributions. This was made possible by a reduction in the number of management layers, by increased collaboration and many other initiatives aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation. In this situation, management worked with labour, not above them, and this allowed greater mutual respect and self-esteem to thrive. Bass and Avolio's work on transformational leadership revealed that control was not the only management style able to assure productivity and that greater productivity was possible by placing more trust in labour.

For many years, Leithwood and Jantzi (1990) have been developing a model of transformational leadership for educational settings. In their article, *Transformational Leadership: How Principals Can Help Reform School Cultures*,

the authors list six strategies associated with the transformational leadership style. Three of them closely align with the findings and writings of Bass and Avolio. Leithwood & Jantzi (1990) describe how school administrators, "fostered staff development," (p.269) which relates to Bass and Avolio's 'individualized consideration.' Leithwood & Jantzi (1990) also state that such administrators "used symbols to express cultural values" (p.269). Bass and Avolio (1994) would describe this strategy as an example of inspirational motivation since they were "providing meaning and challenge to their followers' work" (p. 3). A third influence on school culture was that administrators, "engaged in direct and frequent communications about cultural norms, values and belief" (Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990, p.269). This is very similar to the content of the third 'I', intellectual stimulation, which invited followers into a process of "questioning assumptions, [and] reframing problems" (Bass & Avolio, 1994, p. 3).

In his 1992 article, *Leadership for School Restructuring*, Leithwood argues that transformational leadership is valuable in school restructuring contexts. He cites the work of Podsakoff (1990) who published a list

of six dimensions that help to define transformational leadership behaviours. According to Podsakoff,

a transformational leader "identifies and articulates a vision . . . fosters the acceptance of group goals . . . conveys high-performance expectations . . . provides appropriate models . . . provides intellectual stimulation and provides individualized support." (as cited in Leithwood, 1990, p. 507).

Ten years later, in *The Effects of Transformational Leadership on Organisational Conditions and Student Engagement with School*, Leithwood and Jantzi, (2000) offer six dimensions of transformational leadership, which are almost identical to those of Podsakoff. Leithwood and Jantzi (2000) make some minor modifications but the substance of the six dimensions is the same. Instead of "identifies and articulates a vision," Leithwood writes, "building school vision and goals" (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000, p. 114). The second and fourth bullets in the same list were also paraphrased slightly.

The importance of Leithwood's studies over the past ten years is that he identified dimensions of transformational leadership and studied their impact on school climate and culture. He also sought to measure their

effects on factors such as student engagement and teacher capacity and commitment.

In this thesis, the researcher also considers the impact of leadership style on organisational effectiveness and suggests that leader-follower trust may surpass leadership style in importance.

Faculty trust is perhaps the single most important variable in the successful adoption of transformational leadership practices in schools. The essence of transformational leadership "centres around workgroups of committed professionals who, with shared and directed purpose, have the capacity to work together in a problem solving way" (Telford, 1996). These workgroups consist of individuals whose disparate opinions have both the power to destroy and to create co-operation. The role of a transformational leader is to foster and protect the sometimes-delicate relationships between constituents and administrators, so that goals, once established, can be achieved.

Bass and Avolio (1994) underscore the importance of leader-modeled trust for organisations in the following passage:

Idealized influence represents the building of trust and respect in followers. It provides the basis for accepting radical and fundamental changes in the way one conducts business. Without such trust and commitment to the leader's intentions, motives and purposes, attempts to change and redirect the organisation's mission are likely to be met with extreme resistance, if not subterfuge. This is not at all necessarily the fault of the follower. (Bass & Avolio, 1994, p. 132)

The relationship between idealized influence and trust has implications for schools as well. If principals lose the respect of the faculty, teachers continue in their teaching function, but they are unlikely to be volunteers in school reform initiatives.

Recently, such ideas as trust have begun to emerge as important constructs in the analysis of school culture and effectiveness (Uline, C.L., Miller, D.M., & Tschannen-Moran, M., 1998; Tschannen-Moran, M., 2001). Issues and ideas related to trust or the lack of it have always been embedded in organisational life, but they were not necessarily at the centre of the leadership discourse.

***Ethical Arguments against Transformational Leadership***

In 1998 Bass responds to four criticisms of transformational leadership. Two that have a bearing on trust relationships will be explored here. First, Gronn (1994) suggests that transformational leaders lie to their followers in order to promote themselves in their idealized leadership role. Gronn (as cited in Bass, 1998, p. 173) asserts that, "[T]o foster their influence and esteem among their followers, transformational leaders, particularly those leaders who want to bolster their charismatic and inspirational image, engage in impression management". Bass (1998) expands on Gronn's criticism by saying that, "such leaders stretch the facts to make themselves appear more confident than they actually are" (p.173). Bass (1998) replies that,

The criticism fails to appreciate that credibility of the leaders suffers when the truth is stretched.

Trust in the leader is risked, and that trust is the single most important variable moderating the effects of transformational leadership on the performance, attitudes, and satisfaction of the followers. (p.173)

In this passage, Bass (1998) underscores the notion that trust is an essential requirement of effective leadership.

He describes how truly transformational leaders operate from the utilitarian stance of seeking the "greatest good for the greatest number" by setting an "example to followers about the value of valid and accurate information" (p. 174).

The second criticism sees,

[T]ransformational leaders as subversive because [they] encourage members of an organisation to go beyond their own self-interests for the good of the organisation . . . values-conflicts between leaders and followers are settled to the benefit of the leader and to the detriment of the followers. (p. 180)

This excerpt summarizes the concern, that under transformational leaders, followers must align their values with those of the leader. Bass (1998) explains that there is virtue in value congruence and that the "issue is really how the congruence is to be attained" (p. 182). Bass (1998) speaks to this criticism at length and concludes that, "transformational leadership is at a 'post-conventional' level of moral development as it looks to universal principles of justice and the costs and benefits for all stakeholders" (p. 184). Bass (1998) suggests that followers come to share the values of the organisation by the

influence of the leader. If a leader is authoritarian then coercion may be an issue; transformational leaders are generally more transactional or transformational (p. 185). The suggestion is that transformational leaders are not authoritarian, but they may still use incentives. Bass (1998) summarizes by saying that many criticisms of transformational leadership are really criticisms of pseudo-transformational leadership: a perversion of the original model engaged in by manipulative leaders (p. 184).

The key point that this oppositional literature draws out is that leadership styles do not exist in an idealized form and that there are other moderating factors at work. In Bass' (1998) defence of transformational leadership, the trustworthiness, honesty and sincerity of the leader has a great impact on the degree of faith that followers have in the structure and espoused values of the organisation. Perhaps it is the trust that followers have in the leader that validates the effectiveness of the leader's style. One question to arise from the criticism of leadership styles is whether or not leadership style has a bearing in an organisation marked by distrust.

### ***Participatory Leadership***

Participatory leadership falls loosely into the same category as transformational leadership since participative leadership, "stresses the decision-making processes of the group" (Leithwood & Duke, 1999, p. 51). However, there are many important differences between the two styles of leadership. The main difference between transformational leadership and participative leadership is that participative leadership involves the formal redistribution of power through policy making. Transformational leaders allow their employees to borrow power through shared consultation, but the hierarchy remains stable despite the implementation of corporate openness.

Leithwood & Duke (1999) list three main arguments promoting the participatory model of leadership. The first suggests that participation enhances organisational effectiveness, while the second claims that the participatory model is more democratic than the bureaucratic model. The third approach focuses on the features of site-based management (SBM) (p. 51). The first argument reiterates the importance of consultative processes for leadership in effective organisations. This argument has already been discussed in

the section on transformational leadership above. The second argument touches on the inherent virtues of democracy and will be discussed under the heading of moral leadership.<sup>8</sup>

Site based management is a leadership style in which lower ranking constituent groups are trusted to meet those organisational objectives formerly under the control of higher-ranking administrative officers. In order for SBM to work at all, the upper echelons have to trust in the capacities of the lower levels, which may make the entire organisation somewhat vulnerable for a period of time. Once again, trust is causative of exchanges, and in this case, exchanges lead to broad based reform.

