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Headteacher Visibility, Teacher Characteristics, and Headteacher Trustworthiness:
Perceptions of Secondary School Teachers in Mukono District, Uganda

David McKay Boren

A dissertation to be submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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December 2010

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ABSTRACT

Headteacher Visibility, Teacher Characteristics, and Headteacher Trustworthiness:

Perceptions of Secondary School Teachers in Mukono District, Uganda

David McKay Boren

Department of Educational Leadership and Foundations

Doctor of Philosophy

Research indicates that students perform better academically in schools with higher levels of trust than in schools with lower levels of trust. School leaders are primarily responsible for building cultures of trust but are often at a loss as to how to do so effectively. With the assumption that as perceptions of school leader trustworthiness improve, teachers will be more likely to place their trust in that school leader, this research seeks to clarify how Ugandan headteachers improve teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. In particular, we examined how specific types of headteacher visibility related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness. This qualitative research used grounded theory methodology to interpret and analyze the interview responses of 28 Ugandan secondary school teachers in eight schools in Mukono District, Uganda. Findings from this research suggest that teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness were strongly related to both the level of risk and formality of headteacher visibility. Additional findings suggest that perceptions of both headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness were influenced by differences in teacher and headteacher personal characteristics. The final finding indicates that certain types of headteacher visibility moderated the influence that teacher characteristics have on perceptions of trustworthiness. These findings can inform school leaders about how to more effectively improve teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness. The grounded theory model presented will provide opportunities for further theory building and testing with respect to the relationship between school leader visibility and teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness.

Keywords: Africa, grounded theory, headteacher, school leadership, leadership, teacher, trust, trustworthiness, Uganda, visibility

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
INTRODUCTION OF STRUCTURE AND CONTENT	ix
TEXT OF ARTICLE	1
Abstract	2
Background.....	3
Research Context.....	5
Definitions and Types of Trust	6
Factors Related to Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness.....	10
Research Questions	12
Methods.....	12
Sampling and Data Collection	13
Data Analysis	14
Findings.....	15
Teacher Characteristics and Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness.....	16
Headteacher Visibility and Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness.....	19
Teacher Characteristics, Headteacher Visibility, and Perceptions of Trustworthiness.....	23
Discussion	29
Theoretical Implications	29
Practical Implications	34
Future Directions.....	35
Conclusion.....	36
References	38
APPENDIX A: REVIEW OF LITERATURE	45
APPENDIX B: METHODS	91
DISSERTATION REFERENCES	97

LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Page
1. Definitions of Competence and Relational Trustworthiness Facets Used in This Study	8
2. Teacher Gender and Teaching Experience	14
3. Percentage of Teachers Found at Each Trustworthiness Perception Level.....	16
4. Types of Visibility.....	19
5. Examples of Visibility Types and Correspondence with Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness.....	21
6. Visibility Types with Teacher Characteristics	24
7. Visibility Type by Relational and Competence Trustworthiness Level with Teacher Characteristics	27

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Theoretical Framework of Perceptions of Trustworthiness, Trust School Culture, and Student Achievement	4
2. Relationship Between Teacher Characteristics and Perceptions of Headteacher Relational and Competence Trustworthiness	18
3. Perceptions of Relational Trustworthiness by Risk Level and Formality	31
4. Grounded Theory for Factors Influencing Teacher Perceptions of Headteacher Relational and Competence Trustworthiness.....	33

INTRODUCTION OF STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

School leaders are often eager to better understand how they can improve student academic achievement within their assigned schools. Although school leader influence on student academic achievement is primarily indirect, student achievement improves as school leaders build cultures of trust with teachers. School leaders can build such cultures of trust primarily by improving teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness. Teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness are strongly influenced by teacher characteristics and experiences, as well as the visible interactions of school leaders with teachers.

This research seeks to better understand

- which teacher and school leader personal and professional characteristics influence teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness,
- which types of school leader visibility influence teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness, and
- how teacher and school leader characteristics interact with different types of school leader visibility in their influence on teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness.

In this study we used qualitative methods to examine and analyze existing interview data collected through purposive, non-randomized, maximum variation sampling in secondary schools in Mukono District, Uganda. We chose to use data collected in Ugandan secondary schools for many reasons. The primary reason was that Uganda is a developing country that has recently taken the bold step to provide universal elementary and secondary education to its school children. Uganda thus provides a rich context for studying the influence of headteachers' trust-building efforts in an intensely competitive educational environment with limited financial

resources. A constant comparative method was used to conduct both within and cross-case analyses of the existing interview data, which resulted in several important findings that were the basis of our grounded theory. This grounded theory may provide insights to headteachers in Uganda as well as school leaders in other geographic contexts where similar challenges are prevalent.

Our findings suggest that teacher and headteacher personal and professional characteristics do influence teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness in very different and important ways. Additionally, our findings suggest that in general, different types of headteacher visibility vary in their influence on teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. More specifically, the formality and risk level of different types of headteacher visibility are influential on teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. Finally, our findings suggest that headteacher visibility may moderate the influence that teacher and headteacher characteristics have on teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. These findings have resulted in important theoretical implications for future research as well as practical implications for school leaders in Uganda and elsewhere as they seek to improve cultures of trust and overall student academic achievement.

This document is presented in the format of the hybrid dissertation as approved by Brigham University's McKay School of Education. The hybrid dissertation is one of several formats supported in Brigham Young University's David O. McKay School of Education. Unlike a traditional "five chapter" format, the hybrid dissertation focuses on producing a journal-ready manuscript. Consequently, the final dissertation product has fewer chapters than the traditional format and focuses on the presentation of the scholarly manuscript as the centerpiece. Following

the journal manuscript are appendices, which include an extended review of literature and a methodological section sufficient for the requirements of an institutional review board.

TEXT OF ARTICLE

Headteacher Visibility, Teacher Characteristics, and Headteacher Trustworthiness:
Perceptions of Secondary School Teachers in Mukono District, Uganda

Abstract

Research indicates that students perform better academically in schools with higher levels of trust than in schools with lower levels of trust. School leaders are primarily responsible for building cultures of trust but are often at a loss as to how to do so effectively. With the assumption that as perceptions of a school leader's trustworthiness improve teachers will be more likely to place their trust in that school leader, this research seeks to clarify how Ugandan headteachers improve teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. In particular, we examined how specific types of headteacher visibility related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness. This qualitative research used grounded theory methodology to interpret and analyze the interview responses of 28 Ugandan secondary school teachers in eight schools in Mukono District, Uganda. Findings from this research suggest that teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness were strongly related to the level of risk and formality of headteacher visibility. Additional findings suggest that perceptions of both relational and competence trustworthiness of headteachers are influenced by differences in teacher and headteacher personal characteristics. The final finding indicates that certain types of headteacher visibility moderate the influence of teacher characteristics on perceptions of trustworthiness. These findings can inform school leaders about how to improve teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness. The grounded theory model presented provides opportunities for building and testing additional theory concerning the relationship between school leader visibility and teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness.

Background

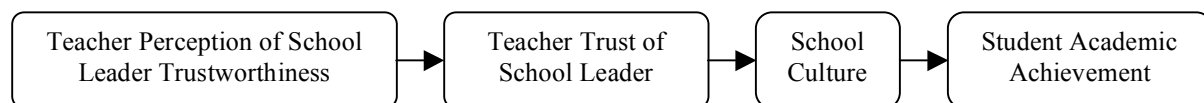
As increased pressure and accountability for student performance is placed on schools globally, school leaders throughout the world must understand their critical role in improving schools and influencing student achievement. While school leaders have very little direct influence on student achievement, they can indirectly influence students' progress by supporting those in the school who work most directly with the students: classroom teachers (Marzano, Waters & McNulty, 2005). School leaders realize that how they spend their time is important to teachers and students (Leithwood, Seashore Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004). But unfortunately school leaders "may not be adjusting their practice in ways that truly benefit [them]" (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003, p. 5) because they don't "know which features of their organizations should be a priority for their attention" (Leithwood et al., 2004, p. 14).

When considering the many ways they can support teachers, school leaders can examine what they are doing to build cultures of trust within their schools (Hoy, Tarter, & Witkoskie, 1992). Trust is one of the main elements that allows work within organizations to be possible (Sitken & Stickel, 1996). It is both the glue that holds organizations together (Morgan & Hunt, 1994) and the lubricant that allows those organizations to run smoothly (Arrow, 1974). Trust enhances innovation (Zander & Kogut, 1995), collaboration (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998), and knowledge transfer (Leana & Pil, 2006), within organizations in general and specifically within schools (Tschannen-Moran, 2004). Bryk and Schneider (2002, p. 116) state that "trust fosters a set of organizational conditions, some structural and others social-psychological, that make it more conducive for individuals to initiate and sustain the kinds of activities necessary to affect productivity improvements."

Research done in the U.S. has provided evidence of a positive relationship between overall trust levels in a school and increased student achievement (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001). Increased teacher trust of the school leader indirectly contributes to student academic achievement primarily by improving the overall school culture (Day et al., 2007). Other research done in the U.S. has found that teacher trust of the school leader directly strengthens three important areas of school culture that are, in turn, directly related to student achievement: teacher trust of other teachers at the school (Forsyth, Barnes, & Adams, 2006), the school's academic emphasis (Goddard, Hoy, & Woolfolk Hoy, 2000), and collective teacher efficacy (Goddard, Sweetland, & Hoy, 2000).

With the assumption that teachers will be more willing to place their trust in a school leader they perceive as trustworthy (Hardin, 2001; Solomon & Flores, 2001), we will examine some of the factors that influence teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness. This improvement of trust would in turn influence school culture and thus eventually student achievement (Figure 1). We specifically examine how headteacher visibility teacher characteristics influence the perceptions of the relational and competence trustworthiness that Ugandan secondary school teachers have of their headteachers (school-level leaders in Uganda). Our intention is that the insights gained from this research could help Ugandan headteachers in their trust-building efforts, as well as inform school leaders in other geographical contexts.

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework of Perceptions of Trustworthiness, Trust, School Culture, and Student Achievement



Research Context

It is reasonable to ask how a study about teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness in a developing country in Sub-Saharan Africa might be useful to school leaders in that location and also to leaders in more economically developed parts of the world. Although headteachers in Uganda do not necessarily face the same specific challenges as school leaders in more developed countries, they do face many similar challenges. Of interest more globally is the magnitude, not necessarily the kind of challenges and opportunities faced by Ugandan headteachers in their resource-challenged setting, and the importance of the relationship between a headteacher's actions and teachers' perceptions of this leader's trustworthiness. So much research seeks to decontextualize its findings in order to better generalize to other contexts; this research hinges on the "power of contexts" (Berliner, 2002, p. 19) to bring problems faced by school leaders in Uganda to a clear forefront. Findings and conclusions generated by examining this challenging context may be relevant in geographical contexts where circumstances differ but human nature generates commonalities.

School leaders in other contexts may be particularly interested to discover how Ugandan headteachers build trust in a highly competitive educational environment. For several years, the success and continued existence of Ugandan schools have been largely contingent on student test scores. In addition, with the advent of Universal Secondary Education in 2007, many more Ugandan secondary-aged students have been able to attend school, necessitating the building of many more secondary schools and resulting in an extremely competitive environment between schools (Liang, 2002). This recent proliferation of secondary schools means that many fairly new Ugandan headteachers are going through the initial stages of the trust-building process with their teachers, while simultaneously facing the intense pressures of enhancing student achievement at

schools with very few physical resources (Hallam, Hite, Hite, & Mugimu, 2010). Consequently, many school leaders who also find themselves in an increasingly competitive environment may find that Uganda provides a context for examining how leaders' actions influence teachers' perceptions of their trustworthiness, particularly in a highly competitive environment with few physical resources. Thus, while building trust in a competitive environment is a challenge faced by school leaders in other contexts, the visible influence of the school leader is highlighted by the very magnitude of this challenge in the Ugandan context.

Definitions and Types of Trust

This research focuses primarily on how school leaders build interpersonal trust with teachers by improving teachers' perceptions of trustworthiness in the school leader. General definitions of trust emphasize the concepts of dependence, vulnerability, risk, and reliability between parties (Gambetta, 2000; Rotter, 1967). Interpersonal trust in an individual is based primarily on the perceptions of trustworthiness gained from personal experience with that individual (Hite, 2003). In education, one of the most common definitions of interpersonal trust is given by Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000, p. 556): "Trust is one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on confidence that the latter party is (a) benevolent, (b) reliable, (c) competent, (d) honest, and (e) open."

For the purposes of this research, it is important to understand the distinction between *trust*, *perceptions of trustworthiness*, and *trustworthiness*. *Trust* exists when followers are willing to make themselves vulnerable to the leader because the followers perceive that leader to be trustworthy. *Perceptions of trustworthiness* stem from followers' judgments about the leader's competence, reliability, honesty, benevolence, and openness. *Trustworthiness* is the actual level at which the leader is competent, reliable, honest, benevolent, and open (Cook, Hardin, & Levi,

2005; Elsbach, 2004; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007; Solomon & Flores, 2001). Because trustworthiness itself is somewhat difficult to assess directly, we often must rely on our perceptions of trustworthiness. Not surprisingly, as followers' perceptions of leader trustworthiness improve, the likelihood that the followers will be willing to actually be vulnerable to that leader increases (Elsbach, 2004). "*Trustworthiness commonly begets trust . . .* Hence, if something conceptually entails or causes trustworthiness, then indirectly it tends to cause trust" (Hardin, 2001, p. 17).

Researchers tend to divide the foundations upon which *perceptions* of interpersonal trustworthiness rest into two general categories (Barber, 1983; Cook et al., 2005; McAllister, 1995). The first is based on perceptions of ability, competence, and integrity, discerned primarily through cognition. The second is based on perceptions of benevolence, goodwill, openness, positive relationships, and motivations, discerned primarily through affect and emotion (Edwards, 1990; Lewis & Weigert, 1985). We have followed a similar pattern in this research by dividing interpersonal trust into two categories: competence and relational trustworthiness. Table 1 summarizes how we divided Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) facets of trust into these two categories.

Perceptions of competence trustworthiness stem from followers' perceptions that their leaders have the character to honestly and reliably employ their knowledge and skills to effectively lead the organization (Cook et al., 2005; Solomon & Flores, 2001). While school leaders cannot be experts with regards to every problem and circumstance they face, they can seek to increase follower confidence that they are competent by increasing the extent of interaction, the ease of interaction, the effort invested in the interaction, and the value provided by the interaction (Hite, 2003). Working to improve and increase the value of the interaction

between parties influences the followers to increasingly trust in the competence of the leader (Hite, 2003). As followers have confidence in a leader's competence, reliability, and honesty, those followers are likely to be more willing to make themselves vulnerable to that leader (Tyler & DeGoey, 1996).

Table 1

Definitions of Competence and Relational Trustworthiness Facets Used in This Study

Facets of Competence Trustworthiness

Competence

The extent to which the other party has knowledge and skill

Reliability

The extent to which one can count on the other party

Honesty

The character, integrity, and authenticity of the other party

Facets of Relational Trustworthiness

Benevolence

The extent to which one's well being will be protected by the other party

Openness

The extent to which the other party does not withhold information

Perceptions of relational trustworthiness are based on followers' ability to discern that the leader likes them, cares about them, knows them well personally, and is open with them (Hite, 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). A belief that the trusted party acts for the well-being of the trusting party, rather than for egocentric motives, is central to conceptions of relational trustworthiness (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Perceptions of relational trustworthiness rely on the importance of positive behaviors and intentions between parties, but also the lack of negative behaviors and intentions (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998). In contrast to perceptions of competence trustworthiness, perceptions of relational trustworthiness are often discerned

through emotion rather than reason (Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005). Perceptions of relational trustworthiness can be strengthened over time through sustained interactions that allow emotional attachments to form based on perceptions of reciprocal care and concern (Rousseau et al., 1998).

Research done in the U.S. indicates that followers' willingness to make themselves vulnerable to the leader may be based on a combination of perceived relational and competence trustworthiness, and the strength of these perceptions may vary from follower to follower and from situation to situation (Mayer et al., 1995). McAllister (1995) found that in general followers' perceptions of leader competence trustworthiness is higher than perceptions of relational trustworthiness, and claimed that some level of perceived competence trustworthiness must exist for perceptions of relational trustworthiness to develop. Yet, followers' willingness to actually be vulnerable to a leader has been found to be more dependent on perceptions that the leader is relationally trustworthy as opposed to competently trustworthy (Tyler & DeGoey, 1996). Blake and MacNeil (1998) found that in U.S. schools, school leaders tended to trust teachers based on perceptions of teachers' competence trustworthiness, while teachers' willingness to actually trust in the school leader relied more heavily on perceptions of school leader relational trustworthiness.

In examining the order in which perceptions of trustworthiness develop, studies in more developed countries provide mixed findings; some found that perceptions of relational trustworthiness preceded perceptions of competence trustworthiness (Ballinger & Schoorman, 2007; Schoorman et al., 2007), while others found just the converse (Holmes & Rempel, 1989; McAllister, 1995). Recent studies in the Ugandan context found that teachers' perceptions of

headteacher competence trustworthiness preceded perceptions of relational trustworthiness (Hallam, Boren, Hite, Hite, & Mugimu, in press; Hallam, Hite, Hite, & Mugimu, 2009).

Factors Related to Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness

While many factors may influence teachers' perceptions of leader trustworthiness, this research will consider the factors of teacher characteristics and leader visibility. School leaders will likely find that some teachers seem more willing to trust than others. Schoorman and colleagues (2007) refer to this as an individual's propensity to trust, which is based on his or her personality, culture, and experience. Regarding the influences of personality on an individual's propensity to trust, some believe that all individuals are born with different propensities to trust (Baier, 1986), while others argue that this propensity is formed throughout our lives by our experiences (Hardin, 2002).

With respect to culture and experience, a common assertion is that people perceive higher levels of trustworthiness among those whom they deem to be more similar to themselves (Zucker, 1986), and regard people less similar to themselves with suspicion (Kipnis, 1996). This phenomenon, known as *social similarity*, often results in a *leniency bias* in which people give those whom they perceive to be similar to themselves the benefit of the doubt when mistakes are made, while no such leniency is offered when the parties are thought to be dissimilar (Brewer, 1995). Of specific interest to this study, results from one scale found that 60.9% of Ugandan participants claimed they would trust those of similar ethnicity, while only 39% said they would trust those of a different ethnicity (Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner, & Weinstein, 2009). In addition to demographic similarity, perception of comparable experience also seems to correspond with improved perceptions of trustworthiness. Elsbach (2004, p. 279) explains that "the revelation that one is similarly 'human' to one's audience, that is, that one possesses the

same human emotions, limits, or failings . . . may improve perceptions of trustworthiness” by convincing followers that the leader is from the same in-group. While social similarity may indeed influence perceptions of trustworthiness, over time people tend to rely on their first-hand experiences with the other party as their primary source for determining trustworthiness (McAllister, 1995).

