

RE-IMAGINING SCHOOL COMMUNITIES: AN EXPLORATION OF THE FACTORS
INFLUENCING TEACHERS' TRUST IN PARENTS

By

Joanna D. Geller

Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Community Research and Action

December, 2014

Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:

Maury Nation, Ph.D.

Kimberly Bess, Ph.D.

Claire Smrekar, Ph.D.

Paul Speer, Ph.D.

I dedicate this dissertation to my great-grandparents, for whom I try to do my part to dismantle hatred and fear.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my Dissertation Chair, Dr. Maury Nation. Dr. Nation has helped me formulate, refine, and communicate many ideas over the course of graduate school, always with great enthusiasm and encouragement. I owe many thanks to the rest of my committee as well: Dr. Claire Smrekar for teaching me qualitative methods, deepening my perspectives and depth of knowledge on the social context of education, and asking critical questions that propelled my work forward; Dr. Paul Speer for opening my eyes to community organizing in such an engaging way and always raising poignant (and humorous) critiques; and Dr. Kimberly Bess for supporting my work in the community.

I would also like to thank other mentors I have had throughout my journey in the educational justice field, including Dr. David Schoem, who first inspired my interest in family engagement back in college; Adam Seidel, who as my boss in my first job out of college, gave me both the freedom and the support to take on new challenges and grow; Robin Veenstra-VanderWeele, who made this work possible through her impassioned leadership to make life better for children and families; and Rosann Tung, who as my current boss at the Annenberg Institute for School Reform has fully supported me as a researcher, social change activist, and human being and has taught me so much in just over a year.

There is no possible way to thank my parents for all they have done to support my education: the hours my Dad spent by my sometimes teary-eyed side as I struggled to grasp algebra; the countless essays my mother marked up in red pen while patiently helping me learn how to write; and the unwavering support of my decisions to pursue all of my higher education in states far away from Massachusetts. From all of the conversations our family shared – around the dinner table, while hiking on summer vacations, and during odd moments here and there – I

learned to love learning and to think critically. A big thanks to my big brother, Greg, who has always shown me the way in life by example and by asking good questions – and listening to the answers – and to my sister-in-law, Alyson, for taking on this same sort of big sibling charge so effortlessly. And, thank you to my little nephew, Alexander, whose smiles and special kisses during his first year on this planet were the perfect dissertation-writing distraction. All of my grandparents have also been an inspiration and a support to me. As a researcher, I strive to ask thoughtful questions half as effortlessly as Oma did and to tell stories half as eloquently as Opa did. Nanny and Poppy have kept me grounded through their unconditional love, their humor, and the pride and interest they take in my work. Finally, I know how proud Pop-Pop would have been to have another doctor in the family.

I would also like to thank my CRA student support network, in particular, Bernadette Doykos, Krista Craven, and Laurel Lunn. Each of these women is a critical and passionate scholar who has inspired me with her strong pursuit for justice. I'd also like to thank other members of my Nashville family, Sandy and Pat and Jody, for making me feel that I had a warm and welcoming home away from home.

Finally, I owe James for my ability to not only stay sane throughout graduate school but genuinely happy. I thank him for both the time and the mental energy he has freed for me to be able to finish my dissertation. He has taken my mind off of writing at all the right times and at other times has focused my mind deeply and critically on the task at hand and re-energized my spirits with his constant encouragement and enthusiasm about my work. He challenges me to always improve while never letting me forget that he will always love and respect me just the way I am. And, the final product would not be nearly as strong without his creative talents. I look forward to many years of many forms of partnership.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
Chapter	
I. Introduction.....	1
II. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	5
Theoretical Framework: Trust and Collective Trust.....	5
The Relevance of Trust to Family Engagement	5
Challenges of Trust-building	7
Collective Trust.....	10
Re-defining Teacher/Family Trust for Modern Times	15
Ecological Influences on Faculty Trust in Families	19
School Context and Collective Trust	24
Summary and Study Purpose	30
III. Methodology	35
Study Background.....	35
Study Schools	37
Teachers Involving Parents (TIP).....	39
My Role	41
Methods Overview.....	42
Data Collection	44
TIP Observations	46
Document Analysis.....	47
Interviews.....	49
Surveys.....	52
Data Analyses	54

IV.	Mirrors of Society: How External Factors Influence Individual Faculty Trust in Families	60
	Faculty Trust in Families and Faculty/Family Interactions	61
	Explanations of Differences in Trust	65
	Hegemonic Norms and the “Good” Parent: “These Parents Don’t Do That”	65
	The Emotional Toll of Family Engagement: “I Want to Shake You”	73
	Educational Policy’s Toll on Family Engagement: “The Parents Should be Held Accountable, Too”	78
	Conclusion: The Overlooked Riskiness of Family Engagement	
V.	Setting the Stage: Collective Faculty Trust and School Behavioral, Affective, and Cognitive Mechanisms.....	84
	A Portrait of Collective Faculty Trust in Families.....	84
	Behavioral Environment	90
	Affective Environment.....	93
	Cognitive Environment.....	98
	Conclusion	103
VI.	Interventions Playing Out Differently: The Varying Contributions of TIP and Community School Coordinators to Collective Faculty Trust.....	105
	Influence of TIP on Collective Faculty Trust in Families	105
	Differences in TIP Implementation	108
	Principal Buy-in.....	109
	Credible Challengers.....	111
	TIP Interactions with Behavioral, Affective, and Cognitive Climate.....	114
	Influence of Coordinators on Collective Faculty Trust in Families	118
	Conclusion	126
VII.	Discussion.....	128
	Strengths and Limitations	129
	Re-visiting an Ecological Approach to Collective Faculty Trust in Families.....	132
	Contextual Considerations for Faculty Social Exchange.....	132
	Vulnerabilities at the Individual Level	136
	School-community Partnerships and Collective Faculty Trust in Families.....	138
	Implications for Program and Practice	140
	Implications for Policy.....	149
	Directions for Future Research	150
	Conclusion	152
	REFERENCES	153

Appendix

A. Trustworthiness and Authenticity	165
B. Interview Protocol for TIP Participants	172
C. Interview Protocol for Non-TIP Participants	175
D. Codebook	177
E. The Dual Capacity-Building Framework for School/Family Partnerships.....	180

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Definition of Trust	5
2. Types of Trust and Challenges Posed to Collective Faculty Trust in Families	8
3. Demographics and Academic Achievement of Study Schools.....	39
4. Sample Information for Faculty Interviews.....	50
5. Analytic Steps Using the Constant Comparative Method	56
6. Descriptive Information for the Three Faculty Groups	60
7. Spearman Correlation Coefficients Between Parent-Teacher Trust and School Outreach to Parents, Teacher Invitations for Involvement, and Parent Involvement	90
8. Faculty Group Classification Before and After TIP Program	106
9. Recommendations for Improving Collective Faculty Trust in Families	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Conceptual model for collective faculty trust in families.....	33
2. Data collection activities and corresponding data	45
3. Percentage of faculty who report spending various amounts of time per week in required committee/staff meetings	91
4. Percentage of faculty who report spending various amounts of time per week on collaborative planning	91
5. Percentage of faculty who believe that their school is a good place to work and learn.....	94
6. Percentage of faculty who believe that teachers have a role in school improvement	99
7. Differences between faculty social exchange during TIP at Jones and Smith composition	111
8. Interaction of factors influencing differences in TIP outcomes.....	127

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Despite a massive body of research on family engagement in urban schools, widespread district, state, and federal family engagement policies, and a proliferation of school- and community- based family engagement programs, urban schools continue to struggle with family engagement (Hornby & Lafaele, 2012; Mapp, 2012). While there is evidence that home-school collaboration (e.g. teacher/family communication, family involvement in school decision-making, family volunteering) benefits children (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Houtenville & Conway, 2008; Jeynes, 2005; Lee & Bowen, 2006), teachers (Lareau, 2003), families (Hong, 2011), and schools (Bryk, Sebring, Allensworth, Luppescu, & Easton, 2010), there is limited evidence that interventions to improve home/school collaboration improve student outcomes, and moreover, they may do little to improve home/school collaboration itself (Mattingly et al., 2002; White, Taylor, & Moss, 1992).

Many of these interventions have potentially floundered because they focus heavily on the achievement of specific goals or objectives, such as reaching out to parents using new forms of technology, additional math nights, or hiring family engagement coordinators. Yet, technical solutions alone are insufficient to disrupt enduring cycles of social reproduction in poor, urban schools (Rogers & Oakes, 2005). These interventions tend to overlook the importance of how altering institutional and individual norms, values, and attitudes facilitate changes in processes, structures, and systems (Chapman, 2002; Warren & Mapp, 2011). In the past decade, a wealth of compelling educational research in urban contexts has demonstrated how *relational trust* is a

critical precursor to the type of effective cooperation that makes schools thrive (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth, Adams, & Hoy, 2011; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). At urban schools with high levels of family engagement, faculty trust in families is a normative property of the school culture (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Schools with high levels of collective trust socialize faculty to believe that putting effort into family engagement will be worth their while. Several studies indicate that *collective* faculty trust in families and students is an important predictor of academic achievement, as it is associated with overall optimism about students' potential (Adams, Forsyth, & Mitchell, 2009; Goddard et al., 2001, 2004; Hoy, 2002; Tschannen-Moran, 2001).

Derived from their comprehensive review of extant literature relating to trust in schools, Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) generated a definition of trust that pertains to relationships between and among actors in school communities. The authors define trust as one role group's (e.g. teachers) willingness to be vulnerable to another role group (e.g. families) based on the confidence that the group is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest, and open. Trust is an interdisciplinary construct: psychologists examine trust in dyadic relationships, whereas sociologists conceptualize trust as a collective property that develops by social exchange within and between role groups (Forsyth et al., 2011, p. 22). Compared to trust between individuals, collective trust is more stable over time. For example, when trusting families is a school-level norm, faculty are less likely to form negative opinions of all families due to sporadic negative interactions with some families (Hoy, Tarter, & Hoy, 2006). Thus, schools are more likely to effectively engage families when there is a collective willingness among faculty to risk vulnerability to cooperate with families based on the confidence that families care about their children's education, possess strengths to help their children succeed, tell the truth, do not

withhold important information, and do what they say they will do.

An emerging literature of critical family engagement imagines schools that question exclusionary and privileged family engagement definitions and appreciate strengths of low-income and minority families (Auerbach, 2007; Baquedano-López, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2011; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Yosso, 2005). Despite these important contributions, much of this work focuses on relationships between individual teachers and parents, rather than on how faculty trust in families becomes a normative property of schools. Meanwhile, research on collective faculty trust in families and students (Forsyth et al., 2011; Hoy, 2012) has not closely examined the contextual conditions that influence individual faculty members' attitudes toward low-income families, including hegemonic racism, classism, and sexism; concentrated neighborhood poverty; and educational policies and discourses that threaten teachers' willingness to be vulnerable to authentic family engagement and that hinder school improvement. This study attempts to integrate an understanding of how these contextual factors influence individual faculty – the contribution from critical family engagement studies – with an understanding of how schools can be organized to mitigate this influence – the contribution of the collective trust and school organizational literature.

The purpose of this study is to examine how factors at multiple contextual levels constrain and support the development of collective faculty trust in families. Although the study revolves around an in-service professional development program to help teachers improve family engagement, *Teachers Involving Parents* (TIP; Hoover-Dempsey, Walker, Jones & Reed, 2002), the study setting is particularly rich for investigating how context shapes collective trust, as the program operated in two elementary schools designated as *community schools* that are part of a larger place-based educational reform initiative (Geller, Doykos, Craven, Bess, & Nation, 2014).

I primarily use qualitative methods to understand how the effects of TIP interact with these broader initiatives, as well as school-level organizational characteristics and the broader educational policy environment. Before discussing the study's methods in detail, I first describe the theoretical frameworks guiding this study, introducing a conceptual model for predicting collective trust based in ecological theory. I then review extant literature supporting this model.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework: Trust and Collective Trust

This section details the relevance of trust to improving family engagement, challenges to establishing trust between faculty and families in poor urban areas, and limitations to current conceptualizations of collective faculty trust.

The Relevance of Trust to Family Engagement

Trust is defined as the willingness to be vulnerable to another role group based on the confidence that the group is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest, and open (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Trust is not a behavior or a choice, but an underlying psychological condition that can cause or result from behaviors and choices (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). Table 1 details each definitional component.

Table 1. Definition of Trust

Component of trust	Definition
Benevolence	Faith in the altruism of the other
Honesty	A correspondence between one's statements and deeds
Reliability	A sense of confidence that one's needs will be met in a situation of interdependence
Competence	When good intentions are not enough and a certain level of skill is expected to fulfill an expectation
Openness	Where people make themselves vulnerable to others by sharing personal information or not withholding information

Although critical family engagement research emphasizes relationships (Greene, 2013; Hong, 2011; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978), none of this work has deeply examined the role of trust in these relationships. One could argue that cooperation between teachers and parents could be guided through other relational mechanisms besides trust, such as caring (Noddings, 1988), empathy (Greene, 2013), or respect (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000). So, why focus on trust? Two conditions distinguish trust from caring, empathy, and respect: interdependence and risk (Rousseau et al., 1998). Trust can only exist when individuals or groups rely on one another (interdependence) and when there is something to lose (risk).

Interdependence and risk are critical components of faculty/family relationships. Although there is debate about the extent to which academic achievement depends on interdependence between the teacher and the parent, research supports that some interdependence is important (Coleman, 1988; Hoy, 2012; Jeynes, 2005; Robinson & Harris, 2014). However, trust is also important because of teachers' *perceptions* of the need for interdependence with families. Local, state, and federal educational policies have increasingly focused on family engagement since No Child Left Behind (NCLB) (Evans, 2011; Nakagawa, 2006; Rogers, 2006). Such policies have been bolstered by the inflation of research that constructs a narrative that more family engagement is *the* solution to achievement gaps and teachers cannot succeed without it (Nakagawa, 2006).

Teachers might become frustrated with parents when they perceive a need for interdependence, but cannot trust parents do their part in the division of labor. An absence of relational trust causes people to take fewer risks, feel uncomfortable around one another, and increasingly monitor and search for negative motives of one another (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Even if there were no evidence that faculty/family trust and cooperation improved student

outcomes, at the very least, improving faculty trust in families would improve negative emotions that teachers and families feel in the absence of trust (Hargreaves, 2001; Lewis & Forman, 2002). An absence of trust threatens faculty/family cooperation but also may fuel a hostile relationship that might be detrimental to the well-being of the parent, teacher, and child.

With interdependence comes risk. While empathizing, respecting, and caring are not inherently risky because they can be one-sided, trust assumes interdependence; henceforth, its betrayal can disappoint the trustor. To fully trust, one must be confident that she will not be harmed. The framework of trust recognizes the sense of vulnerability and negative emotions that teachers may experience when their efforts to engage families are unsuccessful (Evans, 2011; Hargreaves, 2001; Lawson, 2003; Lewis & Forman, 2002). Understanding the limbo teachers face when they perceive that their professional and personal well-being depends on families – but that they cannot trust families – helps highlight the types of supports teachers need to be successful with family engagement.

Challenges of Trust-Building

Establishing trusting relationships between teachers and families in poor communities presents unique challenges (Hargreaves, 2001; Hong, 2011; Lareau, 1989, 2003; Lightfoot, 1978). Reviewing multiple types of trust, Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) identified some of the challenges (see Table 2).

Table 2. Types of Trust and Challenges Posed to Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Type of Trust	Definition	Challenge for Collective Trust
Characteristic-based	One party extends trust more readily to another party who they perceive as similar.	Socioeconomic and racial differences between teachers and families in urban areas render characteristic-based trust unlikely.
Institution-based	One party trusts another party because of that party's credentials or a contract.	Poor families tend to lack such institutional credentials that may automatically deem them trustworthy and school/family engagement contracts risk perpetuating uneven power.
Calculative	One party accepts a certain level of vulnerability based on calculations of the costs of a relationship with another party.	Through family engagement, teachers risk that the benefits of family engagement will not outweigh the costs of disappointment from failure.
Relational	One party trusts another party through regular communication and social exchange.	Teachers and families have limited opportunities for interaction and these interactions are often characterized by misunderstanding.

Although trust is often established through contracts and sanctions, Bryk and Schneider (2002) argue that cooperation between teachers and parents requires relational trust (or knowledge-based trust). Relational trust is characterized by a trustor's beliefs in the positive intentions of the trustee and an absence of beliefs in negative intentions. This type of trust derives from repeated actions over time between trustor and trustee, leading to emotions rooted in reciprocated care and concern (Baier, 1986; Rousseau et al., 1998; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Without relational trust, teachers are less likely to risk being vulnerable to families, and

schools are more likely to enact contractual trust, which all too often involves compacts between teachers and parents that are one-sided and exacerbate uneven power dynamics (Baier, 1986; Nakagawa, 2001).

Although relational trust is the most promising for meaningful cooperation between parents and teachers, empirical research indicates that more social exchange does not necessarily improve trust between faculty and families. In one case study, for example, Crozier (1999) found that the longer teachers were at the school, the more cynical they became and the less effort they made to relate to parents. Another study found that the quality of faculty/family interaction is a stronger predictor of trust than the frequency of interaction (Adams & Christenson, 2000). Yet, interactions between teachers and low-income families tend to be riddled with conflict, frustration, and misunderstanding (Hargreaves, 2002; Lareau, 1989, 2003; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978; Todd & Higgins, 1998).

Rousseau and colleagues (1998) note that trust can be both an independent and dependent variable. Thus, trust predicts how teachers will interact with families, and these interactions strengthen or diminish trust. Several ethnographic studies have illustrated “the teacher-parent relationship cycle,” whereby teachers view parents as being apathetic toward school and thus see no merit in reaching out to them; thus parents participate more passively, reinforcing teachers’ beliefs that they do not care (Doucet, 2011; Huss-Keeler, 1997). Once strong relational trust is in place, however, scholars argue that violations of trust are less likely to diminish it (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Given the challenges noted above, this study seeks to augment previous research regarding what factors facilitate and impede relational trust between teachers and parents (Greene, 2013; Hong, 2011; Lareau, 1989; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978, 2003). How relational trust becomes a school-level property becomes even more

challenging, as will be discussed next.

Collective Trust

Institutions promote or constrain trust relations (Fukuyama, 1995), which is why Forsyth and colleagues (2011) conceptualized collective trust as an institutional rather than individual phenomenon. Collective faculty trust in families is a norm and a property of the school culture, rather than a sum of individual beliefs (Adams & Forsyth, 2013). According to factor analysis, faculty trust in parents and faculty trust in students forms a single dimension of trust, labeled, “faculty trust in clients” (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999). Several studies indicate an association between collective faculty trust in students and families and academic achievement. Using multi-level modeling, a study of 47 elementary schools in one large urban district indicated that collective trust significantly predicted reading and math achievement, controlling for student-level SES, gender, race, and prior achievement and school-level SES (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001). A much less rigorous study, from an analytical perspective, found that among 97 urban, rural, and suburban high schools, collective trust in clients and math achievement were significantly correlated, controlling for student SES (Hoy, 2001). Adams and Forsyth (2013) found that student self-regulated learning mediated the positive and significant relationship between collective faculty trust in clients and reading and math standardized test scores in 56 elementary schools in an urban district.

Researchers posit that collective faculty trust in clients not only fosters improved collaboration between teachers and parents but also influences academic achievement through a school culture of “academic optimism” (Hoy, 2012). Academic optimism is a construct comprised of three inter-related sub-constructs: collective faculty trust in students and parents; collective efficacy (i.e. teachers’ ‘can do’ attitude); and academic emphasis (i.e. collaborative

work practices and high academic expectations and standards). Hoy and Tarter (2006) argue that academic optimism predicts academic achievement because it “views teachers as capable, students as willing, parents as supportive, and the task as achievable” (p. 40). For example, Adams and Forsyth (2013) found that student self-regulated learning mediated the positive and significant relationship between collective faculty trust in clients and reading and math standardized test scores in 56 elementary schools in an urban district. The authors posit that when teachers trust their students and students’ families, they are less likely to control student behavior using threats and incentives that thwart intrinsic motivation.

To the best of my knowledge, Forsyth and colleagues (2013) have conceptualized the only model pertaining to the development of collective trust in schools. They posit that collective trust is established most proximally by “social construction,” referring to social exchanges within a group whereby group-members make comparisons between expected and observed behaviors of members of another group and evaluate that group based on its openness, honesty, benevolence, reliability, and competence. Therefore, collective faculty trust in families would be established when faculty’s experiences with families meet their positive expectations and faculty communicate these positive expectations and experiences with one another through social exchange. The authors argue that individuals begin to think increasingly alike the longer they are part of a group. Once collective trust is established, new faculty gain acceptance by adopting this norm, and failure to do so results in sanctioning from colleagues (Adams & Forsyth, 2013), particularly from the “elite” faculty members who are the main socializing agents (Forsyth et al., 2011).

However, the authors do not explain in detail exactly how social exchange might result in collective trust or detail what social exchange looks like in a school setting. Literature on

collective efficacy in schools might be useful to inform how collective trust develops. Collective efficacy refers to members' perceptions of the performance of the system as a whole (Bandura, 1986). In schools with high levels of perceived collective efficacy, all teachers believe the school can excel, which encourages them to try their hardest and discourages them from giving up (Goddard, 2004). Although collective trust and collective efficacy are two different constructs, they are closely related because they both emphasize optimism as a force for change and social norms (Hoy, 2012). According to Bandura (1986), norms for collective efficacy form through mastery, vicarious experience, and social persuasion. Thus, norms for collective faculty trust might develop when faculty learn it by mastering it (e.g. "I trusted a parent and it paid off"), by vicarious experience (e.g. "My colleagues trusted parents and it paid off"), and social persuasion (e.g. "My colleagues encouraged me to trust parents"). One could also imagine that a teacher who trusts families may influence the social construction of trust in multiple ways: sharing with colleagues her own strategies to build trust with families and including colleagues in these strategies (i.e. helping colleagues gain mastery); sharing how the benefits of trusting families has outweighed the risks (i.e. offering colleagues vicarious experience with trusting families); and challenging her colleagues' deficit views toward families (i.e. social persuasion to trust).

According to Forsyth et al.'s (2011) model, the social construction of trust is influenced by external context (i.e. environmental influences and experiences that shape the values, attitudes, and expectations of individual group members), internal context (i.e. influences within an organization that affect the values, attitudes, and expectations of individuals and groups within the organization), and task context (i.e. the group's activities). Reviewing the extant literature, the authors conclude that internal context involves: a) behavioral mechanisms, including behaviors and structures that support healthy communication in schools; b) cognitive

mechanisms, including an orientation to innovation within the school (Bryk & Schneider, 2002) and teacher collective efficacy (Goddard, 2001) and c) affective mechanisms, including inter-faculty trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2002) and sense of belonging. Regarding external context, the authors review several studies finding that higher school minority and socioeconomic composition negatively influences faculty trust in students and parents (Adams, Forsyth, & Mitchell, 2009; Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Goddard, Salloum, & Berebitsky, 2006). However, the authors argue that poverty and school minority composition only affect collective trust to the degree that these variables influence school behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms, an oversimplification of how macro-level factors influence collective trust (Rousseau et al., 1998). Notably, all of the research on collective trust in schools is quantitative.

Ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) informs how this model may be revised to further account for broader contextual forces (Greene, 2013; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978), as well as the reciprocal influence of individuals and their social context. Much of the extant literature on relationships between school staff and families acknowledges that families are influenced by ecological factors (e.g. neighborhood poverty, single parenthood, the labor market, etc.), but with some exceptions (Hargreaves, 2005; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978; 2003; Lawson, 2003; Lewis & Forman, 2002), largely overlooks how various contextual factors influence teachers' attitudes toward families. Overlooking these contextual factors threatens to perpetuate the tendency of educational literature to attribute poor achievement solely to deficient teachers and failing schools (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2003). Further, an understanding of how contextual factors influence teachers, their relations to one another, and the school environment will better inform implementation of policy and practice.

Additionally, while Forsyth and colleagues (2011) do account for the influence of the school environment on faculty social exchange, there is insufficient attention to how individuals influence these contexts through social exchange. Ecological systems theory is thus useful for its dual attention to individuals and contexts; it helps to recognize the broader social, political, and organizational forces that change actors must overcome when generating collective faculty trust in families, while also considering how faculty may have agency to respond to and improve their school environments.

In sum, trust differs from other relational mechanisms because it requires interdependence and risk. Given that interdependence and risk comprise the faculty/family relationship, faculty trust in families deserves further examination. Relational trust, which is characterized by mutual respect and care and is less fragile than other types of trust, is most promising for faculty/family cooperation but difficult to attain. Collective trust, an organizational property of schools, is even more difficult to attain. Therefore, research is needed to understand how faculty trust in families and interactions with families mutually reinforce one another and what factors influence relational and collective trust between faculty and families. In the literature review that follows, I first discuss how historical conceptions of faculty/family trust are no longer practical and why frameworks for studying trust in schools require a more critical lens. Next, I turn to the critical family engagement literature to discuss ecological factors that influence faculty trust in families at the individual level. Finally, I use the school organizational literature to illuminate how school and educational policy contexts influence the development of collective faculty trust in families.

Re-Defining Teacher/Family Trust for Modern Times

The literature on what type of family engagement matters most for academic outcomes is

still murky; however, there is growing consensus that the type of family engagement most strongly associated with academic achievement is what Robinson and Harris (2014) call “stage setting” (Fan & Chen, 2001; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Jeynes, 2005). This engagement occurs when parents convey the importance of education to children in a way that makes schooling central to their identity and when parents provide an environment – physical or cognitive – in which learning can be maximized (Robinson & Harris, 2014). Stage setting requires parents to take action and is thus distinct from high expectations for educational attainment, which are equally high across socioeconomic and racial groups, but predict academic achievement to a lesser degree among marginalized groups (Lee & Bowen, 2006; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). Although parents can engage in stage setting without communicating and collaborating with their children’s teachers, social capital theory offers a theoretical rationale for the importance of positive home/school communication (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman (1988) argues that children perform better academically when the central adults in their lives instill common attitudes, beliefs, and norms toward education, and tight-knit school communities facilitate such consistent messaging. Through a longitudinal secondary analysis of the *High School and Beyond* dataset, Coleman (1988) found that high school students who attended Catholic schools performed better academically and had lower rates of dropout than their demographically similar peers who attended public school and other types of private schools. He attributed these differences to the religious community that unified teachers with parents and parents with their peers and surrounded young people with common norms and values. Additionally, Coleman (1981) claimed that higher academic expectations and a stronger disciplinary climate bolstered Catholic school achievement. Such a climate was possible because Catholic school parents trusted teachers to assume authority in setting high expectations and

disciplining their children.

All-Black schools prior to court-ordered integration represent another example of a type of school with strong social capital between teachers and parents. Morris (1999) described how many segregated all-Black schools were strong community institutions, “family-like,” and characterized by a strong set of relationships between and among teachers, parents, principals, and community members. For example, through ethnographic work conducted in a rural southern county, Siddle-Walker (1993) found that prior to court-mandated integration, parents fully trusted the county’s all-black elementary school and believed that the principal and the teachers always harbored their children’s best interests. Due to this established trust, parents consistently responded to teachers’ invitations for involvement; auditoriums were full for PTO meetings; and the principal and teachers informally interacted with families in community settings.

Thus, if students do better when parents and teachers have social capital through which they instill similar messages about the importance of education, teacher/parent trust becomes a critical ingredient for facilitating their collaboration (Coleman, 1988; Hoy, 2012; Putnam, 1995). When school norms support teacher trust in families, teachers devote more effort to cooperating with families (Hoy, 2012). Bryk and colleagues (2010) found that across the Chicago Public School system’s elementary schools, baseline levels of trust between teachers, teachers and principals, and teachers and parents significantly predicted whether schools stagnated or improved on parent involvement, where parent involvement was measured as a composite of teachers’ reports of parent involvement in the school and their outreach to parents.¹ Schools that were in the 25th percentile on trust in the baseline year of the study declined in parent involvement by over one third of one standard deviation, while schools at the 75th percentile

¹ This analysis controlled for school racial composition, social class of the local neighborhood, school size, and enrollment stability.

increased in parent involvement by over one fifth of one standard deviation. Additionally, in schools that declined in trust from 1994 to 1997, parent involvement also decreased by nearly one half of one standard deviation, and in schools that increased in trust, parent involvement increased by over one half of one standard deviation.

The Catholic schools described by Coleman (1988) and the pre-integration Black school described by Siddle-Walker (1993) both represent the idea of *Gemeinschaft*. Tönnies (1887), a German sociologist, distinguished between *Gemeinschaft* communities, which involve trusting, caring relational ties built on kinship, geography, and collective memory, versus *Gesellschaft* communities, which are instrumental, bureaucratic and focus on an exchange of goods. Writing during a period of rising urbanization and industrialism, Tönnies conceptualized society as drifting linearly from *Gemeinschaftlich* small-town communities rooted in organic trust to *Gesellschaftlich* depersonalized contractual relationships. Merz and Furman (1997) applied this continuum to schooling, arguing that relationships within and beyond schools are becoming increasingly *Gesellschaftlich*, characterized by a growing economically driven purpose that emphasizes student test scores over more qualitative indicators of social and academic well-being; increased bureaucracy that creates formal processes for interaction between school actors rather than organic, spontaneous interaction; and greater role specialization that limits the extent to which teachers can assume relationally oriented roles (Mehta, 2013). This shift, the authors argue, threatens public education.

Gemeinschaftlich ideas about schooling evoke widespread nostalgia for a time in which trust, belonging, and common purpose characterized relationships between schools and communities (Tyack, 1992). However, Merz and Furman (1997) also warn against adopting an overly romanticized view of community. The authors cite feminist scholars (Gilligan, 1982;

Young, 1986) who acknowledge the uneven power dynamics inherent in idealized notions of community that neglect how cohesive communities tend to sustain themselves by excluding “the other,” or in the case of segregated schools under Jim Crow laws, are forcibly excluded. Young (1986), therefore, abandons the word community and replaces the term with “social relationships that embody openness to unassimilated otherness with justice and appreciation” (p. 23).

In contrast, Coleman (1987) does not provide an answer for how trust might flourish in pluralistic school settings, and furthermore, abandons hope that modern-day parents – whom he asserts are too consumed with the workforce and whose parenting styles are too laissez-faire – can work with teachers to instill positive norms in their children. Rather, he argues that other adults in the community should assume this role. This deficit perspective of parents discounts their right to have a meaningful voice in their children’s education and to have a positive and productive relationship with their children’s teachers.

Thus, it is critical to re-conceptualize teacher/parent trust for a modern-day society that is pluralistic and where parents want to be involved with their children’s education but often are unable to provide support in the form of PTO meetings and helping with homework. In other words, what does it mean for teachers to trust families today, given that in many urban schools, teachers and parents no longer can count on sharing a common definition of family engagement? And, given that relational trust between faculty and families is challenging to establish, what ecological factors might account for differences in faculty trust in families?

Ecological Influences on Faculty Trust in Families

The myth that low-income parents do not care about their children’s education and that they are not capable of helping their children succeed is ubiquitous and pervasive in many urban schools (Huss-Keeler, 1997; Greene, 2013; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Ideologies surrounding

educational issues are tied closely with broader societal hegemonies that assume a cultural deficit model (Ball, 1987). The cultural deficit model attributes the low achievement of minority students to deficient cultural values, such as large, disorganized, and female-headed households, less emphasis on the importance of education, and the use of non-standard English at home (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Despite an increased focus in the past decade (Evans, 2011), teacher education programs tend to direct little attention to family engagement (Broussard, 2000; Graue & Brown, 2003). Furthermore, teacher education programs and ongoing professional development for working with diverse populations tend to be superficial and ignore the centrality of race and racism (Milner, 2013). For example, Ruby Payne's (2005) *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* is widely used by teacher preparation programs and school districts. Milner (2013) reviews multiple criticisms of Payne's (2005) framework, books, lectures, and overall philosophy for perpetuating a cultural deficit model, neglecting systemic racism, and suggesting that students and families of color cannot operate in the normative White society. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) argue that a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens is needed for teacher education, which probes how educational institutions function to maintain racism, sexism, and classism. Yet, White students, who have assumed a colorblind lens all their lives tend to resist such a lens (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005), particularly if these programs do not address the emotions that this experience conjures. Similarly, García and Guerra (2004) observe that it is difficult for educators to view themselves as part of the problem for disparate educational outcomes and therefore there is little willingness to look for solutions within the educational system.

Rather than accusing well-intentioned and hardworking teachers of racism, classism, or

sexism (Hargreaves, 2001; Noddings, 1988), it is critical to also understand the macro-level roots behind the cultural deficit model. Coupled with the hegemonic American belief that poverty is the fault of the poor – which is amplified when “the poor” is also female, single, and of color (Collins, 2008) – discourse and policies surrounding family engagement set families up to fail to meet teachers’ expectations, thus affirming the cultural deficit model and impeding the development of relational trust. The broader educational policy environment, too, limits teachers’ abilities to have the types of interactions with families that are conducive to developing relational trust.