### ***Transactional Leadership***

Burn's (1978) work entitled, *Leadership*, described a different aspect of leadership theory that helps to define by counter example the term transformational leadership. Burn's ideas are important because he identified a tendency for people both to overemphasize the role of power and to misunderstand the notion of power. "Burns claimed, two essential aspects of power - motives or purposes and resources - each possessed not only by those exercising it" (Leithwood & Duke, 1999, p. 49). Leithwood and Duke

(1990) cite Burns' statement that "the most powerful influences consist of deeply human relationships in which two or more persons engage with one another" (p. 49). This realization began a movement towards greater collaboration in the workplace. For Burns, these 'relationships,' where both parties have leverage and resources, have generally been thought of as transactional or cost-benefit exchanges. This style of leadership emphasizes the management dimension of leadership. Den Hartog, Van Muijen and Koopman (1997) summarize this style of leadership as outlined by Burns and others when they write that, "Transactional leadership theories are all founded on the idea that leader-follower relations are based on a series of exchanges or implicit bargains between leaders and followers" (p. 20). The bargains are for mutual gain, which means that the followers are motivated by incentives rather than a desire to trust in the vision, values or person of the leader. In many organisational environments, especially in the business world, the 'raise' is the 'recognition' sought by followers. Transactional theories of leadership sometimes play a complementary role in transformational leadership environments, but are not seen to produce the same high levels of collaboration and inspiration expected

of transformational styles. As Bass and Avolio claim, "Transformational leaders do more with colleagues and followers than set up simple exchanges or agreements" (Bass & Avolio, 1994, p. 3). Note also, that business exchanges are anything but simple, either in collaborative or in bureaucratic environments. Without the trust that exists among business partners in the form of verbal and written contracts, business would not be possible. The issue of mutual vulnerability and the selection of an appropriate medium of exchange are constants in any transaction. The decision to trust in business exchanges is almost always tied to the possibility of financial gain. In schools, the mediums of exchange often are not monetary, but may take the form of release time or the granting of powers. The present research is an analysis of the philosophical basis of incentive-driven leadership, and leadership that claims to motivate followers through shared, inspired visions. The researcher argues that followers are more inclined to accept leadership when they trust their leaders; where trust is lacking, follower loyalty is not possible.

### ***Laissez-Faire Leadership***

This category of leadership style outlines non-leader behaviours. Some people in leadership positions exhibit

laissez-faire characteristics, but the laissez-faire style is really a "non-leadership component [where] leaders avoid accepting their responsibilities, are absent when needed, fail to follow up requests for assistance, and resist expressing their views on important issues" (Bass, 2002). Although this style outlines non-leader behaviours, it is of relevance to the present thesis since it is postulated that trust, or the lack of it, in large part defines effective and ineffective leadership.

### ***Moral Leadership***

One of the major contributors to the literature of moral leadership is Hodgkinson. In *Educational leadership: The moral art*, he puts forward the following hypothesis which is, in effect, a summary of his thought on moral leadership:

[T]he quality of leadership is functionally related to the moral climate of the organisation and this, in turn, to the moral complexity and skill of the leader. Leadership, as presently understood, is commonly regarded as having three main dimensions: consideration for the followership, production emphasis, and situational factors. I would postulate a fourth dimension, the morality that exists within the

leader. This, I suggest, can become subtly externalized, contributing to the administrative phenomena of legitimacy, credibility, and even charisma (where Type I attachments are notably evident). It can on occasion infuse organisational life with a quality of meaning going beyond the nomothetic to the most human and the transrational; it can be, in plain language, inspiring. Yet this aspect of leadership goes unresearched and unexplored at the level of social science. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 129)

The focus of moral leadership as Leithwood and Duke (1999) point out, "is on the values and ethics of the leader . . . authority and influence are to be derived from defensible conceptions of what is right or good" (p. 50). What Hodgkinson describes is a leadership style in which the leaders inspire followers because of their core values. What those values are determines, to some degree, the culture of the organisation. He asserts that the externalized values of the leader have the power to increase leader legitimacy, credibility and charisma. The referent of these three perceptions of leaders is the followership. Legitimacy and credibility are related phenomenon since neither is possible without trust.

Credibility and legitimacy, like respect in most cases, need to be earned. Leaders' values may be externalized, but if their actions seem inauthentic, greater distrust may result. In order for moral leadership to have a moral dimension, values need to be felt in all aspects of the organisation. "Among the issues of greatest concern to those exploring moral perspectives on leadership is the nature of the values used by leaders in their decision making and how conflicts among values can be resolved (Leithwood, 1999, p. 50).

Evers and Lakomski (2001) for the past fifteen years have been working to develop a new science of administration. In their book *Knowing Educational Administration* (1991) Evers and Lakomski analyze and expose the limitations of other theorists' arguments in an attempt to develop a global theory or coherent approach for the science of administration. One of the conclusions drawn by Evers and Lakomski is that values are an important part of the science of administration. In *Theory in Educational Administration: Naturalistic Directions* (2001) they discuss how the study of ethics was not at the core of empirical theories of administration. Evers and Lakomski<sup>9</sup> (2001) realize that "ethics is woven smoothly into the fabric of

global theory, though enjoying a level of theoreticity, along with the areas of science, that accounts for its apparent immunity from singular confirming or disconfirming experiences" (p. 503).

This thesis argues for the establishment of a common code centred around social virtues such as trust-worthiness and seeks to demonstrate causal links between the act of trusting and other behaviours such as following and leading.<sup>10</sup>

### ***Contingency Model of Leadership***

Contingency theory stems from the work of Fiedler who asserts:

Leadership is determined by the needs the individual seeks to satisfy in the leadership situation, and that the effectiveness of the group's performance is contingent upon the appropriate matching of leadership style and the degree of favourableness of the leadership situation for the leader; that is, the degree to which the situation provides influence over his workers. (as cited in Hoy & Miskel, 1978, p.190)

The underlying assumption of the contingency model is that different situations require different types of leadership" (Hoy and Miskel, 1978, p. 192). If the

situation is not favourable to the leader, then the leader will be less able to exert influence. The key finding that resulted from Fiedler's extensive research was that "task-oriented leaders are more effective in situations that are highly favourable or in situations that are relatively unfavourable. Relationship-oriented leaders tend to be more effective in situations that are moderate in terms of favourableness." (p. 194). Fiedler (1967) learned that leader-member relations determine the degree of favourableness in a situation. If leader-member relations are positive, then the situation is favourable; if leader-member relations are negative, then the situation is unfavourable. In other words, when leader-member relations are good, organisations complete their tasks effectively and efficiently.

The significance of Fiedler's (1967) work on contingency for the present study is that "the appropriateness of the leadership style for maximizing group performance is indeed contingent on the favourableness of the situation" (p.194). Fiedler realized that leader-member relations, as determinants of the favourableness of the situation, ultimately affect an organisation's ability to function. The present research

argues that leader-member relations are predicated on ongoing trust exchanges that have positive outcomes.

### ***Trust and Leadership in Schools***

At all levels of the hierarchy of school organisations, evidence for the existence and expediency of trust is present. Hoy and Sweetland (2000) assert that bureaucratic structures may inhibit innovation and collaboration or increase satisfaction levels depending on whether or not the organisation is "imbued" with trust (p. 318). Here, the efficacy of the governance model and the school leadership depends on the number and degree of positive trust relationships within the school. If a particular school develops a bad reputation for having a low trust culture, parents and board members might look to the school-based administrators for an explanation. School-based administrators are really servants of two masters: they are accountable to the board who entrusts them with a school building and all its constituents and to the clients, who are the students, parents and faculty. Principals are responsible not only for the management of the school but also for the creation of a positive school culture. In schools, trust nurtures the relationships between and among people at various places in the

hierarchy: the board trusts the principal to meet board objectives, the principal trusts the teachers to meet leadership objectives for the school, the teachers trust the students to meet performance standards in the classroom and students trust the teacher to help them pass from grade to grade.

There are many other combinations of trust exchanges among constituents that time and common sense prevents listing here. The significant point is that leadership occurs at every level and is inextricably linked to the expectations constituents in higher *and* lower levels place upon each other throughout the linked parts of the system. Here, a structural analysis of the design of bureaucracy helps to reveal the importance of those expectations for a discussion of trust. Accounts of trust often refer to the idea of principal and agency (Walker, 2003, personal conversation; Hardin, 2001), where A trusts B to achieve X.

Given the complexity of human organisations, one might ask if there are any factors, in addition to structural features, that help to bring about the smooth functioning of public educational institutions. If we were to ask what schools 'do' in society in an attempt to understand what these other factors are, we might assert that schools teach

the young how to participate effectively in a democratic society. They do this by providing children with knowledge and skills that allow them to contribute to, and to maintain the economy and the political structure of the country.

Schools achieve this by imparting specific bodies of information, by teaching students how to think critically, and by teaching students how to interact with others formally and informally. However, these are not factors, they are objectives. In each of these examples, there is an underlying sense of the mission of the educational enterprise. Essentially, we place our trust in the *idea* that education brings about freedom, equality and a better life, and we trust educational leaders to help us get there. Clearly, schools have a high calling to prepare their students for productive, if not meaningful, lives within the many systems that make up our society. Once we place our trust in structures and processes, like those found in schools, we monitor our interactions and the outcomes that participation reveals. Sometimes, we can discern why we achieve what we set out to achieve, and sometimes we cannot.

Among the many bodies of literature that exist concerning leadership in schools, two schools of thought are of particular importance here. They are important because they represent two ends of a continuum, which places command and control style leadership at one end and transformational leadership at the other. At points along the continuum are styles of leadership that blend these two organisational tendencies in varying degrees. One school of thought focuses on bureaucratic structures (Weber, 1922; Burns, 1978) while the other stresses the importance of collaboration in the work place (Leithwood, 1990; Bass & Avolio, 1994). Researchers of shared governance seek to understand if combined effort and shared responsibility produce more trust-rich learning environments.