When considering how to influence perceptions of trustworthiness, school leaders may realize that they have very little influence over teachers’ personality, culture, or even prior experience; however, they may have a substantial impact on teachers’ future experiences. Thus, how school leaders choose to visibly interact with teachers is potentially one of the most important things they do to improve perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness, because it is one area over which school leaders have a large amount of control. A prominent theme throughout trust research is the important influence that regular interactions can have on perceptions of trustworthiness (Cook et al., 2005; Elsbach, 2004; Kochanek, 2005). Within U.S. schools, the combined effect of interactions between parties has been found to have a greater influence on teacher perceptions of leader trustworthiness than the combined effect of individual teacher characteristics (Adams, 2008). In another study done in the U.S., McAllister (1995) found the frequency of interaction between the subordinate and the leader to be positively associated with the subordinates’ perceptions of leader relational trustworthiness. Additionally, school leaders’ visible interaction with teachers is considered a primary avenue for effectively improving teachers’ perception of school leader trustworthiness (Deal & Peterson, 1994; Tschannen-Moran, 2004). School leader visibility could include but is not limited to any time the teacher sees, hears, or is aware of the influence of the school leader. In the U.S., different types of visibility seem to be more appropriate at different stages in the trust-building process (Kochanek, 2005).

Particularly relevant to this study is qualitative research recently done in Uganda which explained how different types of headteacher visibility were related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness (Hallam et al., in press).

As teachers' perceptions of school leader trustworthiness improve, those teachers will likely place more trust in that school leader. However, "one of the major puzzles in the work on trust is how we determine who is trustworthy when there is little evidence on which to base judgments" (Cook, Levi, & Hardin, 2009, p. 5). While ample evidence indicates that perceptions of trustworthiness directly influence levels of trust, evidence is limited on how those perceptions are influenced through the visible interactions of school leaders with their teachers (Elsbach, 2004).

Research Questions

With the desire to better understand how to improve teachers' perceptions of the school leader's trustworthiness, as well as to inform overall theory development concerning teacher trust of the school leader, we explored the following research questions in the Ugandan context:

- *How do teacher characteristics relate to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness?*
- *How does headteacher visibility relate to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness?*
- *How do teacher characteristics relate to the influence of headteacher visibility on teachers' perceptions of headteacher competence and relational trustworthiness?*

Methods

We used qualitative methods to address the questions posed in this study. Existing literature provides sufficient evidence that individual teacher characteristics along with teacher-

leader interactions influence the trust teachers place in their leaders. Referring to the extant trust literature in education, Adams (2008, p. 49) asserts that “quantitative methods predominate in the literature and they have carried us to this stage in our understanding of trust, but it is time for qualitative designs and mixed methods to add value to the growing evidence.” Much of our current understanding identifies the importance of visibility and trust; this research adds value by exploring which specific types of headteacher visibility influence perceptions of relational and competence trustworthiness among teachers with varying characteristics.

Sampling and Data Collection

For this study we used an existing data set from research done by Hallam and colleagues (in press). That qualitative study implemented a purposive, non-randomized maximum variation sampling design (Patton, 1990). The schools were stratified by size (larger or smaller than 500 students), type (government or private), and urbanicity (urban or rural), which resulted in eight school categories, with one school selected from each category, for a total of eight schools in the sample. Permission was obtained from the headteacher of each selected school to interview four teachers with respect to headteacher behaviors and perceptions of trustworthiness. The aim of the maximum variation sampling was to interview two male and two female teachers, each stratified by the total years of teaching experience (more or less than three years). Headteachers had no influence on which teachers were selected. Rather, we identified available teachers from each of the desired strata by visiting faculty rooms and the campus in general, and then selected teachers based on their willingness and availability to participate in the research. Considering the many challenges and limitations in sampling and collecting data in a developing country, a reasonably diverse group of 28 teachers was interviewed (Table 2).

Table 2

Teacher Gender and Teaching Experience

Teacher Gender	Mean Yrs. Teaching	Median Yrs. Teaching	0-3 Yrs. Experience	3+ Yrs. Experience
Female (n=12)	8.5	5.5	2	10
Male (n=16)	5.7	4	7	9

Data were collected in a one-on-one session between a researcher and the participating teacher. Each research session consisted of three parts: obtaining informed consent from each participant, helping the participant fill out a demographic questionnaire, and conducting a face-to-face interview. The questionnaire and interview items were subject to peer and expert review prior to administration. During the 30-60 minute interviews, teachers were asked to respond to standard, introductory questions about school effectiveness, as well as semi-structured interview questions involving their perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness and headteacher visibility.

Data Analysis

Analysis for this study was based on grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in a post-positivist paradigm (Phillips & Burbules, 2000), and employed a constant comparative method (CCM) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The theory development in this study relied largely on CCM, in which within- and cross-case comparisons were made throughout the data analysis process at both the teacher and school levels. Each level of comparison was operationalized by employing the basic framework for qualitative analysis proposed by Marshall and Rossman (1999): organizing the data, generating categories, themes, and patterns, coding the data (open, axial, selective), modeling and testing emergent understandings, searching for alternative explanations, and writing the report.

During this analytic process several themes began to emerge (based on a threshold of at least 50% of the cases), which led to a preliminary conceptual model that represented our emergent understandings about what the teachers were saying. We then tested these emergent understandings by making additional within- and cross-case comparisons using text and matrix queries (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first overall conceptual model represented our initial grounded theory and provided the framework for more in-depth analysis, which allowed us to search for alternative explanations, as well as further refine our model into a grounded theory.

Findings

In operationalizing the first level of analysis in CCM, we specifically looked for and coded teacher references to a perception of the headteacher possessing one or more of the facets of competence trustworthiness (competence, honesty, and reliability) and relational trustworthiness (benevolence and openness). We also combed the interviews for instances when teachers mentioned that they had actually made themselves vulnerable to the headteacher in some way or were at least willing to do so. We then searched for any text in which the facets of relational and competence trustworthiness overlapped with examples of teachers willing to make themselves vulnerable to the headteacher. One teacher who perceived *low relational trustworthiness* in the headteacher said,

He's the type who is not very clear and... he's not that type of free person that we can chat and sit and openly talk to. And when you are talking, sometimes you have to think twice before you say some things. You may be misunderstood. (S5T1: 70-74)¹

A teacher who perceived *high relational trustworthiness* in the headteacher commented,

Note: Teacher quotes will be cited by indicating the school number, teacher number, and lines from interview transcription. Thus this quote was taken from lines 70-74 of Teacher 1 at School 5.

I like the ways of the headmaster particularly. I think he's one of the best headteachers I've met. The kind of guy you sit down and talk and the kind of person that people don't fear. You know there's nothing like fear. You meet him and sit down and talk. He's a calm guy. He doesn't bark at people, no. He's someone good. (S7T3: 7-11)

Selections such as these guided us in assigning each teacher a low, medium, or high designation regarding perceptions of relational and competence trustworthiness. This allowed us to identify the number and percentage of teachers at each perception level. A general pattern that emerged in this Ugandan context was that a large percentage of teachers perceived high competence trustworthiness in the headteacher, while only about half of the teachers perceived high relational trustworthiness in the headteacher (Table 3). This finding was similar to McAllister's (1995) findings in the U.S. that in general, perceptions of competence trustworthiness are higher than perceptions of relational trustworthiness.

Table 3

Percentage of Teachers Found at Each Trustworthiness Perception Level (n=28 teachers)

Teacher Level of Perception	Relational Trustworthiness	Competence Trustworthiness
Low	11%	0%
Medium	43%	25%
High	46%	75%

Teacher Characteristics and Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness

Teacher characteristics emerged as an important theme in understanding how perceptions of trustworthiness differed among the interviewed teachers. Using both attribute data from the questionnaire given to teachers and textual data from the interviews, we were able to discern

whether there were patterns of correspondence between particular teacher characteristics and perceptions of trustworthiness. We found that similarity in teacher and headteacher age, gender, and tribe all corresponded positively to higher perceptions of headteacher *relational trustworthiness*. For example, one younger teacher explained how his similarity in age with the headteacher facilitated his interaction with him: “Our headteacher is quite a young man and interacting with him is quite easy . . . where I worked before . . . the headteacher was a lot older . . . and some of the interaction it’s not very easy” (S6T4: 60-62). While similarity of age and tribe also corresponded positively with higher perceptions of headteacher *competence trustworthiness*, gender similarity had a negative correspondence to perceptions of headteacher *competence trustworthiness*. It may be important to note that in this data set all of the headteachers were male (not particularly unusual for Ugandan secondary schools), and all of the selected teachers were of an age similar to or younger than the headteacher.

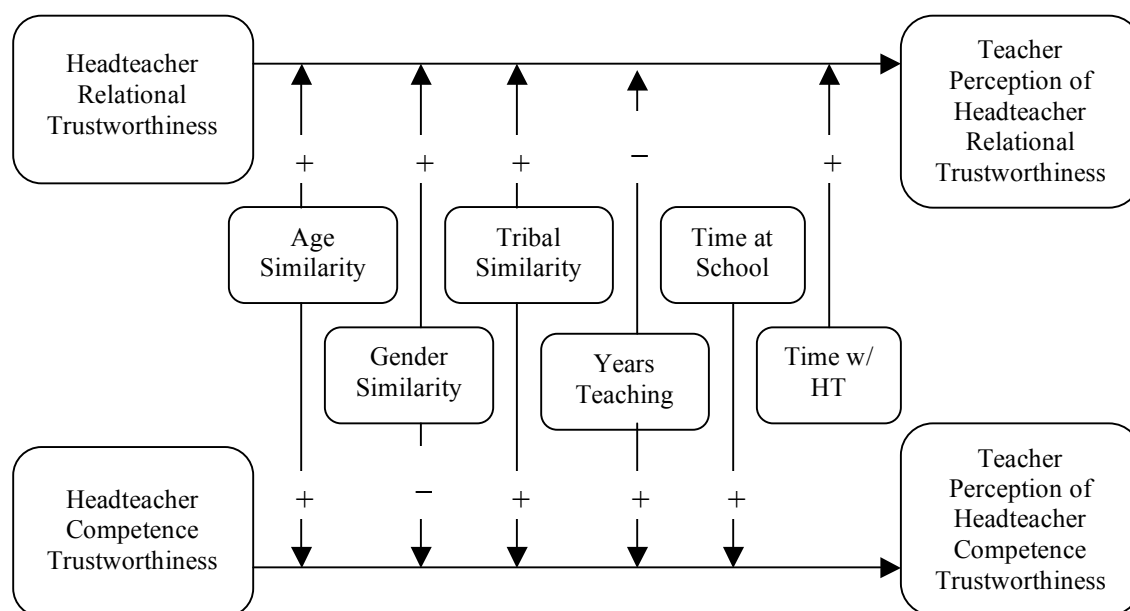
Teachers’ previous experience was another important consideration. The amount of time a teacher had been with the headteacher, the amount of time a teacher had been at the school, and the number of years a teacher had been teaching all varied in how they corresponded with teachers’ perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness (Figure 2). Consistent with Elsbach’s (2004) findings, similarity of teacher/headteacher experiences also seemed to correspond with teachers’ perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. One teacher explained how her headteacher’s previous work in a rural school improved her perceptions of the headteacher’s competence:

When he told us his experience, some of us started identifying with him in that he was coming from a school which was more or less like this oneIt helped us because we saw him as someone now who understands the situation . . . having come from the same

background. . . . He knows how to handle rural people. He knows how to handle children . . . from poor families (S3T1: 197-246).

Headteachers in Uganda often also have a teaching load, and one teacher explained how this improved his perceptions that the headteacher could competently address teacher concerns: “He knows exactly what you go through as a classroom teacher. He does not sit back and watch from above. And when you talk about the problem of overcrowding in a classroom, he knows because he’s been there” (S5T3: 174-178).

Figure 2. Relationship Between Teacher Characteristics and Perceptions of Headteacher Relational and Competence Trustworthiness



While these findings correspond with previous findings in the U.S. (Schoorman et al., 2007) and Uganda (Habyarimana et al., 2009) with respect to the influence of social similarity on perceptions of trustworthiness, they provide additional insight into the directionality of influence of specific characteristics in this study. These findings also suggest that as

headteachers participate in experiences similar to those of their teachers, the teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness will likely improve. Future research may more pointedly examine *why* certain characteristics correspond to higher and lower perceptions of relational and competence trustworthiness.

Headteacher Visibility and Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness

While the previous section provided insight regarding some of the variables over which headteachers may have limited control (social similarity and experience), this section focuses on one variable over which school leaders have substantial control—the nature and extent of their own visibility and interaction with teachers. Previous research done in Uganda (Hallam et al., in press) examined how the following variables of headteacher visibility were related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness (Table 4).

Table 4

Types of Visibility

Visibility Variable, Type, & Definition

Visibility risk level (Kochanek, 2005)

High Risk: work-related in nature, focuses primarily on changing or improving teacher practice

Low Risk: social in nature, does not focus primarily on changing or improving teacher practice

Visibility formality (Hallam et al., in press)

Scheduled: time scheduled and known to both teacher and headteacher

Unscheduled: time not scheduled or known to teacher

Visibility group size (Hallam et al., in press)

Individual: Interaction is between only the headteacher and the teacher

Group: Interaction is between the headteacher and more than one teacher or student

The first variable, risk level (high-risk, low-risk), aligns with Kochanek's (2005) ideas about the role of risk in the visibility of school teachers. Two additional variables, formality (scheduled, unscheduled) and group size (individual, group), emerged from the study by Hallam et al. (in press). Used dichotomously, these three variables create six different types of headteacher visibility. Patterns emerged in which these six types of visibility were related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher *relational trustworthiness*. In contrast, the researchers found no evidence that these same three variables related to teachers' perceptions of headteacher *competence trustworthiness*.

After looking at these variables of visibility separately, Hallam et al. (in press) then combined them into eight specific categories of headteacher visibility. They found only visibility risk level and formality to be related to perceptions of relational trustworthiness. For this reason, in this examination we have only considered combinations of visibility risk level and formality, but not group size (Table 5).

Applying the four resulting visibility types in Table 5 to each of the 28 teachers, a few patterns emerged. The first pattern was that perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness corresponded strongly only with low-risk unscheduled visibility. This pattern suggested that headteachers who spent more of their time engaging in low-risk unscheduled visibility improved perceptions of relational trustworthiness with a greater number of teachers. One teacher explained,

When he relates to the teachers in informal ways, it reduces the gap. Comes and talks and shares a joke, even when he's not coming to communicate anything, just comes and sits by and engages in conversation or becomes part of the conversation in the staff room. It kind of builds, it bridges the gap between the headteacher. (S5T3: 518-522)

Table 5

Examples of Visibility Types and Correspondence with Perceptions of Headteacher Trustworthiness

Visibility Type	Relational Trustworthiness Low-Medium (n=15)	Relational Trustworthiness High (n=13)	Competence Trustworthiness Low-Medium (n=7)	Competence Trustworthiness High (n=21)
<u>Low Risk Unscheduled</u> <i>Teacher Visits HT Office</i> <i>Drops by Classroom When Students not There</i> <i>School Grounds</i> <i>Visits or Calls Outside of School</i> <i>Faculty Room</i> <i>Expressing Appreciation</i>	67%**	100%**	14%	33%
<u>Low Risk Scheduled</u> <i>Teacher Visits HT Office</i> <i>Faculty Meetings</i> <i>HT Teaching a Class</i> <i>HT with Students</i> <i>Assemblies/Special Events</i> <i>Faculty Celebrations/Parties</i>	20%	23%	14%	14%
<u>High Risk Unscheduled</u> <i>Teacher Visits HT Office</i> <i>Checking Teacher Attendance</i> <i>HT Letter/Phone Call to Teacher</i> <i>School Grounds (Monitoring)</i> <i>Team Meeting Visits</i>	7%	15%	0%	5%
<u>High Risk Scheduled</u> <i>Teacher Visits HT Office</i> <i>Classroom Observations</i> <i>Plan Book Review Session</i> <i>Faculty Meetings</i> <i>Parent Meetings</i> <i>Team Meeting Visits</i>	40%	38%	14%	19%

Note: **indicates a visibility type that met the 50% threshold to be considered a theme of this research.

Another teacher explained how eating lunch with the headteacher provided the venue for the headteacher to be open with that teacher:

He can tell me about his personal life. I can tell him about my personal life, about my personal problems . . . He opened up to me, and because he opened up to me, he can tell me about his family. I also tell him about my family. (S6T3: 124-134)

If Ugandan headteachers are not sure how to spend their time, they may improve teachers' perceptions of their benevolence and openness with a large percentage of their teachers by employing low-risk unscheduled visibility.

In addition to low-risk unscheduled visibility, several teachers also mentioned the importance of *low-risk scheduled* visibility and its influence on their perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness; in particular, several mentioned faculty parties, faculty retreats, social gatherings, and headteachers' attendance at weddings, funerals, and graduations. One teacher explained: We normally have parties . . . and you know when you socialize informally, at a very informal level, then you can know your teachers. You build a relationship with your teachers as a headteacher" (S5T3: 199-203). When a headteacher attended one teacher's graduation, her perceptions of her headteacher's benevolence were enhanced: "He's there for every teacher I think. Like I had my graduation party this year . . . I thought he would be so busy with the school, but he managed to come. So I felt he had the heart to come" (S7T1:124-127).

A number of teachers also talked about the influence of *high-risk scheduled* visibility on perceptions of trustworthiness, particularly in the form of staff or departmental meetings:

I particularly like when we are having staff meetings. He asks for our views; 'What do you think?' . . . Because we are very free. You discuss . . . From the staff meetings you can go to the headmaster and tell him, 'I am thinking this would be like this' . . . He

listens when you are talking to him. He listens to the views of everyone. (S7T3: 173-192)

Several teachers also mentioned the headteacher checking lesson schemes (plan books), but fewer teachers mentioned the headteacher actually conducting formal classroom evaluations.

Another important pattern emerging from the data was that perceptions of headteacher *competence trustworthiness* did not correspond with headteacher visibility. Rather, perceptions of competence trustworthiness seemed to correspond more with school working conditions, as well as the formal qualifications and experience of the headteacher. Understanding how headteachers can influence teachers' perceptions of competence trustworthiness and recognizing how school-level variables influence perceptions of trustworthiness may be areas that would benefit from future research.