Policy discourse related to family engagement tends to position families as “empty vessels” to be filled by the middle-class norms of schooling (Lightfoot, 2004). Using critical discourse analysis to analyze legislation and policy statements related to parent involvement and family-school compacts and contracts, Nakagawa (2000) argues that discourse presents contradictory notions about parents, as both problems (e.g. they lack the motivation to be involved) and protectors (e.g. they have the power to fix the public schools). Discourse constructs the ideal parent, one that “takes the lead of the school, who is involved but not too involved, and who supports but does not challenge” (p. 456). These confusing mixed messages, the author argues, prevent parents from taking action at all, by excluding families who believe their role is not to question the school as well as families who view schools as sites of political resistance. When parents do not fulfill expectations of the ideal parent, they are labeled as apathetic. Rather than interrupting social reproduction, unrealistic and confusing expectations for parent involvement reinforces the status quo (De Carvalho, 2001; Lareau, 1989).

Demands of the current educational policy environment further engender unrealistic and confusing expectations for family engagement. Merz and Furman (1997) remark that families

fail to find meaning in the increasingly *Gesellschaftlich* mission of schools, confused by the paradoxical mission to simultaneously build community and efficiency. The authors note that this “identity crisis” (p. 42) affects educators as well, who struggle to find meaning in the *Gesellschaftlich* vision for schooling and are thus left without a shared vision for their work that drives a sense of community within the school. Without recognizing this identity crisis, educators do not call into question how the *Gesellschaftlich* mission of the school may alienate families, and they continue to enlist parent support for the school’s pre-defined, often *Gesellschaftlich* objectives.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) parent involvement policy further advances a *Gesellschaftlich* agenda. Rogers (2006) suggests that the NCLB narratives of test-based accountability and choice “pit[s] poor parents against unmotivated educators and a recalcitrant education system” (p. 617). Conceptualizing parents as consumers in this way contributes to clientizing them in such a way that belies *Gemeinschaftlich* notions of community (Henry, 1996). Additionally, these policy narratives suggest that families will be empowered through individual action rather than collective action, ignoring the fact that many African American parents realize that individualized attempts to challenge schools will be ineffective and potentially result in negative consequences for their children (Fine, 1991; Rogers, 2006). Again, in emphasizing individualism over collectivism and standardized test scores over relationships as primary indicators of school quality, NCLB imposes a *Gesellschaftlich* purpose of parent involvement on schools and families. When families do not buy into this purpose, faculty members tend to label them as apathetic and unsupportive.

Further, Evans (2011) discusses how NCLB’s family engagement policies, including the requirement that any school receiving Title 1 funds develop a family-school compact, the

creation of parent information resource centers, efforts to enhance school transparency, and opportunities for families to exercise school choice, are built on the assumption that schools will be motivated to engage families only out of fear for losing students and funding. Scholars argue that framing family engagement in this way threatens to exacerbate adversarial teacher/parent relationships and indeed, researchers have found that exclusively focusing on raising test scores has dissolved trusting *Gemeinschaftlich* relationships (Shirley & Evans, 2007).

The broader educational policy environment, while increasingly emphasizing the importance of family and community engagement (Evans, 2011; Rogers, 2006), has paradoxically introduced multiple barriers to promoting faculty trust and positive interactions with families. Teacher accountability policies result in an increased focus on classroom instruction and pressure to buffer students from instructional distractions (Evans, 2011; Hargreaves, 2001). Such a focus sends a confusing message to educators, urging them to relinquish control to families and communities while remaining ultimately accountable. Thus, teachers become more vulnerable when they afford families genuine partnership opportunities, and this sense of vulnerability is magnified as teachers struggle to retain their professional stature in light of negative public discourse surrounding the profession (Forsyth et al., 2011). Mehta (2013) describes how teachers have been increasingly degraded in the public eye since the 1984 report, *A Nation at Risk*, positioned declining student test scores as an economic threat that could be attributed not to social forces but directly to schools and incompetent teachers.

Thus, affording families more power risks further dismantling the already shaky professional stature of teachers (Crozier, 2001; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978, 2003; Lareau, 1989; Lewis & Forman, 2002; Todd & Higgins, 1998). Lareau (1989) found that many teachers wanted parents to be deferential to their professional judgment and validating of their efforts, and the

author attributes this sentiment to broader social attitudes toward teachers. Hargreaves (2001), who highlighted the emotions teachers experience with family engagement, advised that policies that seek to empower family and community stakeholders must also commit to equipping teachers with the means by which to ensure these relationships help them meet their goals and requirements. In other words, teachers need support to balance the *Gesellschaftlich* requirements of modern public education with the *Gemeinschaftlich* goal of family engagement.

Accountability connected to high-stakes testing, coupled with the degradation of teachers in the public eye (Goldstein, 2010), may also limit teacher-efficacy, which is an important predictor of family engagement (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1987). Hoover-Dempsey and colleagues suggest that teachers who feel confident that they can teach and their students can learn will not perceive that asking for help from parents is a sign of inadequacy or that family engagement will be a threat to the teacher's autonomy and specialized role. Current policies surrounding high-stakes testing and accountability may also simply limit the amount of time teachers can devote to building relationships (Evans, 2011). For example, Crocco and Costigan (2007) found that among new teachers in New York City public schools, opportunities for relationship building heavily influenced their decisions about staying in the teaching profession, yet they expressed that these opportunities were limited.

In spite of the challenges described above, due to their own experiences in school, in the profession, or in other facets of life (Ball, 1987), many teachers resist these macro-level norms and engage in authentic partnerships with families. Given that teachers are influenced by and also influence their contexts, the question then becomes how can school contexts influence teachers to overcome restraints placed on them by cultural deficit hegemonies and the educational policy environment?

School Context and Collective Trust

As discussed, the social construction of collective trust might occur in similar ways to the social construction of collective efficacy: through mastery, vicarious experience, social persuasion, and affective state (Bandura, 1986). The extent to which faculty can influence one another through promoting one another's mastery, learning and sharing through vicarious experience, and direct social persuasion depends on a set of school organizational properties. According to Forsyth and colleagues (2011), these properties include: a) behavioral mechanisms, such as opportunities for teachers to engage in reflective dialogue; b) cognitive mechanisms, such as orientation to innovation (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; i.e. continually learning and seeking new ideas, having a "can-do" attitude, perceived teacher collective efficacy); c) affective mechanisms, including sense of belonging and teacher-teacher trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2011). Behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms align closely with the concept of *organizational social capital*, which facilitates cooperation, efficiency, and knowledge transfer among individuals within an organization (Holme & Rangel, 2011). Organizational social capital facilitates school improvement (Bryk et al., 2010; Holme & Rangel, 2011; Steinberg, Allensworth, & Johnson, 2011), and despite the critical importance of understanding and addressing macro-structural factors, extant literature suggests that schools do have a certain level of agency in driving improvement (Bryk et al., 2010).

In organizations that are maximally oriented to change, multiple stakeholders are involved in the task; there are learning-oriented norms; and members do not fear risk-taking, are minimally defensive, and are constantly checking their assumptions (Argyris & Schön, 2007). Leaders enable rather than drive change, and employees feel a sense of orientation to innovation (Bryk et al., 2010; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Such active participation in the change

effort is necessary to enable the cognitive shifts that deep organizational change requires (Chapman, 2002).

In order for faculty to engage in a process of challenging their own and one another's assumptions about family engagement, they must trust one another, an affective mechanism. A growing body of literature indicates that trust between and among school stakeholder groups "lubricates" school changes and daily activities (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p. 5; Goddard, 2001; Hoy, 2002; Steinberg et al., 2011). Challenging colleagues' attitudes, norms, and behaviors requires a certain degree of trust between faculty, the willingness to be vulnerable on the confidence that their colleagues will not think less of them or malign them to others (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Louis, 2007). In high trust schools, teachers are willing to share professional secrets, successful teaching strategies, and materials (Louis, 2007; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). Major school changes tend to augment existing levels of trust in high-trust schools and further diminish trust in low-trust schools (Louis, 2007). Louis suggests that administrators need to assess, and if necessary address, the current level of inter-faculty trust before attempting to initiate a significant change.

Such affective mechanisms facilitate cognitive mechanisms, which enable enforcement and acceptance of collective norms (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Goddard, Hoy & Hoy, 2004). Yet, trust should not be confused with an absence of conflict. Faculty need to feel safe and efficacious when they engage in the difficult conversations that drive meaningful change. Achinstein (2002) compared school change efforts between two high schools. The first school had a highly cohesive teacher community but an avoidant stance toward conflict. Teachers bonded with one another partially through othering students and families and isolating those teachers who did not agree with them. Teachers adhered to the mainstream ideology of teachers as socializing agents.

“Uncomfortable” issues such as racism rarely surfaced. The other school frequently engaged in conflict, openly discussed issues pertaining to race and racism, and teachers perceived themselves as social change agents. Importantly, the former school maintained existing social relations and norms while the latter school was open to learning and innovation. Achinstein notes that extreme consensus seeking is typically associated with stereotyping outsiders, impaired decision-making, and limited consideration of alternatives, and she contends that critical reflection and dissent is essential to fostering a productive learning community. However, overt conflict comes at a cost, as conflict tends to exacerbate teacher stress and turnover (Achinstein, 2002; Ball, 1987; Troman, 2000).

Perceptions of collective efficacy enable faculty to engage in such difficult conversations because they believe that their efforts will be worthwhile. Strong beliefs in the capability of the whole group motivate individual members to try their hardest (Bandura, 1986). Thus, faculty members who have established relational trust in families might be more willing to challenge their colleagues’ deficit orientations because they believe in their overall collective capability, and for the same reason, their colleagues might be more willing to listen. Once such collective trust in families is in place, social exchanges communicate expectations, sanctions, and rewards to new members (Goddard et al., 2004). In a school characterized by a high level of perceived collective efficacy, faculty will sanction a new teacher whose actions are not consistent with group expectation.

In addition to behavioral, affective, and cognitive mechanisms, the extent to which teachers invest in school improvement efforts also depends on career stage. Ball (1987) categorized teachers into three types of political efficacy: satisfaction, frustration, and fatalism. Satisfieds tend to have influence; frustrated teachers continue to attempt change despite realizing

the limited potential of success; and fatalists believe that nothing can be done to change current conditions and that the risks of attempting to do so outweigh the benefits. Teachers' experience tends to predict their orientation to innovation. Hargreaves (2005) found that young teachers try to establish their basic confidence and competence as professionals and tend to begin with the notion that they can conquer anything. Young teachers are also more likely to embrace change, having not witnessed years of policy churn. Older and more experienced teachers, in contrast, tend to concentrate their improvement efforts on their own classrooms where they believe they can make the most difference. They are more likely to resist change, as they have realized how quickly policies come and go and thus either critique the change, or more often than not, try to continue with business as usual.

Such generational differences tend to create misunderstandings between teachers, whereby younger teachers blame older teachers for their resistance and apparent complacency and older teachers accuse younger teachers of naïveté (Hargreaves, 2005). These dynamics may surface when a young teacher attempts to “shake up” how the school approaches family engagement. According to Bandura (1986), the credibility, trustworthiness, and expertise of the persuader matters, which might further complicate new teachers' efforts to influence their colleagues.

An ecological lens highlights how the dominant educational policy environment that emphasizes standardized testing, school choice, and accountability (Mehta, 2013; Ravitch, 2010) influences school-based behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms. Forsyth and colleagues (2011) discuss how the broader educational policy environment influences collective trust in schools, stating the harmfulness of policies that demean teachers and leave them feeling threatened and unappreciated. Forsyth and colleagues argue that such “hard controls” damage

collective trust, and they review ample literature showing the failures of hard controls to improve schools (e.g. Fullan, 2005; Malen & Rice, 2009; Mintrop & Trujillo, 2005). In contrast, “trust-sensitive policies” (p. 140) frame school improvement as a collective responsibility, rather than that of teachers alone.

Teacher job satisfaction dropped 15 points between 2009 and 2011, from 59% who said they were very satisfied to 44% who are very satisfied (MetLife Survey of the American Teacher, 2011). This is the lowest level in over 20 years. Additionally, the percentage of teachers who say they are very or fairly likely to leave the profession has increased by 12 points in that timespan. In schools where over two-thirds of the students are ethnic or racial minorities, the rate of teachers who report high levels of satisfaction was only 28%, compared to nearly 50% at schools with less than one third minority composition. Over one third of educators reported that there was decreased time to collaborate with colleagues in the past year. Schools possess higher levels of collective trust when teachers have more influence and control over instructional design, and teachers feel valued for their professional knowledge (Forsyth, Barnes, & Adams, 2006). Yet, teachers with lower job satisfaction are less likely to feel that they are treated as professionals (MetLife Survey of the American Teacher, 2011). Finnigan and Gross (2007) used data from Chicago Public School system to investigate whether teacher motivation levels changed as a result of accountability policies under No Child Left Behind (NCLB), as hypothesized. Instead, many teachers experienced low morale and chronic feelings of voicelessness and disrespect.

Valli and Buese (2007) conducted a longitudinal study examining the changing roles of elementary school teachers in the context of increasing high-stakes accountability in one urban district from 2001-2005. Through observations and teacher focus groups with 150 teachers in 25

schools, the authors found that an increase in role expectations due to high-stakes accountability resulted in negative consequences for professional well-being. Group planning time focused increasingly on aligning curriculum to standards and test-taking strategies, rather than discussing substantive matters. Brooks, Hughes, and Brooks (2008) explored teacher alienation in the policy context of school reform through an in-depth ethnographic case study of a single high school. They found that teachers felt alienated in many ways: although they were formally involved in school governance structures, they felt they had little real power to effect change, and many chose to isolate themselves from the politics of the school. These studies indicate that in spite of increased emphasis on professional learning communities and teacher leadership, other policy changes threaten the affective, behavioral, and cognitive mechanisms that influence collective faculty trust in families.

Additionally, a high rate of faculty turnover, which is approximately 50 percent higher in high-poverty schools compared to more affluent ones (Ingersoll, 2001), attenuate behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms (Holme & Rangel, 2011). Holme and Rangel (2011) conducted a cross-case study in five geographically diverse high schools to understand the relationship between faculty stability and organizational social capital. Three of the schools were located in high-poverty areas, and frequent faculty and administrator turnover resulted in the absence of shared norms and vision (cognitive capital); weak relational ties between faculty (relational capital); and little collective professional knowledge (intellectual capital). The authors documented how weak organizational capital contributed to an inability to respond to external policy demands. One of the schools, also located in a high-poverty setting, had strong organizational capital, but Holme and Rangel noted the tenuousness of this resource, as it was strongly tied to strong leadership and the principal's ability to win grants to fund collaborative

processes, such as extra paid time for PLC activities. As alternative licensure programs, such as *Teach for America*, continue to expand in urban school districts, faculty turnover is likely to increase further. After five years, under 15% of Teach for America teachers still work in their initial placement school (Donaldson & Johnson, 2011).

In sum, the current educational policy environment, characterized by an increasingly *Gesellschaftlich* focus on numerical outputs, accountability, and constant replacement of teaching staff, has diminished teacher satisfaction (MetLife Survey of the American Teacher, 2011), augmented a sense of powerlessness to make school-level changes (Forsyth et al., 2011), and limited opportunities for reflective dialogue (Valli & & Buese, 2007). Research suggests that this policy context would hinder the behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms that facilitate the development of collective trust.

Summary and Study Purpose

Changes in attitudes and beliefs are critical foundations for structural and technical change (Argyris & Schön, 2007; Chapman, 2002; Rogers & Oakes, 2005). As such, family engagement should flourish in schools where faculty, as a collective unit, believes that efforts to engage families will be worth their while (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Hong, 2011; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2003). However, barriers at multiple ecological levels hinder the development of strong faculty/family relationships. Individual teachers' level of trust in families and interactions with families are influenced by hegemonic norms concerning race, class, and gender that are represented in broader society and in scholarly and political family engagement discourse (Hong, 2011; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978, 2003; Nakagawa, 2000; Rogers, 2006). Additionally, the broader educational policy environment renders teachers less willing to be vulnerable to families and less able to invest time in building relationships (Evans, 2011; Hargreaves, 2001).

Although these barriers are well established in the educational literature, there is little understanding surrounding how faculty social exchange influences collective faculty trust in families. Faculty may influence the formation of collective trust through expanding opportunities for colleagues to interact with families (promoting mastery); modeling that trust pays off (providing vicarious experience); and speaking directly with colleagues about trusting families (social persuasion). The extent to which these efforts occur and are successful, however likely depend on school-level affective, behavioral, and cognitive mechanisms, which are further influenced by broader educational policies. Extant literature has documented the importance of these mechanisms for school improvement (Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2011), but has not examined how they relate to the generation of collective faculty trust in families, specifically. Furthermore, to my knowledge, no studies have investigated how the broader educational policy context influences the development of collective faculty trust in families. Research suggests that the current policy environment, characterized by an increasingly *Gesellschaftlich* focus on numerical outputs, accountability, and constant replacement of teaching staff, has diminished teacher satisfaction (MetLife Survey of the American Teacher, 2011), augmented a sense of powerlessness to make school-level changes (Forsyth et al., 2011), and limited opportunities for reflective dialogue (Valli & Buese, 2007). This policy context theoretically will hinder the behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms that facilitate the development of collective trust (Forsyth et al., 2011).

Initiatives that focus explicitly on connecting schools and communities, such as community schools, offer *Gemeinschaftlich* alternatives to this *Gesellschaftlich* policy drift. Extant literature has documented how isolated efforts, including professional development (Garcia & Guerra, 2005; Moll et al., 1992) and school/community partnerships (Hong, 2011;

Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012; López et al., 2005) may improve faculty trust in families. Extant literature suggests that teacher professional development programs should not just equip teachers with ideas and resources for engaging families but should also strengthen collegial community (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2002; Bryk et al, 2010), and community schools should focus on relationship building rather than expanding school bureaucracy through greater role specialization (Furman & Merz, 1996; Schutz, 2006; Smrekar & Mawhinney, 1999). No studies to my knowledge have investigated the strengths and challenges that arise through a combination of such efforts and how relevant change actors navigate clashes with the broader *Gesellschaftlich* policy environment.

Given the breadth of these ecological challenges, I have used ecological theory to enhance portions of Forsyth and colleagues' (2011) conceptual model for predicting collective trust. Figure 1 depicts theorized interactions between the micro- and macro- level. The innermost box displays individual faculty members. Individual faculty trust and faculty/family interactions are mutually reinforcing, and each is influenced by macro-level factors, including hegemonic norms and family engagement discourse and policies. Such individual-level attitudes and behaviors then influence the nature of faculty interactions about family engagement (i.e. faculty social exchange), and faculty social exchange, in turn influences individual faculty members' trust in and interactions with families. In accordance with Forsyth and colleagues (2011), school-level affective, behavioral, and cognitive mechanisms shape faculty social exchange. Finally, the broader educational policy environment influences these school-level mechanisms.

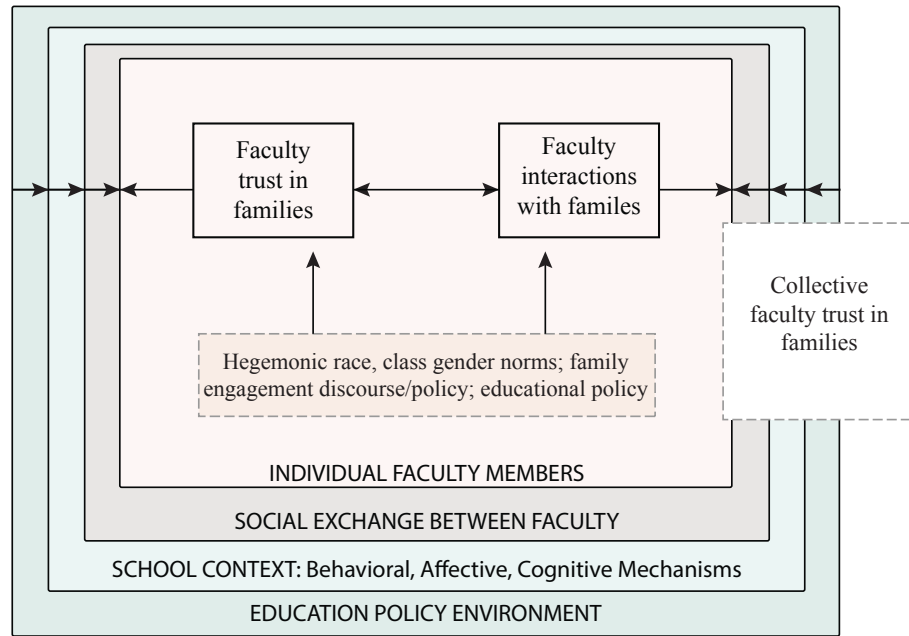


Figure 1. Conceptual model for collective faculty trust in families

Using this conceptual model to guide my research questions and data collection tools, the primary focus of this study was to understand what factors constrained and supported the development of collective faculty trust in families in two elementary schools, labeled as “community schools,” located in one underserved neighborhood. I investigated this question through a case study of a community led place-based initiative’s process of trying to improve family engagement in these schools. The main feature of this process was an in-service professional development program regarding family engagement, *Teachers Involving Parents* (TIP). The program was operated through a collaboration that involved the Northside Neighborhood Center (NNC), which was the lead coordinating agency for a comprehensive community initiative for education reform; a national organization that operates community schools; and myself. I examined what factors constrain and support the development of collective faculty trust in each school primarily through qualitative methods, including program

observation, interviews with school staff, and document analysis. My goal was to gain a naturalistic and holistic understanding of the following overarching research question: What contextual factors enable and hinder the development of collective faculty trust in families?

To answer this question, I explored a set of research questions that were intended both to describe the setting under study and to examine interactions between the various ecological levels shown in Figure 1. Descriptively, I compared and contrasted how individual faculty members perceived their students' families (Chapter IV); how collective trust in families manifested at each of the schools and the strength of each school's behavioral, affective, and cognitive mechanisms (Chapter V); and outcomes derived from TIP and the community school coordinators (Chapter VI). I also sought to understand the relationships between individuals, social processes, and macro-level factors shown in Figure 1. For example, how are individual faculty members influenced by the external environment? (Chapter IV). How does the educational policy environment influence differences in the two schools' affective, cognitive, and behavioral climates? (Chapter V). And, how do differences in the two school climates influence faculty social exchange regarding family engagement and how does faculty social exchange influence individual faculty members? (Chapter VI).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Study Background

This study occurred in a roughly two square mile geographic area of a mid-size city. The Northside Neighborhood Center (NNC, a pseudonym) is a comprehensive social services agency, which has served the community since 1948, currently offering pre-school education, a range of adult education classes, and operating a charter school. The NNC is located within the largest public housing development in the city. According to the U.S. Census (2010), in this census tract, 87% of children live in poverty, and the median household income is \$10,412, over \$47,000 lower than the citywide median income. Only 4% of residents have graduated from college and not one single resident has a graduate degree. Five percent of homes are owner-occupied. High rates of neighborhood crime and violence, coupled with low home ownership rates, stifle interpersonal and institutional trust (Geller et al., 2014).

The NNC received a \$500,000 grant in December, 2011 to plan a place-based, cross-sector initiative to create “cradle-to-career” supports for children and families. Vanderbilt University Ph.D. students and NNC staff conducted focus groups with families and school administrators, in which it became evident that there were high levels of mistrust between families and neighborhood schools (Geller et al., 2014). Additionally, a door-to-door survey in Spring 2012 indicated that families overwhelmingly wanted to be more involved in their children’s schools. At working group meetings attended by service providers and principals from

two of the three “target” elementary schools during the planning year, principals expressed that improving family engagement was a high priority.

Although comprehensive community initiatives function optimally with genuine community participation (Kubisch et al., 2010), such authentic engagement was limited by the funder’s grant timeline. The Implementation Grant proposal was due in July 2012, meaning that the planning year was only getting started when the NNC had to submit implementation ideas. Thus, with the working group meeting only on a semi-weekly basis and with plenty of other more pressing discussion topics that needed to be covered in those meetings, the initiative director selected a family engagement intervention herself, with consultation from a highly regarded, experienced professor who is an expert on family engagement. The program she selected, TIP, is a theory-driven in-service professional development program (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2002).

The Director solicited each school’s community school coordinator to facilitate the program in her respective school. The coordinators only started working at their schools that year, as they were part of the expansion into the school district of a national organization that places a coordinator into schools with the goal of connecting the school with resources that help children meet their non-academic needs, such as referrals to mental health services, help with getting eyeglasses and a winter coat, and referrals for family members to a variety of social services. There is an estimated 5,000 community schools nationwide (Castrechini & London, 2012), oftentimes operated by organizations such as the Children’s Aid Society, Communities in Schools, and the Coalition for Community Schools.

Study Schools

According to public data available from the state Department of Education, in 2012, the school district enrolled 74,680 students in 143 schools. The racial composition of the school district is 34% Caucasian, 46% African-American, 16% Hispanic, 4% Asian, and .26% other, and 72% of students qualify for free/reduced price lunch. TIP was conducted at three public elementary schools, newly designated as community schools: Jones Elementary School, Smith Elementary School, and Cook Elementary School (pseudonyms). Each school serves students from Pre-K through 4th grade. Although I originally intended to include all three schools in the study, Cook Elementary took substantially more time to begin implementing the TIP program, and by the time it was over, faculty had too many conflicting responsibilities and could not be interviewed. Although the demographic characteristics of the three schools appear almost identical, the majority of Cook students live in the public housing development serviced by the NNC. The ways in which concentrated neighborhood poverty influenced the school's inability to successfully implement in-service professional development is important data unto itself and it will be discussed more fully in the discussion section.

Jones Elementary School enrolls 198 students, of whom 85% are Black, 8.7% are Hispanic, and 6% are White. Over 95% of the students qualify for free/reduced price lunch. Jones is a small, one-story brick building located in a residential neighborhood off of a main road dotted by fast food restaurants and auto-body shops. The school environment belies images that one might associate with a "failing" urban public school. The school entrance has a bulletin board with flyers advertising career fairs, health clinics, and summer camps, and the front office has another bulletin board that reads, "Welcome Families!" Front office staff greet visitors warmly, and colorful student work adorns the walls.

As a persistently low-performing school, the state designated Jones to receive a federal School Improvement Grant (SIG) in 2010. Schools with SIG grants must adhere to one of four prescribed reform strategies, borrowed from corporate culture. Jones endured the “turnaround” strategy, through which the school’s principal and all teachers are fired, and the new principal can elect to rehire up to 50 percent of the original teachers (Office of School Turnaround, n.d.). Only three were re-hired, and the new principal brought the majority of the new teaching staff with her from the previous school where she had been a principal. In 2012, 73% of students scored either at or below basic on the math portion of the statewide standardized test, and 83% scored below basic or basic on the Reading/Language Arts portion. The school demonstrated improvement during its first year after the turnaround but declined the following year. During the 2010/2011 school year, fourth grade math scores increased by 5.1 Normal Curve Equivalents (NCEs)² and in the 2011/2012 school year, math scores increased by 2.3 NCEs. Reading/ language arts scores declined in 2010/2011 by 2.9 and further declined in 2011/2012 by 6.9. I present these data as an indication of the focus the school must place on improving test scores in the context of high-stakes accountability.

Smith Elementary School is larger than Jones, enrolling 312 students in 2012, 87% of whom are African-American, 5% of whom are Hispanic, and 7% of whom are White. Over 95% of students qualify for free/reduced price lunch. After court-mandated integration ended, the school district attempted to compensate for racial segregation by granting the school extra resources and smaller class sizes. Thus, class sizes are capped at 16, and even before it became a community school in 2012, the school offered a range of extra supports, including after-school

² The NCE maps percentile data onto corresponding points in a normal distribution, because the problem with percentile rank scores is that the difference between any two scores is not equivalent to the difference between any other two scores.

tutoring and partnerships with a range of local agencies intended to address students' socio-emotional and health needs. The school is a three-story brick building located only a few miles from Jones and is situated beside a park in a residential neighborhood. The school opened in 1898, the year proudly engraved on the front of the school. Similar to Jones, the front office staff appears friendly, and student work adorns the walls. 71% of Smith students scored at or below basic on the math portion of the standardized test, and 74% scored at or below basic on the reading/language arts portion. However, the school has been making steady gains. In 2010, math scores and reading scores increased respectively by 4.2 NCEs and 0.9 NCEe, and in 2011, math and reading scores further increased respectively by 5.7 NCEs and 3.2 NCEs. Table 3 shows the demographics and academic achievement levels of both schools.

Table 3. Demographics and Academic Achievement of Study Schools

	Size	% Black	% Hispanic	% FRPL	% at or below basic math	% at or below basic reading	2011/12 change in reading NCEs	2011/12 change in math NCEs
Jones	312	86.9	5.0	>95	73	83	-6.9	+2.3
Smith	198	85.2	8.7	>95	71	74	+3.2	+5.7

Teachers Involving Parents (TIP)

The TIP program assumes that there is a strong link between teachers' beliefs and teachers' actions (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2002). More specifically, the program assumes that when teachers believe in their own teaching efficacy, believe in parents' efficacy for helping their children learn, and believe that parent involvement is important, they are more likely to have stronger goals, commitments, and skills toward inviting parent involvement.

The program incorporates several components of successful professional development programs. First, it is designed to appreciate teachers' expertise about the school and the schools' children and families. Thus, the program elicits existing best practices and successes of teachers, and the facilitator's role is largely to draw these experiences out rather than to impart top-down expertise. Second, the program intentionally seeks to develop collegial interaction and a community of learners, based on thoughtful critique of current belief and practice. Such collegial interaction is posited to help sustain the impacts of the program beyond its limited time-frame. Third, the program integrates opportunities for individual, small-group, and whole-group discussion to accommodate different learning styles and provide teachers with tangible ideas for action. TIP consists of six 90 minute modules. Each module begins with an icebreaker and a review of the "homework" from the previous week and ends with a short evaluation of that week's session. The topics for the six modules include teachers' experiences with parental involvement; addressing and coping with obstacles; perceptions of parents; communicating with parents; working with hard-to-reach parents; and enacting strategies beyond the program.

Recruitment, scheduling, and participant composition at each school varied. At Jones, TIP was held once a week after school from the end of January through the beginning of March. There were six participants, including two second grade teachers, one third grade teacher, one fourth grade teacher, an English Language (EL) teacher, and the school guidance counselor. The community school coordinator introduced the program during a faculty meeting, and faculty voluntarily signed up for the program at the meeting. The teachers, all female, represented a diverse range of teaching experience. Although the principal had expressed a need to improve family engagement during NNC-led working group meetings, she did not actively encourage her faculty to join the program, feeling that she already requested a lot from them.

At Smith, TIP was also held once a week after school, also from the end of January through the beginning of March. Two of the sessions were held back-to-back during an in-service professional development day. The principal selected six new teachers whom she required to participate in the program, and additionally, the community school coordinator advertised the program through e-mail. The principal excused participants from faculty meetings that were held on the same day of the week so they could attend TIP. Although the program reached capacity at 12 participants, there were an additional 10 teachers on a waitlist. The 12 participants in the program included 9 classroom teachers, the music teacher (the only male), the physical education teacher, and the exceptional education teacher. Again, teachers represented a diverse range of teaching experience.

My Role

After the NNC Director in charge of the organization's place-based initiative decided to implement TIP, she asked me in August, 2012 to be the program coordinator and evaluator. She and I had collaborated with one another for a year and a half in a range of activities, including a community needs assessment, grant-writing, and on the planning working group. Because she knew I was interested in family engagement, she hoped that her needs for a project manager would overlap with my need for a dissertation topic. I subsequently applied for a grant, which funded the program in the three target schools. Later in the fall, I organized and led a meeting with the program team, which included three community school coordinators (one from each school); their manager; and two staff from the NNC. During this meeting, I introduced the team to the rationale for and the goals of the program. I facilitated a meeting in January 2013 to further explain the program, provide basic facilitation training, and generate enthusiasm for the program. To help recruit for the program, I developed a one-page document for the coordinators

to circulate to their faculty, and at Jones, I joined the coordinator to recruit at a school-wide faculty meeting.

Additionally, I helped to facilitate the program at Jones and Smith. At Jones, the community school coordinator had less experience with facilitation, so we planned the sessions together, and I helped with facilitation. Because I was so actively engaged at Jones, another graduate student attended all sessions to take notes. At Smith, the coordinator had a great deal of facilitation experience. Thus, I split my time between acting as the “recorder,” participating in small-group sessions, and writing field-notes. I debriefed with the coordinators at Smith and Jones after each session and also led weekly meetings with the entire team.

Methods Overview

This study was guided by naturalistic inquiry, a form of qualitative research methods, which are appropriate for capturing evolutionary and transformational developmental dynamics (Patton, 2002). In naturalistic inquiry, the researcher does not manipulate the study setting or process, but rather seeks to understand it as it unfolds. Naturalistic inquiry operates under certain axioms, including that: there is no single reality and therefore a phenomenon must be understood holistically; inquiry can only produce “working hypotheses” which may be applicable in another context but only with an understanding of how that context compares to the one under study; action is explainable only in terms of multiple interacting factors, events, and processes; and the inquirer cannot maintain objective distance from the phenomena being studied (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Although quantitative data are sometimes collected with naturalistic inquiry, the method primarily focuses on qualitative data collection (Patton, 2002). As such, teachers completed surveys measuring collective trust in families and school-level affective, behavioral, and

cognitive mechanisms. These data are used for descriptive purposes and as a supplement to corresponding qualitative data.

The goal of this study was not to evaluate the TIP program, but rather to understand contextual supports and constraints for the development of collective faculty trust in families. Thus, the TIP program presented an opportunity through which to investigate how faculty discuss family engagement and how contextual factors influence this social exchange within and beyond the program. An experimental or quasi-experimental design would have required controlling for these key contextual factors.