A key question of the researcher is whether or not trust causes leaders to be perceived as effective? Recently, both schools of thought have come to the conclusion that phenomena outside their usual conceptual frame play a crucial role in organisational effectiveness, which is a key assertion of this paper. Tschannen-Moran (2000), states:

In order for schools to reap the benefits of greater collaboration, trust will be required. This study has

demonstrated the important link between collaboration and trust. In schools where there was greater trust, there tended to be a greater level of collaboration. When trust was absent, people were reluctant to work closely together, and collaboration was more difficult. If we hope to facilitate collaboration in schools, we would do well to work toward a greater understanding of trust - how trust develops, what supports trust, and how to repair trust that has been damaged. Collaboration in an atmosphere of trust holds promise for transforming schools into vibrant learning communities. (Tschannen-Moran, p. 327-328)

Thus, the social phenomenon of trust emerges as a precondition for effective collaboration. Tschannen-Moran concludes, in effect, that collaboration on its own is not sufficient to guarantee the creation of energetic and meaningful learning environments. I would go further and say that authentic collaboration is impossible without a high degree of trust. Along similar lines, Hoy and Sweetland (2001) assert:

The picture that emerges in enabling bureaucracy is an organisation imbued with trust; faculty members trust the principal and each other. There is no need for

varnishing the truth, and indeed, little truth spinning is found. On the other hand, a hindering structure (the other end of the enabling continuum) is characterized by teacher sense of powerlessness, role conflict, and dependence on rules and the hierarchy.

(p. 318)

In this passage, Hoy and Sweetland observe that an organisation with a bureaucratic governance model thrives to the degree that constituents trust one another, and that the bureaucratic structure itself is not the source of organisational ineffectiveness. Furthermore, it is not necessarily the bureaucratic structure that is at fault. Again, trust is at the root of organisational effectiveness.

This researcher asserts that trust acts facilitate human exchange and are, therefore, fundamental societal operations that permit the establishment of community and the elaboration of society. Other, lesser operations such as leadership make up a superstructure of discourses that rest on the foundation of trust. Some additional discourses that make up this superstructure are the notions of democracy, education and community. When organisations focus on the lesser discourses of this superstructure and

disregard the impact of what lies beneath, they set themselves up for failure. One example of this might be a school leader who markets his leadership image and style to a faculty without first establishing bonds of trust with his or her colleagues through authentic interpersonal exchanges. In this example the faculty is required to place their trust in a thing, the image of the leader, and not the person of the leader.

The researcher also holds that positive, repeated trust exchanges empower diverse leadership styles, and that without an ethos founded on trust, a fundamental societal operation, the leadership style discourse in schools will be little more than window dressing. Leadership theory and organisational structure may always be with us; what is important is how we dwell within these structures, and how we can have the best possible relationships within them.

Over the years many styles of leadership have come in and out of vogue. The search for the one best way to lead schools is, perhaps, the search for a grand theory or law of effective leadership. The tendency exists for human beings to want to make sense of their environment and to subdue the complexity of it, which is part of everyday life. The proliferation of organisational theories from

Taylor's Scientific Management (1911) to present considerations of distributive and community-oriented leadership underscores the belief that there is a form of leadership or of leading that is ideal. In every age, there are thinkers who believe that the most advanced point of time is the most advanced point of progress. This idea of progress has produced many innovations in every sphere of life and is perhaps, in some way, needed to maintain our collective interest in social change. The belief that 'our time' is 'the' time of progress is a powerful motivator to this end.

There are, however, hazards in this way of thinking. One of the main problems with this philosophy is that it may erode our sense of history and cause us to forget the ideas that work. Some of these 'ideas that work' are so taken for granted that they have long ago dropped out of awareness, and in some cases, out of use. One of these ideas is trust: interpersonal and organisational.

Trust is one of the founding stones of an organised society. With a high degree of constituent trust, many leadership styles may be effective. Without trust, leadership styles might not be as effective since the relationships between constituents would be marked by

distrust, which impedes authentic cooperation. Authentic cooperation occurs when people work together free of reservation. Healthy trust relationships bring about the kind of deep commitment and willingness to serve that assures organisational effectiveness, integrity and wellness. For example, if a follower has little or no trust in a leader, they may interpret the leader's actions as controlling and bureaucratic, even though the leader may believe that their actions are collaborative. Alternately, the leader's perception of his trust in the followers may affect his decision to adopt a particular leadership style. If a leader has a high degree of trust in his followers, then perhaps he would be more inclined to choose a collaborative approach. If a leader's trust is low, he might opt for a tighter system of control hoping to avoid what he believes to be inevitable behavioural obstacles within the organisation. Both leaders and followers interpret the reality of each other's behaviour using their level of trust in one another as a guide to action.

This review of leadership theories assessed various leadership discourses and considered them along with the social, psychological and ethical concept of trust. The

focus in this thesis is on the principal as a leader and manager and not as a teacher.<sup>11</sup>

### **Summary**

In this chapter the researcher discussed the role trust plays in power and other types of relationships between leaders and followers in organisations. The researcher claimed that leadership competencies fall into two basic categories: the bureaucratic, with its emphasis on management, and the collaborative with its emphasis on human interaction. The researcher argued that positive trust exchanges enable various leadership styles, while negative trust exchanges lessen follower acceptance of leader behaviour and initiatives. Individual trust acts were seen to facilitate mutual exchange and to be the ground for the creation, elaboration and sustainability of organisations. The researcher explained several of the various leadership styles and the ideas upon which they are based to prepare the reader for a model that shows how trust is a foundation of social organisation of all kinds. The efficacy of leadership models or the definitions of the models themselves do not exist apart from a consideration of the meaning of trust.

## Chapter 3

### THREE PROPOSITIONS

#### Introduction to the Propositions

This chapter is an exploration of the three propositions briefly introduced in Chapter 1. Here, the philosophical aspects of the three propositions are linked with issues and ideas relevant to educational practice. Weaver (1948), in *Ideas have consequences* puts forward the belief that ideas, and not historical events, are the true origin of social and political change, and that the transformative power of ideas or philosophical concepts is largely ignored by modern, humanistic philosophers. In this research, trust is not moralized. However, the researcher indicates with evidence from literature and practice, that 'trust' is often thought to have a moral dimension and that the consequences of this cannot be ignored. Perhaps the simplest way to clarify the confusion between the terms trust and trustworthiness is to identify trustworthiness as a virtue and trust as a purely philosophical term (Hardin, 2002, p. 28).

**Proposition 1**

*Trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of trust.*

The proposition that trust and leadership exchanges require the free participation of agents is important because freedom, although limited by the rules and sanctions of democratic organisations, is related to self-determination. Self-determination depends on self-knowledge as it informs decision making, and in particular, the calculation of risk. In a democratic organisation, the freedom of individuals is valued, whereas in an autocracy, individual freedoms are forfeit to the reigning ideology. In an autocratic organisation, there are conformists and non-conformists. Trust relationships between leaders and followers in a democratic organisation are more likely to come about since there is a greater degree of freedom among trust agents. The courage required by trust agents in a democratic organisation, to make themselves vulnerable in trust exchanges, arises from a free choice and implies a degree of consent.

The arguments presented in contemporary social science literature on trust and its relation to leadership in

Canadian public schools begins, where arguably, all Western Philosophy begins, in ancient Greece. Early observations on the nature of human beings and their social relationships provide a way into the labyrinth of contemporary writing on trust. This section identifies some of the seminal ideas that inform contemporary discourses of trust and its allied concepts.

The researcher's interest in the ancient thinkers is that they were the first to challenge societal norms in a way that brought western philosophy into being. Our present-day writings on trust recapitulate essential truths about human nature. Perhaps, it is not our ability to say what trust is that is important, but rather, it is our ability to conform our actions to the dictates of common wisdom that matters. Socrates' thought also provides insight into the origins of justice and democracy that can put in plain words how trust and leadership function in schools, which are considered to be 'democratic' institutions.

Socrates, through the work of Plato was a figure that pursued, imaginatively, an ideal through open-ended discourse. He was so convinced of his right to inquire after the nature of reality and the good, that he came into

conflict with the sophists, and ultimately, surrendered his life to prove his point.