Headteacher Visibility, Teacher Characteristics, and Perceptions of Trustworthiness

Knowing that “the way trust unfolds will not be the same at all times and in all places” and that “it takes on different characteristics at different stages of a relationship” (Tschannen - Moran, 2004, p. 41), we then examined how headteacher visibility types were identified by teachers found at different trust level categories. Table 6 presents the percentage of teachers in each trust level category by type of visibility, possibly highlighting if certain types of visibility were considered more important to particular groups of teachers.

As the data in Table 6 show, the most obvious pattern that emerged is that *low-risk unscheduled* visibility was a theme for every teacher interviewed, regardless of social similarity or teacher experience. Low-risk scheduled visibility was discussed by a lower percentage of teachers than the other types, suggesting either that teachers notice this type less or that headteachers use this type of visibility less than the other types. However, low-risk scheduled visibility was shown to relate to characteristics more than some of more frequently mentioned

Table 6

Visibility Types with Teacher Characteristics

Teacher Characteristics	Low Risk Unscheduled	Low Risk Scheduled	High Risk Unscheduled	High Risk Scheduled
SOCIAL SIMILARITY				
<u>Age Similarity</u>				
Same (n=12)	100%	67%	67%	67%
5+ Yrs. Younger (n=16)	100%	50%	81%	88%
<u>Tribal Similarity</u>				
Same (n=13)	100%	38%	85%	85%
Different (n=15)	100%	53%	67%	73%
<u>Gender Similarity</u>				
Same (n=16)	100%	50%	75%	75%
Different (n=12)	100%	67%	75%	83%
TEACHER EXPERIENCE				
<u>Years Teaching</u>				
More Than 3 (n=19)	100%	47%	79%	79%
3 or Less (n=9)	100%	44%	67%	78%
<u>Years at School</u>				
More Than 3 (n=8)	100%	75%	88%	88%
3 or Less (n=20)	100%	50%	70%	75%
<u>Years with HT</u>				
More Than 1 (n=11)	100%	72%	82%	82%
1 or Less (n=17)	100%	47%	71%	76%

forms. For example, overall social similarity did not relate to any of the types of visibility, except in the case of teachers' tribal similarity and their identification of *low-risk scheduled* visibility as a theme.

Similarly, teacher experience demonstrated a pattern only in terms of low-risk scheduled visibility. While the number of years of teaching did not seem to indicate whether teachers would identify this type of visibility, teachers with more years at the school and more years working with the headteacher more frequently identified the headteacher as engaging in low-risk scheduled visibility, such as going out to lunch together or having a faculty social. This pattern suggests that the headteacher may feel more comfortable engaging in low-risk scheduled visibility with teachers who are more familiar with the school or with him. An alternative explanation may be that teachers with more local experience (at the school and with the specific headteacher) may feel more comfortable in requesting these types of interactions. Thus low-risk scheduled visibility may be related to teachers' local experience. One teacher who had been working at the same school with the same headteacher for several years explained, "We normally make annual parties, staff parties, outings that we normally organize. I for one organize them" (S6T2: 120-121). The headteacher's familiarity with this teacher may influence his willingness to delegate this type of event to this teacher; additionally, this teacher's familiarity with the school and the headteacher may make him more willing to engage with the headteacher in low-risk scheduled visibility. As they work to improve teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness, headteachers should be aware of how their visibility may differ, if not in actual time or degree, at least in perception, among teachers with different characteristics. Finally, given the clear pattern of *low-risk unscheduled* visibility being related to perceptions of relational trustworthiness (Table 5), we further examined how different types of visibility might

influence the moderating relationship that teacher characteristics and experience have on perceptions of trustworthiness (Figure 2). To do this we combined the results concerning the relationship between teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness and teacher characteristics (from Figure 2), headteacher visibility (Table 5), and the combination of teacher characteristics and visibility (Table 6) into Table 7, which highlights any relation that headteacher visibility may have on ways that teacher characteristics moderate perceptions of relational trustworthiness. Using the results from Figure 3, we would expect levels of perceived relational trustworthiness to correspond positively with age similarity, gender similarity, tribal similarity, and years teaching. We would also expect perceptions of relational trustworthiness to correspond negatively with time with the headteacher and have no correspondence with teacher time at the school. We would expect low-risk unscheduled visibility to emerge as a theme, and we would expect that social similarity and teacher experience would have little relation to the different types of visibility. Disregarding any cells not containing at least one correspondence of 50% or greater, we then examined whether the correspondences within the remaining cells followed the expected direction.

A few patterns emerged. First, as expected, similar to the results portrayed in Tables 5 and 6, most teachers discussed *low-risk unscheduled* visibility regardless of their characteristics or experience. There were no large discrepancies between the expected direction of correspondence and our results for this type of visibility. Second, *low-risk scheduled* visibility had the expected impact on most teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness, except for the correspondence with the amount of time a teacher had been at the school. Our previous results reported in Figure 2 indicated that we would expect the perceptions of relational

Table 7

Visibility Type by Relational and Competence Trustworthiness Level with Teacher Characteristics

Teacher Characteristic	Low-Risk Unscheduled		Low-Risk Scheduled		High-Risk Unscheduled		High-Risk Scheduled	
	Low-Medium Relational (n=15)	High Relational (n=13)	Low-Medium Relational (n=15)	High Relational (n=13)	Low-Medium Relational (n=15)	High Relational (n=13)	Low-Medium Relational (n=15)	High Relational (n=13)
<u>Age Similarity (+)</u>								
Same	60%	100%	20%	29%	0%	29%	40%	29%
5+ Yrs. Younger	70%	100%	20%	17%	10%	0%	40%	50%
<u>Gender Similarity (+)</u>								
Same	71%	100%	29%	22%	14%	22%	43%	44%
Different	63%	100%	13%	25%	0%	0%	38%	25%
<u>Tribal Similarity (+)</u>								
Same	80%	100%	0%	25%	20%	0%	20%	38%
Different	60%	100%	30%	20%	0%	40%	50%	40%
<u>Years Teaching (-)</u>								
More than 3	73%	100%	27%	38%	9%	13%	45%	25%
3 or Less	50%	100%	0%	0%	0%	22%	25%	60%
<u>Years at School (0)</u>								
More than 3	50%	100%	25%	50%	0%	0%	75%	25%
3 or Less	73%	100%	18%	11%	9%	22%	27%	44%
<u>Years with HT (+)</u>								
More than 1	75%	100%	25%	14%	25%	14%	25%	29%
1 or Less	64%	100%	18%	33%	0%	17%	45%	50%

Note: grey highlights indicate a possible discrepancy in expected correspondence directions.

trustworthiness to be the same for teachers with different amounts of time at the school; in this instance, it appears that low-risk scheduled visibility may moderate the influence of a teacher's time at the school on resultant perceptions of relational trustworthiness. *High-risk unscheduled* visibility appears to have little impact on perceptions of relational trustworthiness, let alone any moderating influence. Finally, *high-risk scheduled* visibility appears to have little moderating influence, except perhaps with respect to age similarity and years of teaching. Younger and newer teachers may come to the profession with the expectation that the headteacher will conduct formal evaluations through classroom observations or lesson book reviews and may look forward to the opportunity to then meet individually with the headteacher. Older, more experienced teachers may feel more threatened by such high-risk types of visibility. These results additionally suggest that if headteachers do plan on engaging in high-risk types of visibility, it may be in their best interest to first schedule times with the teachers.

In addition to the results reported in Table 7, other references to low-risk unscheduled visibility seem to communicate to teachers that the leader is “human” (Elsbach, 2004), enhancing perceptions of relational trustworthiness. One young female teacher, very new to the profession, to the school, and to the headteacher said,

I see him everywhere ...in the dining...with the cook in the kitchen...at the pitch...at the assembly...in his office...with the students... I think it breaks the wall that people think, ‘Oh he’s the headteacher. He’s almighty. He’s a semi-god’...But the fact that he goes out, I think that is giving the communication that, ‘Here I am. If you have anything to say or share or contribute for the betterment of the school, then please forward it’. (S5T2: 118-128)

Although this teacher is much younger and of a different gender than the headteacher, as well as very new to the profession, the visibility of the headteacher seems to have heavily influenced her perceptions of the headteacher's relational trustworthiness. Similar analyses suggested little if any moderating influence of headteacher visibility on teacher characteristics and perceptions of competence trustworthiness. Thus these findings suggest that some types of headteacher visibility may act as a moderating variable on the relationship between teacher characteristics and teacher perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Discussion

Theoretical Implications

We used the findings as the basis for three theoretical propositions, which represent the claims of our grounded theory for the relationships between teacher characteristics, headteacher visibility, and perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. These propositions not only seek to provide answers to our original research questions, but are also meant to clarify relationships between constructs for future theory testing and refining. While our findings in this study correspond with much of the previous research, they also add depth to current understanding about trustworthiness, as well as highlight areas where future research could deepen our understanding.

Similar to McAllister's (1995) findings in the U.S., our findings suggest that teachers' perceptions of headteacher competence trustworthiness are generally higher than perceptions of relational trustworthiness. Our findings also correspond with Hallam et al.'s (2009) findings that Ugandan secondary school teachers' perceptions of headteacher competence trustworthiness precede perceptions of relational trustworthiness. These two findings might be explained in part by Ugandan schools being what Schoorman and colleagues (2007, p. 351) call an "action-

oriented, competitive, performance-oriented culture” where people initially place more emphasis on ability than benevolence. People in such action-oriented cultures also tend to trust strangers more readily, as their perceptions of trustworthiness are primarily based on qualifications and previous experience (Schoorman et al., 2007). Several teachers in our study mentioned the headteacher’s academic qualifications and previous experience in conjunction with their perceptions of competence trustworthiness.

Teachers’ perceptions of relational trustworthiness seemed to be moderated not only by teacher characteristics, but also by the visible interactions between teachers and headteachers. While our findings confirm those of Zucker (1986) in the U.S. and Habyarimana and colleagues (2009) in Uganda, where social similarity and experience correspond to perceptions of relational trustworthiness, they also add to our current knowledge by suggesting the directional influence that specific teacher characteristics and experiences have on perceptions of trustworthiness. Thus while in general social similarity and experience similarity tended to positively correspond with accompanying perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness, some types of social similarity and experience corresponded negatively or not at all. Thus we propose,

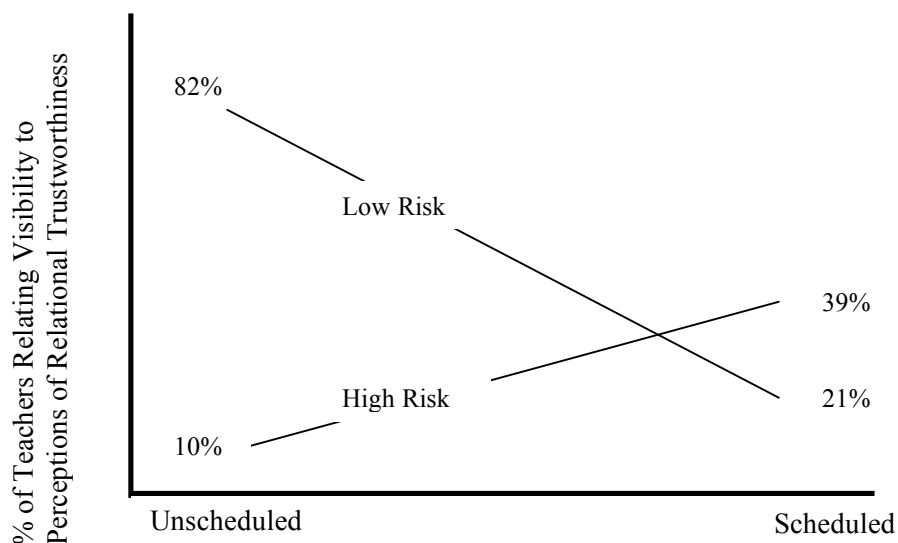
Proposition 1. The relationship between headteacher trustworthiness and teachers’ perception of headteacher trustworthiness is moderated by teacher/headteacher social similarity and teacher experience.

Confirming the findings of researchers in the U.S. (Deal & Peterson, 1994; Tschannen-Moran, 2004), this research found that teachers’ general perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness corresponded with overall perceptions of headteacher visibility. Similar to

Kochanek's (2005) findings in the U.S., we found that lower-risk visibility corresponded more strongly with perceptions of relational trustworthiness, but did not correspond with perceptions of competence trustworthiness. In addition, similar to the findings of Lewis and Weigert (1985) in the U.S., and those of Hallam and colleagues (in press) in Uganda, we found that interactions that are less formal and more social tend to improve teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Specifically, low-risk, unscheduled headteacher visibility corresponded positively with teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness. Both low-risk scheduled and high-risk scheduled types of visibility moderately corresponded with perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness. High-risk unscheduled visibility corresponded little if at all with teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness. It appears that as low-risk visibility is more scheduled, it has less of an impact on perceptions of relational trustworthiness, and as higher risk types of visibility are more scheduled they have a greater impact on perceptions of relational trustworthiness (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Perceptions of Relational Trustworthiness by Risk Level and Formality.



Future research in this area could do much to further refine, develop, and understand the types of visibility used in this research and presented by Hallam et al. (in press). In particular, we would be interested in research that explores the nexus of the risk-level lines presented Figure 3, which would provide an improved understanding of the interaction between the risk-level and formality of headteacher visibility. Thus, we propose,

Proposition 2a. Low-risk and high-risk scheduled headteacher visibility moderate the relationship between headteacher relational trustworthiness and teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Proposition 2b. As low-risk headteacher visibility becomes more scheduled, teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness decline. As high-risk headteacher visibility becomes more scheduled, perceptions of relational trustworthiness improve.

Finally, this research examined how specific types of headteacher visibility may have influenced the relationship of specific teacher characteristics with accompanying levels of perceived trustworthiness. Similar to McAllister's (1995) and Adams' (2008) general findings in the U.S., this research found the first-hand interactions of Ugandan teachers with their headteacher to be more influential than their personal teacher characteristics on perceptions of relational trustworthiness. Unique to this study was our finding that the influence of teacher characteristics on perceptions of relational trustworthiness often depended on the specific type of headteacher visibility employed. In addition, we identified how each type of headteacher visibility influenced the directional correspondence of specific teacher characteristics to

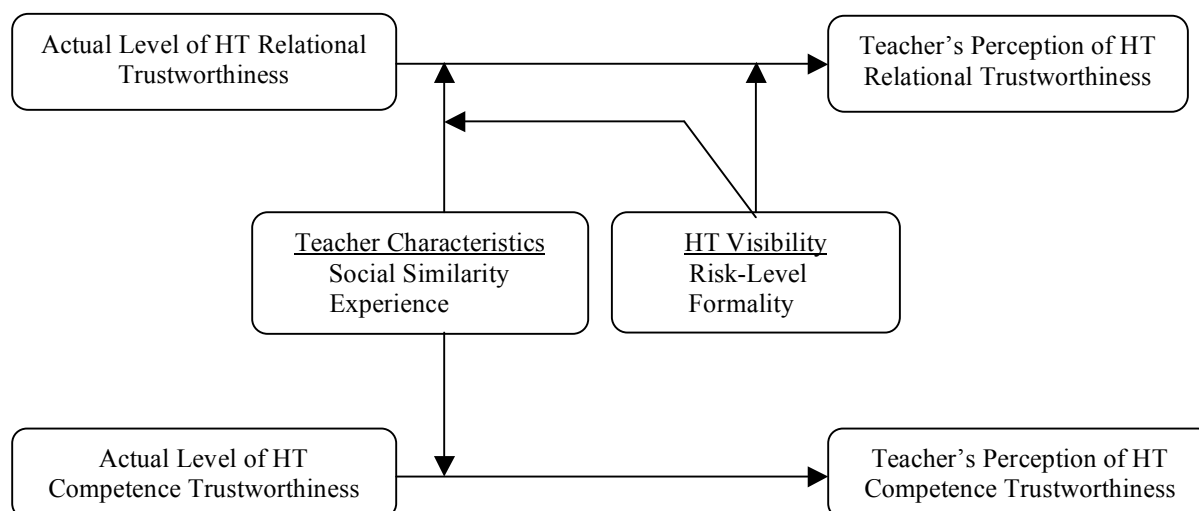
perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness. This identification of possible interaction between these variables leaves many areas of possible inquiry for future research.

Thus, we propose,

Proposition 3. Low-risk headteacher visibility and high-risk scheduled headteacher visibility moderate the influence of certain teacher characteristics on teacher perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Combining these propositions has resulted in a model representing our grounded theory (Figure 5). These Ugandan headteachers could be encouraged by these data suggesting that their efforts to visibly interact with their teachers can greatly contribute to improving teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness. Headteacher visibility that is lower risk or higher risk and scheduled may moderate the influences that different teacher characteristics have on teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Figure 4. Grounded Theory for Factors Influencing Teacher Perceptions of Headteacher Relational and Competence Trustworthiness



Practical Implications

While we leave it to readers and other researchers to determine transferability of these specific findings to other situations and contexts, the claims of this grounded theory have several possible implications for school leaders in general. First, school leaders should remember that building relationships with teachers takes time, and that while they can build relational and competence trust with any teacher, some may require more effort. The amount of time this trust-building process requires, as well as the level it reaches, may be influenced by variations in teacher/school leader social similarity and prior experience.

Although headteachers do not have much control over teacher/headteacher social similarity or teacher experiences, they do have substantial control over how they visibly interact with teachers. Of the many ways Ugandan headteachers could spend their time, visibility that is low-risk and unscheduled may improve teachers' perceptions of headteacher benevolence and openness with the greatest percentage of teachers. All of the teachers with high relational trust connected low-risk unscheduled visibility to their perceptions of headteacher benevolence and openness. One teacher clearly explained why this type of visibility is so essential:

Bridging that gap is very important. So if it means sharing lunch with the teachers just so they may feel, you know, like you are a colleague rather than an inspector or monitor, it means sharing in a meal with them. It means joining in a conversation. Those things matter. (S5T3: 575-579)

Ugandan headteachers seeking to build relational trust with teachers may benefit by deliberately maintaining an open office, taking time to listen to teachers, visiting the lunchroom, wandering the hallways, popping into classrooms for a quick chat with teachers, giving teachers a call when they are sick, attending a teacher's graduation, dropping by the faculty room to visit

with a group of teachers, or simply finding opportunities to express appreciation. In addition, visibility that is low risk and scheduled (faculty parties, retreats, social gatherings, graduations, etc.) as well as high risk and scheduled (faculty meetings, lesson plan reviews, etc.) may do much to improve discernments of teachers' perceptions of headteacher openness and benevolence. Very few teachers indicated that high-risk unscheduled visibility improved their perception of headteacher benevolence and openness, suggesting that headteachers may want to use caution when employing this type of visibility. As Ugandan headteachers find opportunities to employ visibility that is low risk, or high risk and scheduled, teachers' perceptions of headteacher benevolence and openness may improve, even in the presence of social dissimilarities and teachers' negative previous experiences. Low-risk unscheduled visibility lays the groundwork for improved perceptions of headteacher relational trustworthiness.