My role as a researcher seeking to understand a phenomena, however, was balanced with my role as a researcher asked by the NNC to conduct a program evaluation that would help make decisions about the continuity of the program. Thus, in combination with exploring the research questions noted above, I used “responsive evaluation” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), which is intended to be action-oriented and responsive to the unique context of each setting. Specifically, responsive evaluation involves 1) identification of issues and concerns based on direct, face-to-face contact with people in and around the program; 2) use of program documents to further identify important issues; 3) direct, personal observations of program activities before formally designing the evaluation; and 4) designing the evaluation based on issues that emerged in the preceding three steps; 5) reporting information in direct, personal contact through themes and portrayals that are easily understandable and rich with description; and 6) matching information reports and reporting formats to specific audiences with different reports and formats for different audiences (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

In addition to balancing my role as a researcher and my role as an evaluator responsible for offering the NNC specific feedback about its program, I also had to navigate my role as a

researcher and a program facilitator/coordinator. Although traditional evaluation research would stress objectivity and distance, according to Patton (2002), naturalistic inquiry involves having direct and personal contact with program staff and study participants in their own environments. Instead of discussing subjectivity or objectivity, Patton suggests that qualitative researchers should adopt a stance of neutrality, entering the research arena with “no ax to grind, no theory to prove (to test but not to prove), and no predetermined results to support” (p. 51). Patton labels this balance between objectivity and subjectivity, “empathic neutrality,” (p. 53), a stance that enables researchers to acknowledge their emotional attachment to a program and study participants while taking necessary steps to sustain trustworthiness and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Appendix A elaborates on my process for establishing trustworthiness and authenticity.

Data Collection

As recommended in the qualitative methods literature, I used a combination of observations, document collection, interviews, and survey research (Merriman, 1998; Patton, 2002), which I describe below in that respective order. These data collection activities all funneled into my dataset, which included field notes, interview transcripts, and a quantitative database. Figure 2 shows the relationship between data collection activities and the data I analyzed.

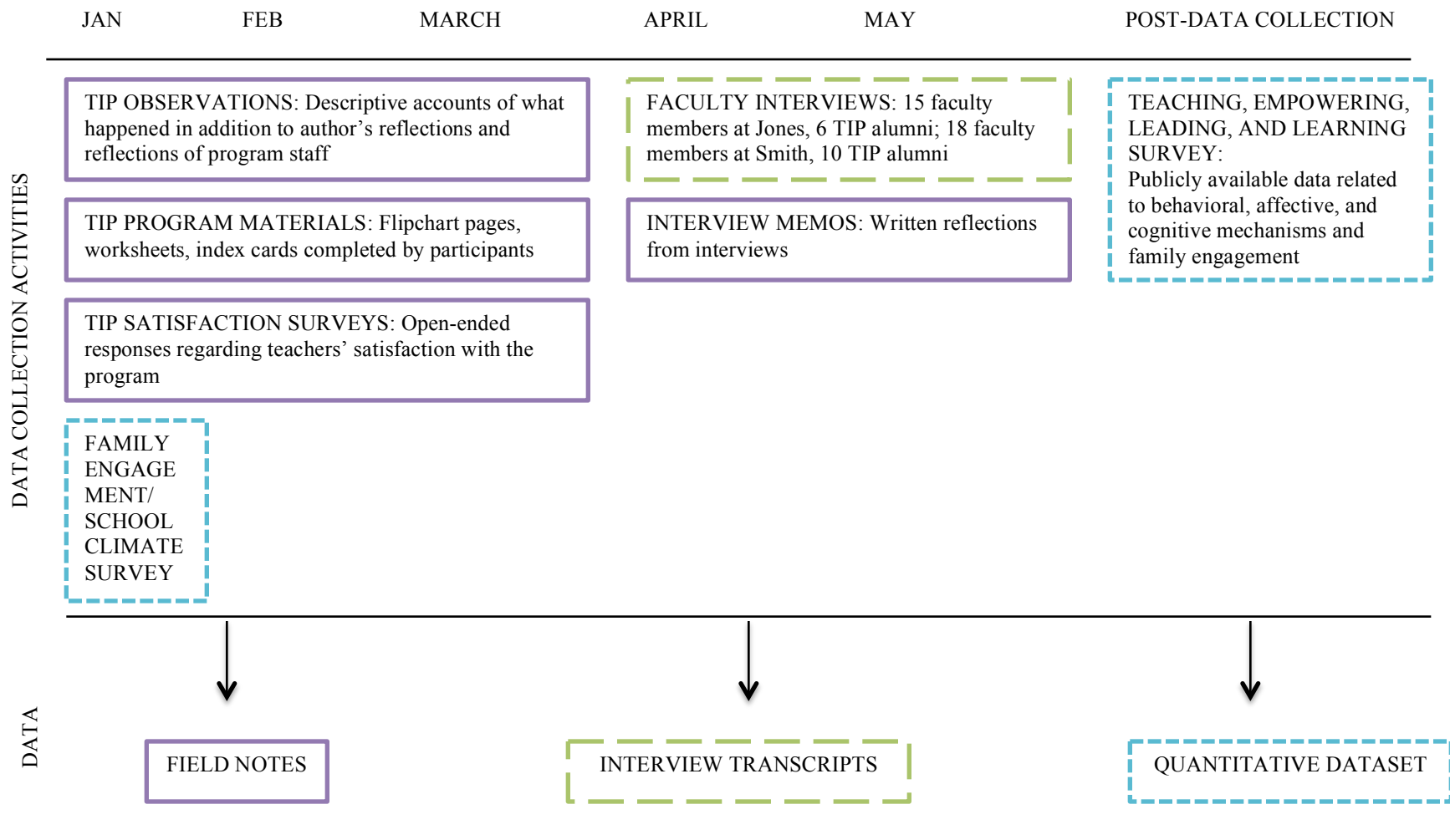


Figure 2. Data collection activities and corresponding data

TIP Observations

Direct observation enables the researcher to gather a holistic and inductive perspective through understanding the context and to confirm and disconfirm information provided in interviews (Patton, 2002). I took detailed field notes at all TIP sessions, with help from the graduate intern at Jones when I assumed a heavy facilitating responsibility. Consistent with Patton's (2002) recommendations, our notes described the physical and social environment, planned program activities and informal and unplanned activities, non-verbal communication, and non-occurrences (what does not happen). In order to capture the events as quickly as possible, we typed everything we observed in a free-form manner, and immediately after each session, I organized the notes into common headers. At this time, I also added my own feelings, reactions, and reflections in italics (Merriman, 1998). Because I spent more time facilitating at Jones, I was less able to do this cognitive processing during the session itself and thus spent more time reflecting immediately afterwards.

Since it is impossible to capture everything through observation, we used a list of "sensitizing concepts" (Patton, 2002), based on the conceptual model detailed above (Figure 1), to ensure that we captured the most relevant data. Thus, driven mainly by an inductive approach, we tried to capture everything we could but paid particular attention to group-level behavioral, affective, and cognitive mechanisms and discussion related to trust in families, interactions with families, and macro-level influences on trust in families and interactions with families. We took notes on all aspects of the program, ensuring that we were present before the participants arrived and were the last to leave the room in order to capture all interactions and phenomena occurring before and after the duration of the formal program.

Field notes were typed immediately after each session into a shared document that could be accessed by the community school coordinators and NNC staff. All documents produced during the TIP sessions (e.g. flipchart pages listing successes and challenges to family engagement) were typed verbatim into the notes, as well as verbatim feedback from the evaluations participants completed at the end of each session. These notes helped the coordinators make adjustments for the following week. Additionally, I led meetings with the coordinators and NNC staff almost weekly to debrief each session. During this time, team members would reflect on my written reflections, and I added to the notes based on these debriefing sessions. This process was critically important to establishing the trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

Document Analysis

I collected various types of documents, including publicly available data, surveys, and physical program and school materials, in order to gain a richer understanding of the research question and the context (Merriman, 2002).

TIP satisfaction surveys. Teachers completed short anonymous hand-written satisfaction surveys at the end of every TIP session. These evaluations had three fields for open-ended comments, including: “What was today’s most valuable experience, in your opinion? What was the most valuable thing you learned today?” “What parts of today’s program could be strengthened?” and “Any additional comments are most welcome.” Almost every program session left enough time at the end for teachers to complete the survey without having to stay beyond the allotted time. At the end of the last session, participants completed a longer evaluation for which they rated their perceptions of various aspects of each session and the usefulness of working in small groups, whole group sessions, and warm-up activities. They also

answered open-ended questions, including: “What concepts of parent involvement are more understandable to you after attending the TIP program?” “Can you describe one or two specific changes that you will implement as a result of attending the TIP program?” “What suggestions do you have for improving the TIP program materials and resources?” Participants were also invited to comment on qualities of the program facilitator. All 6 Jones participants and 10 of the 12 Smith participants completed this survey. I typed all open-ended responses from the weekly and final satisfaction surveys into the field notes.

Public Records. Two sources of publicly available quantitative data are used for this study. The first includes basic school information, including enrollment, demographic information, and academic information, from the state Department of Education website. The second public data source is from a statewide survey for educators, the Teaching, Empowering, Leading, and Learning (TELL) Survey measuring school climate related constructs, such as community engagement and support, teacher and school leadership and support, and quality and adequacy of facilities and resources. All faculty at the two schools were invited to complete the anonymous survey online during February and March 2013. The response rates at Jones and Smith were 100% and 73%, respectively.

Program Materials. During each TIP session, many documents were generated including flipchart pages documenting whole-group conversation (e.g. a list of the school’s main goals for family engagement; strengths and weakness of family engagement at the school); worksheets completed in small groups (e.g. list of obstacles to family engagement; list of ideas on how to make one-way communication more two-way); and individual index cards completed by teachers with their personal goals for the program. After every session, I collected all of these documents and typed them verbatim into the field notes.

Interviews

After the TIP program was completed, I conducted one-on-one interviews with faculty at Jones and Smith to further explore supports and constraints for the development of collective trust in families. Interviewing faculty before and after TIP was not possible but due to time and resource constraints. Rather, I observed and kept detailed notes about each TIP participant, as a form of baseline data. Because qualitative research is mostly inductive at the beginning, I used a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix A) to enable participants to explain what was salient and meaningful to them (Patton, 2002). Although I started and ended each interview with the same questions, the order of the other questions differed for each interview, as I asked questions in a way that flowed naturally with the conversation. During April and May, 2013, I conducted 33 interviews, including 15 with school staff at Jones, including all six of the TIP participants, and 18 with school staff at Smith, including 10 out of 12 TIP participants. For TIP participants, the interviews also focused on how participating in the program had influenced their own levels of trust in families as well as the development of collective trust.

I used a combination of recruitment strategies. In order to understand trust as a collective phenomenon, my goal was to saturate the faculty at each school. Therefore, at both Jones and Smith, the community school coordinators initially e-mailed all classroom teachers and all TIP participants to explain the purpose of the study and that there would be a \$15 gift card compensation for participating. This initial e-mail yielded 7 participants at Jones and 12 at Smith. Additionally, the coordinator at Jones and I approached faculty during their planning time to ask if they would be willing to sign up for an interview, which yielded another five interviews. I directly e-mailed the remaining three classroom teachers who had not yet been interviewed, and two of the three agreed to participate. Thus, in total, I interviewed 13 out of the 14 classroom

teachers at Jones. The non-classroom teacher was the school counselor, who had participated in the TIP program and thus was part of the sampling pool. I also interviewed the community school coordinator as a key informant. On average, participants had been employed at Jones for three years and had 11 years of teaching experience.

At Smith, recruitment was not as aggressive, as the community school coordinator cautioned that teachers were currently being “over-asked” and were burnt out. After the initial e-mail she sent, the coordinator sent another e-mail one month later to all school staff, which resulted in three more interviews. I e-mailed the remaining four TIP participants who had not been interviewed, and two of the four signed up. Thus, in total, I interviewed 12 of the 18 classroom teachers, and a range of other individuals, including the school counselor, the school psychologist, the physical education teacher (a TIP participant), the music teacher (a TIP participant), and the cafeteria manager. I also interviewed the community school coordinator, which resulted in 18 interviews in total. On average, teachers had been employed at Smith for 4.3 years and had been working in schools for 8.3 years. Failure to interview seven classroom teachers at Smith is a limitation of the study.

Table 4. Sample Information for Faculty Interviews

	# of school staff interviewed	# of classroom teachers interviewed	Total # of classroom teachers in school	# of TIP participants interviewed	Total # of TIP participants	Interviewee's average years of experience
Jones	15	13	14	6	6	11
Smith	18	12	18	10	12	8.3
Total	33	25	32	16	18	

Interviews occurred in a quiet, private location in the school buildings and lasted an average of 38 minutes. I designed the interview protocols for TIP (Appendix B) and non-TIP participants (Appendix C) based off of the conceptual model presented in Figure 1. The protocol included open-ended questions (e.g. “Tell me about your experience in the program” instead of “How satisfied were you with the program?”); clear and direct; and jargon-free (Patton, 2002). I made an effort to develop rapport with participants, through talking informally for a few minutes before each session (e.g. asking about their spring break or plans for the summer) and through empathizing without judgment. For example, when teachers confessed not reaching out to families for certain reasons, I responded with “Well, that’s perfectly understandable. You have a lot on your plate.” I also asked simulation questions, such as “If a new teacher were to begin working at this school, what would they observe about the way faculty at this school perceives families?” I frequently used summarizing transitions (p. 371) to let the interviewee know that I was actively listening. For example: “You’ve mentioned a few times that you wish you had more time to focus on family engagement. Could you tell me about the barriers to focusing more time on family engagement?” Additionally, I used frequent words of support throughout the interview to affirm the participants’ beliefs, such as, “Wow, this information is really helpful. I’m learning so much.” I used “elaboration probes” through frequent head-nodding to encourage participants to further elaborate and at times asked them directly to elaborate or tell me more about a certain phenomenon.

Considering my role as a TIP facilitator, I also prefaced each interview with TIP participants by explaining that I did not develop the program nor choose it, and that the reason I was conducting the interview was to hear their completely honest feedback. Another limitation of my dual role as a facilitator and interviewer was the possibility that participants knew what I

wanted to hear and thus presented a deceptively positive portrait of their attitudes toward and interactions with families. While this was certainly a limitation, Monahan and Fisher (2010) argue that even data collected under conditions of social desirability offer a unique opportunity to understand what participants do not recognize as socially undesirable.

Immediately after every interview, I wrote reflective memos, which included my impression of the participant (e.g. how honest and open did they seem, how strong was the rapport I developed), as well as reflections on how the interview informed the study. Through these memos, I amended the interview protocol slightly, deleting and re-wording questions that were not generating useful data and adding questions to learn more about emergent themes (Merriman, 2002).

Surveys

All faculty members at Jones and Smith were invited to complete a survey, titled the “Family engagement/School climate” survey, before the start of TIP in order to gather descriptive data on perceptions of family engagement and school behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms. At Jones, the community school coordinator disseminated the survey at a school-wide faculty meeting and faculty completed the survey by pen and paper, and at Smith, all school staff were invited by the coordinator to complete the survey electronically. Nineteen staff at Jones (100% response rate) and 26 staff at Smith (90% response rate) completed the survey. The survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete and included eight scales. The first two scales described below were created by Hoover-Dempsey and colleagues (2002), and the rest were created by Bryk and colleagues (2010). With the exception of the “reflective dialogue” scale, all of the Bryk et al. scales were on a 6-point scale from “disagree very

strongly” to “agree very strongly.” Each of these scales is described below, as well as supplemental items from the TELL survey.

Family engagement.

Invitations for involvement. Teachers rated on a 6-point, 6-item scale how many times he/she has invited parents to be engaged, for example, “contacted a parent if the child does something well or improves” and “provided specific activities for a parent to do with the child in order to improve the child’s grade.” Response categories included, “never,” “once this year,” “once each semester,” “once a month,” “once every 1-2 weeks,” and “1+ times each week.”

Teacher perceptions of parent involvement. Teachers noted on a 6-point, 12-item scale what percentage of their students parents engaged in activities this year such as attending parent-teacher conferences, talking to the child about the school day, and visiting the classroom. Response categories included, “none,” “10-25%,” “30-45%,” “55-70%,” and “75-90%.”

School outreach to parents. School staff rated the degree to which the school reached out to parents through an 8-item scale. Sample items include, “The school regularly communicates with parents about how they can help their children learn” and “Parents are greeted warmly when they call or visit.”

Parent-teacher trust. Staff noted the degree to which parents and teachers trusted one another with a 9-item scale. Sample items included “Staff in this school work hard to build trusting relationships with parents” and “Teachers at this school respect students’ parents.”

Cognitive climate. As a measure of cognitive climate, school staff rated the degree to which their colleagues were oriented to innovation on a 3-item scale. Sample items include, “In this school, teachers have a ‘can do’ attitude” and “In this school, teachers are continually learning and seeking new ideas.” Three items from the TELL survey also served as indicators of

the cognitive environment, including to what extent teachers have a role in school improvement planning, take steps to solve problems, and work outside of the school day.

Affective climate. As a measure of affective climate, school staff rated the degree to which teachers trusted one another through a 5-item scale. Sample items included, “Teachers in this school trust each other” and “Teachers respect other teachers who take the lead in school improvement efforts.” The TELL item assessing the extent to which faculty believe their school is a good place to work and learn supplements this scale.

Behavioral climate. As a measure of behavioral climate, school staff rated the degree to which they engaged in dialogue with colleagues about topics such as “the goals of this school” and “what helps children learn best,” through a 4-item, 4-point scale, with response categories including “less than once a month,” “2-3 times a month,” “once or twice a week,” and “almost daily.” This scale was supplemented by two TELL items, assessing how much time teachers spent in required faculty meetings and engaging in collaborative planning time.

Data Analyses

I used qualitative analysis software called *Dedoose* to organize all of the data, including verbatim interview transcripts and all field notes (including observation write-ups, open-ended responses from TIP evaluations, and TIP program materials). Initially, I used open coding, the process through which concepts are identified and properties and dimensions are discovered, to allow for the exploration of theoretical directions and possibilities within the data (Charmaz, 2006). I coded interview transcripts first. Before coding, I created an initial codebook based off of the questions on the interview protocols. I began the coding process by reading completely through each transcript and then coded the transcript using micro-analytic line-by-line coding in order to ensure that the analysis flowed from the data itself and not from my own preconceived

assumptions. I added and deleted codes, as guided by the data, and then re-coded each transcript using my final codebook. Next, I used this codebook to code the field notes (Appendix D).

After this initial coding process, I then used the constant comparative method to derive themes and relationships from interview transcripts and field notes. The constant comparative method offers an inductive approach to categorizing, delineating and connecting data (Boeije, 2002). I selected this analytic method, because throughout data collection and coding, I observed meaningful differences between the two schools and between teachers' attitudes and behaviors related to family engagement. Exploring similarities and differences between Smith and Jones and between individual teachers enabled identifying salient themes within a similar group and comparing these themes to the themes that emerged in different groups. In addition to enabling identification of themes, fidelity to the constant comparative method also requires identifying the range of commonalities and differences within similar groups (Boeije, 2002), a step that prevents the researcher from over-generalizing.

I loosely followed a step-by-step process detailed by Boeije (2002). Table 4 depicts the data sources on which I relied and my step-by-step analytic method for each of the pertinent comparisons and relationships I cover. Although the specific steps varied by topic, using the constant comparative method involved first organizing excerpts from relevant codes into like categories (e.g. school); then identifying themes that were common within the like category (e.g. within school); and finally, identifying how common themes within the like category differed from common themes in another category (e.g. between schools). For each topic, I also created memos to note any inconsistencies within the same transcript or within a like group in order to avoid over-generalizations.

Table 5. Analytic Steps Using the Constant Comparative Method

Topic	Data sources	Analytic steps
<i>Individual faculty trust in families (Chapter IV)</i>		
<i>Differences</i> between individual faculty members' trust in and interactions with families	Qualitative: - Interviews; TIP field notes (codes: "faculty trust in families"; "faculty family interactions"; "teacher family engagement strategies")	1. Re-read all transcripts and wrote memos highlighting contradictions within interviews 2. Identified most frequently used sub-codes related to teacher trust in parents 3. Wrote a narrative about every interviewee focusing on describing frequently used codes
<i>Influence</i> of external factors on individual faculty members' trust in families	Additional codes: - "Hegemonic race class and gender norms"; "educational policy environment"; "emotions"	4. Grouped interviewees into one of three groups that emerged from the data itself 5. Identified common themes within group 6. Compared common themes within group to common attributes across groups
<i>Collective faculty trust and school-level behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms (Chapter V)</i>		
<i>Differences</i> by school in collective faculty trust	Qualitative: - Interviews; TIP field notes (code: "collective faculty trust in families") Quantitative: - Family engagement/School climate (FE/SC) survey: "Parent/teacher trust" scale	1. Organized all excerpts from qualitative data relating to collective trust and school context by school 2. Identified common themes within school 3. Wrote memos highlighting contradictions within school 4. Compared how themes were similar and different between schools 5. Triangulated qualitative data with survey data
<i>Differences</i> by school in behavioral, affective, and cognitive mechanisms	Qualitative: - Interviews; TIP field notes (codes: "school context – behavioral, affective, cognitive") Quantitative: <i>Behavioral</i> - FE/SC survey: "Reflective dialogue" scale - TELL survey: time faculty spend on collaborative planning and required meetings <i>Affective</i> - FE/SC: "Teacher-teacher trust" scale - TELL: extent to which faculty believe school is a good place to work and learn	

Cognitive

- FE/SC: “Orientation to innovation” scale
- TELL: extent to which faculty have a role in school improvement, take steps to solve problems; and work outside of school

Influence of educational policy environment on school-level mechanisms

Additional codes:

- “Educational policy environment”

1. Organized all qualitative data relating to educational policy environment by influence on behavioral, affective, or cognitive environment and by school
2. Repeat steps 2-4 above

Influence of TIP and community school coordinators on collective faculty trust in families (Chapter VI)

Differences by school in TIP outcomes

Qualitative:

- Interviews; TIP field notes (codes: “outcomes of TIP” and “perceived usefulness of TIP”)

1. Organized all qualitative data relating to TIP outcomes by school
2. Identified common themes within school
3. Wrote memos highlighting contradictions within school
4. Compared how themes were similar and different between schools
5. Triangulated qualitative data with survey data

Influence on differing TIP outcomes by school

Qualitative:

- Interviews; TIP field notes; (codes: “outcomes of TIP”; “perceived usefulness of TIP”; “coordinator”; “school context”; “collective faculty trust in families”)

1. Identified most frequently used sub-codes related to TIP outcomes and organized by school
 2. Repeat steps 2-5 above
-

To examine *individual faculty trust in families*, I first re-read all transcripts to understand how coded excerpts fit into the larger context of the interview and to highlight any inconsistencies within the interview. Next, I wrote a narrative about each interviewee focusing on the most frequent sub-codes related to teacher trust in families and teacher interactions with families, supplementing these narratives with field notes. Then, I compared narratives to one another in order to categorize interviewees into three groups. This number and title of the groups emerged organically from the data (Boeije, 2002) After identifying these three groups, I was able to identify common themes within and between groups that illustrated similarities and differences between teachers in each of the groups and the varying influence of external factors on each group.

The three groups that emerged included: 1) those who described their interactions with families as negative and their attempts to engage families as ineffective; 2) those who described their interactions with families as sometimes negative and sometimes positive and their attempts to engage families as sometimes effective and sometimes ineffective; and 3) those who described their interactions with families as consistently positive and their attempts to engage families as effective. Teachers with few inconsistencies in the ways they described their relationships with families and the productiveness of their family engagement strategies were placed in either the “negative/ineffective (N/I)” group or the “positive/effective (P/E)” group. Teachers with many inconsistencies were placed in the “medium (M)” group. I used field notes to classify participants into one of these three groups at the beginning of the TIP program and a combination of field notes and interview data to re-classify them after the program had ended. I did not classify non-classroom teachers whom I interviewed (e.g. guidance counselors, schools psychologists, cafeteria workers), because the nature of their jobs was too different from that of

classroom teachers. Additionally, I did not classify the two Smith TIP participants whom I did not interview. It is important to note that these classifications are entirely subjective; they only help to make comparisons between faculty and between the two schools. If this study were a true program evaluation, rather than naturalistic inquiry, more objective methods for classification, such as observation or family assessments of teachers, would be necessary.

Drawing school-level comparisons, including similarities and differences in collective faculty trust, behavioral, cognitive, and affective mechanisms, and outcomes from TIP and community school coordinators, was more straight-forward and involved a process of organizing all of the qualitative data relating to relevant codes by school, identifying common themes within school, writing memos highlighting contradictions within school, comparing similarities and differences in themes between schools, and when possible, triangulating qualitative data with survey data. I used a similar process for understanding relationships between concepts; specific steps are depicted in Table 5.

CHAPTER IV

MIRRORS OF SOCIETY: HOW EXTERNAL FACTORS INFLUENCE INDIVIDUAL FACULTY TRUST IN FAMILIES

In this chapter, I discuss how trust in families differed between the three groups of classroom teachers, including those who characterized their interactions with families as negative and their strategies for family engagement as ineffective (N/I); those who characterized their interactions with families as positive and their strategies as effective (P/E); and those who had mixed experiences with interactions and strategies for family engagement (M). Table 6 shows for each group the breakdown of school, teacher race, and experience in the profession and in their current school. The numbers in parentheses show how many of the teachers in each group participated in TIP. Note that the sample size was not sufficiently large to generalize from these descriptors.

Table 6. Descriptive Information for the Three Faculty Groups

	N	School (# in TIP)		Teacher race		Teacher experience	
		Jones	Smith	Black	White	In profession	In school
Negative/ineffective	6	5 (1)	1 (0)	3	3	11.8	2.50
Medium	11	4 (3)	7 (6)	2	9	5.45	2.45
Positive/effective	10	4 (1)	6 (4)	3	7	10.6	5.90
Total/Average	27	13	14	8	18	8.77	3.74

The data revealed three primary influences on teachers' level of trust toward families: 1) the extent to which hegemonic norms influenced their definitions of family engagement and perceptions of "good" parenting; 2) emotional experiences with family engagement; and 3) the educational policy environment.

Faculty Trust in Families and Faculty/Family Interactions

In this section, I discuss how teacher/family trust and teacher/family interactions influence one another and discuss how teacher/family interactions differ between the three groups. Teachers in the N/I group focused on changing parent behavior, whereas teachers in the P/E group focused on how they and the school could be more inviting to families. Teachers in the medium group tended to vacillate back and forth regarding who was most responsible for improving family engagement.

When asked about their family engagement strategies, teachers in the P/E group consistently emphasized relational – not technical – strategies. They were deliberate about building trust with families and believed that it was entirely their responsibility to establish a positive relationship. They repeatedly expressed that the extra time it took to develop trust paid off in the long-term. For example:

...by the end of the day we look like, and we're like, "Where are the car keys? You know, I'm ready to go." But even taking just that extra two minutes calling a parent in the afternoon, going, "Hey, how are things going?" Just take that time, because I think establishing a relationship with the parents in your classroom where the parent feels comfortable enough to come to you, and go, "Hey, we're having a hard time right now, this is going on. I want you to know," I think that's important.

This teacher expressed her confidence that parents would be open, but she understood that nurturing parent openness required extra work on her part. Similarly, all teachers in this group discussed the frequency of their communication with parents and emphasized how they

made a point to always highlight children's strengths. All four teachers who reported conducting home visits were part of this group. Additionally, 4 of 10 teachers in this group mentioned the importance of having an open-door policy for families, indicating their confidence in exposing their vulnerabilities to families. Several of the teachers discussed how they were willing to make "fools" of themselves and expose their own inadequacies for the sake of building relationships with families. A special education teacher discussed her deliberate efforts to build trust through humor, eye contact, and exposing her own struggles as a parent of a child with special needs:

One thing I've, I try to use humor. I try to show my own inadequacies. I try to let them know that, yes, it's hard...But there's a few phrases I'll say. "You're not alone." "If you need to hear of another experience let me know." I truly, and I'll make sure I've made eye contact, and I'll look at them and I'll go, "I need you to hear me when I say this, I truly know where you're coming from." And then I'll wait, I'll just give it a second.

Another teacher described how she deliberately attempted to personally connect with families and show how much she cared:

Well, the first, at the beginning of the year, I always send home a welcome packet with information about myself, so the parents kind of know who they're dealing with. Whenever parents come in, I try not to use as much educational jargon with them, I get more relaxed, I, I try to be very easy to talk to, I listen to what they have to say. And, you know, I kinda, I do ask them, "Hey, you know what's going on? Is there anything I can do?" When students are tardy frequently or absent, I try to call them and make sure they're okay. You know, when we have birthdays or whatever at home, if they say, "It's mom's birthday," we send home notes, just to kind of let them know, "Hey, you are part of this community."

As shown in the example above, teachers in this group frequently asked parents questions to better understand what they were going through and what they wanted for their children.

Teachers in the Medium group also described their deliberate efforts to build trust with parents, but more often, these interactions were in service of motivating parents to behave in a certain way. For example, one teacher described how a stronger personal relationship with a parent would have helped her gain the parent's support:

And I called the parent and I'm like, "Look, I need your support; I can't do this on my own. I need you to ask him, "Do you have homework tonight?" And she hung up on me. Why? Because homework was no big deal to her, but if, if I had met with her, maybe, face to face, or did a home visit or something, and we had tried to like make some kind of connection, you know, it's easy to hang up a voice on the phone, but if we had a relationship, you know, maybe that would not have happened.

The lack of confidence this teacher had in the parent's value of homework led her to believe that a personal relationship would motivate the parent to value homework. This differs from the teachers in the P/E group who reported truly listening and trying to understand parents' perspectives before making assumptions. Other M group teachers' interactions with their students' parents were evidently one-sided. Unlike the P/E teachers who made an effort to build relationships centered around listening and mutual understanding, one teacher in the M group described how her contact with parents was motivated by her goal to "get them to really care about their kid and really care about school." In order to do that, she said that she, "found that being in their face is the best way. Constantly calling, constantly notes, constantly messages, and even gone to the point to come home to some people's houses without them knowing." The lack of confidence that parents would be benevolent motivated this teacher's constant – and more than likely – intrusive communication style. Another teacher's lack of confidence in parents' reliability to help their children at home motivated her to be blunt to parents about their children's academic weaknesses:

I'm very honest with my parents about where their child's reading level is and where it's expected to be by the end of the year. Like I'm not lying to you. Like if your child is way down here and isn't about right here by the end of the year, they will be held back. Like this is the goal, like I'm not lying to you, like here's the progress we need to see. Like because I think if you don't have that conversation with a parent that is like to fault blunt, they're just going to think everything is okay. Like as long as I bring my child to school, it's gonna be fine. No, you need to do stuff at home too.

These statements reflect these teachers' lack of confidence in parents' benevolence and reliability – that they will not care about their children's education unless the teacher shows up at

the home uninvited or unless the teacher is bluntly honest with them about their child's risk of being left back. Another teacher described how after numerous attempts to get a mother to talk to her son about his behavior, the mother finally listened when the teacher told her she could be sued if her child hurt anybody. Noting that there are "very litigious parents in this school," the teacher's failure to get the mother to address the situation diminished her confidence that the parent was benevolent enough to address the problem without a threat.

Teachers in the N/I group mostly focused on what parents did not do – they did not attend academically-oriented meetings at the school, help with homework, sign folders, read to their children, ask their children about their day at school, or eat dinner with their children. They all focused on the negative "mindset" of parents, which in their minds were impermeable to change, with the exception of a few select parents. All of these teachers believed that the school was doing everything it could to engage families.

When asked about their own strategies for family engagement, they described the many school-wide opportunities for families to be engaged, but rarely mentioned their own strategies. The strategies they did mention were technical rather than relational. For example, two teachers on the same grade level team mentioned that they sent newsletters home, as well as folders giving parents suggestions of activities to do with their children, but they complained that parents did not read the information. It was noteworthy that one of the suggested activities they mentioned was to take a walk and look at plants, which would be impossible for families living in highly violent urban neighborhoods. Only one of the teachers in this group mentioned making positive phone calls to parents. Many teachers in both the N/I group and the M group described hostile phone conversations with parents about their child's behavior, and several teachers mentioned that parents hung the phone up on them. One of the teachers described helping a

parent through a personal struggle but noted that the encounter caught her off guard. Although two of the teachers in the N/I group mentioned wanting more professional development on family engagement, they wanted to learn how to change families' mindsets, not how to change their own mindsets and practice.

Explanations of Differences in Trust

The data revealed three primary influences on teachers' level of trust toward families: 1) the extent to which hegemonic norms influenced their definitions of good family engagement and good parenting; 2) the extent to which teachers were willing to risk vulnerability; and 3) the educational policy environment.

Hegemonic Norms and the “Good” Parent: “These Parents Don’t Do That”

Adoption or rejection of hegemonic norms concerning what counted as “good” family engagement and “good” parenting influenced teachers' trust in families. Teachers in the N/I group defined family engagement in traditional ways: helping with homework, attending PTO meetings and parent-teacher conferences, and supporting and reinforcing the teacher. For example, one teacher in this group described parents' lack of support in these ways:

Unfortunately, I wouldn't say that family engagement is very high at this school. We definitely would like, as teachers, way more support than we do. We don't have a lot of parents that show up for parent-teacher conferences, PTO meetings, or even meetings that we may call. A lot of times, a lot of parents do not volunteer. A lot of it is mostly on us.