As Scolnicov (1988) explains,  
the immediate object of Socrates' intellectual activity was human action. His is not the contemplation of the ordered universe leading eventually to a corresponding order in the soul, but a consideration of human actions and their justifications. (p. 13)

Prior to Socrates, people believed that human emotions were controlled by external forces called furies that largely determined human behaviour. If you lost your temper, you could blame the furies. The contemporary version of this turn of mind is the statement, 'the devil made me do it.' Socrates objected to this irrational approach to life and asserted that people had the power to control their own emotions and that they should not see themselves as passive recipients of the will of the gods. Socrates gave his students the idea that they were the locus of power and control over their own actions, which was heresy in the polytheistic culture in which they lived. Socrates did not separate the idea of virtue from man, but made man accountable for his conduct. Socrates was concerned with practical questions such as: 'What is the best way to

live?' And, 'What would a man have to do to achieve the best life?' And, 'What is the most appropriate vocation for a person?' (Scolnicov, 1988) Socrates' great contribution to philosophy and culture is that knowledge and insight became the foundation for virtue. Consider Socrates' interaction with Euthydemus in *Memoirs of Socrates* by Xenophon:

And isn't this obvious . . . that people derive most of their benefits from knowing themselves, and most of their misfortunes by being self-deceived? Those who know themselves know what is appropriate for them and can distinguish what they can and cannot do; and, by doing what they understand, they both supply their needs and enjoy success, while by refraining from doing things that they don't understand, they avoid making mistakes and escape misfortune. Self-knowledge also enables them to assess others; and it is through their relations with others that they provide themselves with what is good and guard against what is bad for them. Those who do not know themselves and are totally deceived about their own inabilities are in the same position whether they are dealing with other people or any other aspect of human affairs. They don't know what they want or what they are doing or what means they are using; and, through making gross

mistakes about all these, they miss the good things and get into trouble. People who know what they are doing succeed, . . . Those who are like them gladly associate with them, while those who are unsuccessful in their affairs are anxious for these men to make decisions for them and to represent their interests, and pin to them their hopes of prosperity, and for all these reasons regard them with special affection. But those who don't know what they are doing make bad choices and fail in whatever they attempt, and so not only suffer loss and retribution in respect of these actions, live despised and unhonoured. (Xenophon, c.380)

This passage highlights three important benefits of self-knowledge. First, self-knowledge helps a person to decide what they are capable of doing or not doing in any given situation. Second, self-knowledge helps a person to assess others for the purpose of determining whether or not it would be prudent to enter into an exchange with them. Third, self-knowledge helps an individual to avoid making the kinds of mistakes that damage reputation and helps them to choose those activities that increase their renown. As mentioned, Socrates was interested in practical matters,

and so he emphasized the role that reason plays in decision-making as it affects individuals.

Most contemporary literature on trust makes some mention of the issues Socrates discussed, though they can be given different names. The kind of self-knowledge that convinces a person to feel confident enough to risk exchange with another person could be labelled self-trust (Govier, 1998). Self-knowledge that helps us to understand how others might react to us based on how we react to them could be called risk assessment (Hardin, 2002). The outcomes of decisions made with shallow or deep knowledge of the self may bring about negative or positive consequences for reputation (Hardin, 2002). For Socrates, self-knowledge guides action in the sense that no one who knows what is good would willingly choose what is bad for them.

Recall, the first proposition: 'trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of trust.' Knowledge of self and others obtained through observation and reflection makes the decision to trust possible or impossible. In educational organisations followers may conform uncritically to their roles and enter into

exchanges with little or no trust, since their work has already been prescribed for them by federal, provincial and board policy. If it is true that 'the unexamined life is not worth living for man' (Plato, *Apology*), then perhaps we need to take a second look at our personal experiences in organisations to survey what the actual possibilities and limitations are for the formation of trust.

An early excerpt from ancient philosophy that sheds light on the problem of trust and accountability is the dialogue between Glaucon and Socrates as set down in Plato's *Republic* (Cornford, 1941). It is important to note that what Glaucon articulates (Part II: Ch.V, sec.ii) is borrowed from an intellectual discourse taking place at roughly the same time and belonging to a man named Antiphon, the sophist. In "On Truth" (Antiphon, 500 B.C.), "he argues that we should follow laws and customs only if there are witnesses and so our action will affect our reputation; otherwise, we should follow nature, which is often inconsistent with following custom" (Audi, 1999, p. 863). In other words, do whatever you think works best for you as long as you do not expose yourself, and if you are going to do what other people think you should do, do it in front of them so you can promote your good name. In this passage, we can see Glaucon argue for the supremacy of

self-interest over the common good. Consider also, media reports of large-scale corporate industrial fraud in the past five years that show the results of Glaucon's reasoning and the mistrust that occurs in society afterwards.

One could ask if school systems are somehow exempt from the defect of character found recently in the owners of multinational, publicly traded companies. Are educators different from business people because their stock and trade is the formation of young minds? Perhaps, if the focus of their work requires educators to be more trustworthy, and if educational leaders are thought of as emblematic of trust in some way, then what do we have to worry about? One problem is the complexity and structure of life in organisations. Schools are very much a system. They have rules, performance standards, ethical codes and a plethora of other operational policies and schedules at work. With all that structure, regimentation and focus on procedures, are there any ways to inquire openly and freely after the best way to educate children or to run a school? Is there time to debate, in an open-ended, way how best to achieve the aims of education while maintaining the positive ethos of the school?

In schools, when communication breaks down, and it often does, trust relationships are harder to maintain. Once the individuals in a community suspect that the leader is not representing their interests, or that they are not being allowed to contribute their ideas, or schedule their own time, the community trust diminishes and the chain of command may also break down. An example of this might occur when a principal insists that teachers use their preparation time for such activities as holding departmental meetings. Once this happens, the staff may divide into those who are free to pursue their own interests during preparation times and those who are not. A better approach may be to open a discussion as to whether or not any teacher should be required to sacrifice his or her spare period at the leader's command; that would require transparency. Transparency exists when everyone in an organisation possesses the same information needed to engage in problem solving discussions. This transparency helps to maintain high levels of productivity and cooperation. The researcher holds that transparency requires and facilitates trust.

Perhaps it is enough for some to 'deal' with daily examples of injustice at school; for the rest, life in organisations probably becomes increasingly untenable as

opportunities for meaningful exchange give way to the force of positional power. In such a world, educational leaders might be seen as little more than autocrats and their followers little more than functionaries.

Open inquiry of the type that Socrates recommended had limits, since Socrates never offered solutions to his interlocutors in Plato's dialogues. The value of Socratic thought still lies in its open-ended character: perceptions and opinions concerning reality are not taken to be certainties, but serve as a starting point for the clarification and deepening of understanding. This type of reflection supports individuality by freeing thinkers to grow in self-knowledge to such a degree that they are not easily led to participate in patterns of thought or behaviour that would contradict their best interest, which should really be the pursuit of the common good. Yet, one cannot enforce others to conform to principles of natural law such as seeking the good of the other despite differences in socio-economic or cultural values and even past hurts. Critical thinking and open inquiry of the kind Socrates promoted in his dialogues embodied fundamental rights and freedoms such as the right of free speech, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom to think what one wants. If any of these basic rights and freedoms suffers

restriction in our public institutions, we need to ask if our institutions are really democratic or not.

Perhaps by creating a professional environment characterized by openness and a non-judgmental pursuit of the best way to educate and to work, leaders might experience a renaissance of their powers and relationships. Possibly, when teachers and leaders have a moral perception that the 'other' is trustworthy, both may experience the redefinition and reanimation of their societal roles.

If it is true that our public organisations are based on a democratic model, then freedom is a necessary element of participation in a democratic educational organisation. Without that freedom, neither trust nor leadership of the democratic kind would be possible. Trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of trust.

***Proposition 2***

*Trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations: trust is more causative in this regard than is leadership.*

If the reader agrees with the proposition that freedom is an essential element of participation in a democratic

educational organisation, then the reader might ask how freedom relates to trust and leadership. Proposition 2 explores how the formation of society depends on the trust exchanges of free individuals. Proposition 2 also explains how trust remains a foundation of social order even when different leadership styles and management models are used in organisations.

In practical terms "trust" permits social exchange at a basic level. Trust may also be seen as a philosophical concept for the "purely theoretical cognition of reality" (Pieper, 1992). Trust and leadership are items of experience or reality. They are phenomena. Trust is something that happens between and among people. Leadership is the same in this regard. The two terms are relational because they refer to experiences of a person's involvement with others. The belief expressed in and through this proposition is that trust acts are fundamental societal operations.

A fundamental societal operation is a process or event, originating in the individual, that brings about the possibility of social exchange: either for economic reasons, for the education and training of the young, for the healing of the sick, the formation of government and even the waging of war. Trust is causative of other types

of social exchanges; as such, trust is at the top of a hierarchy of such societal operations. Leadership in a democracy is subordinate to trust since its nature is dependent on the foundation of trust. To illustrate this hierarchy, consider what would happen to school leaders if they were to significantly breach leader-follower trust. The followers might begin to mutiny. They could do so by transferring to other schools, if that were possible, or they might canvass in secret for a vote of non-confidence in the leadership of the school. They might even go so far as to make formal application to have the leader disciplined or replaced. In this extreme example, leadership topples when the foundation of trust gives way.

Trust is also relational since it begins as an act of intra-personal communication: 'Shall I trust or not?' The decision to trust leads to the kind of interpersonal communication that brings about mutual exchanges. A fundamental operation requires participants to exercise human capacities such as reason in order to facilitate other types of interaction. There are many obvious examples that leadership has, throughout history, been exercised without follower trust in the leader. Consider autocratic regimes where imprisonment and death are often punishments for non-compliance with the ideology of the leader. Here,

we could ask whether or not followers *accept* leadership behaviour in a trust-impooverished milieu, but more importantly, can we call those behaviours *leadership* when they are coercive? As discussed under the heading of Proposition 1, in order for a bona fide trust relationship to exist between a leader and their followers, the followers cannot be powerless. This can be difficult since, when people interact with their peers and employers, there is always the possibility that the trust relationship could break down and this might seriously affect a person's career.