Future Directions

While this research has provided some potentially helpful insights for headteachers in their trust-building efforts, we realize that we are only at the cusp of the theory-building stage with these particular findings. We have presented a grounded theory that now needs to be tested and confirmed. Specifically targeted qualitative and quantitative investigations may prove useful in confirming more exact measures of both the direction and strength of relationships between the variables in our model, as well as investigating the theory's transferability to other contexts and cultures. Future qualitative research should seek to further understand *why* and *how* certain types of visibility influence perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness. Our data provide a snapshot of current trust levels and visibility types employed in one specific context. We can see great benefit in collecting and analyzing longitudinal data, which may increase and improve our understanding of the process of building teacher trust in school leaders over time.

We also see benefit in broadening the scope of this research. How do specific types of school leader visibility influence student and parent trust of the school leader, school leader trust of the teacher, or even reciprocal trust between parties? How do other teacher/school leader social similarities (religion, marital status, income level, etc.) and teacher experiences (number of schools, teaching content area, student test score levels, etc.) influence teacher trust of the school leader? What can school leaders do to influence teacher competence trust of the school leader? How aware are school leaders of the different types of visibility, as well as the impact of their use of each type of visibility? The answers to these and other possible questions will continue to inform school leaders as they seek to improve the achievement and culture of their schools by continually building interpersonal trust with teachers and others at school.

Conclusion

While school leaders do not always “know which features of their organizations should be a priority for their attention” (Leithwood et al., 2004, p. 14), building trust with teachers should be a main priority. . One teacher explained, “You cannot ignore the work of the teachers around here. That relationship is very, very, very important . . . because we are the ones interacting with the students” (S3T3: 484-485). The relationship between school leaders and their teachers can be substantially improved through school leader visibility that is low risk and unscheduled. School leaders may do well to remember the words of one Ugandan teacher with respect to the trust-building process:

The interaction between the teachers and the headteacher is very important. I think he should not only restrict himself to his office. . . He’s supposed to come to staff’s home, interact with the teachers, and I think the teachers should also go to his office and interact with him, and there they can build a good relationship with them. (S6T3: 94-97)

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the many financial and market challenges faced in Ugandan secondary schools, teachers continue to feel that improving their personal relationship with the headteacher is extremely important. School leaders in Uganda and elsewhere may find that their low-risk interactions with teachers improve perceptions of school leader relational trust with a substantial number of their teachers. This increased trust will likely result in teachers actually trusting more in the headteacher (Cook et al., 2005), contributing to a healthier school culture and higher levels of student achievement (Day et al., 2007).

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APPENDIX A: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

While the goals and outcomes of American public education are varied, the last ten years have seen an increased emphasis on schools demonstrating their ability to improve student academic achievement. Partially believing that student achievement is largely determined by how a school is run, some policymakers and stakeholders are seeking to hold school principals more accountable for student achievement (Fullan & Watson, 2000; Leithwood & Menzies, 1998; Wildy & Loudon, 2000). With the hope that school leaders will improve student learning, many state and federal policies have been designed with the very purpose of holding school leaders more accountable by either rewarding or sanctioning schools according to levels of student learning (Davis, Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, & Meyerson, 2005; Leithwood, Seashore Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004).

In order to receive a passing mark under No Child Left Behind (NCLB), schools must demonstrate students' Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in language arts and math. For the first two years that a Title I school does not make AYP, that school is labeled "in need of improvement," and should receive guidance and help from its school district in making improvements. After the third year that a Title I school does not make AYP, that school continues with the label of "in need of improvement," and the school is required to offer supplemental services such as student tutoring, or allow students to attend another school that is not labeled as "in need of improvement" (Hess & Kelly, 2005, p. 42). Such schools that continually fail to make AYP for four consecutive years are designated as being in *corrective action* and can experience a change of leadership, a restructuring of the school, and see the release of ineffective school employees. The final and most severe remedy comes when a Title I

school fails to make AYP for five consecutive years and then becomes subject to restructuring. Schools in this category can be taken over by the state, converted to charter schools, or operated by a private management firm (Hess & Kelly, 2005; Popham, 2004). Principals are therefore under increasing pressure to ensure that students in their schools perform well academically.

Principals' Direct and Indirect Effect on Student Achievement

If so much pressure and accountability to perform is placed on principals, it is essential for them to understand the factors that affect student achievement, as well as their role as the school leader in influencing those factors. Numerous studies have been dedicated to obtaining a better understanding of the factors affecting student achievement. Student academic achievement is affected by a complicated web of influential out-of-school factors, in-school factors, and interactions between those factors (Bransford, Darling-Hammond, & LePage, 2005; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005; Sirin, 2005; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1990). Parsing out the contributions of these factors and interactions can be difficult because “academic achievement at any point is a cumulative function of current and prior family, community, and school experiences” (Rivkin et al., 2005, p. 422). Some research done in the 1960’s and 1970’s (Armor, 1972; Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks et al., 1972) found that individual and family background characteristics were more influential than the institutional characteristics of schools in determining student achievement. Other researchers have found in-school characteristics to have as great or greater influence on student achievement as out-of-school characteristics (Borman & Dowling, 2006; Cook & Evans, 2000; Roscigno, 2000; Rumberger & Palardy, 2005; Sirin, 2005; Wang et al., 1990). While the interaction between out-of-school and in-school factors remains unclear, both sets of factors seem to be important influences on student achievement.

Principals could spend countless hours seeking to influence out-of-school factors over

which they have little control, but they will likely have a greater impact on student achievement by focusing on in-school factors over which they have more control. Some research indicates that principals do not have a direct effect on student achievement (Bosker & Witziers, 1996; Murphy, 1988; Scheerens & Bosker, 1997; Van de Grift, 1990; Van de Grift & Houtveen, 1999), while other research indicates that principals do exercise at least a small direct effect on student achievement (Bredeson, 1996; Day et al., 2007; P. Hallinger, Bickman, & Davis, 1996; P. Hallinger & Heck, 1996; P. Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Witziers, Bosker, & Kruger, 2003). While principals may conclude from this that they have very little direct influence over student achievement, they may be heartened to learn that there is evidence that principals can have a significant indirect effect on student achievement (Cotton, 2003; P. Hallinger et al., 1996; P. Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Leithwood & Riehl, 2003; Marzano, Waters, & McNulty, 2005; Scheurich, 1998; Valentine & Bowman, 1991). Hallinger and Heck argue that “although it is theoretically possible that principals do exert some direct effect on students’ learning, the linkage between principal leadership and student learning (as measured by school outcomes) is inextricably tied to the actions of others in the school” (1996, p. 24). In their study of school leadership, (Marzano et al., 2005) found that the total leader effect (direct and indirect) on student achievement accounted for nearly a quarter of all school-related effects.

Principals will likely exert the bulk of their influence by supporting those in the school who work more directly with students, namely teachers. Teacher quality consistently emerges as the most important in school factor in resultant levels of student achievement (Bransford et al., 2005; Rivkin et al., 2005; Sirin, 2005; Wang et al., 1990), and principals play a major role in hiring, supporting, and training teachers. In her synthesis of literature, Cotton found that “while a small portion of the effect may be direct—that is, principals’ direct interactions with students in

or out of the classroom may be motivating, inspiring, instructive, or otherwise influential—most of it is indirect, that is, mediated through teachers and others” (Cotton, 2003, p. 58). Hallinger, Bickman, and Davis (1996, p. 544) explain,

The fact that the principal’s effect on student achievement is indirect seems virtually irrelevant to us, since we assume that achieving results through others is the essence of managerial work (Bridges, 1970). More important, both for research and practice, is understanding the ways in which principals shape effective educational programs by working with teachers, staff, parents, and students. For the purposes of policy makers and practitioners, whether the principal’s influence on student learning is direct or indirect ought not to be of primary concern. Do principals make a difference? Yes, they do. Can researchers definitely measure that difference in terms of direct effects on student test scores? Probably not. Does that matter? Definitely not.

If principals want to have a greater influence on overall academic achievement in their schools, they should examine their own knowledge, skills, and behaviors, and how they affect those with a more direct influence on students. Leithwood and colleagues found that "there are virtually no documented instances of troubled schools being turned around without intervention by a powerful leader. Many other factors may contribute to such turnarounds, but leadership is the catalyst" (Leithwood et al., 2004, p. 5). Robinson, Lloyd, and Rowe (2008) found that different types of principal leadership have drastically different effects on student achievement, suggesting that how principals spend their time is definitely important to others in the school.

Principal Leadership – Where to Focus?

Armed with this knowledge that they can exercise an important and powerful influence in the school, principals should face each day knowing that how they spend their valuable time will

be important to teachers and students (Leithwood et al., 2004). Unfortunately, “principals may not be adjusting their practice in ways that truly benefit students and teachers” (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003, p. 5) because they don't "know which features of their organizations should be a priority for their attention" (Leithwood et al., 2004, p. 14). Aligned with the current president of the University Council of Educational Administration, this research assumes that “the national conversation has shifted from ‘whether’ leadership really matters or is worth the investment, to ‘how’—how to train, place and support high-quality leadership where it’s needed the most: in the schools and districts where failure remains at epidemic levels” (DeVita, 2007, p. 5). The general question motivating this research is one that could be asked by any principal: “I know that my teachers are the most important factor at school for affecting student achievement (Bransford et al., 2005; Rivkin et al., 2005; Sirin, 2005; Wang et al., 1990). How should I spend my limited time to ensure that my work with teachers has the greatest impact on students?”

While principals can approach their work with teachers in many ways, one area that must be a top priority is building trust with teachers. Teacher trust in the school leader has repeatedly emerged as one of the primary factors contributing to effective principal leadership (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth, Barnes, & Adams, 2006; Hoy, Tarter, & Witkoskie, 1992; Mitchell & Forsyth, 2005). Higher levels of teacher trust of the principal is common among schools with higher levels of student achievement (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2006; Hoy et al., 1992; Mitchell & Forsyth, 2005). While principals must take the lead in building relationships of trust with all stakeholders, principals should be sure they build relationships of trust with the teachers because teachers are the primary school factor affecting student achievement. As teacher-to-principal trust improves, so too does trust between and among the other stakeholders in the school (Hoy et al., 1992). In examining in-school factors important to schools, Barth

claims: “The nature of relationships among the adults within a school has a greater influence on the character and quality of that school and on student accomplishment than anything else” (2006, p. 9).

Teacher-to-principal trust (the one way dyadic trust that a teacher places in the principal) is primarily built over time as principals and teachers interact with each other in different ways. In examining this trust building process in their own schools, principals must be careful about which types of interactions they choose to use. Low-risk teacher-principal interactions are more conducive to building trust during the initial stages in the trust building process, while more high-risk interactions generally should not be used until later in the trust building process (Kochanek, 2005). While it is clear that these daily interactions with teachers are the primary avenue for effectively building teacher-to-principal trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Deal & Peterson, 1994; Kochanek, 2005; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994; Tschannen - Moran, 2004a), it is not very clear how different types of principal interactions affect levels of teacher-to-principal trust, and at what point in the trust building process different types of principal-to-teacher interactions are more appropriate. Of the many types of interactions in which principals can engage with teachers, this research focuses specifically on different ways the principal is visible with and around teachers and how different types of visibility affect teacher-to-principal trust.

Trust in Organizations

The effective functioning of democratic societies and organizations depends on the ability and willingness of individuals to voluntarily build and sustain trust (Putnam, 1993). The ability to trust contributes to a healthy personality (Barefoot et al., 1998; Erikson, 1963; Islam, Merlo, Kawachi, Lindstrom, & Gerdtham, 2006; Shaver & Hazan, 1994), and is the foundation for any stable society, market, or institution (Arrow, 1974; Zucker, 1986). While the presence of

trust is sometimes not noticed, like air, its scarcity or demise is quickly felt (Baier, 1986). Tschannen-Moran confirmed, “we tend to notice trust most when it has been damaged or destroyed” (2004a, p. 8). Trust has been extensively studied by researchers in psychology (Deutsch, 1960; Rotenberg, 1991; Rotter, 1967; Worchel, 1979), sociology (Gambetta, 1988), political science (Barber, 1983), economics (Axelrod, 1984; Fukuyama, 1995), anthropology (Ekeh, 1974), organizational behavior (Kramer & Tyler, 1996; Mishra, 1996), philosophy (Baier, 1986), and education (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Tschannen - Moran & Hoy, 2000).

Trust is one of the main elements that allows work within organizations to be possible (Sitken & Stickel, 1996). Trust is both the glue that holds organizations together (Morgan & Hunt, 1994) and the lubricant that allows those organizations to run smoothly (Arrow, 1974; Creed & Miles, 1996). Trust enhances innovation (Leana & Pil, 2006; Zander & Kogut, 1995), collaboration (Barnard, 1938; Blau, 1964; Bullen & Onyx, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Leana & Pil, 2006; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998), and knowledge transfer (Leana & Pil, 2006; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), both within organizations in general, and specifically within schools (Bryk & Schneider, 1996, 2002; Kochanek, 2005; Tschannen - Moran, 2004b).

Trust in Schools

Similar to other organizations, successful schools are built on the foundation of trusting relationships. Trust has been referred to as the foundation of school effectiveness (Cunningham & Gresso, 1993). There is some evidence of a positive relationship between interpersonal trust levels in a school and increased student achievement (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Leana & Pil, 2006; Tschannen - Moran, 2004a; Tschannen - Moran & Barr, 2004; Tschannen - Moran & Goddard, 2001). In their ten-year study of schools in Chicago, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that interpersonal trust within the school was an

essential factor in predicting which schools would have the greatest sustained academic gains. Student achievement was higher and more lasting in schools where general levels of interpersonal trust were higher. Goddard, et al. (2001) found that when controlling for a school's socioeconomic status, urban elementary schools with high levels of interpersonal trust also had higher levels of academic achievement in mathematics and reading. In Tschannen-Moran's (2004b) study of trust in 66 middle schools, she found that teacher trust of students, parents, and other teachers directly and significantly affected levels of student achievement in mathematics and reading.

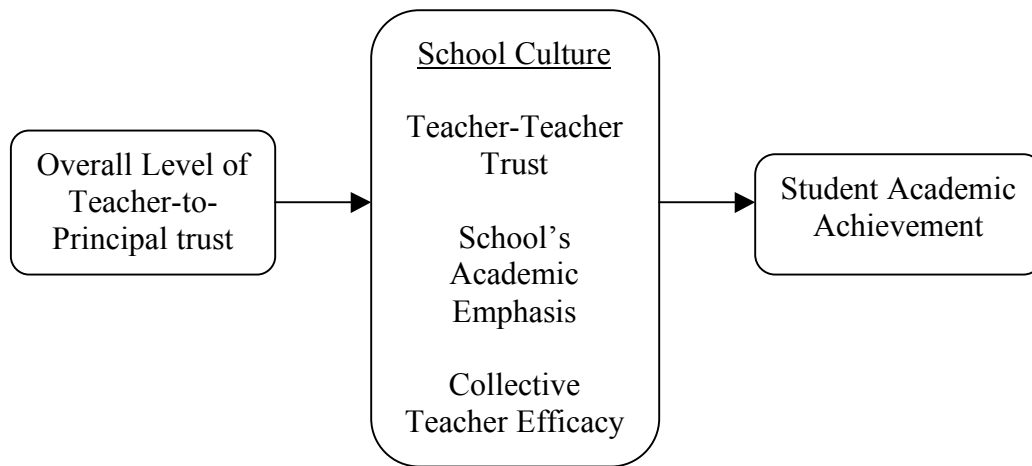
As schools seek to build cultures of trust, they can and should look to the principal for direction. Principals are primarily responsible for setting the tone for the school and must take the lead in building that trust (Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard, & Werner, 1998). School leaders are primarily responsible for creating the conditions and determinants of a trusting school climate and culture (Carnevele, 1988; Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991). Hoy and Kuper-Smith's (1985) findings support the claim that the school leader is the symbolic head of the school organization and is likely the most important person in developing an atmosphere of trust in the school. As principals take "the initiative to make [themselves] vulnerable by engaging in acts of trust, the hope is that they may be able to induce others to do the same" (Tschannen - Moran, 2004a, p. 25).

While the principal should seek to build interpersonal trust with all stakeholders at the school, it is especially important for there to be high levels of teacher-to-principal trust (Barth, 2006; Hoy et al., 1992). While trust in schools could be examined at many levels and between many different individuals, this research specifically examines the nature of one-way interpersonal trust at the dyadic level that individual teachers place in the principal. Empirical

research confirms that teacher trust of the principal is positively related to student achievement (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2006; Hoy et al., 1992; Mitchell & Forsyth, 2005). Increased teacher-to-principal trust indirectly contributes to student academic achievement primarily by improving the overall school culture. Trusting school cultures contribute to the overall organizational health of the school, which in turn greatly promotes student achievement (Day et al., 2007; Hoy & Hannum, 1997). Bryk and Schneider state that "trust fosters a set of organizational conditions, some structural and others social-psychological, that make it more conducive for individuals to initiate and sustain the kinds of activities necessary to affect productivity improvements" (2002, p. 116).

Teacher trust of the principal directly strengthens three important areas of school culture that are in turn directly related to student achievement: teacher trust of other teachers at the school, school academic emphasis, and collective teacher efficacy. Teacher trust of the principal is positively related to teacher trust of their colleagues (Hoy et al., 1992; Kochanek, 2005), which in turn is positively related to student achievement (Forsyth et al., 2006; Hoy et al., 1992; Tschannen - Moran, 2004b). Teacher-to-principal trust is positively related to both a school's level of academic emphasis and its collective teacher efficacy (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Empirical evidence confirms that a school's increased student achievement is consistently predicted by its levels of academic emphasis (Alig-Mielcarek & Hoy, 2005; Forsyth et al., 2006; Goddard, Sweetland, & Hoy, 2000) and collective teacher efficacy (Goddard, Hoy, & Woolfolk Hoy, 2000; Goddard, LoGerfo, & Hoy, 2004; Hoy, Sweetland, & Smith, 2002; Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999). Teacher trust of the principal is an important element for schools seeking to improve; it directly influences several components of school cultures that have a direct influence on student achievement (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Teacher-to-Principal Trust's Indirect Influence on Student Achievement



The Nature of Trust

General definitions of trust emphasize the concepts of dependence, vulnerability, risk, and reliability of one party (whether individual or organization) on another party. Prominent social psychologist Julian Rotter defined trust as “a generalized expectancy held by an individual that the word of another ... can be relied on” (1967, p. 651). Sociologist Diego Gambetta claimed: “When we say we trust someone or that someone is trustworthy, we implicitly mean that the probability that he will perform an action that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to us is high enough for us to consider engaging in some form of cooperation with him” (1988, pp. 217-218). Lewis & Weigert (1985) described trust as taking up a risky course of action with the confidence that those involved will act in a competent and dutiful way. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman explain that “trust is not taking risk *per se*, but rather it is a *willingness* to take risk” (1995, p. 712).