When asked about the strengths they saw in their students' families, teachers in this group highlighted a small minority of parents who behaved in the ways they associated with appropriate family engagement. The one TIP participant at Jones in this group said:

Some of the strengths are the ones that, where the parents do make time to come up here and be seen, or they'll call and check on the child, or they'll sign an agenda or send a note or call. So, the parents that are visible, I think those are strengths, that come to PTL meetings. They volunteer at going on field trips as needed. They let us know that they are aware of a 4-H contest coming up and they're gonna be there. I appreciate the ones that if

I call ‘em they will pick up.

Such expectations of middle class family engagement almost always led to disappointment, and disappointment compromised trust in multiple ways. When parents did not support their children’s education as expected, teachers usually deemed them unreliable and attributed their lack of support to both apathy and incompetence. Teachers’ beliefs in parents’ apathy and lack of competence were often associated with didactic interactions, in which teachers felt that they had to “teach the parents” to value education. Such interactions threatened to set up obvious power inequities between teachers and parents.

In contrast, the teachers in the P/E group harbored more flexible definitions of family engagement, such as a parent working two jobs so her children could eat or enrolling children in academic tutoring rather than helping with homework. Instead of blaming parents for not being involved in traditional ways, one teacher placed the burden on herself to share with families that there were many ways they could be engaged:

And I think for most of the parents, and, you know, I take blame for not knowing a lot more and more parents in this building, because I probably could, if I put myself out there, they want, they want to be involved, but I think sometimes they just don’t know how. Maybe they can’t, they work nights and they can’t come to PTO meetings, and then during the day they’re like, ‘Oh, well I have to sleep and get this done,’ and they don’t realize that there are other ways, you know, just simple ways that you can be involved in our classroom and with your student.

Although this teacher was still focused on what parents did not know rather than what they did know, her statement indicated her understanding of the structural barriers that prevented more traditional forms of engagement. More flexible definitions of family engagement were associated with confidence that families were reliable, benevolent, and competent. All of the teachers in the P/E group stated unequivocally that their students’ parents cared about their kids and wanted them to succeed academically. A couple of teachers described how they started with the premise that all parents want the best for their children:

Well, one of the strengths that I think I've seen time and time and time again with my families here is that I have never ever, ever met a parent or a family member that did not want better for their child, ever. Regardless of their situations, I have had parents on drugs, I have had parents in prison, I have had parents that were prostitutes, and in spite of those extreme challenges, they have always wanted more and better...And so for me, that has always been a good place to start.

It's easy for me. I'm, I may be a little different, but I just, I don't know, I believe in treating people the way I want to be treated. And then I'm always open to trusting people until they show me otherwise.

Furthermore, teachers in this group believed in families' competence to support their children and thought that parents could be counted on to do so. These teachers understood structural barriers to engagement, but also recognized families' strengths. For example, one teacher said:

So, a lot of moms, Somali moms in particular, they're not comfortable coming in and reading with a kid, but they'll make food...So, it's sort of finding the family's strength and, you know, 'using' is the wrong word, but you know what I mean. Giving them an opportunity to contribute however they're most comfortable.

Rather than trying to fit parents into her definition of what family engagement should look like, this teacher stressed the importance of meeting parents where they were. Although teachers in this group frequently described families as benevolent and competent, there were few coded instances of perceived openness, honesty, and reliability. It is noteworthy how these teachers did not mention families' lacking these qualities, as was so pervasive among the other two groups.

In addition to accepting hegemonic norms about family engagement, N/I teachers' accounts of parents frequently evoked hegemonic beliefs about poor single black mothers as "welfare queens." For example, three teachers in this group mentioned how parents only attended school events for the free food. Teachers also wondered why unemployed parents did

not get more involved with the school. One teacher, in particular, affirmed derogatory discourse about the unemployed as lazy:

But it's heartbreaking, to say the least. But I wish the parents would take the initiative to get involved in what's going on in their child's life. I mean, you're, and a lot of our parents do not work. They don't work, so what hinders you from getting up out of your bed a couple of hours, or whatever you do, and just come volunteer?

A couple of the teachers euphemized “poor” and “Black” with the term, “inner city.” For example, “There’s just a, it’s just a different culture. Inner city, it’s just a different world here, you know.” Several teachers distinguished between the cultures of Latino families and all other families, remarking that the former group “values education and family” and “are very respectful.” The not so subliminal message behind these remarks was that the rest of the families – almost all of whom are Black – did not value education and are not respectful. One of the teachers in the M group noted that her relationships with families were positive, but quickly noted, “but that’s ELL [English Language Learner] parents, that’s the difference.”

Just as teachers in the N/I defined family engagement through a middle class lens, they also viewed parenting through such a lens. This lens led them only to see a lack of parenting competence. For example, one teacher expressed her lack of confidence in parenting competence among her students’ families:

So we, well, I, my goal is just to get the parents talking to the kids, because they don't really talk to their kids. They yell at them, but they don't really talk about, you know how a lot of parents will say their kid, oh, I'm putting on your right shoe, and I'm tying your shoelaces, and they talking about what they're doing. These parents don't do that.

This statement reflected an assumption that parents only yell at their kids and also reflects the teacher’s belief in the dominance of white, middle-class parenting norms. Again, this lack of confidence in parenting competence was associated with the teacher seeing herself as a teacher of the parents – someone who needed to “get the parents” to change their behavior – rather than

as a partner. Other teachers complained how parents never asked their children about their days at school, an assumption that would be impossible to verify without being a constant observer in the home.

While teachers in the N/I group did not hesitate to make assumptions about parents' attitudes toward education and reasons for not living up to their standards for family engagement and parenting, M-group teachers noted much more awareness of the social distance between their students' families and themselves. Eight of the 10 teachers in this group mentioned wanting to better understand families' circumstances. One Jones TIP participant was aware of how such a lack of understanding caused her to fill in her own gaps:

It might not be the best way but these are parents, the parents we're trying to get are the ones we may not have the right phone number, we might not have the right address, no sign-in thing so, we're gonna go on what we know about you, which is little. We know your kid real well, and we know that they tell us about you, but we haven't really seen you much, so we gotta guess.

A Smith TIP participant remarked how she watched the television show, *The Wire*, which features characters living in public housing in inner-city Baltimore, in order to better understand her students and their families and wished there were more opportunities to learn about poverty than through a television show.

With such a blurry understanding of what living in poverty was truly like, these teachers frequently recited an awareness of the structural barriers that prevented traditional family engagement, but such an understanding was not associated with higher levels of trust. Similar to the teachers in the N/I group, 6 of the 11 teachers in the M group, including several of the TIP participants at both schools attributed a lack of family engagement to apathy about education. Unlike the teachers in the N/I group, these teachers attributed this mindset to how the realities of poverty caused families to live in a "survival mode" that could not include education as a

priority. Thus, these teachers still questioned parents' benevolence, while recognizing more than the N/I teachers that structure – not culture – was the culprit. Other teachers in the M group were intellectually aware of the structural barriers to traditional family engagement but clearly had not incorporated this intellectual awareness into the ways in which they perceived their students' families. Teachers frequently interrupted themselves as they explained how parents did not value education with acknowledgements of barriers caused by lack of transportation, childcare, and work flexibility. However, this awareness did not seem to influence their generalized trust in their students' families. For example, one Jones TIP participant's description of how parents engaged with their children's online report card illustrates this phenomenon:

A lot of our parents don't take advantage of that [the online report card], partially probably 'cause they don't have the technology at home, they may not know how, they may not, whatever. But, I have parents are saying, 'Well, what are my kid's grades?' 'Well, get on Grade Speed.' They're not making themselves aware of some of those things like that, but then they wanna get their report card and get all upset. 'You think you could look at your kid's grades at any time all year long. District policy.'

While this teacher acknowledged access to technology as a barrier to parents accessing the online report cards, she quickly forgot this as she blamed parents for their lack of awareness of this service and mentioned that they could look at the report cards at any time. When asked what other types of support she needed to improve family engagement, one Smith TIP participant immediately responded, "What would be the magic thing to say to make them interested, to make them care." She then paused and then added, "Not that they don't care, but to make them visibly care, to show me that they care. Obviously, every parent loves their kid." This example represents how teachers in this group knew intellectually that they should believe that parents were benevolent, but had not had the opportunities to develop the relational trust that would help them fully internalize this belief.

What might account for differences in the extent to which teachers incorporated or rejected hegemonic norms about family engagement and parenting into their generalized trust toward parents? Although the P/E teachers were reflective about their family engagement strategies and their attitudes toward families, none of them could identify a single moment or training that helped them become that way. Several noted that they learned through experience and by making mistakes. One teacher described how she started with the belief that she was a “white knight,” hired to save the children from their “miserable” family lives. Such an attitude led her to “talk down to” parents. Only after she was able to become a confident teacher could she re-examine this belief and reflect on why her relationships with families were not positive. Another teacher mentioned how experience shifted her views on families from deficits to strengths:

I mean, it’s just sort of a, you are able I think with experience to see just how much the kids do have at home and with their families. If that’s what you’re looking for. And I think I was more programmed to think what they were lacking.

Thus, these teachers seemed to have acquired relational trust from repeated interactions with families over several years. The more experienced teachers in the N/I and M groups, however, did not acquire trust through repeated interactions. If anything, the interactions they described diminished trust. This might be a result of differences in how the teachers addressed – or did not address – characteristic-based trust. Teachers in the P/E group and a couple of the teachers in the M group understood that their racial and socioeconomic differences threatened characteristic-based trust and thus devoted more time to establishing relational trust. Other teachers were quicker to “other” parents who were not like them: parents who did not eat dinner with their children the way their parents ate dinner with them; parents who did not attend school events

with the same enthusiasm with which they attended their own children's school events; and most importantly, parents who were in a different socioeconomic bracket and/or a different race.

A salient theme for teachers in the P/E group was acute awareness of how their racial and socioeconomic identities influenced their relationships with families to a much greater degree than teachers in the other categories. Among the seven White teachers in this group, six discussed how they had reflected deeply about their Whiteness and relative privilege compared to their students' families. Recognition of such outsidership motivated these teachers to work harder to develop trust. For example, one young White teacher said:

Yeah I don't think like it's any sort of magical thing that I do, a lot of persistence, wanting a positive relationship. I think especially from my first year, I had like 3 parents who called the principal my first year saying they didn't want their kid in my class 'cause they knew I was a first year teacher. And, I know I look young, I know a lot of people who look, knowing that I came from [elite university], everybody was like, the snotty the little white girl who doesn't know anything. So, I mean, that was kind of with the staff, too. So, just showing and telling the parents and reiterating over and over again, 'I'm here. I'm here to support you. I'm here to support your child from the very beginning.'

Some of these teachers were also honest about their instinctual biases against their students' parents. Five of 10 teachers in this group noted that they actively resisted their occasional instincts to judge parents when it appeared outwardly that they were not supportive of their children. Three of the 10 teachers in the M group, two of whom were TIP participants, mentioned class as a barrier they actively tried to overcome, and one of these three teachers mentioned her Whiteness as well:

Like I live over here, you know, and like I, these kids are, are, to me, are more like my kids, like my family, like their parents are, I want to be like, not necessarily friend, friends, but kind of, you know, where it's like we're all trying to do this together, not just like, I'm this like middle class White person teaching in this, you know, poverty whatever, and I'm trying to feel good about myself. You know what I'm saying?

Notably, none of the teachers in the N/I mentioned their racial and socioeconomic identities relative to their students' families. Additionally, none of the 8 Black teachers in any of

the groups mentioned their race as factoring into their relationships with families. One of the Black teachers in the P/E group mentioned how having family members who lived in poverty helped her relate to her students' families. Four of the teachers in the P/E group also mentioned how being mothers influenced their abilities to empathize with parents when their children were struggling. Several teachers in the N/I group also mentioned their identities as parents. However, their overlapping identities as parents only exacerbated difference, as they said they could not imagine being as uninvolved with their children's education as their students' parents were.

The Emotional Toll of Family Engagement: “I Want to Shake You”

By definition, trusting involves making oneself vulnerable to another. Teachers in all three groups experienced a range of emotions that made them vulnerable to making an effort to engage families, although the prevailing emotions that teachers in each group experienced differed.

For teachers in the N/I group, the prevailing emotion was sadness. All of the teachers in this group felt a burden to “save” their students from what they perceived as broken and dysfunctional homes. As one teacher said, “I've had this overwhelming sense of needing to take care of them like a parent this year.” These teachers' concerns about family engagement stemmed from their deep level of care for their students. It was not ambivalence to family engagement that motivated their weak interactions with parents but a strong belief that family engagement – as they defined it – was a critical part of the solution. They believed that if only families would be more engaged, the young people to whom they devoted so much of their physical and emotional energy would flourish. Because they could not trust that parents would do their part, they grew “saddened” and “irritated” and “overwhelmed” with the burden of taking on the responsibilities of teacher and parent. One teacher, who constantly mentioned how much

she loved her students, described how sad it was to watch children's "little spirits dwindle" when parents did not follow through with promises, such as taking their child to get a library card or bringing in cupcakes for a school birthday party. Another teacher described her perception that parents were not interested in their children's education as "really, really sad."

In contrast to teachers in this group, all but one of the teachers in the M group described such a sense of burden to compensate for poor parenting, yet teachers in this group did not mention actively resisting the idea of themselves as saviors, as did some of the teachers in the P/E group. For teachers in the M group, emotions were such a salient theme that emotions seemed to moderate the extent to which negative experiences with parents resulted in mistrust. Because trust was more dynamic among teachers in this group, interactions that evoked more negative emotions easily diminished trust. The strongest emotion for teachers in the M group was frustration, and frustration quickly gave way to judgment. For example, one Smith TIP participant described how her frustration with parents not supporting her led to her lack of trust in their benevolence:

But, sometimes as a teacher you just spend so much time with that child and you get frustrated when you feel like someone's not returning your phone call. Or not showing up when you have a meeting. And it seems like they don't care.

Although this same teacher was able to list off the structural barriers to showing up at the school, feeling rejected by the parent overwhelmed her intellectual understanding of poverty and replaced it with a more visceral lack of confidence in parents' benevolence. This sentiment was exacerbated when teachers felt that they were working so hard and parents were not holding up their end of the bargain. A Jones TIP participant noted how a similar frustration with parents not responding to phone calls, coming to the school, or signing papers led to her negativity:

Sometimes I find myself being focused on the problem and not the solution. Like, I'm so frustrated I can't get so-and-so's mom to sign anything, to come down here, to respond to my phone calls. That instead of being how can I get her to do it? I'm just, grrrr!

Yet another teacher, a Smith TIP participant, noted her frustration with parents who did not appear to support their children's learning at home:

I know I shouldn't be frustrated with parents, but sometimes, I guess I've run across like three or four parents that have the mentality, but like you're the teacher, you teach them everything. I don't want to teach 'em everything. And I'm like, oh, I want to shake you.

Notably, these frustrations arose when teachers had experiences that diminished their confidence that families were reliable to engage with their children's education in the ways they expected.

Rather than questioning whether their expectations were reasonable or necessary – which would have improved their confidence that families were reliable – these teachers' high levels of frustration automatically led them to focus on parents' lack of benevolence and reliability. Each of the teachers in the examples above could easily list structural barriers to traditional forms of family engagement, but frustration led them to blame the parents, not the system. When asked about families' strengths, one Jones TIP participant admitted that although the present year was her most positive year yet with family engagement, three negative conflicts with parents made it “hard for [her] to think of any strengths.” Another TIP participant in the M group at Smith described how challenging it was for her to move past her anger toward parents when they did not make sure their children had done their homework. Such anger would initially lead her to lose confidence in their benevolence and accept hegemonic norms about poverty and laziness: “My first thing is, there's like, you know, I'm angry. It's almost like, ‘What else do you have to do?’ And that sounds so ugly but, you know, I just, ‘What else do you have to do?’” The teacher then went on to say that she has to check herself:

So, then I really start thinking, ‘What are they doing over there?’ How was, ‘Did they have dinner?’ ‘Do they have breakfast and lunch on the weekends when their kids aren't

at school?’ I would go through these different steps: ‘Get myself in their mind and body before you open your mouth.’

Similar to this teacher, most of the teachers in the M group had to actively remind themselves to forgive parents when they violated their trust. Teachers cognitively knew that they should be forgiving, but their willingness to be vulnerable – in this case, feeling frustrated – only went so far. One Smith TIP participant said, “So it's just kind of like why do I even waste my time, because now I'm frustrated with the child and the parent. So, it's just frustrating.” This teacher calculated the benefits of trusting the parent with the costs of becoming frustrated and wasting her time.

The extent to which teachers could identify the structural roots of what they perceived as a lack of benevolence, reliability, or openness was also associated with how emotional they became when they had negative interactions with parents. Although teachers in each of the three groups discussed moments when they perceived that parents were not being honest or open with them, teachers in the P/E group and some in the medium group attributed this lack of honesty and openness to parents’ legitimate wariness of trusting social institutions. They did not take these interactions personally, and they did not lose confidence in parents’ general levels of honesty and openness. In contrast, other teachers interpreted dishonesty and withholding information as a personal slight, diminishing their trust in these parents. Again, a lack of forgiveness diminished trust.

Even though negative emotions contributed to diminished trust among teachers in the N/I and M groups, some of these teachers were still willing to be vulnerable to families even if they had little confidence in them. One obvious reason for this might be the dominance of the “parent as protector” paradigm: some teachers truly believed that family engagement was the solution and because they cared so deeply about their students, they would make themselves vulnerable to

disappointment, frustration, and wasting time. However, many of the same teachers who mentioned sadness, frustration, and disappointment also remarked how rewarding interactions with families could be. Teachers mentioned how rewarding it was when they finally gained a parent's trust or when they were truly working in partnership for the child. Teachers also mentioned becoming highly involved in parents' personal lives – for example, helping a parent study for the GED; informally counseling a young mother who told the teacher she had depression; helping a parent get a job after she found out she was earning money as a prostitute. Although there were costs that accompanied taking on these roles – worrying about crossing boundaries, getting too attached, and being taken advantage of – some teachers were nevertheless willing to be vulnerable to *some* parents.

Teachers in the P/E group differed in that they were willing to be vulnerable to *all* parents. Teachers in the P/E group did not mention feeling sad about parents not taking responsibility or frustrated with parents for not supporting them. As one Smith teacher in this group said, “When I walk in these doors, I turn off everything and leave it outside, like everybody might not be able to do that.” A Jones teacher addressed how she actively resisted negative emotions. Telling about a parent who was notorious among teachers for being particularly difficult to get along with, she noted, “And there's times she has cussed me out right here in front of everybody.” Despite this blatant disrespect, the teacher went on to say:

This is a parent who's actually very active. And that's what people didn't pay attention to. Anything the school needed. Anything we did in the classroom. This parent would make sure you had it. The parents are just a little rough around the edges. And I didn't, you know, count her off and just say, uh uh, I'm not dealing with it.

This teacher – and her peers in the P/E group – were willing to be vulnerable *and* had confidence in parents. Emotions involved in their interactions with families did not influence these teachers' generalized trust in their students' parents. At the risk of portraying teachers in

this group as having superior character and emotional regulation to the teachers in the other group, it is also important to mention that these teachers were more experienced than those in the M group, and their more sophisticated understanding of structural barriers to family engagement made it easier for them to blame a system – and not parents *or* themselves – when experiences with family engagement were difficult. Again, teachers’ sadness and frustration with family engagement came from a place of deep care, not from the apathy with which popular discourse often portrays inner-city teachers. Without strong supports for teachers to cope with the emotions brought on by a willingness to be vulnerable to families; without personal experience with poverty and no training and professional development to help them understand; and with all of the additional stressors of being a teacher in the NCLB era, teachers deserve little of the blame for the influence of their emotions on their trust toward and interactions with families.

Educational Policy’s Toll on Family Engagement: “The Parents Should Be Held Accountable, Too”

Three salient sub-themes emerged regarding the relationship between the educational policy environment and teacher trust in families: accountability, time, and teacher longevity. Several of the teachers in the N/I group had re-directed the target of the dominant teacher accountability discourse to parents. They believed it was unfair that they were held accountable for students’ test scores, but parents were not. For example, one teacher said:

The state holds so much against teachers, principals, everybody within the school. I feel like there needs to be some type of standards for parents. Cause it’s almost like nobody ever says, okay, well what did the parent do? You know, it always comes back on our environment, teachers, principals. I think that the parents should be held accountable, too. And there isn’t any mandated policy that addresses that issue. Cause our parents are missing in action. That’s how we got here in the first place... There should be some type of extreme consequence if you are not involved in your child’s education. And there isn’t.

These teachers believed that parent involvement would alleviate the daily pressures of high-stakes testing and a rigid evaluation system. For example, after talking about how parents do not take an interest in their children's education, the Jones TIP participant in the N/I group said:

That's where my frustration is. As teachers we're tryin' what we can, we're bustin' on tails to try to get their scores up and there's so much emphasis on that.

Although these teachers derided standardized testing and discussed the emotional toll testing had taken on them and their students, they critiqued parents for not taking more of an interest in testing. Several teachers noted the low attendance rate at an evening meeting at the school that was intended to inform parents about the standardized test and instruct them how they could help their child prepare. Already prone to not trusting parents, low attendance at these events only re-affirmed teachers' beliefs that parents did not care or were not interested in being supportive. The teachers blamed the parents for not supporting a system that they themselves disparaged. One teacher in the N/I group mentioned how parents needed to understand how important the standardized tests were, but later went on to say how communicating about standardized tests jeopardized her relationships with families: "Children develop at all different stages. And you're telling me that my kid isn't proficient by second grade and learn to read at this level, blah, blah, blah, then they're going to fail. I mean that's disheartening and it's inappropriate."

Similarly, one of the Smith TIP participants in the M group critiqued the school's emphasis on focusing on standardized testing with parents:

So I think as far as having some sort of empathy, maybe if parents saw that we were really trying to develop their whole child and not just, you know, something as they see is not important, then maybe they would be more apt to be a part of things.

Although teachers in the P/E group did not mention parents' absence at school meetings related to standardized testing, one teacher in this group did express her support for a bill that had been introduced to the state legislature that proposed withholding welfare benefits to parents who

were not involved in their children's education. She noted how too much accountability fell on teachers and how not enough fell on parents, and that such legislation would "force parents to get involved."

The demands of the educational policy environment also left teachers with less time to develop relational trust. Teachers in the P/E group, who typically put a lot of time and energy into relationship building with students and their families, were the most upset by these changes. Four of the 10 teachers in this group noted that they were considering either leaving the teaching profession or the public school system. These teachers felt guilty that they could no longer form personal relationships with families that were as numerous and deep as they once were. For example, one teacher lamented:

You get burned out, regardless of what else is happening, just teaching is pretty exhausting. Like I said, a lot of those things that I once did to include families or help families, or that kind of thing. I don't have the time or the energy for it. So that's a shame, really, to me. Cause that was always the aspect of my job that I felt best about, I think. Yes, I can teach. And yes, you're learning. But I've also really helped improve your life, kind of thing. And there's just not so much time and energy for that.

Since these teachers already trusted families, fewer opportunities to interact with families did not diminish trust but did influence their career satisfaction. For teachers who did not trust families or whose trust was volatile, the time demands of the educational policy environment truly threatened the development of relational trust. One Jones TIP participant in the M group described her calculations about the costs and benefits of putting time into an academic night for parents at the school:

We were just wanting to know whether the parents would actually follow through because it's a lot of time and effort to put things together and that you want them to do, you know, over break or over summer or nightly. And with all of the other things we have to do, yes, we want the parents to help at home cause it takes a little bit off of us. But the work involved to get there, is it going to be worth it? Are you actually going to do this or is it going to sit in the same spot in the kitchen for the next five weeks?

Her lack of confidence that parents would be reliable, coupled with the demands of her job, influenced the extent to which she was willing to put time into an event that might have helped to build relational trust.

Teacher longevity at the school also influenced relational trust. Several teachers at Jones mentioned that it was difficult to form trusting relationships with parents after the school had fired all but a few of its teachers three years prior. In contrast, the teachers in the strong group at Smith mentioned how families had come to trust them once they saw that they were committed to the school. A White Smith TIP participant in the P/E group who had been with the school for nine years said:

I think the fortunate thing about staying here for that length of time is the parents know me. I've had you know older siblings. I have the aunts and the uncles. I've had just like almost whole families roll on through and a lot of our parents have more than one child so more than likely you're going to get the sibling if you're here long enough. I think already having that relationship and they know me, they trust me. They know what to expect. I think it's just a safe feeling for them.

As half of the teachers in the M group were first-year teachers at their schools, they had not yet had the chance to develop relational trust. Although teachers in the N/I group had on average the most teaching experience, half of them were also first year teachers at their current schools.

Conclusion: The Overlooked Riskiness of Family Engagement

In general, what distinguished teachers in the P/E group from teachers in the other two groups was that they emphasized the relational components of family engagement more than the technical components. Inherent in trusting is taking a risk. Without a template for what family engagement should look like, teachers in this group needed to take a risk to re-define and re-imagine family engagement. In doing so, they needed to abandon a bygone model in which family engagement meant parents supporting teachers unconditionally, attending PTO meetings, volunteering, and helping with homework and risk accepting a new model with less clarity and

less control. Such risk-taking also meant being honest about their biases, critically examining their racial and socioeconomic differences, exposing their weaknesses to parents, sacrificing their free time, and overlooking parents' harsh and hostile words. Teachers in this group were willing to take these risks because they maintained uninterrupted confidence that parents were benevolent, competent, reliable, honest, and open, guided by a keen understanding of the structural barriers that might prevent families from outwardly appearing to have these qualities. Only after taking risks could these teachers develop relational trust with parents.

For teachers in the M group, trust was more volatile. They understood that the traditional model of family engagement was outdated but could not fully let go of it. They experienced frustration when parents did not meet their expectations, and although they wanted to trust their students' families and connect with them relationally, frustration diminished such volatile trust and led to inaction or didactic behavior. Notably, on average, teachers in this group had less experience than teachers in the other two groups, and some perhaps had not benefited from as many opportunities to develop relational trust. A lack of opportunities for teachers and parents to understand one another contributed to teachers in the M group vacillating back and forth in their embrace or rejection of hegemonic norms.

Teachers who did not trust families at all stuck to strategies that were comfortable to them (e.g. newsletters, behavior folders) but did not make themselves vulnerable to the relational work that successful teacher/family collaboration requires. Disappointment when these technical strategies went unnoticed and unappreciated by families re-affirmed these teachers' lack of confidence in families and with it their lack of willingness to be vulnerable to them. Such disappointment was magnified by teacher accountability policies that made teachers more apt to blame parents for not sharing accountability. Rather than re-defining family engagement as a

relational activity, as the teachers in the P/E group had done, teachers in this group tended to define it as a utilitarian means to helping them improve students' test scores. Defined this way, ceding control to parents seemed like too great of a risk and teachers were unable to re-imagine family engagement. Teachers in all groups reported having less time to build relationships with parents, causing them to be calculative about expending time and energy on family engagement.

CHAPTER V

SETTING THE STAGE: COLLECTIVE FACULTY TRUST AND SCHOOL BEHAVIORAL, AFFECTIVE, AND COGNITIVE MECHANISMS

In this chapter, I describe to what extent collective faculty trust in families existed in each school, and I compare and contrast the schools' affective, cognitive, and behavioral climates. Describing such school-level context informs why the TIP program and the presence of community school coordinators produced such varied outcomes between Jones and Smith, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

A Portrait of Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Teachers' accounts of school-wide collective trust in families varied widely within the schools, indicating that true collective trust did not exist in either school. Overall, teachers in the N/I group had positive perceptions of collective trust, faculty social exchange about families and family engagement, and expectations from leadership for family engagement. The converse was generally true for teachers in the P/E group. Across both schools, 12 teachers, 7 in the P/E group (70%) and 5 teachers in the M group (45%), expressed their frustration with colleagues who routinely complained about parents not caring about their children or valuing education and who disheartened new teachers who had high expectations for family engagement.

For example, one faculty member in the Jones P/E group expressed her frustration with her colleagues' low expectations of students' families:

That was why, that's why I feel like a lot of times it's frustrating for me. Cause I know if I call all the parents to come to something, great, then they'll come, 98% of them will come. And, then to hear other teachers say, "No one will come. No one cares about anything except for field day." Just like, well, it's not true, but you have to put forth that effort.

Another faculty member in the P/E group at Jones described how her colleagues intellectually understood structural barriers to engagement but had not yet experienced a paradigm shift:

If you believe one way and this is the way you were raised, it's hard for you to, you know, shift your paradigm. And until they make that shift, they're not gonna really understand. So, until that happens, it's gonna be hard.

Another teacher in this group expressed her frustration with her colleagues who had been teaching for a long time and were unwilling to try to engage families in new ways.

Five of the 13 respondents at Jones, 3 in the P/E group and 2 in the M group, remarked that faculty dialogue about families and family engagement was negative. They described how such negativity had dwindled the spirits of new teachers who were initially excited about reaching out to families but who quickly succumbed to the mindset that it would be too difficult “in this community.” One teacher in the M group recalled consistently hearing at the beginning of the school year, “Oh, you have so and so now, his parents never do this or, you know, you’ll never get a folder from, you know.”

Teachers in this group described how there was little accountability in the school when teachers blamed parents. One Jones teacher in the P/E group said:

But, I think, in general, it's, what characterizes them [other teachers] is making excuses and not accepting responsibility for what they can control, and any type of challenge, just tryin' to blame it on someone else. And, I don't feel like those people are really pushed to not do that. And, since a lot of them are experienced teachers, and kind of know what they can do to make it look enough, they're doing a good job. But, they get away with doing it like that, and there's not a strong enough group to kind of oppose them.

This teacher went on to say that the principal was more focused on test scores than on community engagement. All of the other Jones teachers who described faculty social exchange about family engagement as negative also expressed that the principal did not aggressively push

the faculty to prioritize family engagement. This was in spite of the fact that she expressed improving family engagement as a high priority at NNC-led working group meetings.

In contrast, one of the teachers in the N/I group said that family engagement was “a constant conversation with our faculty,” “a constant problem that we’re always stabbing at.” Another teacher in this group said, “And, I think, as a school, I think we’re all in, we all agree that parents need to be involved to try to pull them in and get as much support as we can from home.” This teacher also noted that she appreciated having the opportunity to talk with other teachers about family engagement because they could tell her, “Head’s up. Good luck tryin’ to get in touch with this family.” The four teachers in this group also lauded the principal for her high expectations for faculty to engage families, for constantly reminding teachers to make positive phone calls home, and for modeling family engagement through having open conversations with parents.

Smith followed the same pattern as Jones; teachers in the P/E group were more critical of collective faculty trust in families than teachers in the other groups. One teacher described how hegemonic norms about a meritocratic society had influenced her colleagues’ perceptions of their students’ families.

They just don't know, you know, they're, they don't get the socioeconomic, they don't understand the barriers or the obstacles. And that, the argument that I've heard so many times in this building over and over again is you're successful because you made good choices. Well, it's more than that. Those choices were available to me, and our kids don't, haven't had as many choices available to them. So, you know, I don't think that there is a lot of understanding about that.

The teacher went on to tell a story about how faculty members pitched in to buy a family a new refrigerator after a fire in their home. Reportedly, after the parent spent the donated money on something else, many teachers said they would never help another student’s family again, because families were “too irresponsible.” The teacher described how this incident led to

divisions among faculty: “And the people who have an understanding were kind of just shaking their heads like you just don't understand the priorities of these families and the needs and, you know.” Another teacher in the P/E group said, “I think, and as a white woman this is a weird thing for me to say, but I think there's a lot of cultural bias that people are not aware of that they hold with them.” She noted that even if teachers and parents shared race in common, socioeconomic differences still prevented true understanding. Another White teacher spoke about how family engagement had declined substantially since she started working at the school nearly a decade earlier, attributing this decline in part to the increase in the number of Black faculty members. Because the teaching demographic looked more similar to students' families, the teacher believed the school as a whole no longer made as much effort to earn parents' trust as when the faculty was mostly White.

One first-year teacher in the M group described how her high expectations of parents quickly dwindled after her first parent-teacher conference day. She recounted her colleagues' response to her excitement before the conferences:

And they [colleagues] were like, “Your parents aren't gonna show up today.” And I was like, “Yes, they are. They're scheduled. They're gonna be here. I've talked to all of them. They're coming.” And several teachers were just shaking their head at me like, “No, they're not. This is a free day for you. This is a planning day.” And two of my parents showed up...But yeah, that was the first time that really hit me. Like okay, this is a school-wide thing. I'm expecting too much.

Another first-year teacher in the M group described how often she heard from colleagues, “Just forget about it [family engagement]. Keep on your path because it's probably not just going to happen.” Another first-year teacher said that most of her interaction with her colleagues about family engagement revolved around joking around about “stalking parents” when they did not answer phone calls or show up to meetings. An experienced teacher in the P/E group corroborated these accounts, saying, “Discussion about families happens a lot. But, not in a

positive way. As you might imagine, it's more, well, no wonder so-and-so is like this. Do you know their mother?"

The single teacher in the N/I group at Smith was more positive about faculty social exchange about family engagement:

And when we have our meetings, we talk about ways that, you know, well, what are you doing, and how did you do that kind of thing. But as far as parent involvement, we're kind of, it's about the same. They just don't come and participate or get fully involved.