Human nature being what it is, it is likely for those in subordinate positions to prioritize personal survival over participation in collaborative activities that put them at risk. For example, some collaborative leaders feel they need to *get to know* their staff. They may invite them to a social function off campus in order to seek personal information that they could later use to break down the barriers that arise when professionals retreat inside their strictly defined roles. This is a reasonable leadership approach since tension often exists among groups of people from different cultural backgrounds. But, one must always remember that people have two lives: their public life and their private life. When threatened, it is to be expected

that people will protect their privacy rather than overexpose themselves to meet un-stated organisational expectations relating to self-disclosure. For this reason, a leader must have extraordinary skills at trust building.

This thesis invites the reader to consider an account of the evolution of organisations as a first step in the explanation of how one phenomenon (trust) can be considered causative with respect to another (leadership). As already discussed, this thesis holds that trust brings about social organisation by encouraging the kind of first exchanges that lead to more elaborate social systems. One example of this elaboration is the democratic process, which was invented to ensure the free and lawful selection of one who will speak to the interests of the many on their behalf. Unfortunately, in schools, leaders are usually not chosen by the faculty they serve, they are appointed from afar in a way that is not transparent. Also, many school districts have an expectation that a principal will stay for at least a two or three years at a school, after which time the principal may be transferred to another school. It may take a few years to establish trust, which means that the school loses a trusted leader when staff relationships are strongest. The departure of a principal after three to five years benefits the school mostly in cases where the

principal is ineffective. However, if the leader is highly effective, moving that person may be needlessly unsettling and counter productive; since followers may lose several months or years establishing bonds of trust with the new leader. After several principals, a teacher might develop follower fatigue, a reluctance to rally around a new leader who might be making changes in the school along predictable time lines to justify his leadership to the board.

In the first year, the leader might avoid making any changes and opt instead to form alliances with key faculty members. In the second year, the leader might initiate changes and press their allies into service as department heads or leaders of collaborative work groups. In the final year or years, real change might occur as the leader encourages the staff to pursue his or her aims. In this somewhat cynical example, change is still possible even in a lacklustre environment such as the one described. But a more powerful kind of leadership begins with the sharing of organisational, and not necessarily personal, values and the creation of authentic trust relationships.

To be an authentic leader is to have authentic trust relationships with followers and is a position of great responsibility. Authenticity in this case is the condition of significant and meaningful purpose. In other words, an

authentic leader is one who reflects on their practice and respects the needs and interests of followers. The concept of authentic leadership is important for the practical purposes of this paper. In an authentic leadership situation followers choose freely to pursue leadership objectives as part of their own interests. Hardin (2002) asserts "*trust is relational. That is to say, my trust of you depends on our relationship, either directly through our ongoing interaction or indirectly through intermediaries and reputational effects*" (p. 3). This passage expresses the key point that trust is inextricably linked to relationships, and that the decision to trust is dependent on those relationships, either through direct or indirect involvement with the object of trust. In order to better understand the impact of trust in organisations, which are really a type of community sustained by ongoing relationships and exchanges, consider how communities are formed. The process of community formation underscores the important role trust plays in the creation of society.

A person's capacity to trust exists prior to the formation of community. In a sense, individuals seem born with the capacity to trust and to be sociable to some extent. Both these skills and human reason are required to form partnerships. Without reason, there would be no

'human' in human being, and instinct would suffice for the continuation of the species. To trust, therefore, is an innately human act because it is determined in part by reason. Communities form because the individuals who comprise them are capable of social involvement. The capacity to trust is the origin of that involvement. Trust, once established among community members, provides the continuing assurance that if individuals surrender to the formation of a collective, their individual interests will be met better than if they acted alone. Membership in a community may be determined by a myriad of factors, but there is always human exchange. This proposition asserts that trust and leadership are necessary for the creation and sustainability of socially constructed organisations. The term organisation, here, means any collection of individuals who share values, engage in mutually beneficial exchanges, achieve collectively agreed upon objectives, and that present themselves to other communities as distinct in some way.

Social cohesion exists within communities to the degree that trust among community members exists, and is related to the creation of human organisations of all kinds. Furthermore, trust is required to sustain the

concept of school communities, which are worth keeping alive for the common good.

The formation of human societies also requires interdependence, another relational concept. Trust in others causes exchanges to flourish and to continue. Breach of trust or tyranny works against cohesion, but may or may not undermine the shared meaning and structures that constituted the community in the first place. When community exchanges increase in number and complexity, subgroups may form within communities. Once this happens, mechanisms of social order usually become necessary to safeguard the interests of one group over another and the collective may select one of their 'party' to represent their interests to other groups. This is a rough sketch of how democratic communities emerge. At the outset, we see a bifurcation between the individuals' experience of the community and between the idea of the community itself: 'I am part of this community and yet the community has a force of decision all its own which I helped to empower, or did I? How can I protect my interests?' Trust is relational because it facilitates exchange. We can choose to cooperate or not to cooperate, but we must trust in *something* before we exchange.

Little has changed in human nature since the formation of the earliest human societies. Today, leadership serves the same functions as it did in ancient times: leaders embody the interests and values of the collective, reflect those values back to the collective and represent those values and interests to outsiders. Leadership is possible only when the collective is able to trust a person, or persons, to represent the interests of the entire group. The decision to be a leader introduces the element of risk for each individual in the community. Once the leader receives power from the collective, the leader can choose to work for or against cohesion: they can work to build trust and thereby increase cooperation, or they can operate in relative isolation relying primarily on their positional power. The mission statement of a school division or a corporation is a mechanism of social cohesion, since the words are meant to unite practitioners under a common purpose. Without trust, the adherence to an abstract construct would be impossible. Without trust, suspicion marks the experience of interdependence, an idea explored in the work of Cummings and Bromily (1996). When individuals invest too much in the collective and make themselves too dependent on social entities, the entity becomes father and mother to them all. This thesis argues a

position somewhere in the middle: too little dependence on others creates alienation in organisations, while over-dependence starves initiative. This thesis argues that individuals are able to maintain their autonomy within the organisation, while at the same time submitting to various leadership behaviours, accepting diverse leadership styles and governance structures.

In an ideal sense, the elaboration of society could have resulted from trust-rich relationships that would have eliminated the need for sanctions to maintain justice among individuals and groups. However, the limitations of human nature, that history and current events observe, prohibit the easy acceptance of such a suggestion. The creation and enforcement of sanctions to monitor human conduct may always be necessary. The question is whether or not these sanctions, which are the punishment component of a socially determined morality, are sufficient to impact on the personal morality of individuals within organisations. In other words, are the leaders of our public educational institutions able to provide the kind of inspired, trustworthy leadership that engages the courage and selfless devotion of the teacher work force given the managerial and leadership structures already in place?

The assertion made under this proposition is that, trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations and that trust is more causative in this regard than is leadership.

If the reader accepts that trust is more causative than leadership for the creation, elaboration and sustainability of educational organisations, then trust is a force that makes leadership in educational organisations effective, whether that leadership is person focused or role focused.

***Proposition 3***

*The objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an institution (i.e., in a democracy). Trust is a paradox since the institutionalization of distrust is required for its function. This distrust takes the form of laws, sanctions, customs and norms.*

The researcher has established in Proposition 1, that freedom is an important element of participation in a democratic, educational organisation. Proposition 2 revealed that trust has the power to determine organisational effectiveness under different models of leadership. The third proposition, that the objects of trust and leadership may be either concrete or abstract, is

important because it shows how organisations can continue to function even when leaders and followers are not trustworthy.

In *Trust: A Sociological Theory*, Peter Sztopka (1999) presents a comparison between trust in democracy and autocracy. He asserts:

For a generalized culture of trust to develop and persist, democratic principles need not only be implemented consistently, but also applied sparingly. Democratic principles institutionalize distrust because they assume that trust can potentially be breached and provide correctives for such a contingency. (Sztopka, 1999, p. 145)

This is of interest for educators in public institutions, since one of the functions of a school is to educate students to participate in a democratic society. Before educators can properly do this, they need to understand that,

Trust cannot be due merely to efficient controls. Rather, it must see in the potentiality of controls only the ultimate defence against unlikely and rare abuses of trust . . . the extensive potential availability of democratic checks and controls must be

matched by their very limited actualization.

(Sztompka, 1999, p. 146)

Teachers understand very well how this works for them. If they behave inappropriately towards their students, peers or leaders, they can be dismissed for breaching the teacher's code of ethics, and perhaps other statutory or regulatory provisions. Teachers know that when they go to work, they have recourse to grievance proceedings if treated poorly. They place their trust in the code and in their union. The code of ethics is a clear example of an abstract object of trust even though its contents refer to expected behaviours. In order to protect democratic principles, school leaders trust teachers to monitor their own behaviour as part of their professionalism. If a principal were to install video cameras in every room, teachers would soon feel that the 'checks' of democracy were beginning to outweigh their 'freedoms.' In such a context the agency of teachers would be stripped away and returned to the state in an Orwellian sense.

A concrete object of trust could be illustrated by the following example. Imagine a situation where one teacher entrusts a class to another teacher while they help an ill student to the office. While the teacher is away, a fight breaks out in the classroom and something terrible happens.