In education, one of the most common definitions of trust was given by Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000): “Trust is one party’s willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is (a) benevolent, (b) reliable, (c) competent, (d) honest, and (e) open” (2000, p. 556; see Table 1 to see the definitions and indicators of these facets of trust). While Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) use the word “facets” to describe these five characteristics of trust, the word “facet” seems to imply that those five characteristics are necessary components to trust. This research submits that even when the five facets can be present, trust can still be lacking, and that when the five facets are not present, trust can exist. Thus, it is possible that a teacher would not be willing to be vulnerable to the principal because that teacher may perceive low levels of the five facets in the principal, when in actuality, the principal may possess high levels of the five facets of trust. Regardless of actual levels of each facets, through their interactions with teachers, principals must instill confidence in teachers that the principal possesses the five facets of trust, which will likely result in teachers being more willing to make themselves vulnerable to that principal, thus increasing the level of trust of the principal (Figure 2).

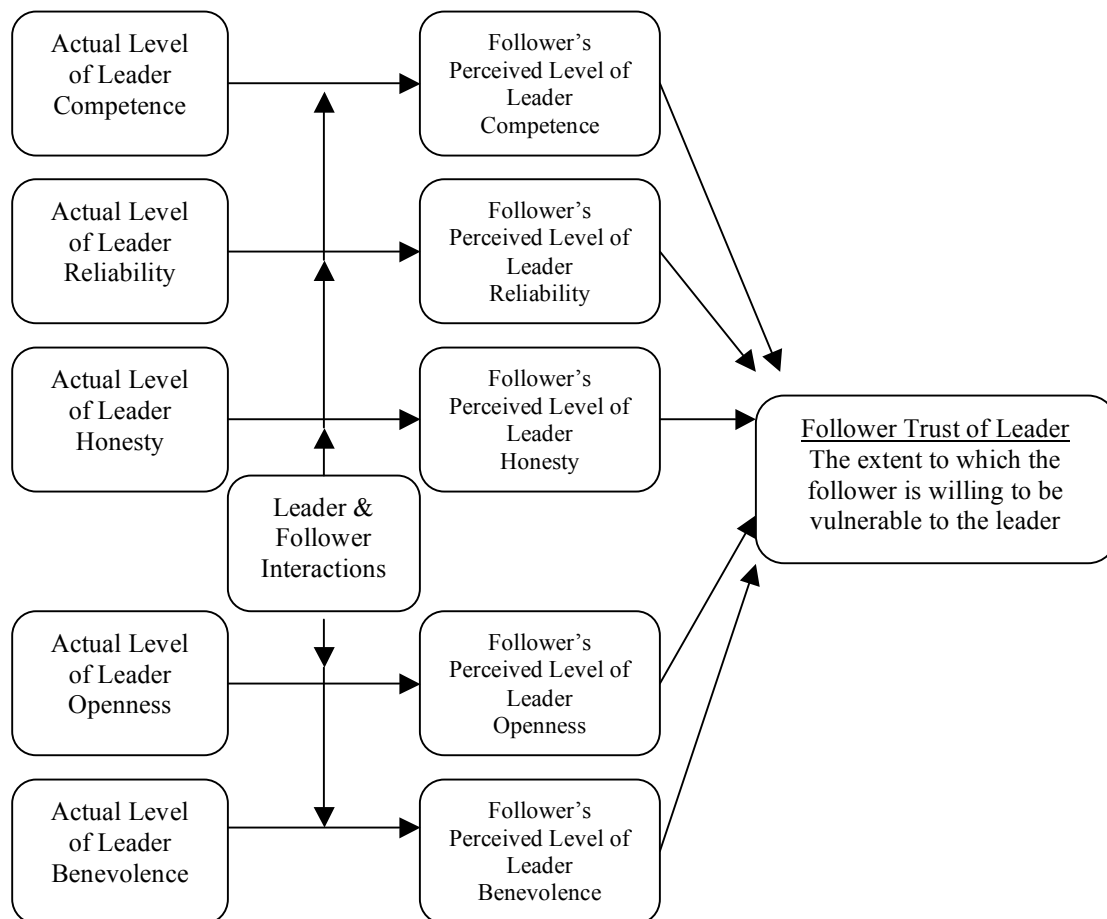
A more thorough investigation of whether these five characteristics would more appropriately be called factors or facets will be left for future research; however, because this research sees these five “facets” as factors that influence trust, the remainder of this research will refer to the “facets of trust” as the factors of trust. In sum, people within organizations depend on and are vulnerable to others, especially their leaders. Followers are more likely to take risks and be vulnerable to their leader, as they perceive and have confidence in greater levels of benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty, and openness in that leader.

Table 1

Definition and Indicators of Trust Factors

Factors of Trust & Definition (Hoy & Tschannen - Moran, 2007, p. 92)	Indicators of Factor Existence (Hallam, 2006; Tschannen - Moran, 2004a)
<p><i>Benevolence</i> Extent to which one's well being will be protected by the other party.</p>	<p>Caring, acting with fairness, equity, and empathy, using discretion, extending goodwill, being human, having positive intentions, expressing appreciation, supporting teachers, guarding confidential information, getting to know people on a personal level</p>
<p><i>Honesty</i> The character, integrity, and authenticity of the other party.</p>	<p>Acting with integrity, telling the truth, keeping promises, honoring agreements, being a good example, having authenticity, avoiding manipulation, being real, being true to oneself, accepting responsibility</p>
<p><i>Openness</i> The extent to which the other party does not withhold information.</p>	<p>Communicating openly and freely, making close personal connections, sharing important information, being approachable and accessible, promoting shared decision making, sharing power, collaborating</p>
<p><i>Reliability</i> The extent to which one can count on the other party.</p>	<p>Walking your talk, reducing anxiety in the face of change, taking action with substandard teachers, being: consistent, dependable, committed, dedicated, & diligent</p>
<p><i>Competence</i> The extent to which the other party has knowledge and skill.</p>	<p>Setting an example, engaging in problem solving, fostering conflict resolution (rather than avoidance), working hard, pressing for results, setting standards, handling difficult situations, being flexible</p>

Figure 2. Leader and Follower Interactions Moderate Actual Levels of Leaders' Trust Facets and Follower's Perceived Levels of Five Facets in the Leader



Types of Trust

While Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) definition of trust is rather comprehensive, there may be times when one party is willing to be vulnerable to another party with the absence of one or more of the five factors they list. One party may make themselves vulnerable to another party, confident in the other party's competence and reliability, but not confident in their benevolence. This research also recognizes that there are several different types of trust that can be examined at varying levels of analysis, but will only review those most relevant to this research: institutional trust, social trust, contractual trust, competency trust, and relational trust. Each type of trust plays an important role in the process of overall trust formation. While this research specifically examines the nature of one-way dyadic *interpersonal* trust that teachers place in their principal, it is important for organizational leaders to be familiar with several types of trust and understand why each is important.

The type of initial trust followers place in the leader may rely largely on the nature of their previous interactions with that leader (Hite, 2005). When followers have not had previous first hand interaction with the leader, they may base their initial confidence in that leader on institutional, social, or contractual trust. When followers have had previous first hand interaction with leader, they may base their initial confidence in that leader on their own experience through one of two types of interpersonal trust (or a combination of the two types): relational trust or competence trust.

Institutional Trust

When a follower has not had any first hand interaction with the leader, nor knows anyone that has had first hand interactions with the leader, the bulk of that follower's trust of the leader may rely on the follower's belief in the institution and its ability to hire a caring and competent

leader. Institutional trust plays a major role in education (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Rather than basing trust in schools on their ability to produce certain outcomes, much of the trust in public schools and their employees has been based on the legitimacy schools have been given as an institution (Scott & Davis, 2007).

Institutional trust is “predicated on the more or less unquestioning beliefs of individuals in the moral authority of a particular social institution... In such social systems, individuals give their trust unconditionally; they believe in the rightness of the system” (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 16). New leaders may initially rely on followers’ general belief and confidence in the institution to give them time to then build interpersonal trust based on leaders’ first hand interactions with followers through competence trust and relational trust.

Social Trust

Similar to institutional trust, followers' social trust of a leader does not rely on their first hand interactions or experience with the leader (Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000). Rather, social trust relies on the existence of social capital among individuals in a network, and the “assets that may be mobilized through that network” (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 243). Social capital among individuals makes more readily accessible the “networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 67). Thus, in the context of this research, social trust is demonstrated when a follower’s confidence in the leader is based on the recommendations of a trusted third party (Hite, 2003). If the follower has not had any first hand interaction with the leader, the follower places trust of the leader based on a trusted third party who has had first hand interaction with the leader (Hite, 2005). Williams (2001) demonstrated how the affective response of one individual or group affects their perceived level of trust with another individual or group. With respect to a

follower's trust of a leader with whom there has been no first hand interaction, a follower could say, "I trust Fred, and Fred trusts you, so I trust you."

In their study of 88 elementary and secondary schools, Leana and Pil (2006) examined how levels of social capital among principals, teachers, students, and parents affected student achievement. They found that schools with higher levels of internal social capital (between members within the organization) and external social capital (between the organization and stakeholders) had higher levels of student achievement in reading and mathematics. In his study of socioeconomically disadvantaged fourth graders, Goddard (2003) found that those attending schools with higher levels of social capital also had higher pass rates on mathematics and writing assessments. While social trust based on third party recommendations can be an important stepping stone for followers to take risks with leaders, first hand interpersonal trust may likely become more important to followers' levels of confidence in the leader over extended time.

Contractual Trust

Contractual trust is one of the many forms of governance between two interacting parties (Williamson, 1975). Research on inter-organizational exchanges and transactions through markets and intra-organizational hierarchies contribute greatly to our understanding of how contracts influence dyadic exchanges, and what role trust plays in such exchanges (Hennart, 1993; Masters, Miles, D'Souza, & Orr, 2004; Williamson, 1975, 1981; Williamson & Ouchi, 1981). For much of his early work on transaction cost economics (TCE), Williamson (1975) explained the governance of interactions between two parties (either between or within organizations or individuals) is based largely on market contracts (based primarily on prices) and hierarchical or employment contracts (based primarily on authority). Williamson and Ouchi (1981) agreed that a hybrid between markets and hierarchies could better explain some forms of

governance. Later work by Williamson and others have also acknowledged that while contracts lay an important foundation that should not be removed, networks, trust, and relationships also play an important transactional role in governing exchanges between parties (Bradach & Eccles, 1991; Poppo & Zenger, 2002; Powell, 1996; Williamson, 1993).

Because this research project focuses specifically on the dyadic interaction between teacher and principal within a school, this research will not discuss the market side of contracts, but will rather examine the influence of employment contracts that base their governance on hierarchical authority (Williamson & Ouchi, 1981). Employment contracts clearly establish basic actions that each interacting party will undertake, the scope of the work to be performed, and the resultant consequences if one party does not uphold the contract (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Contractual interactions often rely on legal and economic sanctions and appeal to the letter of an agreement (Brown & Ashenfelter, 1986; Williamson & Ouchi, 1981). While interactions based on contracts may not seem to employ the use of trust, contracts can reduce vulnerabilities and reduce the perceived risk of an exchange (Kochanek, 2005). Thus, when the willingness to be vulnerable is not based on the personal attributes of Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's five factors of trust (2000), contracts can increase one party's willingness to take risks with another party because a contract makes each party's obligations and expectations very clear, as well as clarifies the consequences that accompany those obligations (Kochanek, 2005).

Seeking to build and maintain trust based on contracts over an extended period of time is not ideal for schools (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Formalized contracts and rigid rules seem to accompany low levels of overall trust within organizations, schools included (Forsyth et al., 2006). If the primary function of schools was the production of widgets between anonymous individuals, contracts could be based on the efficiency of widget production. The desired

outcomes of schooling are varied and not easily measured (Goodlad, 1984; Rothstein, 2000; Tyack, 1974), highly contextual, and very complex in their implementation, making effective teaching difficult to govern with the mere use of employment contracts (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). Unions and collective bargaining have sought to delineate some of the expectations and obligations of educators through contracts (Lovenheim, 2009); however, good teaching and administrating often require more time and effort than specified in the contract (Lovenheim, 2009). Employment contracts based on a shared understanding can be the building block of the initial trust teachers place in principals; however, strong levels of teacher-to-principal trust will likely not be based solely or primarily on contractual trust (Kochanek, 2005). Van de Ven and Walker (1984) found that relying too heavily on formal contracts actually resulted in mistrust among parties and actually increased the likelihood that the relationship would end. Effective school leaders should not rely too heavily on contracts, rules, regulations, or positions to legitimize their leadership over an extended period of time. Relationships with high levels of trust do not have to solely depend on each party spelling out their respective rights and duties through formal contracts, policies, and procedures (Moorman, Zaltman, & Deshpande, 1992).

While contracts are not alone sufficient to produce the desired results in education, they should not be abandoned. Some types of relationships are better governed by contractual ties, some by relational ties, and some by a combination of the two (Bradach & Eccles, 1991; Poppo & Zenger, 2002; Powell, 1996; Williamson, 1993). Depending solely on the power of interpersonal relationships to govern dyadic interaction may leave one party unprotected from the opportunistic tendencies of another party (Masters et al., 2004; Williamson, 1993). In education, in which the human resources needed to perform a job are highly specific and difficult to measure, governance based on trust, with contracts acting as a potential safeguard, may be a

more appropriate form of governance than straight contractual governance (Bradach & Eccles, 1991; Masters et al., 2004; Poppo & Zenger, 2002; Powell, 1996; Williamson, 1981).

Williamson and Ouchi refer to this balance as soft contracting, which “presumes much closer identity of interests between the parties, and formal contracts are much less complete” and requires “a more elaborate informal governance apparatus than is associated with hard contracting As compared with hard contracting, soft contracting appeals more to the spirit than to the letter of the agreement” (1981, p. 361). Soft contracting relies more on social controls (such as interpersonal trust) to govern interactions between parties (Williamson & Ouchi, 1981). Thus, as interpersonal trust develops, the need to rely on governance through contracts will likely decrease as mechanisms of relational governance increase. New leaders may initially rely on followers’ general belief and confidence in the institution, combined with shared expectations in employment contracts, to give them time to then build interpersonal trust based on the teacher’s first hand interactions with the principal.

Interpersonal Trust

Researchers tend to divide the foundations upon which *perceptions* of interpersonal trustworthiness into two general categories (Barber, 1983; K. Cook, R. Hardin, & M. Levi, 2005; McAllister, 1995). The first basic type of trustworthiness is often referred to as calculative (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996), instrumental (Tyler & Degoey, 1996), cognitive (McAllister, 1995) or competence trustworthiness (K. S. Cook, R. Hardin, & M. Levi, 2005). It is based on perceptions of ability, competence, and integrity and is discerned primarily through cognition. The second basic type of interpersonal trustworthiness is often referred to as affective (Edwards, 1990), identity-based (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996), or relational trust (Rousseau et al., 1998), and is discerned primarily through affect and emotion (Edwards, 1990; Lewis & Weigert, 1985). We

have followed a similar pattern in this research by dividing interpersonal trust into two categories: competence and relational trustworthiness.

Competence trust. Similar to other organizations, schools need resources to function and grow. While tangible resources such as land, buildings, books, and other materials are essential to schools, perhaps the most important resources for schools are intangible and come in the form of the knowledge, skills, and capabilities of the individuals within the organization (Coleman, 1988), and their abilities to collaboratively access each other's knowledge and skills (Fukuyama, 1995). The level and depth of individuals' knowledge and skill, also known as human capital, is an important predictor of organizational outcomes (Becker, 1994) and can be acquired and increased through formal and informal education (Coleman, 1988).

When a follower has interacted first hand with a leader and knows that leader to have the knowledge and skills necessary to lead the organization, that follower's competence trust of the leader increases (Hite, 2005). Competence trust emphasizes the importance of a leader's knowledge and skills, and their ability to reliably employ these to benefit the school (Hallam, Hite, Hite, & Mugimu, 2009). From the competence trust perspective, decisions about trust building are similar to other decisions where risk is involved. Individuals weigh the options and seek to maximize their gains and minimize their losses (Kramer, 1999).

Leaders seeking to establish their trustworthiness with followers should be careful to not rely too heavily on competence trust. Principals who seek to build other's trust in their competency may be surprised to find that people (including themselves) do not always think carefully or rationally about decisions. Moreover, leaders do not fully understand the implications of each decision, resulting in decisions that are may be based on inaccurate information and faulty reasoning (March & Olsen, 1994). While the competency model may

offer some insights to school leaders, they must accept the limitations of their own “bounded-rationality” (Perrow, 1986) and recognize they are not fully competent in every area.

While school leaders cannot be experts with regards to every problem and circumstance they face, as they seek to increase follower confidence that they are competent, possessing the necessary knowledge and skills to lead the organization, then interactions between parties improve in many ways; there is an increased extent of interaction, increased ease of interaction, increased effort invested in the interaction, and an increase value placed in the interaction (Hite, 2003). This improved interaction between parties adds value and quality to the relationship between parties and paves the way for the follower to increasingly trust the competence of the leader (Hite, 2003). As followers have confidence in a leader’s job-related competence, those followers are likely to be more willing to place their confidence in that leader (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Thus, “people are more willing to accept the decision made by competent authorities” than by incompetent authorities (Tyler & Degoey, 1996, p. 344).

Of Tschannen-Moran and Hoy’s (2000) five factors, follower’s perceptions of leader competence, reliability, and honesty seem to most closely approximate other distinctions of competence-based trust (Hallam et al., 2009; Tyler & Degoey, 1996). References to competence trust throughout the remainder of this review assume the existence of leader competence, reliability, and honesty.

Relational trust. When a follower has interacted first hand with a leader and knows that leader to be benevolent and open toward that follower individually, the follower may develop relational trust in the leader (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999). Rather than trying to only focus on rationale or competence, school leaders using this perspective seek to strengthen teachers’ relational trust in them by building personal relationships (Bryk & Schneider, 2002).