Although many teachers in the school were highly successful at engaging their families, this teacher believed that all teachers' experiences were common with her own. One first-year teacher in the M group also had a different perspective on her colleagues, saying, "I've never witnessed any teachers just down play a parent or anything like that."

As was the case at Jones, teachers' opinions about the principal's expectations for family engagement varied, but not as widely. One teacher in the P/E group described how parents frequently came to the principal with their problems, how she knew families' life stories and how she would do home visits and offer to get parents a ride to the school when they did not show up for conferences. She noted that the principal's approach to family engagement "trickled down" to the rest of the faculty. Another first-year teacher in the M group noted that the principal had made her expectation for family engagement completely explicit, and another first-year teacher in this group remarked that the principal was not explicit about her expectations but that it was "just understood." According to TELL data, 100% of Smith faculty agreed or strongly agreed that school leadership made a sustained effort to address teacher concerns about community support/parent involvement, with 62% strongly agreeing. 89% of Jones faculty agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, with 6% fewer faculty strongly agreeing.

Yet, not all faculty members agreed that the principal did everything she could to motivate teachers to work their hardest to engage families. One of the experienced Smith teachers compared the current principal to the school's previous principal who truly prioritized family engagement and told potential hires during their interviews that if they were not willing to do everything possible to engage families, they should look for a job elsewhere:

And that's just a shift in expectation. I mean, for me it was, when I first started here, it wasn't really about what was convenient for us. It was about what needed to happen in order for our kids to be successful. And now, so much of what happens in this building is about the adults and not about the kids. So it's a less student family-centered school than it was.

Another teacher's description of the principal's expectations for family engagement illustrated the differences in her expectations from those of the previous principal: "It's not like if you don't do it that you're shunned or looked down on, I think she encourages it, but if you can't, like it's not like 'Oh my gosh, she's going to be mad at me.'" Another experienced Smith teacher in the P/E group said that the expectation for family engagement comes from the grade level chair to a much greater extent than from the principal. Although teachers were expected to make contact with every family before the start of the school year, they could do so through a postcard or letter rather than a phone call or a home visit.

Bivariate non-parametric correlations, shown in Table 7, corroborate the qualitative data. When faculty members believed that there was strong school-level parent-teacher trust, unsurprisingly, they also believed that the school did a good job reaching out to families. However, teachers' perceptions of collective faculty trust in families was not significantly associated with teachers' reports of their own invitations for involvement and perceptions of parent involvement ($r = .60, p < .01$). Although not statistically significant, at Jones, there was a moderate negative correlation between perceptions of collective trust and teacher invitations for

involvement ($r = -.36$); teachers who thought their colleagues trusted families reached out to families less. They also believed that parents were less involved ($r = -.14$). Therefore, they had strong perceptions of their colleagues' attitudes toward families, because they themselves were not aware of their deficit-oriented attitudes.

Table 7. Spearman Correlation Coefficients Between Parent-Teacher Trust and School Outreach to Parents, Teacher Invitations for Involvement, and Parent Involvement

School	School outreach to parents	Teacher invitations for involvement	Parent involvement
Jones (n=19)	.60**	-.36	-.14
Smith (n=26)	.50*	-.04	.00
Both schools (n=45)	.52**	-.18	-.09

Note. *= $<.05$; **= $<.01$

Although by no means did collective faculty trust in families exist in either school, there was evidence of more progress from January to May at Smith, where there was more evidence of transformational change strategies and transformational change. A look at the varying behavioral, affective, and cognitive environments of each of the schools begins to illuminate reasons for these differences.

Behavioral Environment

Although neither Jones nor Smith had structures that supported sufficient faculty interaction, faculty at Smith described more frequent opportunities for substantive conversations with faculty. This was corroborated by the “teacher dialogue” scale, which was slightly higher at Smith ($M=3.01$, $SD=.73$) than at Jones ($M=2.83$, $SD=.83$). The TELL survey revealed a higher percentage of Smith faculty reported spending substantially more time in required meetings

(Figure 3), whereas Jones faculty spent substantially more time engaging in collaborative planning (Figure 4). However, several Jones faculty members noted that collaborative planning time was not structured for engaging in substantive conversations.

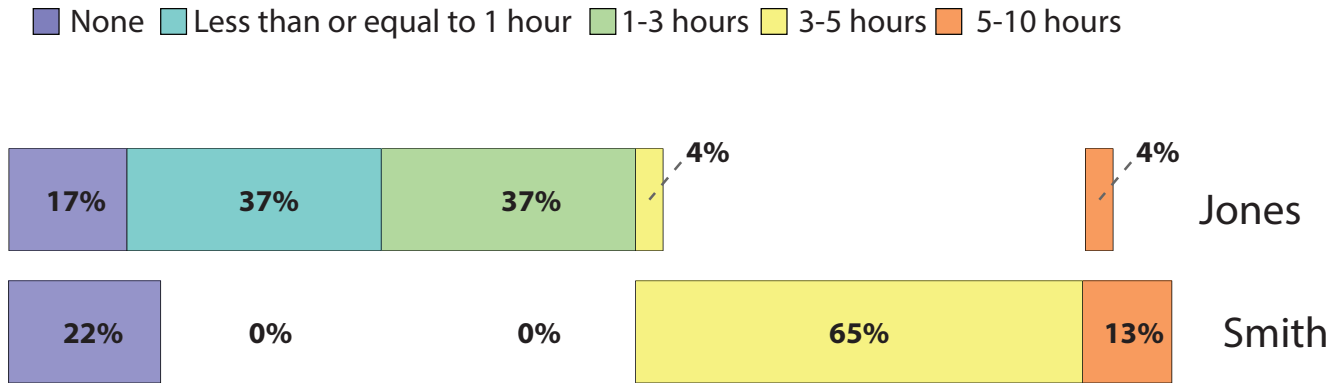


Figure 3. Percentage of faculty who report spending various amounts of time per week in required committee/staff meetings

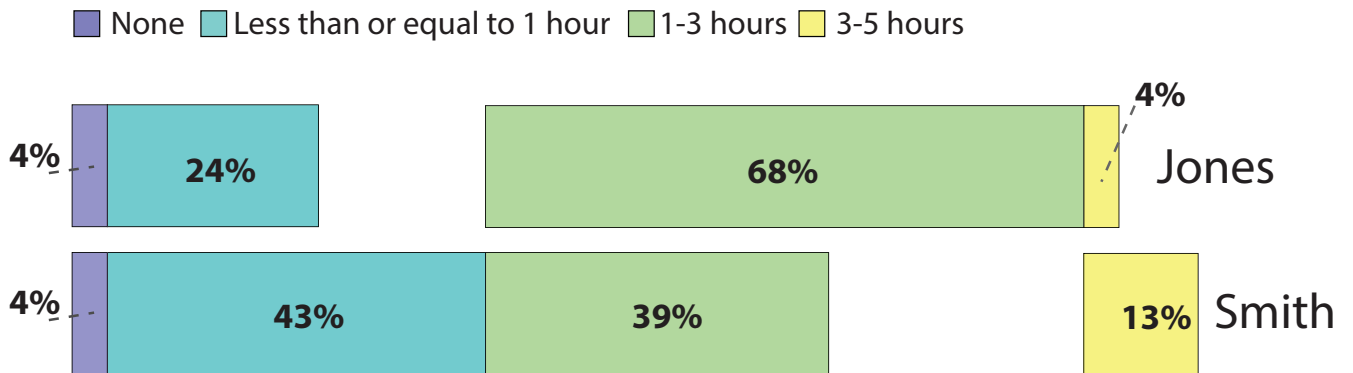


Figure 4. Percentage of faculty who report spending various amounts of time per week on collaborative planning

At Jones, faculty engaged in collaborative planning time primarily through grade level meetings. However, these meetings only addressed technical issues. For example, a Jones teacher discussed weekly PLC meetings as a time where faculty from the same grade level “talk about the common core standards, what standards we’re working on.” Another Jones teacher shared that a major disadvantage of working at a small school was that grade level teams consisted of only two people, so faculty had more limited opportunities to learn from each other. In contrast, at Smith, several faculty noted grade level team meetings as the time for more substantive conversations. For example:

Yeah, so I think our grade level meetings is where it’s kind of more informal and we feel at the time that we can sit down and bounce ideas off of each other without really feeling “that’s stupid, why would you do that,” you know.

At Jones, few faculty members believed that faculty meetings were an appropriate time to talk about family engagement. One teacher described these meetings:

It's like we have an order of business and we have a schedule, and I'm not gonna sit there and shoot the you-know-what with people I don't know. At the end of the day we're tired, we're ready to go.

A couple of interviewees mentioned that faculty discussed family engagement during these meetings, but conversations focused on technical issues, such as family events and safety procedures. In-service professional development days were one exception, where faculty volunteered to share their expertise about a particular topic with their colleagues, and faculty from different grades and different specialties had the opportunity to interact. Smith faculty had similar perspectives on faculty meetings, noting they had scripted agendas, although they did mention that in their meetings, which occurred three times a month, they would sometimes focus on a specific topic, such as guided reading, for several consecutive weeks and discuss the topic in small groups.

The majority of faculty members at both schools remarked that they had little time or opportunity for informal conversations about family engagement. As one Jones teacher said, “I’m guilty of a lot of tunnel vision. I know what I do, and just doing my job well. I don’t have a clue what anybody else does.” Although Smith faculty noted insufficient time to discuss family engagement with colleagues, several faculty members at Smith mentioned that they frequently went in and out of colleagues’ classrooms to ask questions. A new teacher mentioned how much she had learned about classroom management simply by her classroom being in close proximity to classrooms of experienced teachers. A non-classroom teacher mentioned how she would frequently visit teachers during their planning time to check in about students’ and families’ socio-emotional needs.

Affective Environment

The affective environment was also more positive at Smith. The average score for teacher-teacher trust at Smith was 4.76 (SD=.76) and 4.46 (SD=1.32) at Jones. Although the averages were similar, the substantially higher standard deviation at Jones exposes how faculty’s perspectives on the affective environment were much more polarized than at Smith. The TELL data show that faculty at both schools were similarly positive about their school being a good place to work and learn (Figure 5), although consistent with other findings, more faculty members at Jones strongly disagreed with this statement.

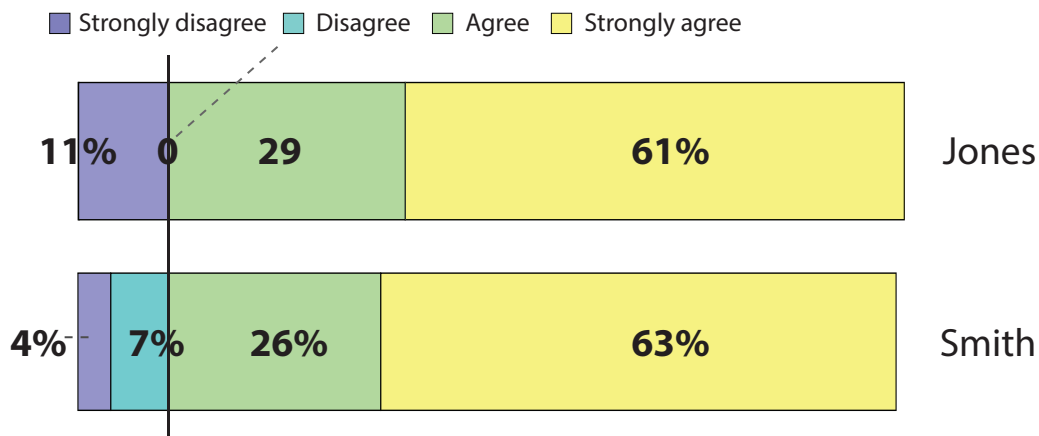


Figure 5. Percentage of faculty who believe that their school is a good place to work and learn

Smith faculty consistently described a sense of belonging to the school and positive faculty trust. One first year teacher described how between the principal, the guidance counselor, and the community school coordinator, “there’s always support somewhere if you need it.” Another first-year teacher described how more experienced teachers are always willing to give him advice. Faculty members described their colleagues as “extremely respectful,” “more like a family,” “willing to do whatever they can to make sure these kids succeed,” that “you can say your mind to anybody and feel okay about it” and that “any time we get together no matter what it is, it’s productive.”

Although Smith faculty described an overall positive affective climate, there were a few exceptions. One teacher said that the faculty was divided, especially by race. This teacher also countered comments that faculty were willing to do whatever it took for the well-being of students, noting that, “There's been a shift in what's comfortable for teachers and what teachers want to do versus what needs to be done.” Another teacher said that colleagues were not “openly catty” but that she did not feel like she could openly talk to her colleagues about anything. This teacher, who was in the P/E group, also noted her age as a limitation to her comfort with challenging her colleagues on deficit-oriented statements:

I know a lot of times for me I feel like because I'm so young, like I don't want to say anything cause I don't want people to like to think like, "I think I know it all," or something like that, or like people just misunderstanding like tone or maybe like if you say something to somebody, like, they might feel like you're questioning what they're doing or something.

Even an experienced teacher who was the most out-spoken during TIP at Smith and made herself vulnerable by admitting that she sometimes judged parents admitted that there were times when she wanted to say something but held her tongue out of fear for making her colleagues mad. Another experienced teacher said she sometimes challenged her colleagues, but "not all the time, and not everybody." She noted that she felt more comfortable challenging colleagues whom she knew best and younger colleagues, in particular. Only one experienced teacher in the P/E group at Smith said she always felt comfortable challenging her colleagues. Notably, this teacher trusted that if her colleagues said something negative about a family, it was because they were having a bad day, not because they really meant it. Thus, despite greater willingness among Smith faculty to challenge their colleagues, most of them still felt discomfort.

Although there was wide variation in depictions of Jones' affective climate, faculty members who viewed the climate negatively were substantially more negative than the few faculty members at Smith who were slightly negative. Different respondents described the Jones' affective climate as if they were describing two entirely different schools. Teachers in the P/E group were the most negative about the school's affective climate. One teacher in this group described how favoritism drove action in the building:

But to get someone to actually listen to you and get on board, it's kind of hard. And it's somewhat divided. And it's divided into cliques. There are people who are gonna do it just because I said it. And there's people who are gonna do it because another teacher said it. That's just how this school is. I've never seen, there are very few teachers, I would say three, that do it just because they believe in what you're doing, or it's not because of the sides. Literally, I could say three.

She described how the same faculty members served on all of the school's committees, and noted that in particular, the leadership committee was a clique and there was no transparency for selecting these members.

The classroom teacher in the P/E group who participated in TIP noted how some of her colleagues constantly tried to bring her down.

There's more than a couple of individuals, in my opinion, who find the negative in things who always try and just take. And, I feel especially because I'm young and my class this year is doing well and having a lot of successes. It's like anything that is going well when you're struggling, it's like they just try and bring everyone down who is experienced, or is just happy in their, in their job, or is experiencing any type of success.

Although she still was an active "citizen" of the school by joining TIP and organizing popular events for families in her grade – not just her own classroom – she described how this negativity had caused her to disassociate somewhat from the rest of the school and close her classroom door – both literally and figuratively – to block out all of the negativity.

Like the one teacher in the P/E group at Jones who participated in TIP, other faculty in the P/E group at Jones shared similar hesitations to challenging their colleagues on their deficit orientations. One teacher said:

My problem with that, I usually don't share out unless I'm approached, you know, because sometimes teachers take it, if I go to a teacher and I see that, you know, maybe they're having an issue with the parents, and I say to them, well, you know, maybe you should try this, sometimes it's taken as, oh, well, she doesn't think I can do my job, so she's telling me what to do. So I'm very careful about how I do that.

In sharp contrast, most other teachers described Jones' affective climate as supportive, open, and family-like. For example, one teacher in the P/E group said:

So I think one of the things is before we can even have positive relationships with our students and with our parents, it has to be a positive relationship among ourselves, among our, our, our basis here. And that's the really cool thing about [Jones], is everyone is included. I mean, our janitorial staff, they work so hard, cafeteria staff.

Several teachers noted how the principal trusted them as professionals, gave them ample autonomy, and never pitted teachers against each other. Another teacher, who taught older students who participated in high-stakes testing had a different perspective, describing how publicizing test scores for each classroom at faculty meetings created tension between teachers.

Two explanations emerged for differences between Smith and Jones' affective climates. One reason for the difference was Jones' smaller size. Teachers who were pleased with the affective climate described the size as an asset, while dissatisfied teachers believed that in such a small school, for example, "Everybody knows each other's personal life, their husband, their children, what's going on." Another faculty member noted that given that so much of teachers' time for dialoguing with one another happened during their grade level meetings and each grade only had two teachers, there was little room for fresh opinions. Indeed, teachers who taught the same grade tended to have similar attitudes toward and approaches to family engagement.

Additionally, the school turnaround Jones had endured only three years earlier continued to have a palpable influence on the school's affective climate. Because most of the teachers only had three years of experience, it was difficult for any of the faculty to develop the credibility that the more experienced teachers at Smith had earned. Although they had different levels of experience in the teaching profession, they all had almost the same amount of experience at Jones. Also, the principal brought over many of the faculty from another school, so one teacher reported that half of the faculty already knew each other and half did not, contributing to the school's cliquiness.

Several faculty described the underlying stress that teachers experienced on a daily basis, knowing that almost the entire faculty had been fired not long before and knowing that if scores

did not improve, this would happen again. One faculty member remarked how standardized testing influenced the school's climate.

...Having a job next year is contingent upon those scores, so that's all they can focus on right now. And the fact that our scores were abysmal last year and that our school has been fresh started twice in the past six years and that there's a very real chance that could happen again. That's the #1 thing.

Not only did this create stress and tension, as some teachers described, but also a lack of time for faculty members to engage with one another in substantive ways. In reference to the high-stakes testing environment, one teacher said, "You don't have time to, you know, talk to people after school cause you're rushing, rushing, rushing to get something done or, so it's taken the fun out of teaching." Although time for substantive dialogue was also a challenge at Smith and although the school's standardized test scores were well below state averages, teachers did not feel as threatened by accountability as they did at Jones.

Cognitive Environment

Average perceptions that colleagues were oriented to innovation were slightly higher at Jones ($M=4.93$, $SD=1.33$) than at Smith (4.37 , $SD=.93$). However, again, the larger standard deviation at Jones reveals the polarization of faculty perspectives. Responses to the item, "Teachers have a role in school improvement planning" on the TELL survey corroborates evidence of this polarization (Figure 6). Notably, at Jones 56% of faculty strongly agreed with this statement, but not one faculty agreed, and 44% disagreed or strongly disagreed. At Smith, 88% agreed or strongly agreed.

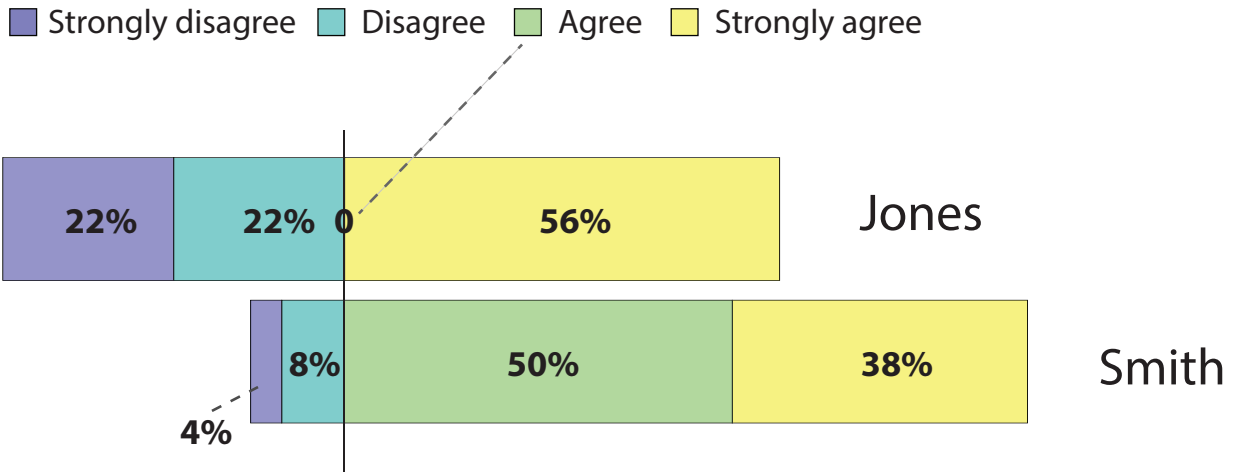


Figure 6. Percentage of faculty who believe that teachers have a role in school improvement

The data indicated an important distinction between *whether* faculty are oriented to improvement and *how* they are oriented to improvement. At Jones, faculty were oriented to innovation, but perhaps not in the most productive ways. According to the TELL survey, more Jones faculty (50%) than Smith faculty (41%) strongly agreed that, “In this school, we take steps to solve problems.” Only 18% disagreed at Jones, and 15% disagreed at Smith. Furthermore, Jones faculty reported spending more time than Smith faculty on school-related activities outside the regular school day, with 68% reporting spending more than 5 hours at Jones and 47% reporting spending this much time at Smith. Jones’ family engagement committee was evidence that faculty were oriented to innovation, and as the community school coordinator pointed out, “willing to stay an extra hour each month.” Additionally, the committee had grown during its one school year existence from four to eight members.

However, at Jones, orientation to innovation seemed to be more individualistic and transactional. Some faculty members felt that their colleagues were doing everything they possibly could to support students and families, with other respondents noting that, for example, “I’m not sure that the teachers are doing all they can do.” One teacher in the P/E group described

how she received little support from colleagues when she tried to implement new ideas, saying that she had to “really ask and beg people” to attend a math and reading night for families, and that with a few exceptions, the attitude was “Yeah, you’re on your own. Best of luck.” Even the teacher in the P/E group who described the affective climate as extremely positive also noted how she wished more teachers would join the school’s family engagement committee. Although there was a family engagement committee at the school, when asked about the mechanism by which faculty would implement an idea for improving family engagement, the overwhelming majority of respondents answered that they would talk to the principal, rather than raising the idea with the committee. One teacher described how important it would be for the person with the idea to be persistent, implying that if someone had an idea for improvement, it is their responsibility – not the collective responsibility – to ensure it is implemented:

But, I think that if you don’t follow through and you’re not persistent it’s just gonna fall on deaf ears. So, I can tell my neighborhood and I can tell the secretary and I can whoever I want, but if I’m not persistent nothin’s gonna come of it. Everybody’s got plenty to do.

Another teacher supported this statement, saying, “I think we should have more followers, and we don’t. We have too many chiefs.”

Not only was orientation to innovation an individualistic endeavor, but ideas for improvement tended to be technical. Although the family engagement committee did not have an explicit mission, the members described their main responsibilities as organizing events for families. Similarly, most respondents mentioned that having more events for families would be the best way to improve family engagement. For example, one of the only faculty members who was more oriented to transformational change described her colleagues’ approach to improving family engagement.

And so, and it [low enrollment in TIP] was somewhat disappointing, because teachers said one of the things they really wanted was, “How can we engage our families?” and their, their answer to it is, “Let’s have a big, you know, social gathering.” That’s not family engagement, that’s having an event.

Another faculty member in the P/E group mentioned how important it would be for teachers to get out in the community more “to understand the kids, and not be so judgmental.” She added, “And we tend to be judgmental. I know I tend to be judgmental.” However, this teacher felt ostracized by the cliquy school climate and did not voice this idea.

At Smith, there was stronger evidence of collective efficacy. One faculty member, who was particularly cynical about the direction of the school, admitted that there were many strong teacher-leaders who would happily take on more responsibility to improve family engagement if they were asked. Another teacher, who was participating in a district-sponsored teacher leadership initiative, noted that she had successfully sought out support for her plans to improve school discipline from multiple faculty members, including the principal, the community school coordinator, cafeteria workers, and the janitor. She said that her perspective was that it takes a village to raise a child, and she felt that Smith was that village.

Although there were some limitations to this sense of collective efficacy, including accounts that the leadership committee met inconsistently and was largely ineffectual, faculty consistently described Smith as an open environment with an approachable principal and a faculty who wanted the best for its students. Despite the absences of formal policies for making ideas a reality, faculty members believed they could easily do so through the ear of their principal.

In spite of evidence of a strong cognitive climate at Smith, this climate was dampened by teacher burn-out and the educational policy environment. As one non-classroom teacher at Smith described, “I think some teachers, maybe out of frustration, just maybe out of kind of feeling

burned out at times and all the other stress that they have on them, are sort of like, well, you know, what's the point?" An experienced teacher in the P/E group spoke specifically about the influence of standardized testing on teachers' orientation to improvement:

And so I would assume if someone had a genius new plan and this was going to revolutionize things we would call a meeting. That hasn't happened. I mean, particularly at this time of the year. Really, all anyone's thinking about is [the state standardized test].

Another teacher echoed this sentiment:

There's also, you know, just, I think, I think, like I was saying before, everybody really does like have these really good ideas and really good intentions, it's just like, but sometimes it's just draining. The day is draining. And so at that point, like when you're, when you're like, "Okay, I need to start, I need to try to think of, you know, some," like you can't, you can't, you can't anymore, because you're kind of like at a point you're just like, "Let me get out of here for the day," but I don't know.

In addition to a lack of time, teachers remarked how top-down policies and the social narrative that teachers are at fault for failing urban schools had influenced orientation to innovation. About the predominant anti-teacher discourse, one experienced Smith teacher in the P/E group said:

It's huge. It kills the morale. Yeah. I mean I think if teachers don't feel respected then they're not going to be willing to go the extra mile or go do these. You know it's just going to be like, "I'm coming in. I'm getting my paycheck and I'm leaving."

Another experienced teacher in this group noted how top-down policies made her feel.

I feel like shut down, you know, like I can't really change anything. Because everything, it does come from so up on high, and it's like you must do it this way, and I feel like a less effective teacher because of it. Because I feel like I don't have as much control about what I'm allowed to do.

And, yet another experienced teacher in this group spoke about how both of these problems had stifled teachers' energy for changing their school environments.

I think, quite honestly, more than any policy, just the pervasive attitude in the media and in politics that everyone beside public school teachers knows what has to happen in public school. I mean, there are days that that really, really weighs on me...it almost feels that more and more and more is getting piled on us, so we will just shut up and do it. I

mean, that's my feeling. And then, when there's so much other stuff to do and adjust for, you're personally not thinking outside the box and trying to come up with new ideas, and so then I'm just gonna shut up and do what you tell me to do.

Several Jones faculty members also remarked how the constant focus on testing had stifled their energy and abilities to follow through on plans to improve family engagement. Just as the history of the school turnaround had influenced the school's affective climate, the constant emphasis on testing had also weakened the cognitive climate of the school.

Conclusion

In summary, even after the TIP intervention and a year of community school coordinator intervention, collective faculty trust in families did not exist at either of the schools. However, among TIP participants, there was stronger evidence of improvement at Smith than at Jones. Although the behavioral, affective, and cognitive environment at Smith was by no means perfect, all three of these mechanisms were stronger at Smith than at Jones.

Qualitative data provided a more nuanced understanding of the survey data. Although Jones faculty had more time for collaborative planning, faculty reported that this time was not used effectively. Smith faculty had more time for faculty meetings, and this time was used for substantive small-group conversations. According to the TELL data, faculty at both schools reported similar levels of satisfaction with their school, but the qualitative data revealed that the Jones faculty were much more polarized, and specifically, faculty in the P/E group were the most disillusioned with their school climate. This disillusionment likely has implications for their abilities and willingness to challenge their colleagues. Finally, although the survey data revealed similar cognitive climates, the *ways* in which faculty were oriented to improvement were more individualistic and transactional at Jones. Hard work was not associated with strong collective

efficacy. How these school-level contextual differences interacted with the influence of TIP and community school coordinators in both of the schools will be discussed in the next chapter.

The educational policy environment influenced each school's environment in varying ways. At Jones, the pressure faculty felt to keep their jobs impeded their trust in one another, and the lack of tenure at the school of any of the faculty, due to the school turnaround, precluded the presence of faculty who had the sufficient credibility to challenge their colleagues, in other words, "credible challengers." Because of this pressure, more faculty also reported that time was used more exclusively for conversations about testing, influencing the extent to which faculty had the opportunity for formal and informal dialogue about family engagement. Smith was not immune to the educational policy environment, but policy influenced the school's cognitive environment more than its affective and behavioral context, with some teachers feeling voiceless and powerless. Still, the faculty who felt this way were more experienced, and enough Smith faculty, particularly newer members, felt that they had sufficient channels through which to make a difference. Thus, the frustrations that the experienced teachers expressed seemed to influence the individual teachers' job satisfaction – and plans for remaining in teaching – more so than they influenced the broader cognitive environment of the school. Yet, experienced faculty in the P/E group leaving the school – credible challengers – could have deleterious consequences for the development of collective faculty trust in families.

CHAPTER VI

INTERVENTIONS PLAYING OUT DIFFERENTLY: THE VARYING CONTRIBUTIONS OF TIP AND COMMUNITY SCHOOL COORDINATORS TO COLLECTIVE FACULTY TRUST

In this chapter, I compare and contrast how the TIP program and the community school coordinators influenced collective faculty trust in families and discuss the primary reasons for these differences. I focus on the extent to which TIP led to cognitive changes in the ways teachers defined family engagement and perceived families – markers of changes in individual-level trust – and on the extent to which TIP altered faculty social exchange regarding family engagement – markers of changes in collective trust. Although not all of these reasons related to the differences in the behavioral, cognitive, and affective environments discussed above, these differences certainly influenced the successes and challenges of the TIP program and the coordinator in promoting collective faculty trust in families.

Influence of TIP on Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Although teachers' evaluations of TIP were overwhelmingly positive at both schools, evidence from observations, program evaluation surveys, and interviews indicate that the program led to a higher degree of individual and collective trust among participants at Smith, compared to Jones. As shown in in Table 8, at Smith, all of the faculty who were classified in the negative/ineffective group before TIP moved into the M group. At Jones, all of the faculty members remained in their original group. Notably, none of the TIP participants at either school moved into the P/E group.

Table 8. Faculty Group Classification Before and After TIP Program

Group	Jones		Smith	
	Before TIP	After TIP	Before TIP	After TIP
Negative/ineffective	1	1	6	0
Medium	3	3	0	6
Positive/effective	1	1	4	4

When participants were asked on the final program evaluation to list two specific changes they would implement as a result of attending the TIP program, the majority of Smith participants remarked on their own cognitive changes, for example, “taking my time to understand a situation,” “really considering parents’ feelings,” “putting my own bias aside and to check my own attitudes at the door before meeting or calling a parent.” In contrast, at Jones, participants mostly listed technical changes they would make, for example, “communicating in different ways,” “being firm with returning signed agendas/homework/paperwork from the beginning of the year,” and “more persistent communication.”

These differences were corroborated in follow-up interviews. Almost every TIP participant at Smith described how the program had begun to transform how s/he perceived parents. For example, one first-year classroom teacher recounted how the program challenged her acceptance of hegemonic norms about families and family engagement:

And, listening to the veterans talk about things like the socioeconomic environment they're coming up in, what their priorities are gonna be. I didn't consider those things. I was sitting there thinking, and I don't mean to sound judgmental, but I guess in my mind because I'm from the suburbs, I'm thinking “If you're not working and you have some kids, how is it that you wouldn't have time to read or study with your children?” And, it didn't, it never phased me, “Well, they're dealing with, you know, health care and filling out forms to get health care, and this and that, and bitterness and pride.” That was the best thing I got from the TIPS class. That I stopped making these, just, ugly assumptions that they should know.

This teacher described how this cognitive change improved interactions with families:

Language, body language. Asking them personal questions about, you know, there are events that were going on in the community: “Did you go to, you know, the Friday crawfish boil?” Just stuff like that. “Did you watch the game?” instead of “I really believe that you need to spend more time with your child on mathematics and math facts.” I just kinda stopped with that.

The program also had a positive benefit for teachers in the P/E group. An experienced teacher in this group discussed how the program influenced her ability to empathize with parents when she called to report behavioral problems:

I just know how sensitive I would be if it was my child, and I never just really thought about that. Even though, like when we have our meetings, we learn to like say a few positive things, then say the negative things, but I don’t think I really just actually put myself in that situation until we discussed it.

Another experienced teacher in the P/E group described how TIP had reminded her not to be judgmental.

It made me just remember how successful I can be the more I include families. And it also made me feel a little introspective about the way that I have reacted to families over a few situations. I mean, I’ve gotten kind of desensitized to their issues over the years. And when you get into those talks with other faculty, you kind of go, I have been really harsh, you know, in my treatment of so-and-so.

Yet another teacher in this group described how she enjoyed seeing her less experienced colleagues have “an eye-opening experience” in TIP as they learned more about the influence of poverty on family life and family engagement.

In contrast, TIP participants at Jones mostly described how TIP had resulted in behavioral changes, such as communicating more frequently, with more parents, or in different ways. These behavioral changes, however, did not appear to be a result of or a catalyst for stronger trust. Only one participant mentioned how the program had resulted in a cognitive shift:

So, and then also I always reflect with myself now, “Am I reacting emotionally to it?” so that, that kind of is always in my mind in that particular session. I try to remember, on my part, “Am I trying to meet the parents where they are? Am I being more understanding of

where they are or, you know, is it just all about me? Is it something that I can fix or is it not?" you know, so, and those kind of things. And that's one thing I really learned a lot from it, so I, I'm working through that on a consistent basis.