The first teacher trusts the second teacher to stand in his stead, but the second teacher fails to do his or her duty. In this case, the concrete object of trust is the teacher, as a person, who promised to supervise the class. The teacher in asking a fellow teacher to care for the students also had expectations based on the idea of their peer's professionalism, which is another abstract object of trust.

In schools, the objects of trust are often abstract and concrete simultaneously. An example of this is the case of a well-liked, trustworthy leader. When followers interact with this type of leader, they interact not only with the person, but also with the office or the role of the leader. It may be possible for a teacher to trust the leader both to run the school and to call a tow truck if they were to see one of their teachers stranded in a snow bank at the side of the road. In some cases, a teacher might trust the principal in the professional role, but not as an individual. The importance of this office or role-person dichotomy for a discussion of trust and leadership is that distrust may arise if organisational relationships are severely limited as 'role' to 'role' interactions. The resulting alienation might then lead to distrust, which could create barriers to the willing acceptance of leadership behaviours. However, the efficacy of role driven

exchanges might be very high if the degree of follower trust in that particular *something*, is also high. The *something* might be trust in the idea of what a principal should be, trust in a set of shared organisational values, or trust in the idea of teacher professionalism.

Since trust is a more fundamental social operation than leadership, it has the power to maintain relationships in a provisional way, despite a difficult leader's worst efforts. In very dysfunctional schools, a teacher's trust in his or her own professionalism is sometimes the only abstraction to hang onto until a trustworthy or competent leader emerges. The researcher defines this type of trust as *provisional trust*. In other schools, followers can trust in the 'office' of the leader, and in the espoused values of the organisation, even though they might not trust the 'person' of the leader. They do this because they know that possible sanctions against school leaders may guarantee a minimum, if somewhat inadequate level of performance.

Controls placed on citizens within democratic institutions are designed to ensure freedom, although at times, the checks and balances seem more oppressive than they ought to be. Most professional educators acknowledge the necessity of structure to guarantee the smooth functioning of the work environment. Of course, people

tolerate different levels of perceived external control. For this reason, many leadership philosophies and styles have been developed over the years. Some hold that collaborative leadership is the best way to honour the efforts of teaching professionals in the workplace, since there are theoretically, more opportunities for them to share power and to make meaningful contributions.

Consider though, a situation where a leader solicits the input of the staff only to be told by the board to adopt a strategy that contradicts the wishes of the faculty. It would have been better for that leader not to ask the staff to contribute, if that leader did not actually intend, or have the power, to give the teachers what they wanted. False inquiries, where the leader never intends to do anything with the information gathered, are a more insidious version of the board-overtaken decision.

The proponents of bureaucratic leadership assert that the system works as long as everyone does what they are supposed to do. Alienation may exist, but there is predictability. As long as the leader does not confuse bureaucracy with autocracy the faculty should accept the limitations of professional life and carry on.

One might wonder what the factors are that limit the acceptance of bureaucratic structure? First, let us look at

what constitutes a bureaucracy. In order for a bureaucracy to function there have to be formal written guidelines or handbooks to control employee behaviours. Possibly, there must be impersonal treatment so that favouritism is avoided and all work relationships are based on objective standards. Labour must be divided into specialized tasks performed by individuals with appropriate skills. There must further be a hierarchical structure such that positions are ranked by authority level in a clear fashion from lower to upper levels. Finally, authority over decision making is determined by your place in the hierarchy (Weber as cited in, Shaffritz & Tot, 2001). Weber's idea of a bureaucracy in many ways is the blueprint for Canadian public school operations, even when collaborative and other styles of leadership are superimposed on its structure. One would be hard pressed to convince any public school teacher that bureaucratic mechanisms were absent in their school.

In a democracy, structure and sanctions will be with us, if only to protect us from one another. As cynical a view of human nature as this may seem, it is not a new idea. In Plato's *Republic*, Glaucon, explains one of his theories on the origin of justice. He states that, "men practice [justice] against the grain, for lack of power to

do wrong" (Cornford, 1941, p. 44). For some professionals, fear of reprisal and loss of reputation are strong motivators, but what informs this discussion further comes in the section entitled, "Rudiments of social organisation." In that extract, Socrates asserts that, "a state comes into existence because no individual is self-sufficing; we all have many needs." (p. 55). When Socrates asks his interlocutor if they could suggest "some different origin for the foundation of a community," Adeimantus says, "No, I agree with you." (Cornford, p. 55). Only when people feel that they can act 'alone' in an organisation does the bottom begin to fall out. Teacher's and leader's needs are different, which is why their roles are defined the way they are. In order to protect the erosion of cooperation in organisations there must be a foundation of trust. The objects of trust may be either abstract, as 'trust in a code' or concrete as 'trust in a person.' Schools are highly structured environments borne out of practical necessity. Leadership styles may vary, but the managerial structure remains. This is one of the limitations of large democratic institutions. Although, limitations are placed on the constituents of organisations for practical reasons, we have a choice. We can choose to enable the structures that we live in to promote an ethos of trust, cooperation

and commitment, or we can passively interpret those structures as oppressive.

As previously discussed, trust agents must see themselves as free to enter into exchanges. If they are free to enter into exchanges, and if the organisations that result respect that freedom, then the organisations are democratic. However, since people are not always trustworthy, rules and laws become necessary to protect us from each other. As a result, in a democratic, educational organisation, the objects of trust and leadership may have to be at times concrete, as in trust of another person, or abstract as in trust in an institution: in a democracy, trust is a paradox since the institutionalization of distrust is required for its function. Educational organisations can survive crises when trust in persons fails, since the placing of trust in a role or in the idea of the organisation is also possible.

Figure 1 is a model of trust relationships and exchanges based on the three propositions. It maps the experience of trust in an organisation from the perspective of a follower. The figure shows how followers can trust in themselves (see Figure 1, A), in the person (see Figure 1, B), or role of the leader (see Figure 1, C), or in the idea of the organisation itself (see Figure 1, D). The solid

lines around the follower, the leader and the institution indicate boundaries. The gaps in the solid line on the right hand side of the follower boundary indicate the various trust relationships followers may experience when they make themselves vulnerable in an exchange. The broken lines connecting the follower, the leader and the organisation signify reciprocal relationships.

The most immediate or concrete experience of trust a follower can have is self-trust (see Figure 1, A). In this case, persons may trust themselves to contribute positively to their work environment and to conduct themselves in a professional manner. The information the follower needs to trust is intrinsic; the follower fulfils the expectations society places on them as a professional and as an individual because they choose to do so.

When a follower decides to trust the leader, they can trust either the person of the leader (see Figure 1, B) or the role of the leader (see Figure 1, C) depending on their assessment of the leader's trustworthiness, competence or interaction style. In Figure 1, the leader as a 'person' is a more concrete object of trust than is a 'role.' If a follower is not able to place their trust in the person of the leader, they may resort to placing their trust in the role of the leader, which suggests a less than ideal

situation. If the leader cannot be trusted as a role or a person, the follower may continue in his or her work, hopeful that the leader will eventually move to another school. Meanwhile, the vision of what an educational organisation should do guides their practice. The selective placement of trust was described earlier in this thesis as provisional trust.

A still more abstract object of a follower's trust is the organisation (see Figure 1, D), which may be thought of as an idea or as a group of upper level leaders and managers. Trust in the idea of the organisation is the most abstract object of follower trust since followers have little immediate contact with the persons at the top of the hierarchy.