Significant research indicates that a relational trust perspective is a good model for explaining how leaders initially establish their trustworthiness among followers within organizations in western societies (Ballinger & Schoorman, 2007; Kochanek, 2005; Rotter, 1967; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007). Weber, Malhorta, and Murnigan (2005) have shown that based on emotional relational attachments, people will take risks unwarranted by available evidence. Relational issues, such as equity, respect, and dignity, have been found to have a stronger impact on subordinates' trust in leaders than more competence-based issues (Kramer & Tyler, 1996; Tyler & DeGoey, 1996). Followers' willingness to be vulnerable to a leader is often more dependent on followers' feelings about their personal relationship with the leader than with their perception of the leader's competence (Tyler & DeGoey, 1996). Interestingly, in the educational setting, while principals tend to primarily base their trust in teachers on competence and commitment, teachers tend to primarily base their trust in principals on kindness, caring, and honesty (Blake & MacNeil, 1998). References to relational trust throughout the remainder of this review will assume the existence of leader benevolence and openness.

Types of Trust and Their Overlap

School leaders do not need to choose between the exclusive use of institutional, social, contractual, competence, and relational trust in their organizations. Kramer (1999, p. 574) suggests:

To reconcile these diverse views of trust, it is helpful to avoid thinking of the disparity between them as reflecting conflict between mutually incompatible models of choice (i.e. that trust is either instrumental and calculative or social and relational). Rather, a more useful approach is to move in the direction of developing a contextualist account that acknowledges the role of both calculative considerations and social inputs in trust

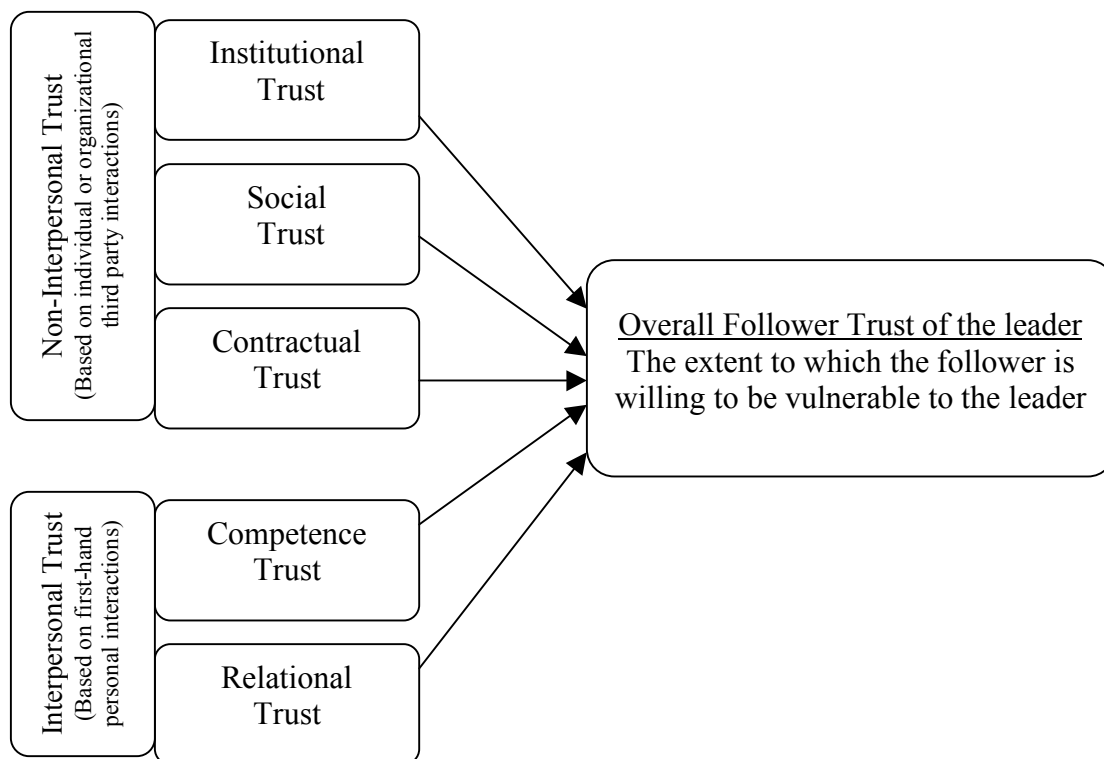
judgments and decisions.

In examining which type of trust followers place in their leaders, it is likely that there will exist both interpersonal and non-interpersonal types of trust (Figure 3). While each of these types of trust may have an important influence on overall teacher-to-principal trust, this research focuses primarily on understanding how principals build interpersonal trust with teachers. In her study of relationally-embedded network ties, Hite (2003) sheds light on how trusting dyadic relationships can come in many different forms, depending on different types of existing network ties between individuals. Rather than simply acknowledging the existence or non-existence of social, competence, or relational trust as unidimensional constructs, these types of trust can exist bidimensionally, or all of them simultaneously.

A fully relationally embedded tie results when the interaction between two parties is marked by high levels of social capital (resulting in social trust), a strong dyadic economic or work relationship (resulting in competence trust), and a strong personal relationship (resulting in relational trust). Thus, a fully relationally embedded network tie would be a relationship between two parties that results in social, competence, and relational trust. This trust combination seems to closely approximate the trust described by Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) in which confidence in another party is based on the perception that the trusted party is competent, reliable, and honest (competence trust), as well as benevolent and open (relational trust).

Followers may be willing to make themselves vulnerable to a leader based on a combination of several different types of trust; it is possible that the strength of each kind of trust varies from follower to follower. Thus, while follower A and B are both willing to make themselves vulnerable to the leader, the sources that willingness may be based on a mixed combination of several types of trust, and the strength of the different types of trust might vary

Figure 3. Specific Types of Interpersonal and Non-Interpersonal Trust and Overall Follower Trust in the Leader



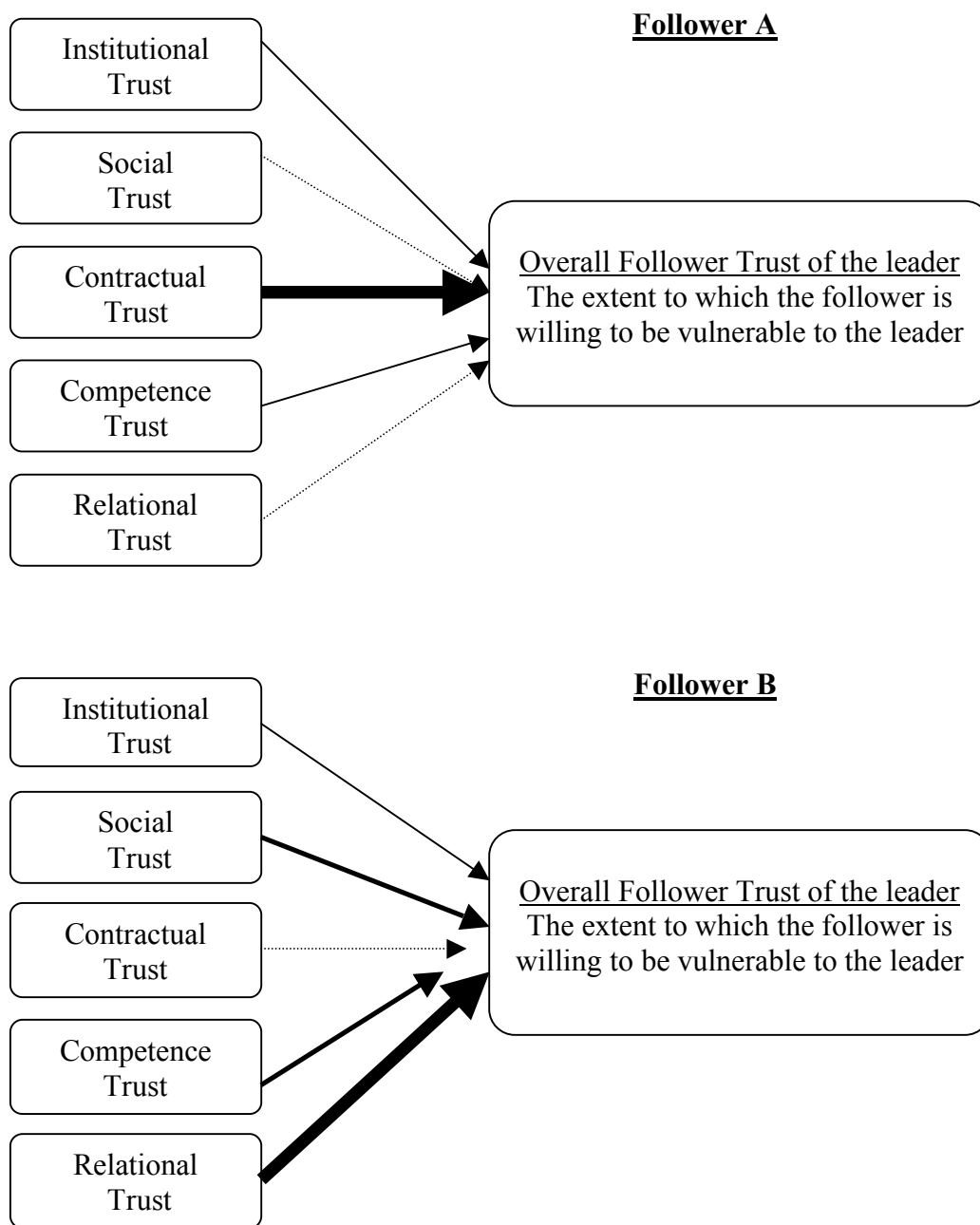
from follower to follower and from situation to situation (Mayer et al., 1995).

Acknowledging and identifying the existence of different kinds of trust may result in leaders asking several questions: How do these types of trust form among followers and leaders in organizations? Should leaders try to build one before the other? How can they happen simultaneously? While trust building is a highly contextualized process, school leaders will likely be more successful at building trust in their organizations as they better understand how the different types of trust interact throughout the general trust building process (Figure 4). While both Followers A and B may have some of each type of trust in the leader, differences may exist in the strength of each source to overall trust. Certain combinations of trust and governance may be more appropriate for certain types of relationships (Williamson, 1981).

Trust Building as a Process

While different types of trust in organizations can be viewed as either existent or non-existent and in different combinations, leaders will benefit by not only identifying and understanding the various types of trust, but also how those different types of trust develop over time. In seeking to better understand the nature of teacher trust of the principal, it is important to remember that “the way trust unfolds will not be the same at all times and in all places. It takes on different characteristics at different stages of a relationship” (Tschannen - Moran, 2004a, p. 41). Some researchers have gone beyond merely identifying the existence of types of trust and have proposed models of trust that focus on trust formation as a process (Hite, 2005; Kochanek, 2005; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Mayer et al., 1995; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994; Rousseau et al., 1998). These researchers seek to explain a logical order to the formation of different types of trust, and some even propose leadership behaviors that could move trust from one level to another (Kochanek, 2005).

Figure 4. Differential Strength of Trust Types and Overall Follower Trust in Leader



Note: thicker arrows signify higher levels of particular type of trust

Ring and Van de Ven (1994) present a model of trust based on the following recurring stages: negotiation, commitment, and execution. While this model primarily focuses on inter-organizational trust formation, it sheds insight into the process of trust building and the concepts from this model could potentially be used at the interpersonal level. The negotiation stage is based primarily on easing vulnerabilities through deterrence-based trust. At this stage individuals seek to clearly delineate their position, forming joint expectations based on open-ended contracts. The commitment stage is when parties agree to certain obligations and rules for future exchanges. The execution stage is when the exchanges actually happen, informing each party as to the trustworthiness of the other party and providing information for the next round of negotiations. Trust between parties strengthens as this cycle of negotiation, commitment, and execution successfully repeats itself through continued interaction. This model is informative with respect to the process of trust growth and formation in that it proposes an order for how competence trust is initially built; however, it does little to explicate the reasons different parties would enter into exchanges and how leaders should respond at each stage of the process, nor does it account for any type of relational trust.

Lewicki and Bunker (1996) propose a model of trust in which followers start at calculus-based trust, move to knowledge-based trust, and finally arrive at identification-based trust. Similar to Ring and Van de Ven's (1994) negotiation stage, calculus or deterrence-based trust begins with individuals carefully guarding their vulnerabilities by basing most interactions on contracts. After some positive interactions between individuals, trust can then move to knowledge-based trust, which relies on the predictability of individual behaviors and responses. This level also bases its growth on positive, predictable interaction between individuals. The final stage of this model is when each party fully understands the other's intentions and desires,

each can empathize with the other, and each cares about the well being of the other. This stage allows for leaders and followers to act as agents for each other with the confidence that his or her interests will be protected with or without the presence of a contract or other supervision. In essence, this model suggests that trust moves from contractual trust, to competence trust, and finally to relational trust. While Lewicki and Bunker's model offers some insight as to how levels of trust can progress over time, their model lacks an explanation for how leaders facilitate trust building at each level. It also does little to explain the trust-building process when a relationship already exists between parties.

Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995) present a different model of trust that is initially based on an individual's propensity to trust. Using this initial propensity to trust, individuals will then try to assess the potential trustworthiness of the other party with respect to the perceived risk of participating in an exchange. This assessment is based on perceptions of the other party's ability, benevolence, and integrity for that particular exchange. Can the other party successfully complete the exchange? Does one party care about how the exchange affects the other party? Does one party share the other party's values with regards to this exchange? Depending on the answers to these questions, individuals decide to engage in exchanges. While individuals may feel that there is sufficient trust to enter into low-risk exchanges, they may not be willing to enter into more high-risk exchanges. It is through these exchanges that each party develops perceptions about the other party's trustworthiness, which will largely determine if they will be willing to enter into higher risk exchanges in the future. This model is insightful because it allows each party to consider both relational trust and competence trust simultaneously in their decision to engage with another party. Some decisions based on trust may not depend on high levels of relational trust, but may rather rely on high levels of competency trust. Other decisions

may not depend too highly on competency trust, but may depend on relational trust. In either case it is left up to each party to determine which types of trust are most important to a particular decision, and decide accordingly if they are willing to trust the other party.

Hite (2005) offers some interesting insight with regards to how relationally-embedded network ties evolve over time and, as a result, affect the overall trust-building process. Clarifying the order of trust building and relationships, Hite (2005, p. 130) claims that “While trust is often considered a cause of or at least a descriptor of relational embeddedness, the data suggested that trust was an outcome of the social components within the relationship.” Thus, different types of trust would result from different configurations of three important components within a social relationship: social capital (resulting in social trust), dyadic economic interaction (resulting in competence trust), and a personal relationship (resulting in relational trust). Because the nature of social relationships can evolve over time, the nature of interpersonal trust can evolve as well, leading parties down different paths to different types of relational embeddedness and, therefore, trust. Full relational embeddedness, strong in all three components, would result in social, competence, and relational trust. If followers’ previous interactions with leaders develop a relationship that has full relational embeddedness, it is more likely that relational, competence, and social trust of the leader will eventually evolve than when followers’ ties are initially based on either a personal relationship or competence alone. Additionally, when followers’ previous interaction and initial ties with the leader create a personal relationship, and relational trust, other types of trust are likely to evolve much more quickly than when followers’ ties are initially based on competency-based issues or social capital alone. This model is extremely insightful in that it acknowledges that initial follower-leader relationships are varied, even within the same organization. It accounts for the existence of distinct relationships before direct teacher-principal

interaction, how those initial relationships could potentially affect follower-leader interactions in the future, as well as the process of building various types of trust among these individuals.

Kochanek's model (2005) adds important insight to this research; she proposes that principals should start trust-building by first ensuring positive working conditions. Once positive conditions are in place, a principal should then engage in low-risk interactions primarily based on followers' discernments of leaders' respect and personal regard (relational trust). Over time, the development of strong relational trust sets the stage for higher-risk exchanges primarily based on positive discernments of leader competence and integrity (competency trust). Thus, once positive working conditions are in place, relational trust precedes competence trust. An important consideration in this model is the proposed differentiation in the degree of influence that low- and high-risk interactions have on followers' discernments of relational and competence trust. While Kochanek proposes that low-risk interactions result primarily in relational trust (solid lined arrow), she also acknowledges that some low-risk interactions may influence teacher competence trust in the principal (dotted lined arrow). Similarly, high-risk interactions may influence teacher relational trust in the principal, but will likely have a stronger influence on teacher competence trust in the principal (Figure 5).

The model of trust development presented by Hallam et al. (2009) specifically examined the formation of trust placed in secondary school leaders in Mukono District, Uganda, the very context of this study. Similar to Kochanek (2005), they claim that trust building in the United States often starts with relational trust followed by competence trust. Interestingly, in Uganda, findings indicated that generally teacher trust of school leaders was initially based on competence trust, which then set the stage for the development of relational trust (Figure 6). This matches one of the paths of trust development proposed by Hite (2005).