Not only did TIP transform how Smith participants perceived families but it also transformed how faculty related to one another about family engagement after the program ended. Faculty described talking more frequently with other participants, even colleagues with whom they never spoke, about family engagement. Moreover, participants reported that these conversations had grown more positive and productive:

With the TIP program, I think you are more likely to be like, to talk to somebody that was in the program and say like, "Okay, this is what happened and this is what I tried." And it's not just like venting, you know, it's because we've had some kind of, we have some kind of frame of the questions that we should be asking that we didn't have before with each other.

Additionally, this teacher shared that after TIP ended, she shared ideas for family engagement with the community school coordinator, and many of her TIP colleagues were excited to help implement these ideas. The coordinator described how excited teachers had become about family engagement and their desire to share their excitement with her: "I can't tell you how many times teachers will knock on my door and be like, oh, my gosh! I just had a parent interaction I wish I could have recorded for you." What explains these very different outcomes in schools located only a mile apart, implementing the same program and facilitated by staff from the same organization?

Differences in TIP Implementation

Neither school implemented TIP with perfect fidelity, although the coordinator at Jones followed the curriculum more closely than did the coordinator at Smith. At Smith, participants complained that the short videos intended to be shown at the beginning of each session were boring, so instead, the coordinator just summarized the content. Smith participants also wrote in

session evaluations that they wanted more time for informal conversations with one another. The coordinator decided that that it was more important to structure the program as teachers desired rather than follow the prescribed curriculum. Participants noted that their favorite activity was a role-playing activity the coordinator had created herself. At Jones, the curriculum was followed much more closely, mostly because there was less informal discussion distracting from the prescribed curriculum. Participants at both schools completed the weekly homework assignments only intermittently. Thus, what follows is not a true program evaluation but a description of how differing school contexts guided the same packaged program into two very different directions.

Four primary differences explained how TIP resulted in varying outcomes at the two schools. These differences include the 1) principal buy-in to the program, 2) composition of the group, most notably the presence or absence of “credible challengers”, 3) influence of the schools’ broader affective and cognitive climates on the overall comfort level of faculty to engage in challenging and sometimes tense conversations, and 4) ways in which the community school coordinators approached their work. Importantly, each of these qualities interacted with one another; a difference in one of them would have influenced the others. I discuss the first three influences next and discuss differences between the coordinators in the following section.

Principal Buy-In

At Smith, the principal had incited faculty to participate by waiving the requirement that they attend faculty meetings if they enrolled in TIP. The principal also approached faculty individually whom she believed had weak relationships with families or who were new and required them to join the program. Twenty-two faculty members signed up for the program, but only 12 could be accepted because of space limitations. The principal’s buy-in to the program sent a message to faculty that she expected them to be able to engage families. Although the

principal intentionally did not attend the TIP sessions to enable more open and honest sharing, she and the coordinator routinely checked in about the program. At Jones, the principal was hesitant to ask anything more of her faculty. She was perfectly amenable to TIP, but did not deliberately promote faculty buy-in. The coordinator had five minutes at a faculty meeting to present the program, and faculty who signed up then became the only program participants.

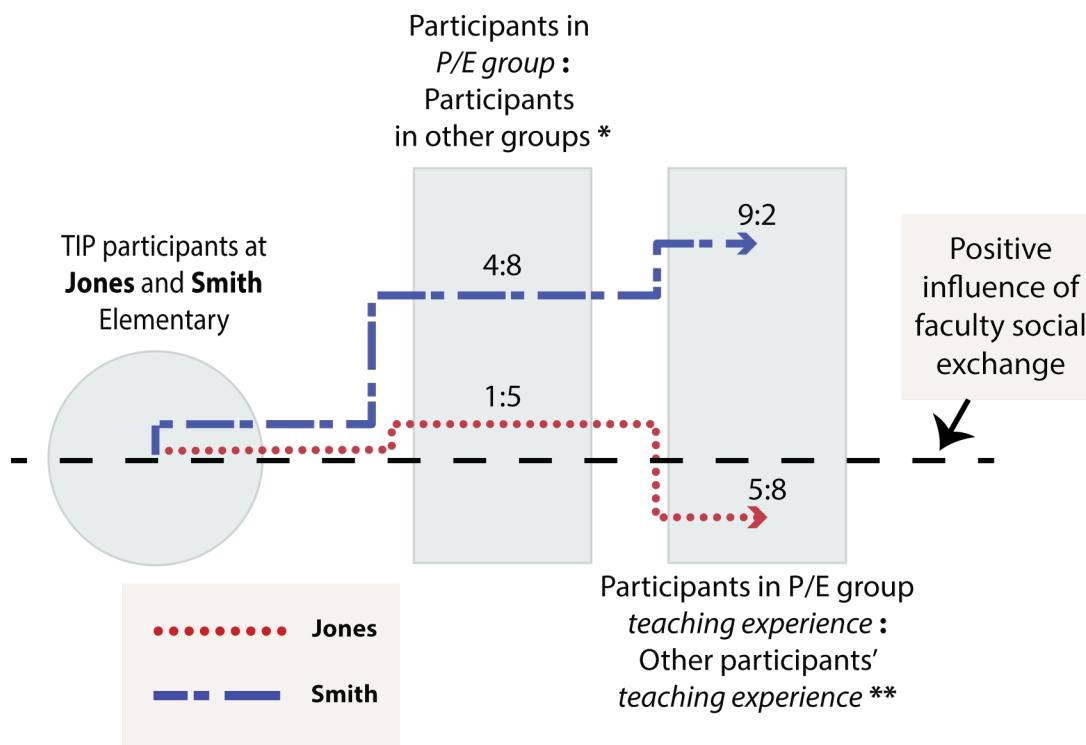
Due to so many competing pressures, several faculty members at both schools explained that more accountability for family engagement from leadership was helpful. One Jones teacher noted how appreciative she was that her principal trusted faculty and treated them as professionals but also added, “There’s no accountability. It’s kinda like, ‘This is what I expect you to do. Okay, I’m trusting you to do it.’ Well, some things, sometimes people need a little extra help, you know...” Another Jones faculty member expressed that the principal should let teachers know during their evaluations that they were weak on family engagement. Rather than being punitive, she suggested that the principal could be supportive, linking teachers to professional development resources, such as TIP. One of the TIP participants remarked that the faculty who participated in TIP were the ones who participated in all voluntary professional development and school improvement opportunities. She said, “So I don’t know that anybody else would do it [join TIP] anyway unless it was required.”

At Smith, where efforts for family engagement, such as attending an evening event, was taken into account during annual teacher evaluations, one teacher expressed how such accountability had made teachers more aware that they needed to be part of these events and had led teachers to take a more active role in the school. Another faculty member remarked that the added accountability initially did not help, because teachers showed up at events but did not engage with families, but that she had noticed teachers growing more comfortable interacting

with families in these circumstances. In short, faculty members wanted stronger demands from leadership to engage families.

Credible Challengers

The composition of the TIP participant groups also influenced the substance of faculty social exchange during the program. Compared to Jones, there were more faculty members in the program at Smith who could exercise social persuasion, challenging colleagues' deficit orientations to families. As shown in Figure 7, Smith not only had more teachers in the P/E group, but also more teachers in the P/E group with substantially more teaching experience than the other participants.



*The ratio of participants in the P/E group to participants in other groups was 1:5 at Jones and 4:8 at Smith.

**The ratio of the average years of teaching experience among participants in the P/E group to average years of experience to other participants was 5:8 at Jones and 9:2 at Smith.

Figure 7. Differences between faculty social exchange during TIP at Jones and Smith depending on group composition

Out of the six participants at Jones, there was only one classroom teacher in the P/E group, whereas at Smith, there were four teachers in the P/E group. The one Jones teacher in the P/E group had been teaching for five years, whereas the other participants had an average of eight years of teaching experience. In contrast, on average, the four Smith faculty in the P/E group had been teaching at the school for eight years and had nine years of general teaching experience. The six other participants only had 2 years of average teaching experience, both in general and at the school. Given that so many teachers in the P/E group explained that they only felt comfortable challenging their colleagues with less experience, Smith TIP participants in the P/E group freely challenged their colleagues, while the one Jones teacher in this group felt she had not earned the credibility to directly challenge her colleagues' wrongful assumptions. Furthermore, at Smith, the inexperienced teachers who struggled more with family engagement were open to critique and advice from their more experienced colleagues, whereas the more experienced Jones teachers were reluctant to take advice from a colleague with less teaching experience.

As a result, at Jones, dialogue about families and family engagement was consistently polite and subdued. The one classroom teacher in the P/E group said that she had joined the program in part to engage her colleagues in being open to new strategies to work with families. She was successful with this goal to an extent. For example, she shared her successes with doing home visits over the summer and how parent-teacher conferences worked best when she started by asking the parents questions before telling them about their child. Theoretically, these strategies could have helped her colleagues gain mastery, but her colleagues were unresponsive to them, and she frequently had to be called on to share them. Further, when participants made

deficit-oriented remarks about families, she was silent. Thus, she was unable to promote mastery or exercise social persuasion.

In this teacher's follow-up interview, she explained how she felt uncomfortable, due to her age, challenging her colleagues' false accounts of parents' willingness to be engaged:

My only concern was just working here, knowing what goes on versus kind of what was said goes on, in my opinion were different, which is really nothing that you could control, nothing that [community school coordinator] could control, and for me I'm not, that's not something that I'm comfortable with challenging. My role at this school is, I just need to, I'm still the youngest one. I still have the least amount of experience. People don't look to me as anyone that they need to listen to.

In contrast, one of the most experienced teachers at Smith made herself vulnerable minutes into the first program session by saying that she too often finds herself judging parents and then feels badly afterwards. It would have been more difficult for this teacher to make herself vulnerable had she still been trying to prove herself to colleagues. Her comments modeled a willingness to be vulnerable to other experienced teachers, who also shared openly and honestly throughout the program. Less experienced teachers noted appreciating this honesty in their program evaluation surveys and follow-up interviews. For example, one teacher wrote, "I'm not alone when it comes to pre-judging parents and I have an experienced support system to answer my questions."

At Smith, faculty members actively engaged in social persuasion, challenging one another's assumptions about parents. However, the extent to which participants were willing to be challenged seemed to depend on the perceived credibility of the challenger. For example, during one program session, a first-year teacher said it was a "disservice" to parents to not present them with information about how their child's reading level compared with other students during parent/teacher conferences. Another first-year teacher, who had described her childhood growing up poor in Appalachia earlier in that session, responded that her illiterate

father walked out of a parent/teacher conference because a teacher had chided him about needing to read to his daughter. Once this teacher had shared her story, the coordinator shared about her own mother's fear interacting with her teachers as an immigrant who spoke little English. Yet, during the follow-up interview with the first-year teacher who made the initial remark, she described how these interactions had not led her to change her mind about the importance of being bluntly honest with parents about their child's reading level. She also described how she sometimes felt as though she was being "attacked" during the program.

However, at another program session, this same first-year teacher shared how she was incredulous that a mother gave her child who was being bullied advice "to just hit back." A more experienced teacher in the P/E group quickly explained that the mother did this because she was trying to instill in her child survival skills for a violent neighborhood. The first-year teacher responded well to this advice, but seemed unmoved by the interjections of the other first-year teacher and the community school coordinator, whom in her mind did not have the same credibility as the more experienced classroom teacher. In the follow-up interview, this teacher described how the experienced teacher had been a mentor to her that year and had helped her better understand her students' families by lending her a copy of Ruby Payne's *A Framework for Understanding Poverty*. (Problems with this being the "go-to" text to understand poverty will be discussed later).

TIP Interactions with Behavioral, Affective, and Cognitive Climate

Differences in the composition of the groups interacted with differences in the broader behavioral, affective, and cognitive environments of the two schools. The familiarity of faculty with one another and their comfort with informal interactions was evident at Smith during TIP. Teachers chatted vivaciously before the program would start and after it would end, often

sharing their excitement over a successful interaction with a family member that week. At Jones, teachers tended to spend time before the session started quietly scrolling through their tablets or flipping through their TIP binders. Although there were only six of them, they tended to spread themselves out across the room and had to be asked to join each other in groups.

At Smith, in general, TIP participants responded much more favorably to being challenged by colleagues or even school outsiders. During one particularly negative conversation about parents' failure to sign behavioral folders, the director of the place-based initiative at the NNC, who was observing that day, confessed that she had not signed her own son's behavioral folder for months. She remarked how the behavioral folder, with its series of green smiley faces, did not help her understand how she could help her child with other challenges he faced. Given that she was a White, middle-class woman, this remark surprised many of the participants and unleashed a long and impassioned discussion among the faculty about the merit of behavioral folders. Several faculty members agreed that the school policy to send weekly information home about behavior communicated to parents that the school prioritized behavior over academics. A couple of the more experienced teachers noted that academic expectations had declined significantly throughout their years at the school. Other faculty members were adamant that good behavior was the foundation for academics and that parents wanted to know about behavior, because they felt they could support the teacher with behavior but not academics. The two sides broke down mainly across racial lines, with White teachers more likely to be against the behavioral folders and Black teachers more likely to be for them. Although there was palpable tension in the room, all but one session evaluation indicated that the conversation had been engaging and productive, and the next week, there were no signs of lingering hostility among the faculty.

Like at Smith, a non-classroom teacher TIP participant at Jones, who had a more “whole-child” perspective, also tried to influence the dialogue. Yet, the outcome was quite different. One teacher recounted how she had met with one of her students and his mother to address the student’s depressive symptoms. The student’s father was incarcerated, and at the meeting, the mother told her child that lots of kids have fathers in jail, that it was nothing to cry about, and that she would “give him a whooping” if he cried again. The teacher shared to the TIP group that she felt there was little more she could do, and another classroom teacher agreed that sometimes teachers only can do so much. The non-classroom teacher spoke up and said that the mother could change her mind about how to address her son’s depression, but this would require the teacher, the guidance counselor, and the parent working together over time as a team and warned that change would be slow. After this comment, there were a couple moments of strained silence. The teacher who initially shared the story rolled her eyes, and the facilitator moved on to the next agenda item.

The TIP participant in the P/E group remarked how the environment in TIP mirrored the broader cognitive environment at Jones, including faculty attitudes toward improvement:

It’s acceptable for adults in our building to make excuses for why the students do, act the way they do and why the parents act the way they do, and not accepting as much responsibility. So, I think that’s common, kind of, in all settings. It wasn’t just in that room. That’s a pretty common thing.

My observations of TIP supported these accounts of the cognitive climate, where brainstorming solutions to common challenges with family engagement tended to take on a more individualistic approach. For example, during one program session, teachers identified parents frequently changing their phone numbers as a major obstacle. When asked what they could do to address this problem, they brainstormed actions they could take in their classrooms rather than school-level systems that might alleviate the problem for all teachers.

Although not all conversations during TIP at Smith were paragons of strong collective efficacy, there was more evidence of teachers being willing to work together than there was at Jones. For example, during one small group brainstorming session, one teacher described her idea to have a family fitness and nutrition event, and her colleagues excitedly agreed to help her. The teacher confirmed in her follow-up interview that she had received a lot of support from her colleagues for planning this event. Not only was direct social persuasion more well received at Smith, but faculty responded more positively to the vicarious experiences of their colleagues. Unlike at Jones, where the teacher's accounts of her successful efforts to engage families were met with indifference, Smith faculty listened closely and asked probing questions when their colleagues described successful strategies for working with families. Family engagement was not a competition; the faculty were in it together.

Participants at Jones shared that TIP helped them realize they were not alone, and the majority did express that the environment felt safe and comfortable, but they did not remark that the program helped them better understand their colleagues' perspectives. Thus, the program at Jones seemed to make teachers feel more supported but did not fundamentally change how they perceived families. Despite dialogue that was frequently riddled with conflict, the majority of TIP participants at Smith also shared on session evaluation surveys and in follow-up interviews that they felt comfortable sharing and being open and honest with their colleagues.

Only two Smith participants mentioned feeling overly scrutinized by their colleagues at times, but they each said that they quickly got over it and that being challenged did not have a strong influence on their overall experience in the program. One first-year teacher, who complained about how fellow participants gave her dirty looks for using a student's name when telling a story (there was a rule against this in the program), still reported, "I wrote down tons of

notes, listening to these veterans, and it helped.” Rather than tear the staff apart, it seemed that the honesty and openness generated through TIP actually helped to smooth over other tensions in the building. One participant said:

I really liked the, kind of the faculty interaction, and I always think it's good when faculty can get a better understanding of where their colleagues are coming from, particularly right now, while there's this huge divide, you know, where there have been some very divisive things that have happened in the building. And so there's this kind of growing tension among faculty. I think it's really good for faculty to feel like they're not alone; there are other people that are presented with the same challenges as them.

Thus, conflict did not substantially influence the safety and comfort of the program environment at Smith, whereas at Jones, faculty feared interrupting the safety and comfort of the program environment and stuck to polite and less productive dialogue.

In sum, principal buy-in contributed to stronger enrollment at Smith, which meant that there were four times as many teachers in the P/E group as there was at Jones. More experienced teachers were more willing to be vulnerable and admit their own shortcomings as well as challenge their less experienced colleagues. Such willingness set an open and honest tone for the group that was largely absent at Jones.

Influence of Community School Coordinators on Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Given that individuals often influence their settings in profound ways, it is worth describing how the two coordinators approached their work differently. When I asked the coordinators how they had helped improve family engagement at their respective schools, the Jones coordinator described transactional changes, while the Smith coordinator described transformational changes. These different approaches were heavily reflected in their facilitation styles during TIP.

Coordinators' descriptions of their roles can be synthesized into four “M’s”: modeling, mediating, mentoring, and making time. Although both the Smith and Jones coordinators

engaged in all four of these activities, the Smith coordinator explicitly viewed her role as modeling to faculty how to trust and show respect toward families, mediating between families and teachers, and mentoring teachers about working with families. In these ways, she was able to use direct social persuasion while developing the faculty's mastery and vicarious experience. Meanwhile, the Jones coordinator mostly saw her role as making time for families and teachers to engage with one another at family events and making time for teachers to focus more on their classroom responsibilities and less on having to worry about how to invite families into the building.

The Smith coordinator explained how she modeled to faculty how to have positive, respectful interactions with families. Some faculty were surprised to see that parents whom they believed were not involved or did not care had a strong relationship with the coordinator. This surprise led these teachers to question their assumptions about the parents' disposition to education and reflect on how they could also develop more positive relationships with families. The coordinator at Smith noted how when she talked about improving family engagement, one teacher would consistently tell her "You just don't know how it is out here." This started to change as the coordinator built a relationship with a parent whom the teacher had dismissed as unresponsive:

And then building a relationship with that parent allowed her some room for curiosity on her part, like what's really going on? Why are parents bonding? And so that gave me a little bit of leeway. But with her I think that I gained a lot of ground by forming a relationship with that parent and not just being a voice.

The Smith coordinator also described how negative conversations about families would abruptly stop when she entered a room. She was initially uncomfortable with this, "feeling like an alien in my own land," but then noted, "I really noticed that my presence was enough to make people uncomfortable enough to stop having those types of conversations even though I had

never like chastised anyone.” Thus, the coordinator served as a force of accountability when faculty engaged in negative dialogue about families. Her presence did not stop such dialogue from ever occurring but raised a new awareness among faculty that speaking in this way about families would not be sanctioned. As the Smith coordinator said, “And so I think even those like not so overt, like I’m not carrying a banner that says you will not bash parents but they are internalizing that, like they’re going to be held to a different account even by the way they’re speaking.”

The Jones coordinator viewed her role as making life easier for teachers, not more challenging. In this way, faculty noted that the coordinator was a model for optimism in the building and that her “can-do” attitude had renewed the energy of the building. As one teacher said:

I’m really glad that, that [coordinator] is here at this time at [Jones]. It has made a difference for us, and it’s, it’s really, it’s great to, to see her little can-do spirit and, “Here’s something I can do, let me just, you know, jump in and try this,” and that’s been great. And I just, I feel like she’s also just a model of, of willing to, being willing to jump in and do things.

Indeed, the Jones coordinator had accomplished a lot in her first year at the school. She had vastly increased the number of parents attending PTO meetings, started a faculty family engagement committee, and organized many events for families. Because the coordinator arranged for events to occur at convenient times for parents and secured childcare, food, and translation services, parent attendance improved dramatically from past years. By improving attendance, her work indirectly modeled to faculty that stronger effort could result in higher turnout. Stronger parent attendance indirectly challenged certain faculty member’s perspectives that families did not want to be engaged with the school. During one TIP session, teachers described how the coordinator had created a “domino effect” in the school; by welcoming

families into the school, teachers had begun to become more energized about family engagement.

In contrast, the Smith coordinator focused more of her energy on deliberate relational work. She frequently participated in meetings between parents and teachers and *mediated* between the two. Having a trusted figure in the room helped parents feel more comfortable and therefore reduced hostile interactions between parents and teachers. As such hostile interactions tend to reinforce mistrust between teachers and parents, the intervention of the coordinator helped faculty believe that families would be supportive if they felt valued and respected.

The Smith coordinator also *mentored* teachers to help them improve their skills for family engagement, their attitudes, and better manage their emotions. Unlike many professional development programs and trainings that are executed by school outsiders, after TIP, the Smith coordinator became noticed as the “family engagement go-to” in the school. Her ongoing presence in the schools helped to sustain the impacts of TIP beyond the program’s completion. She would routinely stop into teachers’ classrooms during lunch or planning periods to informally talk about family engagement and help troubleshoot problems. Some faculty mentioned frequently stopping into the coordinator’s office to seek advice on how to support a family.

The Smith coordinator viewed TIP as a means to establishing more trusting relationships with teachers so that she would be able to enhance this mentoring relationship:

I think that a lot of that, that paradigm shift has to be done in relationship where it’s safe enough and I don’t have a close enough relationship with everyone to take that safety and do things. But it was really helpful to forge a really close relationship with at least 75% of the TIP participants...Like before then, I was just the counselor. I was just the social worker. I was just the resource person. And so, that wouldn’t have been a natural place for them to put that story. But now it’s given us permission to expand our relationship so I love that. I love seeing how excited they get when it just, I mean it just feels so good to get it right, you know?

The coordinator went on to offer an example of how she mentors her colleagues as a supportive friend rather than as a critic or a supervisor. Her example speaks to her ability to help teachers manage their emotions about family engagement:

You know, when, I think it's easy when people get really, really frustrated and they're tired and they're at the end of their rope, it's easy for teachers to backslide and say like, "Well, dang it, she's just a sucky mom," and, you know, "She's just not trying." And I've been in the middle of those conversations where one of our TIP participants was just going off on a rant and I just stood there and kept smiling and I said, "This is so hard for you." And she stopped and that was her shift. She started crying and she was like, "This is, because this is what we were working for, and I know that the mom can do better and I want to help her do better, and I know that the kid can do better." And that's when the real stuff happened.

The coordinator also followed up with teachers after TIP had ended regarding topics with which they noted struggling. For example, during TIP, several faculty asked for advice from colleagues regarding how to find out if a parent was literate. They noted that they did not want to push reading at home if the parent could not read. In a one-on-one setting, the coordinator helped them realize that it was not important to find out this information. She described the outcomes of these conversations as positive for both teachers and families:

So, for some of the teachers that I've talked with that conversation has been really freeing for them because it takes away the awkwardness of like how do I prompt you to figure out if you're illiterate and now I can just operate from a place of whatever you are, it's fine because we're on the same team and we'll figure out how to work together. So, for a lot of teachers I feel like that's been freeing and they're seeing some really good parent-teacher relationships grow where at the beginning I was worried that they wouldn't.

The coordinator at Jones did not describe mentoring teachers as part of her role. She did, however, fall into a mentoring role to smooth out interpersonal conflict that arose on the faculty family engagement committee that she had created. One faculty member described her initial challenges as a member of this committee:

[The coordinator] will tell you it started off real bad. Because I'm one of those, I love to share ideas, but I think everyone should listen to everyone's ideas. Discuss it before it's

shut down. And, one problem I find in this school is, and what was on that committee, is we are in a low socioeconomic environment. But 90% of the teachers have never been in that type of environment.

This teacher went on to describe how she had argued with other committee members over whether to charge families admission for a family dance at the school. She noted that several of her relatives had grown up in poverty, and she learned from them that charging for an event – even if it was only a dollar – would convey to families that the school viewed them with dignity. Other faculty members argued that families could not afford pencils and paper for their children and therefore wondered why they would be willing to pay for admission to a dance. The teacher countered, “Well, why would they buy their child paper and pencils when they know the school is gonna give it to them?” Rather than facilitating an open discussion about the conflict, the coordinator met individually with members of the committee to discuss their feelings about the conflict. Apparently, conflict had been smoothed over: the teacher who was originally upset reported during the interview, “I’m just glad we’ve started. I don’t know how long, at least we, but we’ve started somewhere. So that’s a good thing. And we’re talking. So, the more we talk, the more people will hear.” However, the committee remained focused on event planning and not on raising substantive issues about the ways in which faculty perceived families and conceptualized family engagement.

In addition to making time for family engagement through the committee, several Jones faculty members noted that if they had an idea about how to improve family engagement in the school, they would talk to the coordinator about the idea first. This was noteworthy, considering that many teachers said that the best way to accomplish anything in the school was to talk to the principal, who was open to new ideas, but had limited time. Yet, the Jones coordinator and faculty interacted mostly about *taking action* while the Smith coordinator and faculty interacted

over *changing relationships* between faculty and families. The Smith coordinator also noted that she planned to re-do the teachers' lounges over the summer to allow for more teacher bonding and conversation.

The differences in how the two coordinators approached their work played out in distinct ways in TIP. The Smith coordinator directly challenged faculty when they made assumptions about families. During the TIP program, the Smith coordinator mentored the faculty on how to challenge their assumptions about parents' behaviors. For example, during one program session, a teacher expressed her frustration with a parent whom she had contacted multiple times about her child's behavior. Every time the teacher called, the parent would tell the teacher that she would talk to her child about his behavior. When the student's behavior never changed, the teacher became angry toward the parent for lying to her. Through repeatedly asking questions, the coordinator gently pushed back on the teacher's assumption that the parent was lying to her and helped her realize the mother was just struggling as much as the teacher was to help her child correct the behavioral problem. After this incident, it became more commonplace for faculty to question their assumptions about families not valuing education when they expressed their frustrations with parents not showing up to meetings or not signing homework folders. The Smith coordinator frequently went off script from the packaged curriculum, framing examples in a way that made teachers nod their heads and say, "yeah" out loud. For example, during the first session, she asked participants to picture a child they loved. She then asked the faculty to imagine what it would feel like to get a call from someone they barely knew telling them how "bad" this "precious child you love more than anything else in the world" was. In follow-up interviews, several TIP participants described this as an "Aha" moment. On the other hand, the Jones coordinator left comments about parent apathy and incompetence untouched.

In sum, the two coordinators' different approaches to their work greatly influenced the extent to which TIP changed faculty dialogue about families and family engagement, both during the program's duration and after it had ended. These differences can be attributed to the different personalities of the coordinators, as well as to their past experiences. The Smith coordinator had ample past experience with facilitation and had been trained in a former job to facilitate a program about challenging assumptions. Yet, to attribute all of the differences to two individuals would be overly simplistic. Other school-level behavioral, affective, and cognitive mechanisms directly influenced changes in faculty dialogue and also interacted with the coordinators' comfort levels in altering these dialogues. At Smith, the willingness of faculty to openly and honestly challenge one another during TIP, a partial function of the school's affective climate, made it easier for the coordinator to generate productive dialogue. Additionally, the Smith coordinator noted a strong sense of collective efficacy in the school, which made her feel that her efforts would be worthwhile: "Like there's definitely synergy in the building, like there's an openness and there's a willingness and there's a curiosity about how it could be." She also added how so much faculty interest in participating in TIP encouraged her: "...People want this. So even on my worst day, I will hold to that. People want this. People want to know how to do this. People want to know how to be in a relationship and that is hard work." Additionally, Smith's behavioral culture, wherein faculty reported more frequently visiting one another's classrooms and offices, enabled conversations about family engagement to persist more fluidly once the program was over.

The general transactional orientation to innovation at Jones and the transformational orientation to innovation at Smith also influenced how faculty perceived the coordinators. At Jones, faculty were overwhelmingly grateful toward the coordinator for relieving some of their

responsibilities for family engagement, because they viewed family engagement mainly as a technical exercise. Viewed through a more relational lens at Smith, a couple of respondents alluded to the risk of the coordinator taking on too much of the relational work. For example, one teacher said:

But it's totally exactly a double-edged sword of what I was just talking about. Because when you begin to release responsibility to somebody else, which I totally have willingly and happily, you lose a little bit of what your relationship with them is.

Thus, faculty at Smith expected the coordinator to help strengthen their relationships with families, while faculty at Jones expected the coordinator to help implement technical solutions.

Conclusion

TIP helped Smith participants become substantially more trusting toward families, while Jones faculty reported making behavioral changes with little concurrent change in their belief structures. These differences could be attributed to a combination of principal buy-in to the program; the number of credible challengers in the groups; the broader school climate; and qualities of the community school coordinators. Each of these factors interacted with one another; diminishing the strength of one of these factors would likely have compromised the successes of TIP. Figure 8 depicts how these individual-level, group-level, and school-level factors interacted with one another to influence program outcomes at Smith.

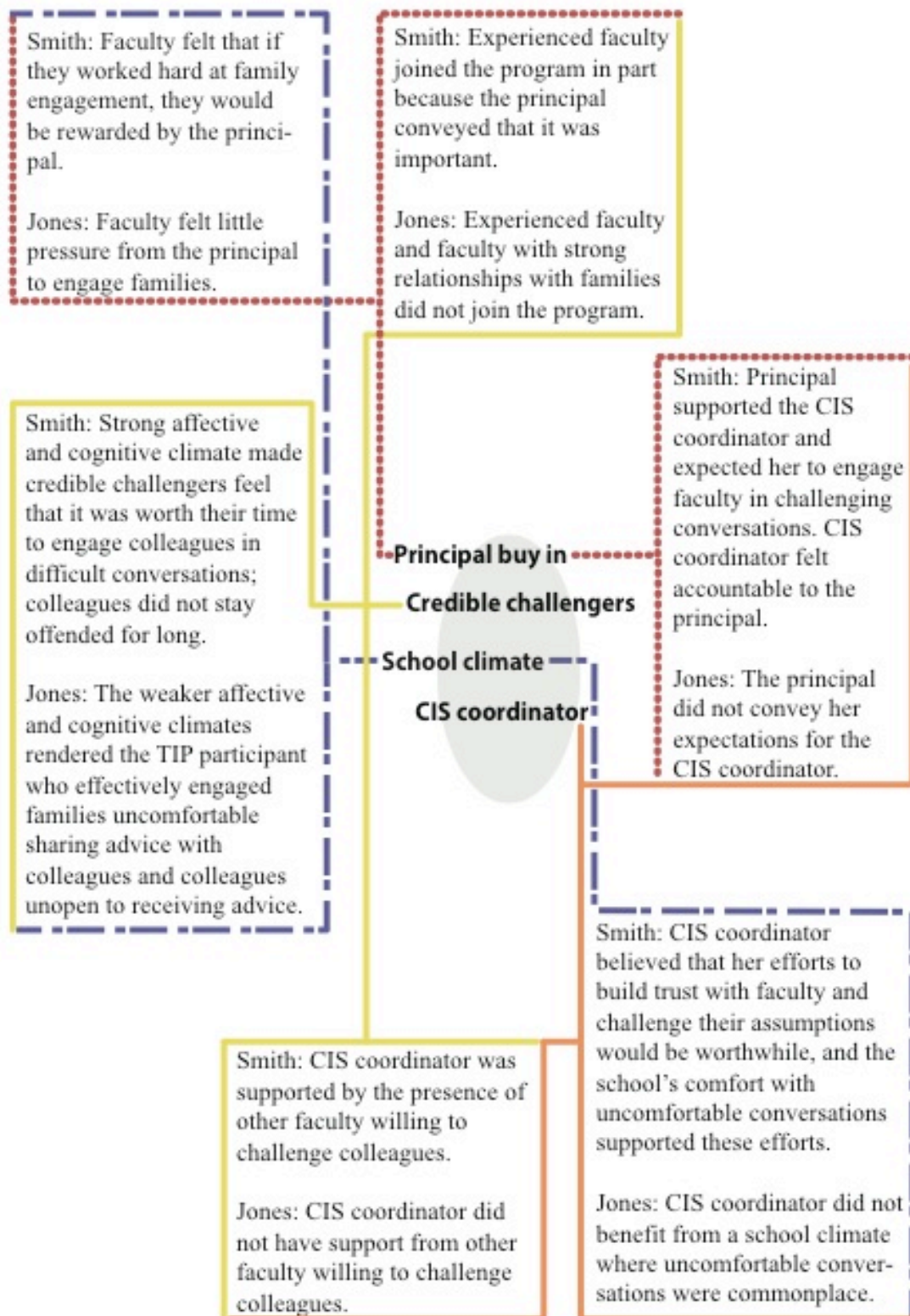


Figure 8. Interaction of factors influencing differences in TIP outcomes

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

In a seminal work, Sarason (1976) imagined the peculiarities of educational norms through the eyes of a visitor from outer space. Indeed, a visitor from outer space would find many peculiar “behavioral regularities” in the typical ways disadvantaged schools approach family engagement. Despite the stark contextual differences between low-income and middle class schools, family engagement practices tend to be quite similar: teachers communicate information to parents through an annual “back-to-school night,” a bi-annual conference, and phone calls when students act out; decision-making is relegated to the formal structures of the Parent Teacher Organization; and the ideal parent is one who supports the practices and policies of the school through volunteering and attending events. With little training for meaningful family engagement, teachers tend to engage parents in the same way their teachers engaged their parents, thus perpetuating a middle class paradigm (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2003). When these expected regularities fail to materialize, schools tend to either try harder – through sending out more flyers and making more phone calls – or give up – adopting the notion that “these parents” in “this kind of neighborhood” just don’t care (Lareau, 1989; Raffaele & Knoff, 1999).