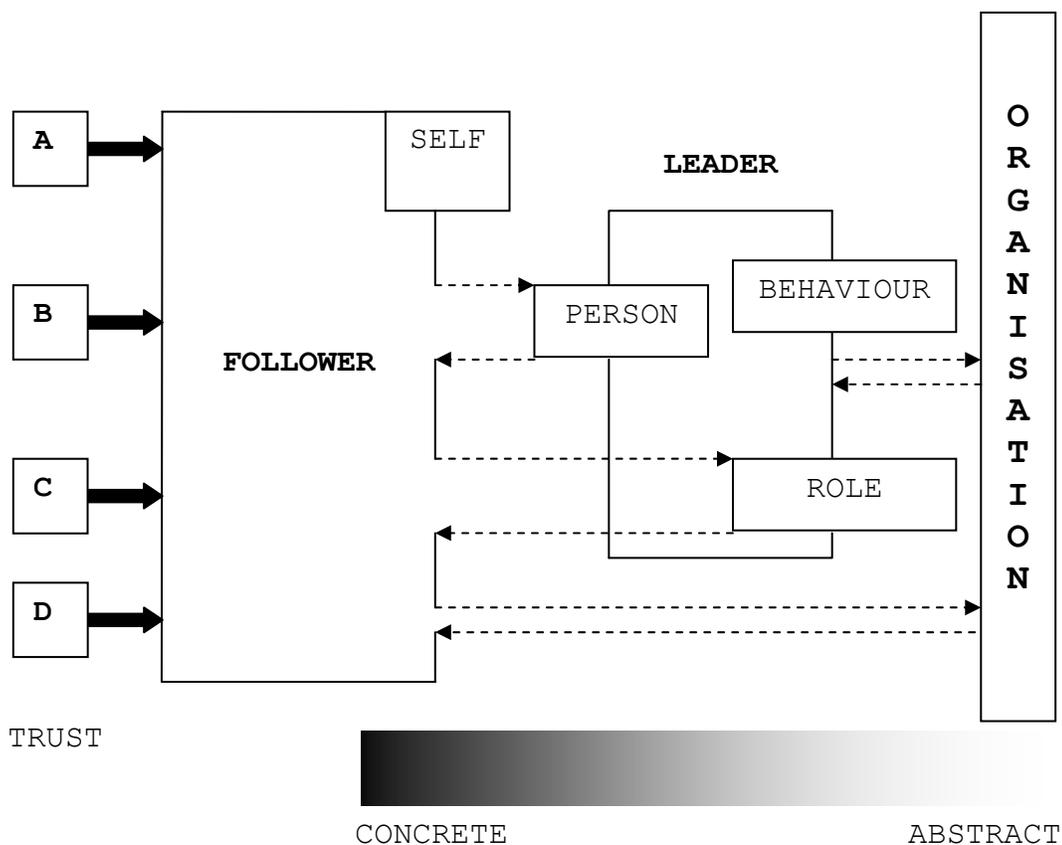


Figure 1. Conceptual diagram of trust exchanges

### Summary

The third chapter of this thesis explored three propositions that help to explain the concepts under study and their relationship to educational administration. The three propositions were as follows. First, trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of

trust. Second, trust and leadership are relational phenomenon necessary for the creation and sustainability of institutions: trust is more causative in this regard than is leadership. Third, the objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an institution: in a democracy, trust is a paradox since the institutionalization of distrust is required for its function. This distrust takes the form of laws, sanctions, customs and norms.

In Chapter 4, the researcher summarizes the findings of this research and recapitulates the arguments presented. The researcher also discusses the implications of the thesis for the literature on trust and leadership, for academic research and for administrative practice.

## **Chapter 4**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **Content Summary**

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, the meaning and importance of trust and leadership were discussed, in general terms, with a view to persuade the reader that trust is an important and often overlooked feature of organisational leadership. In the introduction to Chapter 1, the researcher asserted that the willing acceptance of leadership behaviour depended on teacher perceptions of the leader's trustworthiness. After establishing the foundational importance of trust for organisational life, three propositions were introduced but not discussed in detail: 1) trust and leadership require the free participation of agents. The degree to which agents perceive themselves as 'free' with respect to their interests is a measure of the utility of trust; 2) trust and leadership are relational phenomena necessary for the creation and sustainability of organisations; 3) the objects of trust and leadership may be concrete as in trust of another person or abstract as in trust in an

institution. The 'overview to trust' was a multidisciplinary look at trust as a construct. The overview to trust leads to a more detailed analysis of eight researchers' diverse perspectives on the construct. Following that, the researcher identified patterns of shared meaning among several definitions of trust extant in the literature that aligned with the three propositions mentioned earlier. Next, the researcher acquainted the reader with the concept of fiduciary duty, and a new definition of trust was introduced.

In the beginning of Chapter 2, the researcher discussed the importance of trust in organisations, this time, with respect to the power relationships between leaders and followers. Subsequently, the assertion was made that leadership competency reflects two basic modes: the bureaucratic with its emphasis on management and the collaborative with its emphasis on human relationships. The author argued throughout, that positive trust exchanges enable various leadership styles, whereas negative trust exchanges militate against follower acceptance of leader behaviour and initiatives, whatever form they may take. At the end of the chapter, the researcher claimed that, because individual trust acts facilitate mutual exchange,

they are the ground for the creation, elaboration and sustainability of organisations.

In Chapter 3, the researcher expanded upon the three propositions that are the conceptual ground of this thesis. Some main concepts explored under Proposition 1, were freedom, self-determination, self-knowledge, agency, accountability, self-sufficiency and transparency. Under Proposition 2, the author explored trust as a relational phenomenon and *trusting* as a fundamental societal operation, which is responsible for the formation of community and the establishment of democracy. Under Proposition 3, the author advanced the idea that trust actors can place their trust in abstract or concrete objects, such as an idea or a person. Other ideas investigated were: the dichotomy between roles and persons, *provisional trust*, sanctions, and the paradox of distrust in a democracy.

Chapter 4 is a summary of the findings of this research, which recapitulates key aspects of the argument presented and discusses the implications of the thesis for the literature on trust and leadership, for academic research and for administrative practice.

### **Significance of Trust**

Few would deny that trust plays a vital role in human relationships, even when the definition of the term is, at times, cloaked in complexity and contradiction. Most people have an almost instinctive awareness that trust is necessary for a community to survive. Even the most self-preserving and self-sufficient individuals cannot forgo participation in activities in life over which trust has influence.

The literature suggests that trust is a globally important concept. As already mentioned, trust has been studied for centuries by various disciplines and for different reasons. When public trust is low in our private and public institutions, society suffers a generalized, social anxiety, which may get in the way of progress towards a more trusting society. In order for further research to be efficacious, researchers, teachers, parents and leaders must commit to a code of trust founded, perhaps, on the idea of *civility*. There must also be some mechanism of *forgiveness* for those times when our good intentions and good faith efforts come to nothing. The researcher asserts that trustworthy behaviour cannot be enforced by any level of government, civil or otherwise, and that *humility* will be required if society is to change

for the better. If ideas do have consequences (Weaver, 1948) then research on trust has consequences.

Institutions of learning at all levels will have to ask themselves, and allow others to ask, difficult, first order research questions, if progress is to be made. School divisions, must seek out educational research that addresses foundational issues such as trust and disseminate the results, so that whole community change may begin to occur in powerful and authentic ways. This is not to deny the important task that school leaders face in having to protect 'public confidence' in education. However, if problems exist in our school systems then presumably, leaders will want to find solutions for them. Trust research could help to identify if school systems suffered from mistrust. Once in possession of this knowledge, they could more effectively plan for change.

The general level of teacher education is increasing as more and more teachers seek advanced university degrees. As a result, teachers are becoming more critically aware of the deficiencies in their world of work. In this climate of change, it will be more difficult for educational leaders to deny the importance of ideas, such as trust, for educational practice. In addition, the researcher asserts that future leaders of school divisions will have to be

philosophically aware as well as politically attuned if they are to secure the loyalty of their workforce. In addition to marketing their services and the achievements of their district, school leaders will need to engage their educators, at all levels, in discussions of challenging trust issues.

As our educational systems evolve, everyone must work harder to protect the freedom of purely speculative thought, and to believe that we have the power, through teaching and learning, to transform our shared, social reality. In order to maintain our high standards of education and civility in Canada, we will need to take risks and to be vulnerable: a study of trust is a fit beginning for such an undertaking.

#### **Further Research**

Future research on trust must come from the constituents of educational organisations, both leaders and followers. This research must be detailed qualitatively and quantitatively.

Several questions emerge from the discussion of trust presented here. First, what are the specific incidents that result in a loss of trust in organisations? Perhaps, further research could identify and rank these incidents by the impact they have on the climate of the organisation. A

second question for researchers might be the role that tests of trustworthiness play in organisational life. For example, in what ways do individuals seek to confirm theories they hold about the trustworthiness of other people prior to entering into exchanges with them? Furthermore, do these preliminary tests of trustworthiness have the power to create suspicion in organisations characterized by asymmetrical power relationships? Third, is there a correlation between a follower's perception of their trust in the leader and between a follower's perception of the degree of freedom they experience within the organisation? Fourth, if trust is seen to have a moral dimension, what role could ethics play in the transformation of leadership, management and bargaining models? Finally, does a leader's perception of the trustworthiness of the followers influence the selection of their chosen leadership style?

Once this research has been done, the information can be used to build trust between followers and leaders in our educational organisations. If we are to continue to provide excellence in public education, this research is critical.

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## Author Notes

<sup>1</sup> Butler (1991) points out that,

[T]he literature on trust has converged on the beliefs that a) trust is an important aspect of interpersonal relationships, (b) trust is essential to the development of managerial careers, (c) trust in a specific person is more relevant in terms of prediction outcomes than is the global attitude of trust in generalized others, and (d) a useful approach to studying trust consists of defining and investigating a number of conditions (determinants) of trust. (p. 647)

The paper provides a list of ten conditions culled from past literature, namely, "availability, competence, consistency, discreetness, fairness, integrity, loyalty, openness, promise fulfillment and receptivity." (p. 648).

<sup>2</sup> "Deterrence-based trust exists when the potential costs of discontinuing the relationship or the likelihood of retributive action outweigh the short-term advantage of acting in a distrustful way" (Shapiro et al., 1992, p. 366).