Figure 5. Kochanek's (2005) Process Model of Trust Building in Schools

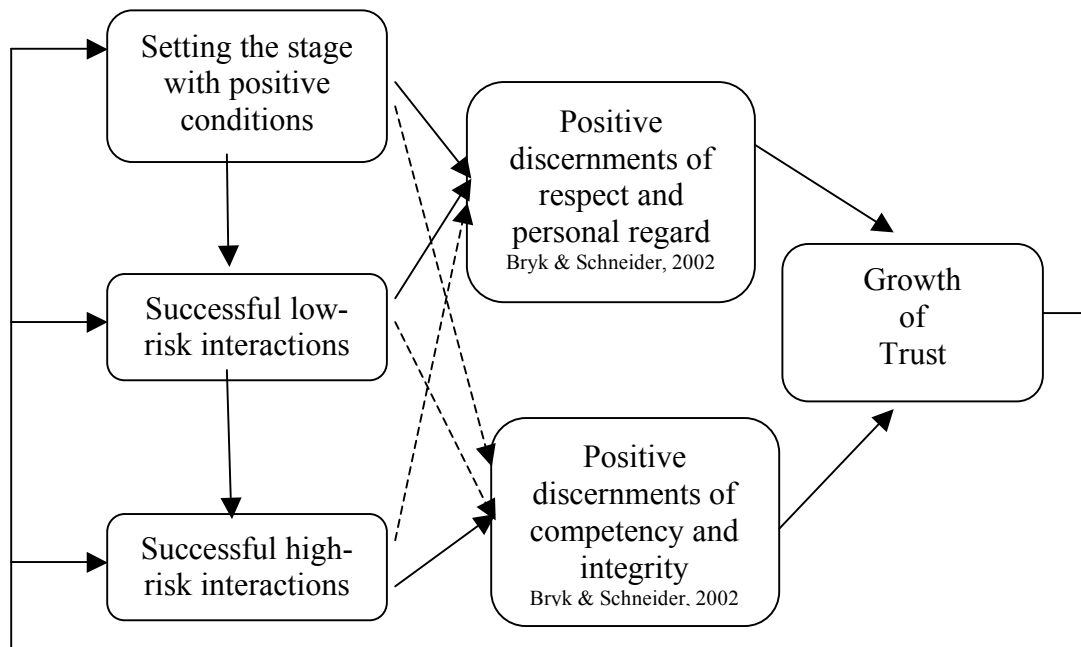
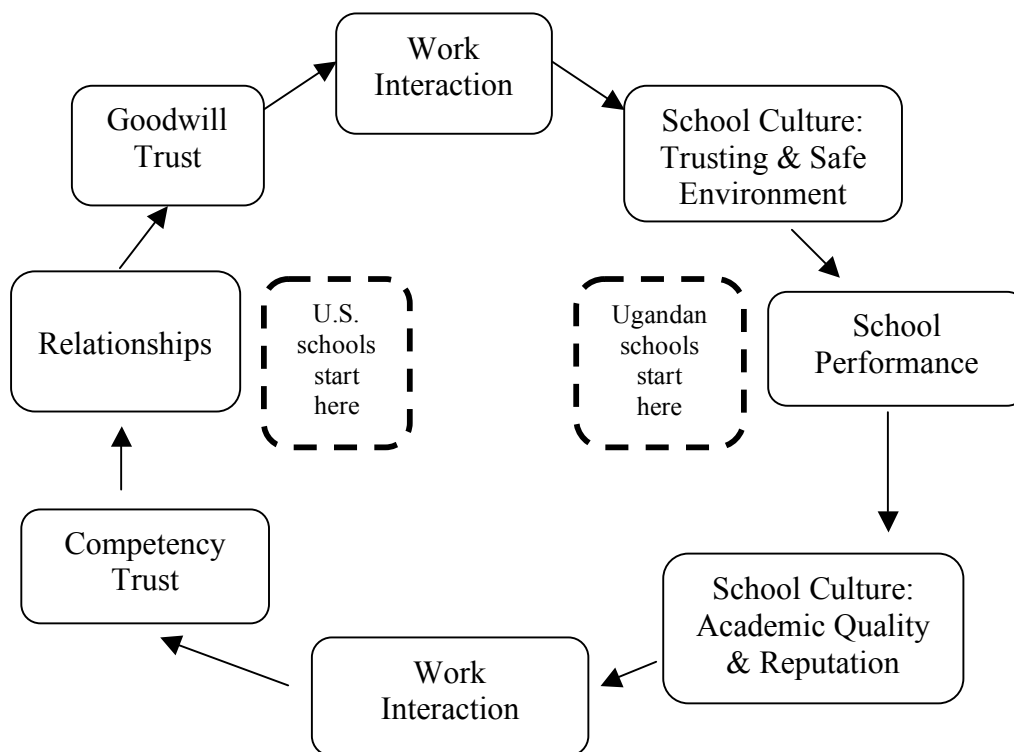


Figure 6. Hallam et al.'s (2009) Combined Trust Development Cycle in U.S. and Ugandan Schools



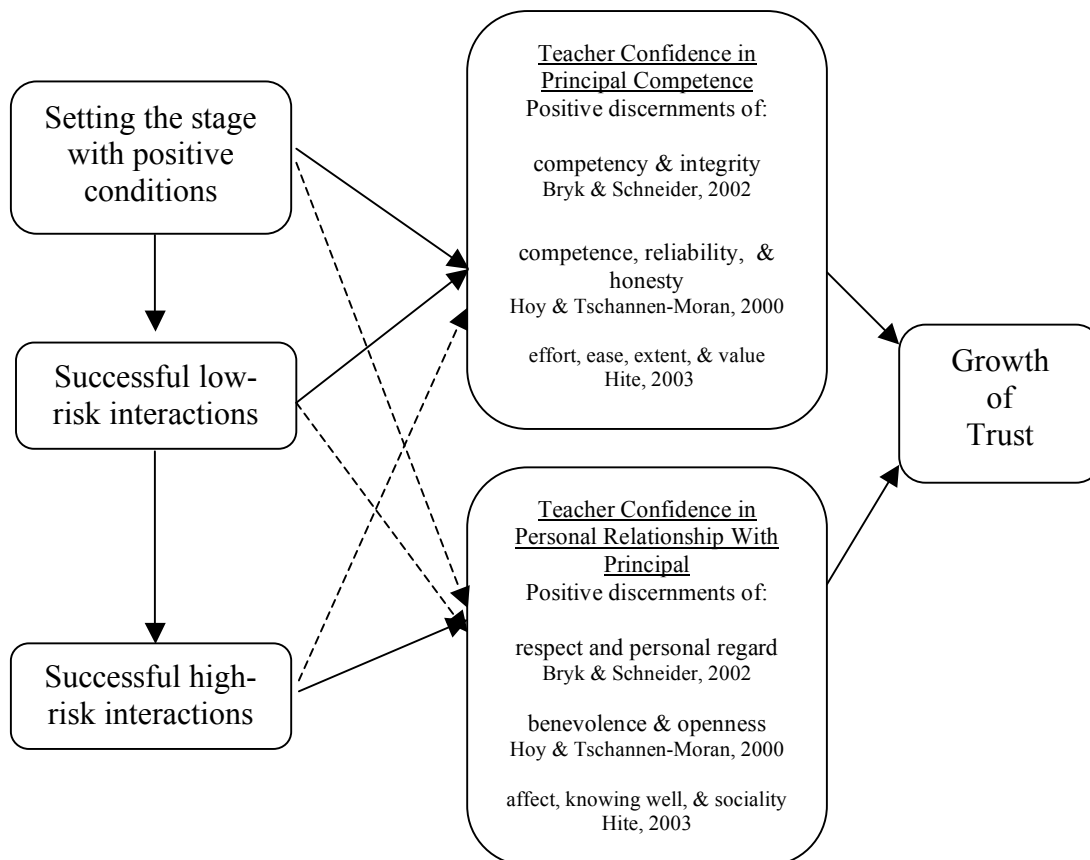
If such is the case in Uganda, Kochanek's model in the Ugandan context would need to be revised by switching the order of the boxes in the middle column, putting competence trust first, followed by relational trust (Figure 7). Figure 7 modifies Kochanek's (2005) model for the Ugandan context by reversing the order of competence and relational trust in the trust development process. This model posits that low-risk interactions in Uganda have a greater impact on teacher competence trust in the principal (solid lined arrow), and a lesser impact on teacher relational trust in the principal (dotted lined arrow). It also posits that high-risk interactions in Uganda have greater impact on teacher relational trust in the principal and a lesser impact on teacher competence trust in the principal. The middle column of this figure combines Hoy and Tschannen-Moran's (2000) five factors, Bryk and Schneider's (2002) four considerations, and two of Hite's (2003) network ties.

While these models of trust development as a process are potentially very helpful, school leaders seeking to build teacher-to-principal trust at their schools should understand that there is no one-size-fits-all formula or process for building stronger teacher trust at their schools.

Rousseau et al. (1998, p. 401) explain,

The various forms of trust can take—and the possibility that trust in a particular situation can mix several forms together—account for some of the confusion among scholars. Conceptualizing trust in only one form in a given relationship risks missing the rich diversity of trust in organizational settings. Recognizing that, in a given relationship, trust has a bandwidth (which may exist to different degrees between the same parties, depending on the task or setting) introduces the idea that experiences over the life of the relationship may lead to pendulum swings.

Figure 7. Kochanek's Model Modified for a Ugandan Context



There are different types of trust and those types are manifest in different levels and different points in a relationship. Some teachers will come with a greater propensity to trust school leaders based on previous experiences with schools, headteachers, or simply as part of their personality (Mayer et al., 1995). Some teachers will base their initial trust of school leaders on confidence in the leader's competence, others on perceptions of their personal relationship with the leader, and for some it may be based on both (Mayer et al., 1995). As principals seek to build strong interpersonal trust based on Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) five factors, Kochanek's (2005) processes, and Hite's (2003, 2005) relational embeddedness, they will need to not only be aware of the different types and levels of trust, but will seek to identify what types of trust are already most prevalent among teachers at their schools. With this knowledge, principals will better be able to identify which types of interactions are low- and high-risk for which teachers, depending on which types of trust already exist for that teacher, and where on the continuum that teacher may be.

Building Trust Through Principal Visibility

In their efforts to establish teacher trust of the principal, principals with no previous interaction with their teachers can initially lean on institutional, social, and contractual trust, but must eventually move to develop the five factors that build competence and relational trust. At this point, principals may echo Anthony Bryk's question: "So I understand now that trust functions as an important resource for school improvement, but what do we know about how to develop such trust that I can use in direct work with a school community" (Kochanek, 2005, Foreword by Anthony Bryk, p. xi)?

Although principals may be looking for some amazing thing they can do to establish their trustworthiness with teachers, they can improve perceptions of trustworthiness most effectively

through implementing the right kinds of interactions with teachers at the right time (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk, Sebring, Dierbow, Rolow, & Easton, 1998; Deal & Peterson, 1994; Kochanek, 2005; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Louis & Miles, 1990; Mayer et al., 1995; Ring & Van de Ven, 1994; Tschannen - Moran, 2004a). One similarity among each of the trust models reviewed in the previous section is the importance of leader interactions with followers in either strengthening or weakening trust. Bryk and Schneider explained: “Relational trust thus is not something that can be achieved simply through some workshop, retreat, or form of sensitivity training, although all of these can be helpful. Rather, relational trust is forged in daily social exchanges” (2002, p. 136). Kochanek described how principals could use daily social exchanges to build trust at the school:

A principal can use everyday interactions with teachers and parents as opportunities to convey respect and personal regard ... In part, by engaging in positive social interactions during everyday activities, the principal is setting a tone in the school of how others should interact. This modeling of appropriate behavior is especially powerful as an example to teachers of their expected behavior with parents. (2005, p. 84)

Of the many trust building interactions in which principals can engage with teachers, principal visibility is extremely important (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et al., 2005). Principal visibility could include, but is not limited to any time the teacher sees, hears, or is aware of the influence of the principal in a variety of different activities. A principal could engage in the same type of activity, but under very different circumstances, in a different venue, and in a different way. For example, a principal could express appreciation through an e-mail, a note, or by dropping by a teacher’s classroom and expressing it personally. Visibility can differ not only in its type, but also by its nature and degree. The nature of some types of visibility tend

to be more formal (e.g. visiting a classroom for a teacher evaluation), while others are more informal (chatting with a teacher in the hallway). Some types of visibility seem to happen on a very regular basis (e.g. monitoring the hallways), or only a few times a year (e.g. faculty parties). The variance in not only type, but also nature and degree seem to be important considerations when examining principal visibility. Another important consideration in the context of this particular research is that low- and high-risk interactions may look different in Uganda than in the United States. Some of the principal visibility types connected to higher-risk principal behaviors in the United States may actually tend to be lower risk in Uganda.

It is through these different types of visibility that principals are able to engage in the many behaviors that researchers have identified as important to effective leadership and thus communicate their possession of the five factors of trust to teachers (Cotton, 2003; Marzano et al, 2005). An invisible principal will likely have difficulty establishing trust because teachers will have little interaction upon which to base their perceptions of the five factors of trust.

A popular idea for promoting leader visibility in business literature is Management by Wandering Around (MBWA). Developed by Hewlett Packard executives in the 1970's, MBWA's major goal is to get managers out of their isolated offices, and involved in the daily routines of their workers and customers (Peters & Austin, 1985). In a study of business leaders and subordinates, Bijlsma and van de Bunt (2003) found that those who did not trust their managers often complained of the aloofness of their managers' behavior, and a perceived lack of knowledge by managers of what workers do from day to day. If subordinates do not see the leader on a regular basis, they tend to feel that the leader is out of touch with reality and thus unfit to fairly evaluate their performance. Mayer and Davis (1999) showed that trust of management improved as leaders became familiar with subordinates' work and eliminated

inappropriate evaluation measures. Hackman and Walton (1986) found that when leaders make frequent on-the-job visits, subordinates have much more trust in those leaders.

Principal visibility is extremely important in schools. Cotton found that “in high-achieving schools, the principals do not spend their time cloistered in their offices, keeping company with administrivia. On the contrary, the researchers find them to be unvaryingly present and approachable in the everyday life of the school” (2003, p. 14). Whitaker similarly argues,

Many principals get caught up in day-to-day office operations, discipline, paperwork, and telephone conversations. They fail to realize that school business of major importance is found not in the office, but in the classrooms, hallways, playgrounds, and cafeterias. They will never have a sense of the school unless they immerse themselves in the atmosphere beyond the office door. (1997, p. 155)

Principal visibility is important for many reasons. Waters, Marzano, and McNulty (2003, p. 61) explained, “The proposed effect of visibility is twofold: first, it communicates the message that the principal is interested and engaged in the daily operations of the school; second, it provides opportunities for the principal to interact with teachers and students regarding substantive issues.” Higher levels of principal visibility correlate with higher student performance (Bartell, 1990; Heck, 1992; Johnson & Asera, 1999; Mendez-Morse, 1991; Valentine & Bowman, 1991). Heck found that the “amount of time principals spend directly observing classroom practices was one of the most important predictors of student achievement” (1992, p. 32).

Increased principal visibility is positively correlated with other factors important to student achievement: improved school climate (Smith & Andrews, 1989), decreased student

behavior problems (Keesor, 2005), as well as improved communication among teachers, students, and principals (Waters et al., 2003). Stiggins and Duke (1988) found that most teachers want principals to be more visible in their classrooms, offering constructive feedback that will guide instructional practices. In their study of high-achieving minority schools, Johnson and Asera found that “principals tended to spend a larger percentage of their time in classrooms” than less effective principals (1999, p. 15). In her study of effective high school principals, Bartell found that “they were out in the school and in the classrooms, spending time with students and teachers. They knew their teachers and their students and cared about them” (1990, p. 126). Gentilucci and Muto (2007) reported that when principals are visible throughout the school, and take an active interest in students’ academic and nonacademic challenges, students feel more motivated to perform well academically.

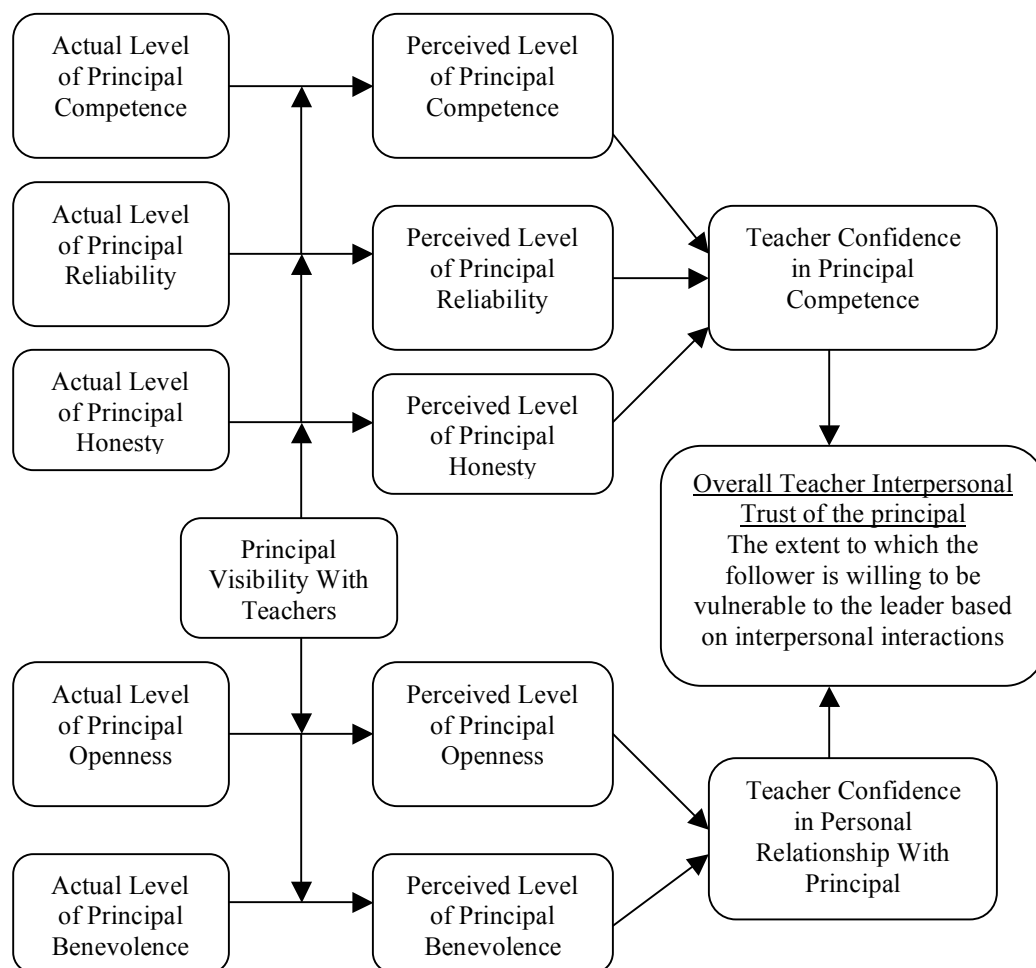
Different types of principal visibility seem to affect levels of teacher-to-principal trust. Tschannen-Moran (2004a) described a low-trust principal that was visible in the hallways, but not very visible in the classroom. Visibility through daily interactions seems to expose the best or worst of the principal. If a principal is incompetent, unreliable, dishonest, closed, and uncaring, visibility will make those traits very apparent and will likely lead to lower levels of trust. While encouraging principals to be more visible through daily interactions, Kochanek (2005, p. 81) warns, “Simply bringing people together . . . does not guarantee positive perceptions of respect, personal regard, competence, and integrity. To ensure more positive outcomes, it is better to begin by assembling a group of people who are generally respectful, caring, and competent and who act with integrity.” Bryk and Schneider (2002) describe a low-trust school where the principal regularly visited classrooms and taught lessons, but was not honest and reliable with his teachers. Conversely, if a principal is competent, reliable, honest, open, and benevolent,

increased visibility provides the opportunities for those traits to be observed, tried, and tested, and will likely result in higher levels of teacher-to-principal trust. Without visibility, principals have very little chance to demonstrate their trustworthiness to teachers. A principal may be the most competent, reliable, honest, open, and benevolent people around, but if he is always in his office, or at district meetings, those traits and behaviors will rarely be observed and trust will not likely increase. Principal visibility seems to act as a moderating variable between Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) factors of trust and teacher-to-principal interpersonal trust (Figure 8). Principals may be very competent, reliable, honest, open, and benevolent, but if they are not visible to teachers, it will be difficult for teachers to perceive that trust factor in the principal. Visibility seems to act as a moderating variable between Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) five factors of trust and principal-teacher trust.

Realizing that visibility is indeed important, principals face the challenge of determining which types of visibility will best build trust with their particular teachers and which types of visibility should precede others. In essence, principals need to know how to spend their time each day, and where to focus their attention. They must determine 1) which principal behaviors tend to correlate with higher levels of teacher-to-principal trust and student achievement, 2) at what stage in the trust-building process particular principal behaviors are more effective, and 3) which types of principal visibility allows principals to participate in or demonstrate those behaviors.