Why are such behavioral regularities so stubborn to change? This study starts with the premise that changes in trust precede changes in behavior (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2011). Bryk and Schneider (2002) argue that trust “cannot be achieved 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” (Bryk & Schneider, p. 136).

Further, Lewis and Forman (2002) argue that, “It is in the daily process of school community members interacting – compromising, misunderstanding, accommodating, and butting heads – that relationships are built and school communities are shaped” (p. 83). Yet, few studies examine the social processes that lead to collective cognitive shifts among a school faculty. This study is the first to my knowledge to draw both from the literatures on trust in schools (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth, Adams, & Hoy, 2011; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000) and critical family engagement (Auerbach, 2007; Baquedano-López, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2011; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Yosso, 2005). In doing so, I take an ecological approach, examining how broader hegemonic norms about parenting, poverty, and family engagement, school organizational properties, and the educational policy context interact to influence micro-level interactions between faculty members and between faculty members and families. Considering the centrality of bidirectional relationships to ecological theory, I also explore how and under what conditions faculty social exchange supports changes in collective faculty trust in families. Before proceeding to further discussion of the findings and implications for practice and policy, I discuss the study’s strengths and limitations.

Strengths and Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, I had to accept teachers’ accounts of their successes or challenges with family engagement as reality, because parents and other faculty did not evaluate particular teachers’ engagement skills. It was easier to assess engagement among the faculty whom I observed for nine hours in the TIP program and harder for the teachers whom I spent under an hour interviewing. However, the fact that so many teachers expressed such pervasive deficit-oriented beliefs – even in a scenario where they were likely conscious of presenting a positive version of themselves – indicates how little exposure they have had to an

alternatively asset-based approach to family engagement. My role as a program facilitator and my race might have also influenced the honesty of interviewees. Although I aimed to diffuse the former challenge by re-iterating to interviewees that I had nothing invested in the TIP program and that I wanted to hear honest answers to inform program improvement, it is impossible to guarantee complete honesty. On the other hand, my existing rapport with many interviewees may have actually facilitated their comfort with being honest. Regarding race, White teachers likely felt comfortable speaking to another White person in thinly veiled racial euphemisms, such as “this culture” and “urban,” as if I would understand without getting offended. However, my Whiteness might have interfered with Black teachers’ comfort sharing how race influenced their trust toward and interactions with families and colleagues.

Another limitation is that I was unable to interview seven classroom teachers at Smith. As the hardest to reach teachers, these teachers may have also been the most disillusioned and/or may not have believed strongly in the importance of family engagement; it is important to consider teachers who fit this description when considering how to change school cultures. On the other hand, I am confident that I interviewed a variety of school staff at Smith, with differing levels of beliefs about family engagement and various approaches to school change.

Additionally, although I spent a lot of time sitting in the schools’ front offices and hallways and used these observations to inform my field-notes, I did not systematically observe collaborative faculty time, such as grade level meetings or faculty meetings, nor did I observe events with faculty/family interactions. Such systematic observations would have improved my ability to corroborate other data sources.

Additionally, there were strengths and weaknesses to a community-engaged research approach. In doing community-engaged research where the purpose is not only to build

knowledge but also contribute to local social change, gaining trust required respecting the wishes of school and community stakeholders. This meant not being able to interview families, as the NNC director was wary of asking families to speak their minds with no immediate plan to address their concerns. In addition, although the coordinator at Smith was supportive of asking the faculty to complete the pre-test survey, by the end of the school year, she felt that faculty were too overwhelmed with other demands and worried that asking them to complete a post-test would compromise the trust she had worked hard to establish. Respecting these wishes prevented my ability to gain a truly comprehensive understanding of teacher/parent trust and examine changes in attitudes toward family and school climate over time. However, ample community input into the study's questions, design, and findings helped to establish trustworthiness and authenticity, as detailed in Appendix A. Such engagement expanded the rigor of this study in countless ways, including helping me to recruit participants, check my assumptions and subjective observations, continually refine my focus group and observation protocols, and interpret my preliminary findings.

Finally, as in all research, a researcher's identity influences the questions she asks and the way she interprets data (Milner, 2007). It is noteworthy that half of the teachers whom I classified in the N/I group were Black (3 of 6). One explanation for this, as several White teachers offered, is that certain Black teachers felt less urgency than some White teachers to critically examine their difference and thus did not make as much of a concerted effort to build trust. However, perhaps, as Ladson-Billings (1994) offers, Black teachers tend to feel a heavy responsibility to harbor high expectations for Black students and families. The three Black teachers I categorized into the N/I group might have been disappointed by the gap between parents' expected and actual behavior, and despite my best efforts to compare transcripts

systematically using the constant comparative method, my racial identity might have influenced how I interpreted their accounts of their experiences with family engagement.

Re-Visiting an Ecological Approach to Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Contextual Considerations for Faculty Social Exchange

The types of interactions in which faculty engaged and the conditions under which these interactions occurred were powerful levers for collective faculty trust in families. This study lends support to collective trust developing through the same mechanisms through which collective efficacy develops: through mastery, vicarious experience, and social persuasion (Bandura, 1986; Goddard, Hoy, & Hoy, 2004). At Smith, faculty members shared strategies with one another regarding building trust with families so that colleagues could gain mastery in trusting; shared their successes for building trust with families (vicarious experience); and directly challenged colleagues' assumptions about families (social persuasion).

The behavioral contexts of the schools, particularly the use of time, influenced the extent to which faculty could engage in promoting mastery, sharing vicarious experience, and using social persuasion. Collaborative time at Smith was optimally used for faculty to learn from one another. Smith faculty spontaneously drifted in and out of one another's classrooms, enabling teachers to learn from one another and to develop trusting relationships. These relationships enabled teachers to feel more comfortable challenging one another's assumptions during TIP. Additionally, because the coordinator perceived modeling as a distinct function of her role, meetings consisting of the coordinator, a teacher, and a parent accomplished the dual goals of addressing parent concerns while also helping teachers learn how to develop trust with families. With grade level teams comprising four to five teachers, in contrast to the two-teacher grade level teams at Jones, teachers reported more sharing of ideas and strategies for building trust with

families. In contrast, the highly structured and routinized (i.e. *Gesellschaftlich*) forms of collaboration at Jones – the family engagement committee meetings that focused mostly on event planning, grade level team meetings with only two teachers discussing technical matters (Valli & Buese, 2007), and faculty meetings with set agendas – allowed little to no time for faculty to promote one another’s mastery, share vicarious experience, or offer social persuasion.

Thus, these findings imply that collaborative faculty time should be organized to optimize developing mastery, sharing vicarious experience, and social persuasion. Yet, the effectiveness of these types of faculty social exchange varied substantially between Jones and Smith. For example, at Smith, TIP participants were inspired by vicarious successes and social persuasion, whereas at Jones, faculty were dismissive of the one classroom teacher who had positive and effective relationships with families. Although several Smith faculty noted feeling uncomfortable engaging their colleagues in social persuasion, faculty members nevertheless frequently challenged their colleagues’ assumptions during TIP, and reportedly, outside of TIP. On the contrary, at Jones, when a faculty member challenged her colleagues on the family engagement committee, the coordinator met individually with each faculty member to abate the conflict rather than using the opportunity to promote social persuasion.

These differences beg the question: what conditions facilitate or impede the effectiveness of interactions that promote mastery, vicarious experience, and social persuasion? To answer this question, findings suggest further attention is needed to a particular clause in the definition of trust: “willingness to be vulnerable” (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy). Transformational change blossomed from moments of vulnerability. Faculty members at Smith were more willing to share vulnerabilities during TIP – admitting that they sometimes judged parents, that they did not work as hard as they could to engage them, that well-intentioned interactions quickly soured. These

moments of truth, from first year teachers and experienced teachers alike, helped participants get past blaming parents and accept collective responsibility for family engagement. Certain faculty members were also willing to make themselves vulnerable by challenging their colleagues' assumptions about parents and the behavioral regularities of the school (e.g. behavior folders), and true change transpired when faculty on the receiving end did not grow defensive (Argyris & Schön, 2007). Thus, in addition to focusing on how to help teachers recognize that families are generally trustworthy, future research should focus on what factors impede and facilitate teachers' willingness to be vulnerable to one another and to parents. This study begins to answer that question, suggesting that teachers' perceptions of their own credibility and that of their colleagues facilitates a willingness to be vulnerable to giving and receiving critique.

According to Bandura (1986), one's credibility, trustworthiness, and expertise enhance her ability to persuade. Forsyth and colleagues (2011) engage in a very brief discussion of how the "elites" in an organization influence organizational norms, yet they omit a discussion of what factors influence whether or not teachers who trust students and families – those who have the most potential to generate collective faculty trust – gain "elite" status among their colleagues. I have called these faculty members "credible challengers." By far, the most common source of perceived credibility among teachers in the P/E groups at both schools was their number of years of experience at the school and in teaching. Almost all of these teachers noted that they felt most credible challenging their younger colleagues or their colleagues with less experience. Apparently, such "experience credibility" shielded teachers from the vulnerability associated with confronting their colleagues. Similarly, recipients seemed much more open to being vulnerable to critique when a more experienced teacher delivered the critique. This finding

extends Ball's (1987) and Hargreaves' (2005) research on varying teacher experience levels as a source of inter-faculty tension and mistrust.

At Smith, the TIP faculty members in the P/E group had substantially more experience than their peer participants. They believed they had earned the right to critique their colleagues, and they were comfortable admitting weakness. The support of multiple credible challengers, along with the skilled facilitation of the community school coordinator, in the TIP program further shielded them from vulnerability. Additionally, the generally strong affective and cognitive school climate supported their willingness to risk being vulnerable to their colleagues. Faculty were able to fervently exchange opposing viewpoints and still note that they enjoyed the session. Further, a strong sense of collective efficacy guided their willingness to initiate difficult conversations, because they believed that their colleagues were open to change. The one teacher in the P/E group at Jones did not benefit from any of these individual-, group-, or school- level advantages, respectively: she was young; she was the only classroom teacher in the P/E group who participated in TIP; and she was "teacher-of-the-year" in a school where several of her colleagues noted feeling immense pressure to perform better. Non-TIP participants in the P/E group at Jones also felt powerless to challenge their colleagues due in part to their inexperience at the school and in part to a climate where they perceived that colleagues resented their success.

This study suggests links between the educational policy environment and each of these individual-, group-, and school- level factors: there simply were no teachers at Jones who had earned "experience credibility" due to the school turnaround (individual-level); the principal – although well-intentioned and stating family engagement as a priority – prioritized demanding her faculty to put in extra time to help students prepare for standardized testing rather than attending a family engagement PD (group-level); and the very real fear of the school going

through another turnaround left teachers suspicious of one another (school-level). Although Smith's academic status was also in need of substantial improvement, the absence of a serious threat for becoming a turnaround school might have contributed to the principal's ability to prioritize family engagement and to less tension among the faculty. Furthermore, the extra supports granted to the school post-desegregation, in the form of smaller class sizes and deeply embedded community partnerships, might have contributed to less teacher stress. However, Smith was not immune to the dominant educational policy environment. Many of the credible challengers at Smith noted that the escalation of top-down policies, the denigration of the teaching profession in public discourse (Goldstein, 2010), and the lack of time to build relationships with students and families (Crocco & Costigan, 2007) had caused them to consider leaving the public school system or the profession altogether and had diluted their enthusiasm about becoming involved in school improvement efforts (Brooks, Hughes, & Brooks, 2008; Finnigan & Gross, 2007; MetLife Survey of the American Teacher, 2011). Such sentiments have portentous implications for sustaining the development of collective faculty trust in families.

Vulnerabilities at the Individual-Level

In addition to the factors that enable faculty to be vulnerable to one another, this study suggests that further research should explore the factors that impede or facilitate their willingness to be vulnerable to parents. Again, trust between teachers and parents grew from instances when teachers were willing to be vulnerable: when they admitted to families their own struggles, when they shredded their professional demeanor, and when they did not give up on families who disrespected them or challenged their expertise. Yet, willingness to be vulnerable in these ways is complicated by the already shaky professional stature of teaching (Crozier, 2001; Hargreaves, 2001; Lareau, 1989; Lewis & Forman, 2002) and requires coping with difficult emotions (Evans,

2011; Hargreaves, 2001).

As teachers and families in urban schools rarely have characteristic-based trust or the benefit of informal interactions in church or at the grocery store, teachers reported parents frequently hanging up on them, yelling at them, challenging their assessments of their children, and standing them up at parent-teacher conferences. This sense of disrespect piled onto long days, pressures to teach to the test, teaching and nurturing students who were homeless, in the foster care system, or being abused; and constant messages from the media and policy-makers that they were solely responsible for these problems (Mehta, 2013). Thus, taking the time to make positive phone calls home, making home visits, and staying at school into the evening for math nights that only a few parents attend presents a risk for frustration, disappointment, and burnout. In fact, a recent national survey (University of Phoenix, 2014) found that 47% of teachers believed that a lack of family engagement was a source of frustration. More teachers were frustrated with the lack of family engagement than with large class sizes or discipline issues, and teachers rated only two other issues as more frustrating: the focus on standardized testing and students' disregard for authority.

This study illustrates how freeing it was for teachers to discard their hegemonic definitions of traditional family engagement. Yet, common *Gesellschaftlich* assumptions about reforms that will close the achievement gap – that committees will drive school-level change; that professional learning communities will spark collaboration; and that accountability and competitiveness will make teachers try harder – limit opportunities for faculty to adapt and apply more equitable definitions of family engagement. Schools such as Jones are organized to adhere to a policy environment that emphasizes technical reforms over social, political, and cultural ones. Jones' efforts to improve family engagement were relegated to a committee that organized

dances and informational nights about standardized testing, rather than improving daily interactions between teachers and families or enabling faculty to share opposing viewpoints about family engagement. Pressures from the educational policy environment motivated teachers to approach family engagement as a *Gesellschaftlich* business relationship more so than a relationship rooted in trust, mutual respect, and caring (Auerbach & Collier, 2012; Merz & Furman, 1997). Consistent with Merz and Furman's (1997) assessment of teachers' confusion with the paradoxical mission of schools to build community and efficiency, teachers condemned the over-emphasis on testing but wished for parents to care about it more, sensing that it was unfair that they were held accountable, while parents were not. Framed this way, family engagement was destined to result in disappointment (Auerbach & Collier, 2012; Evans, 2011; Henry, 1996; Nakagawa, 2001; Rogers, 2006).

School-Community Partnerships and Collective Faculty Trust in Families

This study presented a unique opportunity to understand the role of external partners in developing collective faculty trust in families. Despite the potential of community schools, there are critiques. Furman and Merz (1996) argue that efforts to revive community in schools tend to paradoxically create *Gemeinschaft* through *Gesellschaftlich* means: although the goal of coordinated services is to compensate for the dissipation of *Gemeinschaft* in modern communities, in reality, such services only expand bureaucracy and do little to alter relationships. The authors argue that *Gesellschaftlich* solutions, such as committees, coordinators, and contracts, will not produce the types of trusting school communities that are critical for stronger family engagement (Hong, 2011; Siddle-Walker, 1993).

Although Jones faculty were overwhelmingly adulatory about the coordinator, her primary job responsibilities involving family engagement were heavily *Gesellschaftlich*:

reaching out to parents to save teachers time, planning family events, and leading the faculty family engagement committee. In contrast, the coordinator at Smith balanced *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to influence collective faculty trust in families. She incorporated *Gemeinschaftlich* folkways, such as making time for spontaneous interactions with teachers about family engagement and modeling to faculty through her behaviors and words that not trusting families was unacceptable. At the same time, she recognized the emotional difficulties faculty encountered with family engagement and deliberately took the time to mentor faculty and mediate between faculty and parents. Thus, this study also suggests that non-classroom teachers, such as community school coordinators or home/school liaisons, can be a valuable resource for improving collective faculty trust in families – if they perceive their job as such (Henry, 1996). Organizations that operate community schools and school districts should formalize the relational work of mediating, mentoring, and modeling into job descriptions for these roles and provide training and support to master these skills.

The fact that the implementation of TIP originated through a broader place-based education reform initiative offered another opportunity to examine the role of community partnerships in developing collective faculty trust in families. Other studies of community-centered initiatives that aim to influence practices in schools indicate that these initiatives suffer when they fail to involve schools and school staff (Cochran & Dean, 1991; Kubisch et al., 2010; Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012; Payne, 1991). Similarly, in this study, greater principal buy-in influenced the more positive TIP outcomes at Smith. Although at NNC-led workgroup meetings, each of the principals identified improving family engagement as a priority for their schools, there was never an explicit discussion about varying theories of change for doing so. Clearly, Smith's principal and the NNC Director were aligned in their theory that improving

family engagement started with changing teachers' attitudes, but the principal at Jones likely had a different theory of change and therefore less motivation to encourage teachers to participate in TIP.

These important conversations never happened due to a lack of capacity on the part of the principals *and* the Northside Neighborhood Center. The workgroup only met once a month, and the principals frequently had to put out last minute fires at their respective schools that prevented them from attending the meetings or forced them to show up late or leave early. By the same token, a small, already busy staff at the NNC was taxed with taking on an ambitious effort to generate substantial population-level change in a neighborhood where only 4% of the residents had a college degree – and demonstrating to funders that such changes would materialize in a short time frame. With an ever-growing number of community coalitions for school reform (e.g. Promise Neighborhoods, STRIVE, collective impact), funders and technical assistance providers must consider how to build anchor organizations' capacity for authentically engaging school leaders, as well as other community stakeholders (Evans, Rosen, Kesten, & Moore, 2014).

Implications for Programs and Practice

A substantial new direction for national family engagement practice comes from the “Dual-Capacity Framework for Family-School Partnerships,” released by the U.S. Department of Education (SEDL, 2013, see Appendix E). Stating that staff lack opportunities to develop capacity for honoring and recognizing families' funds of knowledge, linking engagement to learning, and creating welcoming and inviting school cultures, the framework offers a roadmap for staff capacity-building. It recommends that policy and program goals enhance the capacity of staff to develop “Four C's” related to family engagement: capabilities (skills and knowledge), connections (networks), cognition (beliefs, values), and confidence (self-efficacy). As this

framework has spurred increased interest in interventions to improve staff capacity for family engagement, this study offers some recommendations.

The framework does not specify how the “Four C’s” relate to one another or the order in which they should be developed. This study suggests that changes in capabilities, connections, and confidence are unlikely to occur without simultaneous and deliberate efforts to change cognition. Teachers who effectively engaged families trusted that parents cared about education, that they had knowledge and skills to contribute to their children’s education, and that they would be open and honest once trust was established. They also believed that families were reliable, because their expectations for what constituted a “reliable parent” varied from their colleagues who strove toward an unrealizable and outmoded model of family engagement. Such trust made it worth putting in the extra effort and gave them the confidence to persevere. According to Baier (1986), an unforgiving attitude on the part of the trustor destroys trust quickly. Teachers who harbored general trust in families were able to forgive the parents who missed meetings, who yelled at them in the school parking lot, who hung up on them. Through forgiveness, these teachers persisted and persevered, and their interactions with these parents did not dissipate their trust toward all parents.

One TIP participant’s account of the changes she experienced illustrates how changes in cognition influenced changes in capabilities, connections, and confidence: Increased awareness of the structural barriers families faced led her to trust that parents valued education and wanted the best for their children. Such trust improved her capabilities to interact with families, as she became less didactic and more personable. Improved communication capabilities enabled more positive connections with families, which improved the teacher’s confidence with family engagement. When teachers did not trust families, their interactions with families became

patronizing, hostile, and in their own words, “stalkerish” – with little return. When teachers define family engagement as fixing families or instilling in them knowledge about how to help their children with narrow achievement goals, interactions with parents become didactic and inauthentic (Auerbach & Collier, 2012; Greene, 2013).

Thus, efforts to build capacity among school staff for family engagement should begin by re-defining family engagement and challenging assumptions about low-income families.

Consistent with other research (Gallo, 2013), teachers expressed that immigrant Latino families cared about and valued education more so than “other” (read: Black) families. Teachers interpreted these parents’ ability and willingness to attend school events and their politeness and deference to their authority as “valuing education.” In contrast, they perceived that the Black families who challenged their authority did not value education. An unsophisticated understanding of racism prevented many teachers from understanding that, as Ladson-Billings (1994) argues:

“Parents, teachers, and neighbors need to help arm African-American children with knowledge, skills, and attitude needed to struggle successfully against oppression. These more than test scores, more than high grade-point averages, are the critical features of education for African Americans” (p. 139).

This example further bolsters arguments for pre-service and in-service teacher education shedding their color-blind curricula and addressing race and racism (García & Guerra, 2005; Milner, 2013; Moll et al., 1992; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

This study illustrates how professional development also must focus on families’ funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) and cultural community wealth (Yosso, 2005). TIP helped teachers recognize the structural barriers that might impede family engagement, increasing their belief that families were benevolent (i.e. they wanted to be involved but simply could not) but the program did little to improve beliefs that families were competent.

A deficit-based view of families pervaded both schools, even among many of the teachers in the P/E group at Smith, who recommended Ruby Payne's (2005) heavily deficit-oriented *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (Milner, 2013) to less experienced colleagues. When teachers believe in parents' competence, they are more creative about how to engage them in a culturally relevant way (Moreno, Lewis-Menchaca, & Rodriguez, 2011). This study also affirms that while cognitive changes should be among the first parts of a capacity building effort, teachers' beliefs and values about families and family engagement only change through constant practice and opportunities to reflect with colleagues in a safe environment. Given that trust was found to be dynamic and contingent on emotions, ongoing reflection should enable faculty to support one another with the emotions of being vulnerable to parents (García & Guerra, 2004).

Beyond intentional efforts to develop collective faculty trust in families, high-impact school-level family engagement strategies that set teachers up for success will reduce their vulnerability. If schools do not promote high-impact family engagement strategies, a traditional model of family engagement might do more harm than good, affirming hegemonic assumptions that low-income families do not value education and are incompetent parents, escalating teacher stress and parent guilt, and setting up unrealistic expectations for families to substitute for quality schooling (de Carvalho, 2001). Two especially promising family engagement strategies, the Parent Teacher Home Visit Project (Rose, 2009) and Academic Parent Teacher Teams (Paredes, 2010) re-create the nature of home-school relationships in *Gemeinschaftlich* school communities (Coleman, 1988; Siddle-Walker, 1993), emphasizing the importance of face-to-face interactions, trust, and respect. The former program trains and supports teachers to conduct home visits, and the latter trains and supports teachers to conduct parent-teacher conferences in a group format. These programs appreciate that teachers need ample preparation for these interactions to be

effective in a *Gesellschaftlich* society characterized by diversity and geographic spread. This study implies that in addition to helping faculty become more willing to be vulnerable to families, such programs should also help faculty be vulnerable to one another (Kelchtermans, 2005; Louis, 2007). This can happen through incenting experienced teachers (“credible challengers”) to participate in professional development for new teachers; fostering a climate where opposing viewpoints are welcome; and offering ongoing coaching to teachers that helps them work through the emotional geographies (Evans, 2011; Hargreaves, 2001; Lewis & Forman, 2002) of family engagement.

Attention to implementation fidelity has grown along with increased focus on evidence-based programming (Center for Mental Health in Schools, 2014; Meyers, Durlak, & Wandersman, 2012). Few program evaluations yield conclusions about the conditions under which program adaptations enhance or reduce positive outcomes (Dusenbury, Brannigan, Falco, & Hansen, 2003). This study suggests that programs do not occur in a vacuum from a broader context, and it would be helpful for program designers to identify the most influential contextual factors, create different programmatic iterations accordingly, and evaluate these various iterations. As reform “grows out of the actions and interactions of individuals who interpret and make sense of policies within the context of their local environments” (Forsyth et al., 2011, p.137), this study suggests that the design of school-based in-service professional development should depend to some extent on the behavioral, affective, and cognitive climate of the school.

Table 9 provides an example of how pertinent contextual factors may guide intervention to improve collective faculty trust in families. The findings imply that the two most important *contextual considerations* are a) the use of time for professional development, collaborative teacher time (e.g. PLC meetings, faculty meetings), and informal teacher interaction, and b) the

extent to which faculty members trust their colleagues who have strong relationships with families. Many urban districts and schools lack the capacity to implement time and resource intensive programs (Payne & Kuba, 2007; Spillane, 2004). Even successfully implementing the 9-hour TIP program proved too cumbersome for the school that served the most disadvantaged children in the area and that arguably most needed the program. In the absence of a program, findings suggest that three *processes* are important to consider for improving collective faculty trust in families: a) professional development; b) collaborative time; and c) coaching. Table 8 illustrates recommendations for each of these processes under the contextual conditions of little time and weak trust (I), little time and strong trust (II), ample time and weak trust (III), and ample time and strong trust (IV). The specific recommendations for these processes consider how faculty can help one another to promote mastery, share vicarious experience, and engage in social persuasion.

Table 9. Recommendations for Improving Collective Faculty Trust in Families

Context I	Process Recommendations
<i>Little time, little trust</i>	<p>There is little time for professional development and teacher collaboration. Teachers with strong family engagement feel too vulnerable to critique or advising their colleagues, and colleagues feel too vulnerable to receive critique or advice.</p>
Professional development:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Focus PD time on cultural relevancy training ▪ Integrate family engagement into existing PD ▪ Invite in an external facilitator who delivers most of the content
Collaborative time:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Use a few faculty meetings each year to provide teachers with structured activities and conversation protocols about cultural relevancy ▪ Invest in non-classroom teacher (guidance counselor, home/school liaison) to optimize existing time spent with teachers to provide mentoring on family engagement, model trusting families, and mediate between teachers and families
Coaching:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enable non-classroom teacher to provide spontaneous mentoring (i.e. dropping in to classroom during planning time) to teachers to help them manage emotions and challenge assumptions
Context II	Process Recommendations
<i>Little time, strong trust</i>	<p>There is little time for professional development and teacher collaboration. Teachers with strong family engagement are willing to be vulnerable critiquing or advising their colleagues, and colleagues are willing to be vulnerable to receiving critique or advice.</p>
Professional development:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Focus PD time on cultural relevancy training ▪ Integrate family engagement into existing PD ▪ Allow teachers to spend substantial time conversing with one another
Collaborative time:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Use a few minutes of faculty meetings or collaborative teacher time for teachers to share strategies for trust-building ▪ Enable teachers to observe colleagues' parent-teacher conferences or other interactions with parents
Coaching:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enable non-classroom teacher and classroom teachers to provide spontaneous mentoring (i.e. dropping in to classroom during planning time) to teachers to help them manage emotions and challenge assumptions

Context III	Process Recommendations
<i>Ample time, little trust</i>	There is ample time for professional development and collaborative teacher time. Teachers with strong family engagement feel too vulnerable to critique or advise their colleagues, and colleagues feel too vulnerable to receive critique or advice.
Professional development:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Select a high-impact family engagement strategy such as Academic Parent Teacher Teams or the Parent/Teacher Home Visit Project ▪ Integrate family engagement into existing professional development ▪ Invite in an external facilitator who delivers most of the content
Collaborative time:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Use faculty meetings and other collaborative time to provide teachers with structured activities and conversation protocols about cultural relevancy
Ongoing coaching:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enable non-classroom teacher to provide scheduled mentoring (i.e. dropping in to classroom during planning time) to teachers to help them manage emotions and challenge assumptions
Context IV	Process Recommendations
<i>Ample time, strong trust</i>	There is ample time for professional development and collaborative teacher time. Teachers with strong family engagement are willing to be vulnerable critiquing or advise their colleagues, and colleagues are willing to be vulnerable receiving critique or advice
Professional development:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Select a high-impact family engagement strategy such as Academic Parent Teacher Teams or the Parent/Teacher Home Visit Project ▪ Integrate family engagement into existing professional development ▪ Allow teachers to spend substantial time conversing with one another
Collaborative time:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Use faculty meetings and other collaborative time for teachers to share strategies for trust-building ▪ Enable teachers to observe colleagues' meetings with parents
Ongoing coaching:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enable non-classroom teacher and classroom teachers to provide scheduled mentoring (i.e. dropping in to classroom during planning time) to teachers to help them manage emotions and challenge assumptions

To elaborate on certain recommendations in Table 9, schools with little time for professional development should focus any time when faculty are in the same room for training on cultural responsiveness (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lindsey & Lindsey, 2011). Through valuing students' cultural identities and seeing themselves as part of the community, culturally responsive teachers are likely to be skilled at engaging both students and families (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Further, a number of factor-analytic studies have demonstrated that faculty trust in parents and faculty trust in students load onto the same construct (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999). In schools with high levels of trust in faculty with strong family engagement, PD opportunities, collaborative time, and coaching opportunities should be structured to optimally allow for faculty sharing. In contrast, in schools with weak trust, these discussions should be guided by an external facilitator (Cosner, 2009), use structured activities that help faculty examine their assumptions about low-income families and families of color (Singleton & Linton, 2006), and rely on an external organization or non-classroom teacher (who is seen as less of a threat than a classroom teacher) to provide ongoing coaching. Schools with more time for professional development should consider a high-impact family engagement strategy.

School leaders can support all of these processes by introducing faculty members to norms for cultural proficiency (Lindsey & Lindsey, 2011) and strengths-based family engagement (Flamboyant Foundation, n.d.; Parents Matter Now, n.d.) at the beginning of the school year and constantly reinforcing these norms; incenting all faculty to participate in professional development, particularly in “strong trust” schools, where dialogue between faculty with varying levels of experience and success engaging families is likely to be more productive; and checking in regularly with “coaches” and helping to build their credibility.

Implications for Policy

Although the recommendations in Table 9 might be useful for schools that are hoping to improve faculty capacity to engage families immediately, this study also has implications for longer-term policy goals. Regarding the lack of time many schools have for professional development, the Dual-Capacity Framework suggests that capacity-building efforts must be integrated into other district goals. This suggests the need for more collaboration between districts' family and community engagement departments and other departments (e.g. PD, curriculum, special education, English language learning). Thus, family engagement becomes integrated into everything else teachers learn, and it requires less time as its own unique PD. Such integration requires policies that elevate the significance of teacher capacity for family engagement. In this study, faculty were supportive of being evaluated based on their efforts to engage families, as long as they had opportunities to build their capacity. While hard controls are detrimental to the development of trust (Dewey, 1897; Forsyth et al., 2011; Ostrom, 2000), more states should consider incorporating family engagement and cultural relevancy skills into state teaching standards – as long as they also provide teachers with high-quality opportunities to gain these skills. For example, the state of Massachusetts has standards for family engagement, collaboration, and culturally proficient communication (see standard III at http://www.doe.mass.edu/eval/model/partiii_appxc.pdf). Not only do these standards elevate the significance of teacher capacity to engage families, but they also help to disseminate a more inclusive and equitable vision of family engagement (Nakagawa, 2001).

This study also supports research illustrating how high levels of teacher turnover might be detrimental to organizational social capital, as teachers earned the credibility that enabled them to be vulnerable to challenging their colleagues through their years of experience at the

school. This evidence extends existing critiques of alternative licensure programs, such as Teach for America, as well as critiques of school turnaround strategies (Trujillo & Renée, 2012) that fire all staff. This study further added to evidence showing how hard controls make it more difficult for teachers to be vulnerable to trusting one another and how such mistrust stagnates organizational learning and progress (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk et al., 2010; Forsyth et al., 2011; Louis, 2007). Although researchers should continue to ally with students and educators to resist such policies, school leaders might respond to the deleterious effect these policies have on trust by emphasizing collective responsibility for learning and avoiding practices that spark faculty competitiveness (Forsyth et al., 2011). Meanwhile, school leaders and other change agents should push as far as they can to establish a normative climate for faculty to openly share opposing viewpoints, while maintaining acute awareness of the negative emotions that such a process might provoke (Achinstein, 2002; Lewis & Forman, 2002).

Directions for Future Research

This was the first study to my knowledge to examine how faculty social exchange influences collective faculty trust in families. Future research should examine faculty social exchange as an independent and dependent variable. This research would require tools for measuring faculty social exchange regarding family engagement. A “faculty social exchange” scale could provide formative data for schools and school leaders, while also providing researchers with a tool for testing the relationships between faculty social exchange, the broader contextual factors that were observed in this study, and family engagement. Social network analysis would be another powerful way to understand in what ways faculty members interact about family engagement, the extent to which faculty members with varying levels of success with family engagement interact with one another, and what contextual factors shape these

interactions. For example, social network analysis could further probe this study's finding that faculty social exchange is most effective when the faculty sharing most of the advice are more experienced than their colleagues on the receiving end. In addition to more research to inform relationships between faculty social exchange, family engagement, and school-level contextual factors, future research should evaluate the effectiveness of interventions that seek to influence these interactions, such as those recommended in Table 8. In particular, these studies should further explore what contextual factors impede and facilitate faculty members' willingness to be vulnerable to one another and to parents.