<sup>3</sup> [This model] suggests that people care about fair treatment by authorities because they derive a sense of identity from such treatment. Authorities who represent a threat to that sense of self-worth and identity are considered to be unfair. (p. 346)

<sup>4</sup> They conceive of trust as,

[A] simple function, with the amount of trust varying as the result of some combination of characteristic similarity and positive relational experience, with broad societal norms and expectations setting a baseline or intercept - the initial expectations of general trustworthiness. Trust = f (embedded predisposition to trust, Characteristic similarity, Experiences of reciprocity). (p. 19)

<sup>5</sup> From this perspective, trust is a commodity: the more the members of the organisation have, the more powerful they are. Under this model, trust is like capital in that it can be dispersed, put into savings or invested for long or short-term gain. Trust can also be borrowed, and therefore, it is possible to be over-leveraged. In this situation, the

over-leveraged party depends on the trustworthiness of other people without risking any trust capital of their own. The net result of this exchange is the distrust of the other investors. The deficiency of the economic model that seeks to appropriate trust as an organisational means is that trust involves the willingness to risk being vulnerable. There is no sandbox fund for no-risk trust investments where trust is concerned. Any member of an organisation, who wants to share in the profits that accrue from trust investments, or relationships, eventually has to make him or herself vulnerable. If an organisation does not respect the openness of the persons in their 'ranks' those persons will soon grow suspicious. Trust cannot be appropriated as a means to an end—to trust is a pre-eminently human interaction and is highly sensitive to external control. In order to facilitate trust, organisations must disclose organisational concerns more completely at all levels. Perhaps, this is the openness that Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999) describe in their five-fold definition of trust.

<sup>6</sup> Their Organisational Trust Inventory (OTI) measures the degree of trust, which exists "between units in organisations or between organisations" (p.319). For Cummings and Bromily (1996) trust is:

[A]n individual's belief or a common belief among a group of individuals that another individual or group (a) makes good-faith efforts to behave in accordance with any commitments both explicit or implicit, (b) is honest in whatever negotiations preceded such commitments, and (c) does not take excessive advantage of another even when the opportunity is available.

The first two parts of this definition align trust with truth telling. Part (a) means that a trustworthy person keeps their word, and part (b) means that the person's given word was the truth. In part (c) Cummings and Bromily use the word excessive to qualify advantage, which implies, that perhaps, it is all right to take advantage of another as long you do not do so excessively. Perhaps the authors meant to say, "does not take advantage of another. . . "

<sup>7</sup> The article describes an exploratory climate study in which trust levels were correlated with two other measures.

"The Organisational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ-RM) measures aspects of the openness of middle school climate and the organisational health inventory (OHI-RM) taps dimensions of the health of middle school climate" (p. 345). Hoy and Tschannen-Moran made three key findings. "Transaction costs increase in a climate of distrust...trust is related to a climate of openness, collegiality, professionalism, and authenticity . . . faculty behaviour produces faculty trust in colleagues and principal behaviour produces trust in the principal" (p. 350). More, recently, Wayne Hoy and Megan Tschannen-Moran (1999) wrote *Five Faces Of Trust: An Empirical Confirmation In Urban Elementary Schools*. The authors identify vulnerability as a common feature of most of the definitions of trust found in the literature (p.198). They provide the following definition of trust, "trust is an individual's or group's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest and open" (p 189). These five adjectives are the five faces of trust mentioned in the title of their article. Earlier in the same article, Hoy and Tschannen-Moran assert that "trust . . . is embedded in

relationships, and the referent of trust influences its meaning" (p.189). In other words, the meaning of trust depends upon the identity of the actors involved in the trust interaction. The quality and level of trust varies from person to person. Since trust varies with the differing perceptions of the actors, then any additional factor that influences the perceivers may be of interest. One such factor is leadership style. Hoy developed a trust scale that measures trust in clients (parents and students), colleagues and principals. Hoy and Tschannen-Moran use the scale as a basis for the comparison of trust levels with other variables that may be influenced by trust such as organisational health and climate (Hoy, 2001, p.32). Their article, *A Multidisciplinary Analysis Of The Nature, Meaning, And Measurement Of Trust* provides a detailed history of the role and meaning of trust in the educational research of the past forty years. In her 2001 article, *Collaboration And The Need For Trust*, Tschannen-Moran describes a further study that looks at the relationship between trust and other school factors. In this study, the hypothesis is, "the level of trust in a school [is] related to the level of collaboration" (p.

326). Her results indicated that, "where there was greater trust, there tended to be a greater level of collaboration" (p. 327). The study also showed that, "when trust was absent, people were reluctant to work closely together, and collaboration was more difficult" (p. 327). Tschannen-Moran's findings suggest that collaboration and trust are strongly correlated, but some key questions remain: can a non-collaborative leadership style bring about the same degree of effectiveness as a collaborative leadership style when trust levels are similar?

<sup>8</sup> The third argument, SBM bears scrutiny here. Murphy and Beck (1995) cite several of the concept's central elements. Garms et al., (1978) assert that, "the essence of school site management is a shift of decision-making responsibility from the school district to the individual school" (as cited in Murphy & Beck, 1995, p. 13). Lindquist & Mauriel (1989) claim that, "the fundamental feature of SBM theory is delegation" (as cited in Murphy & Beck, 1995, p. 13). Sackney and Dibski (1992) further define SBM by saying that it is, a method of increasing the influence of parents in school decision-making. Much of what defines SBM

is the way in which school districts implement reform strategies based on its principles. Murphy and Beck (1995) describe a three-part reform strategy (p. 37). The first, and most systemic reform model of SBM is full deregulation, which "involves promoting SBM by pulling back the entire regulatory framework." Under this model, schools are provided (or asked to provide) goals and are held accountable for the results (p. 37). Reducing the number of prescriptions and rules promulgated by government units...is the second avenue being pursued to increase district and school autonomy (p. 37). Elmore (1988) offers a third strategy, which is "granting schools and districts exemptions, or waivers, to existing regulations" (as cited in Murphy & Beck, 1995, p.38).

<sup>9</sup> Evers and Lakomski assert that,

[I]f it is maintained that there exists a sharp distinction between value claims and factual claims, then administrative theory will end up being devoid of ethical claims. Similarly, if the inner thoughts of people cannot be observed, but only inferred from their behaviours, then administrator behaviour becomes

the focus for theorizing and human subjectivity is omitted. Indeed, the testability demand, applied to each statement, leads to the wholesale rejection of all theoretical terms that cannot be given operational definitions. (Evers & Lakomski, 2001, p.500)

In this passage, Evers and Lakomski explain the "process known as confirmation." The empirical model of research demands that the organisational phenomena under study be testable. If the evidence does not in some way reflect theoretical claims, then the study lacks empirical validity. Further on, Evers and Lakomski state that, "Theory, in educational administration, is part of a global web of belief" (p.502); their article includes a diagram of a spider's web. In the positivist paradigm, logic and mathematics are at the centre of the web; administrative theories approach the centre and sometimes touch the centre, while experience is on the periphery.

<sup>10</sup> After fifteen years of theory development, the importance of Evers' and Lakomski's work is that ethics or values are not to be considered as a separate, remote category, but as embedded in the very fibre of the discourse of the science

of educational administration: if social relationships are important then ethics are also important. For this reason, Evers and Lakomski may be included in a discussion of moral leadership, even though they might not want to be categorized as moral leadership theorists. In order to foster the social relations that pay dividends, there must be a foundation of trust. Without this trust, relationships falter, credibility is lost and organisations suffer. This research asserts, that when leaders and followers perceive each other to be trustworthy, social relationships that support leadership thrive, and in turn, this brings about organisational effectiveness. Reitzug, as early as 1994, underscored the centrality of values for administrative science. In his article, *Diversity, Power And Influence: Multiple Perspectives On The Ethics Of School Leadership*, he states that,

Surfacing and addressing ethical issues of daily practice is perhaps the most crucial task in which administrators engage. The specific ethical issues that are analyzed and the way in which they are resolved will meld the culture and character of the school, define the school's purpose and the measures

of effectiveness it considers crucial, and determine whether the school is a static entity or has an opportunity to become a transformational and empowering community. (p. 218)

Reitzug discusses the importance of addressing ethical issues from multiple perspectives. Perhaps surfacing and addressing ethical issues is not possible without a foundation of trust. Trust allows constituents to be vulnerable, which permits the expression of personal beliefs and biases. The ability to engage in problem solving from multiple perspectives may be one of the dividends that Evers and Lakomski were thinking of when they wrote their article. Trust, a value-laden concept, may prove to be a pre-condition for the kind of community empowerment that Reitzug discusses.

<sup>11</sup> In *The Principalship: A Reflective Practice Perspective* (2001), Sergiovanni presents a list of leader competencies adapted from a 1997 document entitled, *Elementary and Middle School Proficiencies for Principals* (National Association of Elementary School Principals, 1997). There are nine categories with three competencies listed under

each heading. The categories are: leadership behaviour, communication skills, group processes, curriculum and instruction, [professional development], assessment, organisational management, fiscal management and political management. These nine features of an ideal conception of the principalship can be clustered into three broad categories. One focuses on the leader as leader, the second focuses on the leader as teacher and the third focuses on the leader as business and public image manager. Under the heading of leader as leader, fall the competencies required in any effective organisation: leadership behaviour, communications skills, group processes and organisational management. The leader as business manager and image consultant includes, fiscal and political management.