New principals will be happy to know that ample research has identified principal behaviors that contribute to overall levels of trust and student achievement. In her narrative synthesis of 81 prominent studies on effective principals, Cotton (2003) developed a list of 25

Figure 8. Principal Visibility Moderates Actual and Perceived Levels of Trust Factors



principal practices that she deemed were the most important to being an effective principal. In an attempt to further clarify and explain the most influential responsibilities of effective school leaders, Marzano, Waters, and McNulty (2005) conducted a quantitative meta-analysis of 69 research studies and developed a list of 21 principal responsibilities that correlate strongly with higher student achievement. Interestingly, when Marzano et. al (2005) ranked the quality of the studies' methodologies, the higher quality studies found a stronger correlation between the principal behaviors and student achievement than did the lower quality studies, strengthening the argument that principals can have an impact on student learning, albeit indirect. In addition to these two reviews, the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) recently reviewed and rewrote the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) standards. The newer standards found in ISLLC 2008, list and describe several school leader functions and behaviors that researchers have found to correlate with student achievement. These new standards closely correspond to many of Cotton's (2003) principal practices and Marzano et. al's (2005) principal responsibilities.

Kochanek's trust mechanisms in conjunction with the principal practices and responsibilities presented by Cotton (2003) and Marzano et. al (2005) seem to naturally fit into Kochanek's (2005) three-stage model of trust building. While lists of effective principal behaviors are potentially helpful, they do little in directing principals in their specific daily interactions with teachers. With limited time and resources, principals will have to weigh the potential advantages and disadvantages of each type of exchange or interaction with each teacher. One of the primary purposes of this research is to better understand which types of principal visibility are more appropriate at particular stages of the trust building process; a closer examination of the types of principal behaviors at each stage in the trust building process may

provide some evidence as to which types of principal visibility are more appropriate at which stage.

Table 2 delineates how Kochanek's three stages of trust-building as a process correlate with her mechanisms for trust building, as well as Cotton's (2003) principal practices and Marzano et. al's (2005) principal responsibilities. This table then proposes some of the possible types of principal visibility that might allow a principal to engage in the recommended principal behaviors at that stage. In Kochanek's (2005) first stage of trust building, we find principals seeking to set the stage for building trust by establishing positive working conditions. At this stage they "might use mechanisms that ease the sense of vulnerability teachers and parents may have so that they will enter into low-risk exchanges" (Kochanek, 2005, p. 19). They may engage in principal behaviors that communicate to teachers that the school has physical and human resources needed to perform the basic functions of schools, and that the principal's primary goal is to help students be successful. Specific types of principal visibility at this stage might include such things as the principal expressing his vision at a faculty meeting, meeting individually with teachers to go over lists of needed resources, or roaming the school and school grounds examining possible breaches to student and teacher safety.

Once teachers feel that they have the resources needed to teach, as well as the principal's support, "the principal may further ease vulnerabilities by creating opportunities for low-risk interactions that promote the exchange of respect and personal regard" (Kochanek, 2005, p. 22). Principals at this stage will likely seek to build personal relationships with teachers, and work on simple, small-group activities that yield successful results. Specific types of principal visibility at this stage may include informal visits to the faculty room, a short chat in the lunchroom, dropping by the classroom during a break to express gratitude, or having a faculty social.

Table 2

Kochanek's Exchange Stages, Principal Behaviors, and Types of Principal Visibility in Which That Behavior May Be Exhibited

Exchange Stages	Principal Behaviors at This Stage	Specific Type and Nature of Principal Visibility
Setting the Stage With Positive Base Conditions	Communicates a belief system that puts the needs of students first (Kochanek, 2005)	Formal faculty meetings Informal exchanges
	Establishes a safe and orderly school environment (Cotton, 2003; Marzano et. al, 2005)	Informal classroom visits Informal school ground wanderings Formal meetings with students
	Ensures needed physical resources are available (Cotton, 2003; Marzano et. al, 2005)	Formal one-on-one meeting with teachers to review resources Formal classroom resource inventory Informal school wanderings
Fostering Low-Risk Exchanges	Engages in small, successful activities (Kochanek, 2005)	Formal, but small delegations of authority (e.g. bring the drinks for the faculty social) Formal planning of small activities (e.g. faculty fall social planning meeting)
	Promotes small-group interaction (Kochanek, 2005)	Formal non-academic committee meeting (e.g. faculty fall social committee meeting, book study group, etc.)
	Uses daily social interaction to ease vulnerabilities and develop personal relationships (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et. al, 2005)	Informal classroom drop-ins Informal faculty room visit Informal chatting throughout school Informal or formal out-of-school events (e.g. weddings, birthdays) Open office Phone calls, e-mails, notes, letters

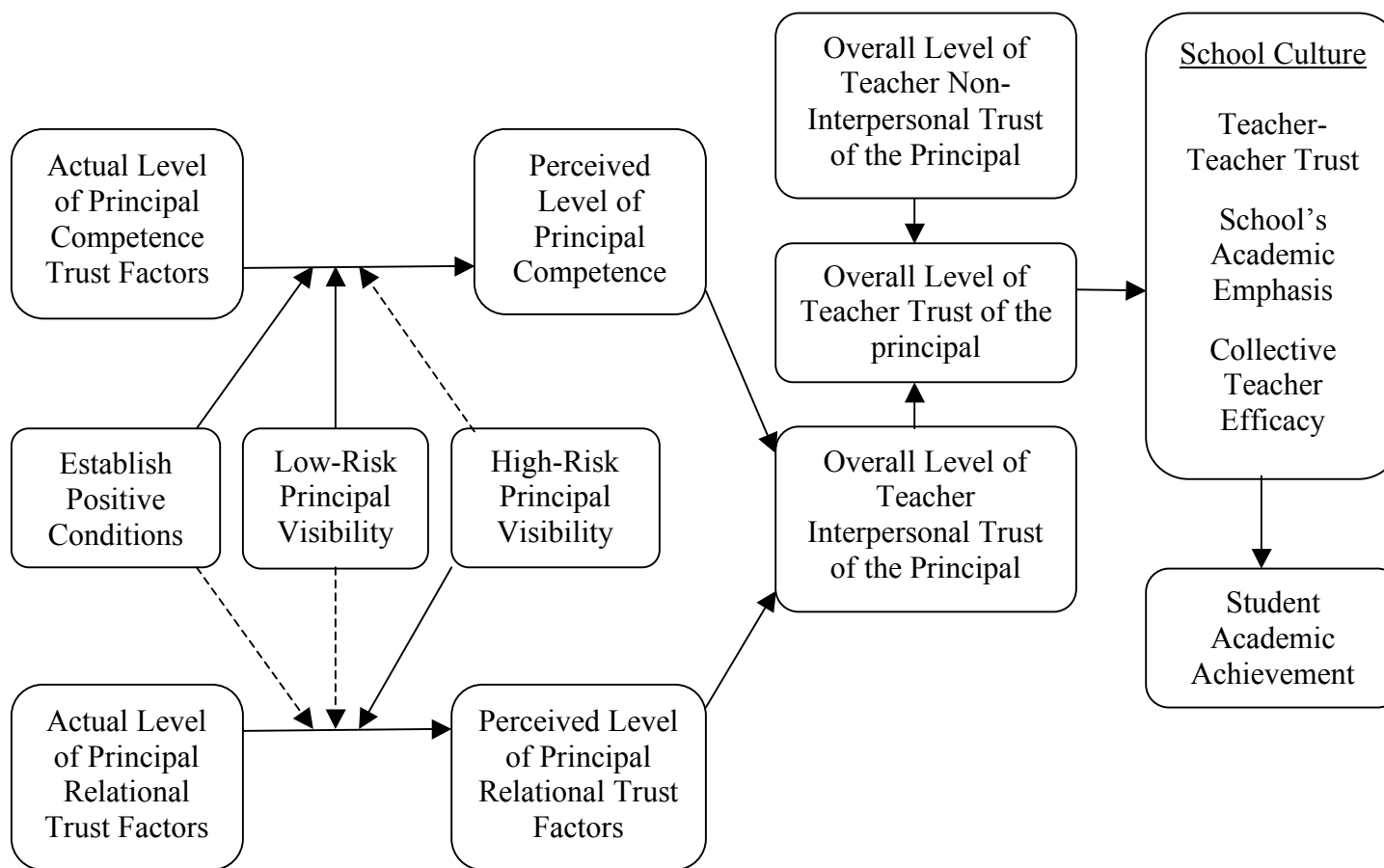
Exchange Stages	Principal Behaviors at This Stage	Specific Type and Nature of Principal Visibility
Fostering Low-Risk Exchanges	<p>Serves as a model of behavior (Kochanek, 2005)</p> <p>Plans special social events; rituals, and ceremonies (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et. al, 2005)</p>	<p>Informal faculty room visit</p> <p>Informal chatting throughout school</p> <p>Open office</p> <p>Formal attendance and participation in professional development</p> <p>Formal ceremonies</p> <p>School & faculty celebrations</p> <p>School-wide events</p> <p>Informal personal expressions of gratitude</p> <p>Formal recognitions of achievement</p>
Creating Opportunities for High-Risk Interactions	<p>Implements formal structures of complex interaction between students, parents, teachers, and administrators (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et. al, 2005)</p> <p>Develops a school mission focused on high levels of student learning (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et. al, 2005)</p> <p>Pursuing a plan of strategic action for continuous improvement (Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005)</p> <p>Shared leadership, decision making, and collaboration Cotton, 2003; Kochanek, 2005; Marzano et. al, 2005)</p>	<p>Formal and informal attendance at collaborative team, committee, faculty, and parent meetings</p> <p>Formal promotion of peer evaluation</p> <p>Formal attendance at team, faculty, and parent meetings</p> <p>Formal goal-setting with teams, teachers, & parents</p> <p>Formal one-on-one data reviews with teams, teachers, & parents</p> <p>Formal goal-setting with teams, teachers, & parents</p> <p>Formal one-on-one data reviews with teams, teachers, & parents</p> <p>Formal attendance at team and committee meetings</p>

Once a basic personal relationship is formed through successful low-risk exchanges, the principal can then “create more formal structures that provide opportunities for more high-risk exchanges that are likely to promote positive discernments of competency and integrity” (Kochanek, 2005, p. 26). Through these higher risk activities, principals may seek to establish a clear school mission, implement more formal structures of interaction at the school, include teachers more in shared decision-making, and collaboratively pursue a plan of strategic action for school improvement with teachers. Specific types of principal visibility at this stage might include formal classroom observations, collaborative team meetings, attendance at teacher and parent meetings, and attendance at school level committee meetings.

Again, as suggested by Kochanek (2005), different types of principal visibility may be more appropriate at different times in the trust building process. A newer principal seeking to move individuals from institutional trust to higher levels of relational and competence trust would not likely start by immediately doing intensive classroom observations; rather, such a principal would likely begin by trying establish positive working conditions, followed by building strong personal relationships with teachers through low-risk types of visibility to support relational trust (Hite, 2005), and then finally move to more successful high-risk interactions and high-risk types of visibility to further strengthen teacher’s competence trust in the school leader.

While some work has been done on general principal visibility, this study will propose methods that will provide more clarity on the which types of visibility principal use, how those types of visibility vary by risk level, and their correspondence with different types of trust. This research proposes the following model for how principal visibility could potentially affect the different types of teacher-headteacher trust in Ugandan secondary schools (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Overall Model of Principal Visibility, Teacher-to-Principal Trust, School Culture, and Student Achievement



APPENDIX B: METHODS

For this study we used an existing data set from research done by Hallam and colleagues (in press) to explore possible answers to the following research questions:

- *How do teacher characteristics relate to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness?*
- *How does headteacher visibility relate to teachers' perceptions of headteacher relational and competence trustworthiness?*
- *How do teacher characteristics relate to the influence that headteacher visibility has on teachers' perceptions of headteacher competence and relational trustworthiness?*

Sampling and Data Collection

Using school characteristic information obtained during fieldwork done during the summer of 2008 within the Mukono District, Uganda, participating schools were chosen using purposive, non-randomized maximum variation sampling (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990). The schools were stratified by size (larger or smaller than 500 students), type (government or private), and urbanicity (urban or rural), which resulted in eight school categories. One school was selected from each of these eight categories, after which four teachers from each school were selected. Teachers selected to participate in this study were stratified by total years teaching (more or less than three years) and gender. In total, 28 teachers were selected from the eight schools: four teachers from six of the schools and two teachers from two of the schools.

Data for this research were collected in a one-on-one session between the researcher and the selected teacher. Each research session consisted of three parts, each providing different

types of information, including: obtaining informed consent from each participant, helping teachers fill out a demographic questionnaire, and participating in a face-to-face interview. In order to ensure that the items in the questionnaire and interview questions would be clear to Ugandan teachers, prior to administration, these items were reviewed and critiqued by a Ugandan secondary school director and professor, Dr. Christopher Mugimu. To ensure that the information collected was relevant to the research question, each item on the questionnaire was also reviewed and critiqued by both Dr. Steven Hite and Dr. Julie Hite, each having extensive experience in conducting research in Uganda and the United States. While teachers completed the questionnaire, the researcher offered clarification and answered questions with respect to the questionnaire items. Upon completion, each questionnaire was immediately reviewed by the researcher conducting the interview, while in the presence of the interviewed teacher. The researcher followed up with the teacher on any incomplete or seemingly inaccurate responses, resulting in questionnaires that the researchers felt were complete and accurate.

After completing the questionnaire, each selected teacher participated in a face-to-face interview with the researcher. In order to cut down on superfluous background noise, the interviews were conducted in an empty classroom and recorded using two digital recording devices. When an empty classroom was not available, the interviews were generally conducted outside, away from the noise and bustle of the students. In conducting the interview, the researcher asked standard, introductory questions about school effectiveness. During the remainder of the interview, the researcher referred to a list of possible semi-structured interview questions, asking those that had not yet been answered or addressed during the initial part of the interview.

Analysis

Analysis for this study used grounded theory methodology (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998b) in a post-positivist paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Phillips & Burbules, 2000), while employing a constant comparative method (Boeije, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998b) and employed the basic framework for qualitative analysis proposed by Marshall and Rossman (1999): organizing the data, generating categories, themes, and patterns, coding the data (open, axial, selective), testing emergent understandings, searching for alternative explanations, and writing the report.

Data were organized by:

- Placing each audio recording into folders separated by school name
- Listening to and transcribing each interview into MSWord
- Importing each transcription into a qualitative analysis software program (NVivo)
- Each interview was assigned to a case, and each case was assigned attributes based on the demographic questionnaire completed by each teacher.
- Each case was assigned to a case set based on school attributes.

Using both etic and emic classifications, the researcher created parent nodes and child nodes in NVivo. As nodes were named, they were also defined to clarify the types of information that was to be coded at each node. The themes and categories that emerged were based largely on teacher responses, but also had traces of this particular researcher's construction of reality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Having listened to and read the data, the researcher developed preliminary taxonomies and typologies to be tested later in the analysis.

The researcher used, open, axial, and selective coding to identify and then refine themes. During open coding the researcher coded selections to the etically-prepared parent nodes (types

of principal visibility, facets of trust). Other nodes were emically created as themes emerged that were outside the initial set. As expected, during the coding process, the original categories and nodes evolved, based on the nature of the data. A detailed definition and description was included with the creation of each node, and each of the decisions made with respect to node creation, node definition and node management was recorded in the researcher's reflective journal (Richards, 2005). A sufficiently detailed audit trail in the form of the researcher's reflective journal made it "possible for an external check to be conducted on the processes by which the study was conducted" (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993, p. 34). This reflective journal also addressed concerns that readers may have had about how "the natural subjectivity of the researcher will shape the research" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 194).

When data saturation began to occur, the nodes began to stand still, at which point the researcher started working with clusters of nodes and categories (axial coding). Similar to the case sets created earlier in the study, node sets were created in which clusters of nodes were placed in sets based on their shared relationship with a particular concept (Bazely, 2007). The creation of nodes and node sets through open and axial coding paved the way for testing emergent understandings about the relationships between teacher-to-principal trust and principal visibility.

The researcher began to form emergent understanding of how constructs related through the open and axial coding processes. To test these emergent understandings, the researcher began making comparisons within and between nodes, cases, and sets in order to make some sort of sense about what the data were indicating. This was carried out by closely examining the relationships within and between nodes, sets, and cases by primarily using NVivo to run text queries and text matrices. Evidences and rationales of proposed explanations for how

headteacher visibility interacts with teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness were founded directly on the data.

Some alternative explanations were discovered in this research while conducting queries and also through seeking extensive feedback during peer and expert review. The researcher sought to "build a logical chain of evidence" (Bazely, 2007, p. 208) by providing substantial logical evidence from the data to convincingly support the theoretical propositions about the relationships between headteacher visibility and teachers' perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness.

Writing the results of analysis happened throughout this study in the form of the researcher's reflective journal. In reporting the findings of this study, the researcher provided detailed rich descriptions of the unique contexts of this research as well as thick descriptions of the data and its findings. The findings from this study were reported using the constructivist interpretive style described by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which bases its findings on triangulated empirical data that are trustworthy.

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of this study was demonstrated through establishing credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Erlandson et al., 1993).

This study's credibility was increased through the following:

- triangulation (multiple interviews at multiple schools)
- peer review (asked other researchers for their feedback on findings)
- expert review (asked other researchers with expertise in trust, principal leadership, and Uganda for their feedback on proposed findings)
- reflective journaling (kept track of the research decisions made and why).

Transferability in this study was primarily ensured by:

- Provided a detailed description of sampling, data collection, and analysis.

Dependability was strengthened as the researcher:

- Reported findings with sufficient detail and across a sufficient number of cases such that “if it were replicated with the same or similar respondents (subjects) in the same (or a similar) context, its findings would be repeated” (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 33).

Confirmability was increased by:

- The researcher explained the logic and evidence behind the study’s conclusions
- Provided evidence from the data that confirm the findings.

Conclusion

The particular constructs of this study made qualitative methods a very powerful option for answering the proposed research questions. Trust, facets of trust, and visibility, are all rather abstract concepts and context dependent. Because the interaction between the facets of trust and principal visibility is at its initial theory building stages, qualitative methods was a good option for gaining a deeper understanding of these constructs.

While not perfect, the carefully crafted purposive sampling strategy in conjunction with well-planned and thoroughly carried out field-based data collection, resulted in data that were rich and very relevant to the research question. The methods of analysis allowed the researcher to find, understand, and explain the relationships that exist between headteacher visibility and teachers’ perceptions of headteacher trustworthiness, and then report those findings in a meaningful way to readers.

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