As many school districts now collect and use teacher-reported school climate data to inform decision-making, this study illustrates the importance of looking beyond averages to inform practice. In this study, average levels of trust and collective efficacy were less indicative of actual school climate than the range of perceptions. This finding indicates the importance of reporting standard deviations to faculty and supporting their capacity to interpret these numbers. Furthermore, although the TELL survey measured affective climate by asking teachers whether their school was a good place to work and learn, a general feeling of trust and belonging in the school seems less important than a general eagerness to learn from those faculty who are most successful. For example, although 89% of Jones faculty believed that their school was a good place to work and learn, the 11% who did not feel this way likely included the teachers with the most success engaging families. Two of the items on Bryk and colleagues' (2010) teacher-teacher trust scale address this issue, asking faculty to assess to what extent teachers respect other teachers who take the lead on school improvement efforts and to what extent teachers respect colleagues who are expert at their craft. This study suggests that these items would be a strong indicator of the power of faculty social exchange to spark substantive change and should

be included on teacher-reported school climate assessments.

Conclusion

This study used naturalistic inquiry to explore an under-researched aspect of the literatures on collective faculty trust in schools and critical family engagement: the ecological factors at play when faculty exchange ideas and information and families and family engagement. The extent to which schools used time effectively, faculty were willing to be vulnerable to one another, and faculty believed in one another's capabilities influenced the relationship between opportunities for faculty social exchange about family engagement and the development of collective faculty trust in families. However, even when faculty social exchange did help develop collective faculty trust, trust was volatile and highly susceptible to the negative emotions teachers experienced with family engagement. Everyday social interactions between teachers and between teachers and families are wrought with emotions and vulnerabilities, shaded with deeply ingrained normative discourses about race and poverty, and governed by an unpopular set of educational policies created by neither teachers nor parents. Interventions to develop teachers' capacity to engage families must begin by recognizing these realities.

REFERENCES

- Achinstein, B. (2002). *Community, diversity, and conflict among schoolteachers: The ties that bind*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Adams, K. S., & Christenson, S. L. (2000). Trust and the family–school relationship examination of parent–teacher differences in elementary and secondary grades. *Journal of School Psychology, 38*(5), 477–497.
- Adams, C.M., Forsyth, P.B., & Mitchell, R.M. (2009). The formation of parent-school trust: A multilevel analysis. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 45*(1), 4-33.
- Adams, C. M. & Forsyth, P. B. (2013). Revisiting the trust effect in urban elementary schools. *The Elementary School Journal, 114*(1), 1-21.
- Annie E. Casey Foundation. (1995). The path of most resistance: Lessons learned from the New Futures Initiative. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/upload/publicationfiles/the%20path%20of%20most%20resistance.pdf>
- Argyris, C. & Schön, D.A. (1978). *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Auerbach, S. (2007). From moral supporters to struggling advocates: Reconceptualizing parent roles in education through the experience of working-class families of color. *Urban Education, 42*(3), 250–283.
- Auerbach, S., & Collier, S. (2012). Bringing High Stakes From the Classroom to the Parent Center: Lessons From an Intervention Program for Immigrant Families. *Teachers College Record, 113*, 1–40.
- Ball, S.J. (1987). *The micro-politics of the school*. New York, NY: Methuen.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Baquedano-López, P., Alexander, R. A., & Hernandez, S. J. (2013). Equity issues in parental and community involvement in schools: What teacher educators need to know. *Review of Research in Education, 37*(1), 149–182.
- Berkowitz, B. (2001). Studying the outcomes of community-based coalitions. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 29*, 213-227.
- Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity, 36*, 391-409.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

- Brooks, J. S., Hughes, R. M., & Brooks, M. C. (2008). Fear and Trembling in the American High School: Educational Reform and Teacher Alienation. *Educational Policy*, 22(1), 45–62.
- Broussard, C.A. (2000). Preparing teachers to work with families: A national survey of teacher education programs. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 33, 41-49.
- Bryk, A.S. & Schneider, B. (2002). Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement. New York, NY: Russell Sage.
- Bryk, A.S., Bender Sebring, P. Allensworth, E., Luppescu, S., Easton, J.Q. (2010). *Organizing schools for improvement: Lessons from Chicago*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Castrechini, S. & London, R. (2012). Positive student outcomes in community schools. Center for American Progress & John W. Gardner Center for Youth and Their Communities. Retrieved from http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2012/02/pdf/positive_student_outcomes.pdf
- Center for Mental Health in Schools at UCLA. (2014). Bringing new prototypes into practice: Dissemination, implementation, and facilitating transformation. Retrieved from <http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/pdfdocs/implrep3.pdf>
- Chapman, J.A. (2002). A framework for transformational change in organisations. *Leadership & Organizational Development Journal*, 23, 16-25.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analyses*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chaskin, R.J. & Richman, H.A. (1992). Concerns about school-linked services: Institution-based versus community-based models. *The Future of Children*, 2, 107-117.
- Cochran, M., & Dean, C. (1991). Home-school relations and the empowerment process. *The Elementary School Journal*, 261–269.
- Coleman, J. (1987). Families and schools. *Educational Researcher*, 16, 32-38.
- Coleman, J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95-S120.
- Collins, P. H. (2008). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Comer, J. P., & Haynes, N. M. (1991). Parent involvement in schools: An ecological approach. *The Elementary School Journal*, 271–277.
- Cosner, S. (2009). Building organizational capacity through trust. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 45, 248-291.

- Cox, D.D. (2005). Evidence-based interventions using home-school collaboration. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 20(4), 473-497.
- Crocco, M. S., & Costigan, A. T. (2007). The narrowing of curriculum and pedagogy in the age of accountability: Urban educators speak out. *Urban Education*, 42(6), 512-535.
- Crowson, R.L. & Boyd, W.L. (1993). Coordinated services for children: Designing arks for storms and seas. *American Journal of Education*, 101(2), 140-179.
- Crozier, G. (1999). Is it a case of “We know when we’re not wanted”? The parents’ perspective on parent-teacher roles and relationships. *Educational Research*, 41(3), 315-328.
- Crozier, G. (2001). Excluded Parents: The deracialisation of parental involvement. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 4(4), 329-341.
- De Carvalho, M. (2001). *Rethinking family-school relations: A critique of parent involvement in schooling*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dewey, J. (1897). *My pedagogic creed*.
- Donaldson, M.L. & Johnson, S.M. (2011). TFA teachers: How long do they teach? Why do they leave? *Phi Delta Kappa*, 93, 47-51.
- Doucet, F. (2011). Parent involvement as ritualized practice. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 42(4), 404-421.
- Dusenbury, L., Brannigan, R., Falco, M., & Hansen, W.B. (2003). A review of research on fidelity of implementation: Implications for drug abuse prevention in school settings. *Health Education Research*, 18, 237-256.
- Eccles, J.S. & Harold, R.D. (1996). Family involvement in children’s and adolescents’ schooling. In A. Booth & J.F. Dunn (Eds.) *Family-school links: How do they affect educational outcomes?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Evans, M. P. (2011). Revisiting emotional geographies: Implications for family engagement and education policy in the United States. *Journal of Educational Change*, 12(2), 241-255.
- Evans, S.D., Rosen, A.D., Kesten, S.M., & Moore, W. (2014). Miami Thrives: Weaving a poverty reduction coalition. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 53, 357-368.
- Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students’ academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, 13(1), 1-22.
- Fass, P.S. (1989). The progressive, the immigrant, and the school. In *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education*, p. 13-35. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Fine, M. (1991). Burning at both ends: Low-income mothers, their public schools, and their adolescents. In *Framing dropouts: Notes on the politics of an urban public high school*, pp. 161-176. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Finnigan, K. S., & Gross, B. (2007). Do accountability policy sanctions influence teacher motivation? Lessons from Chicago's low-performing schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44(3), 594–630.
- Flamboyant Foundation. n.d. Classroom Family Engagement Rubric. Retrieved from <http://flamboyantfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Classroom-Family-Engagement-Rubric-2-1-2012.pdf>
- Forsyth, P. B., Barnes, L. L. B., & Adams, C. M. (2006). Trust-effectiveness patterns in schools. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 44(2), 122–141.
- Forsyth, P.B., Adams, C.M., & Hoy, W.K. (2011). *Collective trust: Why schools can't improve without it*. New York, NY: Teachers College Record.
- Furman, G. C. & Merz, C. (1996). Schools and community connections: Applying a sociological framework. In J.G. Cibulka & W.J. Kritek (Eds.), *Coordination among schools, families, and communities* (pp. 323-347) . Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Gallo, S.L. (2013). Mexican immigrant fathers and their children: An investigation of communicative resources across contexts of learning. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania). Retrieved from <http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3565056>
- García, S. B., & Guerra, P. L. (2004). Deconstructing deficit thinking: Working with educators to create more equitable learning environments. *Education and Urban Society*, 36(2), 150–168.
- Geller, J.D., Doykos, B., Craven, K., Bess, K.D., & Nation, M. (2014). Engaging residents in community change: The critical role of trust in the development of a Promise Neighborhood. *Teachers College Record*, 116(4).
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goddard, R.D., Tschannen-Moran, M. & Hoy, W.K. (2001). Teacher trust in students and parents: A multilevel examination of the distribution and effects of trust in urban elementary schools: *Elementary School Journal*, 102(1), 3-17.
- Goddard, R. D., Hoy, W. K., Woolfolk Hoy, A. (2004). Collective efficacy beliefs: Theoretical developments, empirical evidence, and future directions. *Educational Researcher*, 33(3), 3-13.
- Goddard, R.D., Salloum, S., & Berebitsky, D. (2009). Trust as a mediator of the relationships between academic achievement, poverty and minority status: Evidence from Michigan's public elementary schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 45(2), 292-311.

- Goldstein, R. A. (2010). Imaging the frame: Media representations of teachers, their unions, NCLB, and education reform. *Educational Policy*, 25(4), 543–576.
- Gordon, M.F. (2011). Creating organizational cultures of family and community engagement: The impact of district policies and practices on school leaders. In S. Auerbach (Ed.), *School Leadership for Authentic Family and Community Partnerships: Research Perspectives for Transforming Practice*. Florence, KY: Routledge.
- Graue, E., & Brown, C. P. (2003). Preservice teachers' notions of families and schooling. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 19(7), 719–735.
- Greene, S. (2013). *Race, community, and urban schools: Partnering with African-American families*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Grolnick, W.S. & Slowiaczek, M.L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child Development*, 65, 237-252.
- Grolnick, W. S., Benjet, C., Kurowski, C. O., & Apostoleris, N. H. (1997). Predictors of parent involvement in children's schooling. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 89(3), 538.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Guhn, M. (2008). Insights from successful and unsuccessful implementations of school reform programs. *Journal of Educational Change*, 10(4), 337–363.
- Hargreaves, A. (2001). The emotional geographies of teachers' relations with colleagues. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35, 503-527.
- Hargreaves, A. (2005). Educational change takes ages: Life, career and generational factors in teachers' emotional responses to educational change. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21(8), 967–983.
- Haynes, N. M., Emmons, C. L., & Woodruff, D. W. (1998). School Development Program effects: Linking implementation to outcomes. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, 3(1), 71–85.
- Henry, M. (1996). *Parent-school collaboration: Feminist organizational structures and school leadership*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Hill, N. E., & Tyson, D. F. (2009). Parental involvement in middle school: A meta-analytic assessment of the strategies that promote achievement. *Developmental Psychology*, 45 (3), 740–763.

- Holme, J. J., & Rangel, V. S. (2011). Putting school reform in its place: Social geography, organizational social capital, and school performance. *American Educational Research Journal*, 49(2), 257–283.
- Hong, S. (2011). *A cord of three strands: A new approach to parent engagement in schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Bassler, O.C., & Brissie, J.S. (1987). Parent involvement: Contributions of teacher efficacy, school socioeconomic status, and other school characteristics. *American Educational Research Journal*, 24(3), 417-435.
- Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Walker, J.M.T., Jones, K.P., & Reed, R.P. (2002). Teachers Involving Parents (TIP): Results of an in-service teacher education program for enhancing parent involvement. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18(7), 843-867.
- Hornby, G., & Lafaele, R. (2011). Barriers to parental involvement in education: an explanatory model. *Educational Review*, 63(1), 37–52.
- Houtenville, A.J. & Smith Conway, K. (2008). Parental effort, school resources, and student achievement. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 42, 437-453.
- Hoy, W.K. (2002). Faculty trust: A key to student achievement. *Journal of School Public Relations*, 23, 88-103.
- Hoy, W. K., Tarter, C. J., & Hoy, A. W. (2006). Academic optimism of schools: A force for student achievement. *American Educational Research Journal*, 43(3), 425–446.
- Hoy, W. (2012). School characteristics that make a difference for the achievement of all students: A 40-year odyssey. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 51(1), 76-97.
- Huss-Keeler, R.L. (1997). Teacher perception of ethnic and linguistic minority parental involvement and its relationships to language and literacy learning: A case study. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13, 171-182.
- Ingersoll, R.M. (2001). Teacher turnover and teacher shortages: An organizational analysis. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38, 499-534.
- Jeynes, W. H. (2005). A meta-analysis of the relation of parental involvement to urban elementary school student academic achievement. *Urban Education*, 40(3), 237–269.
- Kubisch, A. C., Auspos, P., Brown, P., Chaskin, R., Fulbright-Anderson, K., & Hamilton, R. (2010). *Voices from the field III: Reflections on comprehensive community change*. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African-American children*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. New York: Palmer Press.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lareau, A., & McNamara Horvat, E. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion: Race, class, and cultural capital in family–school relationships. *Sociology of Education*, 72, 37–53.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1978). *Worlds apart: Relationships between families and schools*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (2000). *Respect: An exploration*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (2003). *The essential conversation: What parents and teachers can learn from each other*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Lawson, M. A. (2003). School-family relations in context: Parent and teacher perceptions of parent involvement. *Urban Education*, 38(1), 77–133.
- Lawson, M. A., & Alameda-Lawson, T. (2012). A case study of school-linked, collective parent engagement. *American Educational Research Journal*, 49(4), 651–684.
- Lee, J.S., & Bowen, N. K. (2006). Parent involvement, cultural capital, and the achievement gap among elementary school children. *American Educational Research Journal*, 43(2), 193–218.
- Lightfoot, D. (2004). “Some parents just don’t care”: Decoding the meanings of parental involvement in urban schools. *Urban Education*, 39(1), 91–107.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic inquiry. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, 30, 73-84.
- Lindsey, D.B. & Lindsey, R.B. (2011). Culturally proficient school communities: Connecting bicultural parents to schools. In E.M. Olivos, O. Jimenez-Castellanos, & A.M. Ochoa (Eds.), *Bicultural Parent Engagement: Advocacy and Empowerment* (pp. 39-57). New York: Teachers College Press.
- López, M. E. (2005). Intermediary organizations as capacity builders in family educational involvement. *Urban Education*, 40(1), 78–105.
- Louis, K. S. (2007). Trust and improvement in schools. *Journal of Educational Change*, 8(1), 1–24.
- Mattingly, D.J., Prislin, R., McKenzie, T.L., Rodriguez, J.L. & Kayzar, B. (2002). Evaluating evaluations: The case of parent involvement programs. *Review of Educational Research*, 72, 549-576.

- Mehta, J. (2013). How paradigms create politics: The transformation of American educational policy, 1980-2001. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50, 285-324.
- Merriman, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Merz, C. & Furman, G. (1997). *Community and schools: Promise & paradox*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- MetLife survey on the American teacher: Teachers, parents, and the economy. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED530021.pdf>
- Meyers, D.C., Durlak, J.A., & Wandersman, A. (2012). The quality implementation framework: A synthesis of critical steps in the implementation process. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 50, 462-480.
- Milner, H.R. (2007). Race, culture, and researcher positionality: Working through dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, 36(7), 388-400.
- Milner, H. R. (2013). Analyzing Poverty, Learning, and Teaching Through a Critical Race Theory Lens. *Review of Research in Education*, 37(1), 1–53.
- Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into practice*, 31(2), 132–141.
- Monahan, T. & Fisher, J.A. (2010). Benefits of “observer effects”: Lessons from the field. *Qualitative Research*, 10(3), 357-376.
- Moreno, R.P., Lewis-Menchaca, K., & Rodriguez, J. (2011). Parent involvement in the home: A critical view through a multicultural lens. In E.M. Olivos, O. Jimenez-Castellanos, & A.M. Ochoa (Eds.), *Bicultural Parent Engagement: Advocacy and Empowerment* (pp. 21-38). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Morris, Jerome E. (1999). A pillar of strength: An African American school’s communal bonds with families and community since Brown. *Urban Education*, 33, 584-605.
- Nakagawa, K. (2000). Unthreading the ties that bind: Questioning the discourse of parent involvement. *Educational Policy*, 14(4), 443–472.
- Noblit, G. W., & Jay, M. (2010). Against the majoritarian story of school reform: The Comer schools evaluation as a critical race counter-narrative. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2010(127), 71–82.
- Noddings, N. (1988). An ethic of caring and its implications for instructional arrangements. *American journal of education*, 215–230.

- Office of School Turnaround. (2014, April 8). Program Home Page. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/programs/sif/index.html>
- Olivos, E.M., Jiménez-Castellanos, O., Ochoa, A.M. (2011). Bicultural parent engagement, advocacy, and empowerment. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Ostrom, E. (2000). Collective action and the evolution of social norms. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(3), 137-158.
- Paredes, M. (2010). Academic parent-teacher teams: Reorganizing parent-teacher conferences around data. *Family Involvement Network of Educators (FINE) Newsletter*, 2(3). Retrieved from <http://www.hfrp.org/site-help/how-to-cite-hfrp-publications>
- Parents Matter Now. (n.d.). Our vision for authentic parent engagement (Pre-school-12th grade). Retrieved from <http://parentsmatternow.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Parent-Engagement-Diagram-ENGLISH-Final.pdf>
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Payne, C. (1991). The Comer intervention model and school reform in Chicago: Implications of two models of change. *Urban Education*, 26(1), 8–24.
- Payne, C. M., & Kaba, M. (2007). So much reform, so little change: Building-level obstacles to urban school reform. *Social Policy*, 37(3/4), 30.
- Putnam, R.D. (1995). Bowling alone: America’s declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 1, 65-76.
- Ravitch, D. (2010). *The death and life of the great American school system*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Robinson, K. & Harris, A.L. (2014). *The broken compass: Parental involvement with children’s education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Payne, R. K. (2005). *A Framework for Understanding Poverty 4th Edition (4 edition.)*. Highlands, Tex: aha Process, Inc.
- Rogers, J., & Oakes, J. (2005). John Dewey speaks to Brown: Research, democratic social movement strategies, and the struggle for education on equal terms. *The Teachers College Record*, 107(9), 2178–2203.
- Rogers, J. (2006). Forces of accountability? The power of poor parents in NCLB. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76, 611-641.

- Rose, C. (2009). The Parent Teacher Home Visit Project. *Family Involvement Network of Educators (FINE) Newsletter, 1(1)*. Retrieved from <http://www.hfrp.org/family-involvement/publications-resources/the-parent-teacher-home-visit-project>
- Rousseau, D.M., Sitkin, S.B., Burt, R.S., & Camerer, C. (1998). Introduction to special topic forum: Not so differ after all: A cross-discipline view of trust? *The Academy of Management Review, 23*, 393-404.
- Sampson, R.J. (2012). Neighborhood inequality, violence, and the social infrastructure of the American city. In William F. Tate (Ed.) *Research on schools, neighborhoods, and communities: Toward civic responsibility* (pp. 11-28). Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.
- SEDL. (2013). Partners in education: A dual capacity-building framework for family-school partnerships. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/documents/family-community/partners-education.pdf>
- Schutz, A. (2006). Home is a prison in the global city: The tragic failure of school-based community engagement strategies. *Review of Educational Research, 76(4)*, 691.
- Shirley, D. & Evans, M. P. (2007). Community organizing and No Child Left Behind. In M. Orr (Ed.), *Transforming the city: Community organizing and the challenge of political change* (pp. 109–133). Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
- Siddle Walker, E.V. (1993). Caswell County training school, 1933–1969: Relationships between community and school. *Harvard Educational Review, 63(2)*, 161–183.
- Singleton, G.E. & Linton, C. (2006). *Courageous conversations about race: A fieldguide for achieving equity in schools*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Smrekar, C. (1994). The missing link in school-linked social service programs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis, 16(4)*, 422-433.
- Smrekar, C. E., & Mawhinney, H. B. (1999). Integrated services: Challenges in linking schools, families, and communities. In J. Murphy & K. Seashore Louis (Eds.), *Handbook of research on educational administration* (pp. 443-461). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Solomona, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: how white teacher candidates construct race, racism and “white privilege.” *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8(2)*, 147–169.
- Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative inquiry, 8(1)*, 23–44.
- Spillane, J.P. (2004). *Standards deviation: How schools misunderstand education policy*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

- Steinberg, M.P., Allensworth, E., & Johnson, D.W. (2011). Student and teacher safety in Chicago Public Schools: The roles of community context and school social organization. Retrieved from <http://ccsr.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/publications/SAFETY%20IN%20CPS.pdf>
- Stone, C., Doherty, K., Jones, C., & Ross, T. (1999). Schools and disadvantaged neighborhoods: The community development challenge. In R.F. Ferguson & W.T. Jones (Eds.), *Urban problems and community development* (pp. 339-380). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Todd, E. S., & Higgins, S. (1998). Powerlessness in professional and parent partnerships. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19(2), 227–236.
- Tönnies, F. (1887). *Community and civil society*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Troman, G. (2000). Teacher stress in the low-trust society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21(3), 331-353.
- Trujillo, T., Renée, M., & Kini, T. (2012). Democratic School Turnarounds: Pursuing Equity and Learning from Evidence. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved May 25, 2014, from <http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/democratic-school-turnarounds>
- Tschannen-Moran, M., & Hoy, W. (1998). Trust in schools: A conceptual and empirical analysis. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 36(4), 334–352.
- Tschannen-Moran, M. & Hoy, W. (2000). A multidisciplinary analysis of the nature, meaning, and measurement of trust. *Review of Educational Research*, 70(4), 547-593.
- Tschannen-Moran, M. & Hoy, W. (2001). Collaboration and the need for trust. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 39(1), 308-331.
- Tyack, D. (1992). Health and social services in public schools: Historical perspectives. *The Future of Children*, 2(1), 19-31.
- University of Phoenix. (2014). Survey: Nearly Half (49 percent) of K-12 Teachers Were Inspired by Their Childhood Teachers to Choose the Profession and Nearly All (97 percent) K-12 Teachers Want Parents Involved in Their Classrooms. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.phoenix.edu/news/releases/2014/05/nearly-half-k12-teachers-inspired-by-childhood-teachers-to-choose-profession-and-nearly-all-want-parents-involved-in-classrooms.html>
- Valli, L., & Buese, D. (2007). The changing roles of teachers in an era of high-stakes accountability. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44(3), 519–558.
- Waanders, C., Mendez, J. L., & Downer, J. T. (2007). Parent characteristics, economic stress and neighborhood context as predictors of parent involvement in preschool children’s education. *Journal of School Psychology*, 45(6), 619–636.

- Warren, M., Hong, S., Rubin, C., & Uy, P. (2009). Beyond the bake sale: A community-based relational approach to parent engagement in schools. *The Teachers College Record*, 111(9), 2209–2254.
- Warren, M. & Mapp, K. (2011). *A match on dry grass: Community organizing as a catalyst for school reform*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Weininger, E. B., & Lareau, A. (2003). Translating Bourdieu into the American context: the question of social class and family-school relations. *Poetics*, 31(5-6), 375–402.
- White, K.R., Taylor, M.J., & Moss, V.D. (1992). Does research support claims about the benefits of involving parents in early intervention programs? *Review of Educational Research*, 62, 91-125.
- Wilson, W.J. (1997). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Vintage.
- Yosso, T.J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 8(1), 69-91.
- Young, I. (1986). The ideal of community and the politics of difference. *Social Theory and Practice*, 12, 1-25.

Appendix A: Trustworthiness and Authenticity

With naturalistic inquiry, suspicion often arises that a different researcher might arrive at entirely different conclusions and recommendations, and skeptics question the degree to which such inquiry can be trusted (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). As an alternative to the concept of *rigor*, which in the conventional sense is grounded in positivist terms, such as internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity, Guba and Lincoln conceptualized the term, *trustworthiness*. As criteria for trustworthiness, Guba and Lincoln suggest *credibility* as an analog to internal validity, *transferability* as an analog to external validity, *dependability* as an analog to reliability, and *confirmability* as an analog to objectivity. Additionally, the authors suggest *authenticity* as an alternative to *reliability*; criteria for authenticity includes *fairness*, *ontological authentication*, *educative authentication*, *catalytic authentication*, and *tactical authenticity*. The extent to which this study addresses these criteria is presented in Table 9 and further discussed below.

Table 9. Criteria for Establishing Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Guba & Lincoln's Criteria	Definition	Application in Study
DOMAIN 1: trustworthiness	Quality and rigor of the data and findings.	
Trustworthiness criteria: credibility	Extent to which findings accurately portray respondents' constructions. Involves the following:	
	<i>Prolonged engagement</i> in targeted site to build rapport and trust	-Collaborated with school principals on working group for 9 months prior to study -Active participant in six 90 minute program sessions before conducting interviews
	<i>Persistent observation</i> of site to provide sufficient understanding	-Attended all six program sessions -Spent ample time in front office of school and hallways
	<i>Peer debriefing:</i> Extensive discussions of data and preliminary findings with one or more peers to refine thinking	-Held weekly meetings with co-program facilitators to debrief field notes -Conducted meeting to review and debrief write-up of preliminary findings
	<i>Negative case analysis:</i> The constant reworking of hypotheses in light of disconfirming evidence	-Followed open-ended observation and interview protocol to allow findings to emerge from the data -Checked my interpretations with other program team members
	<i>Progressive subjectivity:</i> Researchers identify and articulate any biases they hold, examine how their understandings shift during the project, and attend to how these biases might affect interpretations.	-Used reflexivity in fieldnotes to reflect on my biases and assumptions and how they may have influenced my interpretations
	<i>Member checks</i> involve sharing and checking findings and interpretations with the people from whom the data were collected	-Held weekly meetings with co-program facilitators to debrief field notes -Conducted meeting to review and debrief write-up of preliminary findings

Trustworthiness criteria: transferability	Researchers describe features of targeted context in detail and suggest additional contexts to which findings might be generalized	-Used thick description to portray the neighborhoods and schools in which the research occurred
Trustworthiness criteria: dependability	Concerned with stability over time in researchers and methods.	-Only one researcher enabled consistency for interviews
Trustworthiness criteria: confirmability	Extent to which findings are grounded in the data. Assessed by means of reviewing research records to determine if findings can be traced to data and data to original sources.	-Data was systematically coded, and each phase of coding was captured in order to show how coding progresses from inductive to deductive analyses
DOMAIN 2: Authenticity	Extent to which intent of inquiry is maintained – specifically, claim of accurately representing stakeholders’ views	
Authenticity criteria: fairness, ontological, educational, and tactical authenticity	Extent to which different stakeholders’ perspectives are elicited and taken into account; worldviews and understandings of other stakeholders’ experiences and perspectives have expanded; and abilities to act have improved	-Interviewed school staff with a variety of roles; subjects/grades taught; and years of experience

Trustworthiness

Credibility depends on prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checks. From collaborating with the principals of each school for about one year prior to the study’s beginning, I was already familiar with the principals’ perspectives on the strengths and challenges at each school. I

attended all of the program sessions at each school and then spent two months conducting interviews in each school. During the program duration, I went to the schools one afternoon a week. For about two weeks during interviewing, I went to one of the schools every day, often scheduling four or five interviews in one day. Therefore, between interviews, I spent ample time in the hallways or front office observing interactions between faculty, between faculty/staff and families, and between faculty and families. Once the majority of my data was collected, I had less opportunity for this type of observation and spent only a few hours per week in the schools. Although I spent ample time in the schools from January-May, 2013, this study would have been strengthened if I had the opportunity to attend more events, such as faculty and PTO meetings and family nights. My data are limited from only hearing about these events through interviews.

I triangulated my data through observation, interviews, and document analysis. Through triangulation, I accounted for “substantive significance” in my analyses, or the degree to which a theme recurred multiple times in multiple ways. I was also able to identify inconsistencies between what respondents shared with me through interviews and their actual behavior during program sessions. However, I was not able to observe non-TIP participants, and thus my ability to confirm or disconfirm data from their interviews is limited. Additionally, I was not able to interview families; doing so would have helped develop a more holistic understanding of the degree to which the schools were successful in engaging families. However, the NNC did not want to raise expectations among families that the place-based initiative would be able to address their concerns before having the resources to do so. Although this hindered my ability to develop a holistic portrait of family engagement, I respected this decision.

I engaged in peer debriefing, which involves discussing the research with a disinterested professional peer, through regularly discussing my findings and working hypotheses with a

graduate student colleague. One of the challenges of conducting dissertation research is that it tends to be less collegial than other team-based research activities. Thus, a limitation of this study was my inability to regularly debrief with professional colleagues who were also fully engaged in the research process. However, regularly debriefing with an outsider also required me to describe what had happened. I found that in doing so, I became more appreciative of how my biases and assumptions influenced the ways in which I was describing seemingly neutral events.

Additionally, I attempted to search for negative instances by interviewing as many school staff as possible at each school, including staff who did and did not participate in TIP, and faculty/staff with a variety of roles, years of teaching experience, and grades/subjects taught. This diversity encouraged a range of opinions concerning the primary issues under consideration in this study. During the data analysis phase, I continued to search for negative instances through engaging in line-by-line coding of each interview transcript so as to avoid coding that aligned only with my preconceived biases and assumptions.

Finally, I engaged in member checking in multiple ways. First, I typed all of my fieldnotes into an electronically shared document, including thick description, my interpretations and reflexive thoughts, and verbatim transcription of all documents produced collectively during program sessions. I sent an e-mail reminding the program team after every program session to view my notes and type in their own observations and agreements/disagreements with any of my interpretations. Because other members of the team were busy, they rarely did this. However, we debriefed my notes at weekly meetings. At these meetings, team-members described the program session and revealed their own interpretations of various aspects of the sessions. We discussed any differences in detail. I also explicitly asked team-members to what extent their interpretations of certain processes and events aligned with my own. On several occurrences,

their perceptions and interpretations differed from my own. In these cases, I added these differing opinions into the shared fieldnotes. I also informally debriefed with the community school coordinators after every program session. Thus, fieldnotes captured the initial perceptions that were shared during those conversations.

Transferability, the analog to external validity, Lincoln and Guba suggest that transferability requires thick descriptive data that enables others to understand the degree to which they may generalize findings to another context. Thus, my fieldnotes include rich description of the schools and the classrooms in which the program occurred. Dependability parallels the traditional criterion of reliability; in traditional studies, changes in methodological design reduce reliability, but such shifts tend to be necessary and natural in qualitative research. Thus, decisions about methodological changes were documented in detail.

Authenticity

Fairness, as defined by Guba and Lincoln, requires ensuring that all ideologies have an equal chance of expression in the process of negotiating recommendations. Many divergent opinions concerning the role of families, the usefulness of TIP, the climate of the school, and the role of educational policy emerged from the data. Thus, based on Lincoln and Guba's recommendations, I will present participants' conflicting beliefs and negotiated recommendations and subsequent action with the program team members.

Ontological authenticity refers to the extent to which stakeholders are able to understand their social worlds with more awareness or consciousness after the evaluation. Educative authenticity refers to the extent to which respondents gain a better understanding of those outside their own stakeholder group. To establish ontological and educative authenticity, I wrote and shared with the program team a report with preliminary findings, acknowledging that I had not

yet systematically analyzed interviews. My primary goal in writing this report was to spark conversation to catalyze further action toward improving family engagement. To this end, I intended to shape ontological authenticity. Rather than merely presenting data, I presented why certain data mattered. For example, in presenting data on school organizational features, I explained why I measured these characteristics and what they could tell us about the schools' readiness to engage in school improvement. Furthermore, I also intended to shape educative authenticity, by presenting how study participants varied in their perspectives regarding family engagement; this variety surprised members of the program team. For example, during the two-hour meeting held in May, 2013, in which we debriefed this report, one community school coordinator reported how teachers were eager to engage in innovation to please the principal, but during interviews, many teachers confided that they did not have the time or energy to try to improve the school. During this meeting, I asked program team members to share their perceptions of the report's data and recommendations. They generated many of their own ideas based on the recommendations I provided; thus it appeared that tactical authenticity, the degree to which stakeholders feel empowered by the evaluation, was fulfilled.

Appendix B. Faculty Interview Protocol for TIP Participants

WARM-UP QUESTIONS

- How many years have you taught in this school?
- How many years have you taught?
- What grade/subject do you teach?
- Why is family engagement important to you?

TIP (for TIP participants only):

- Why did you decide to join TIP?
- What was most useful about TIP?
- What was least useful about TIP?

BEHAVIORAL, COGNITIVE, AND AFFECTIVE MECHANISMS

Behavioral mechanisms

- How beneficial was the opportunity through TIP to engage in dialogue with your colleagues surrounding family engagement? What aspects of the structure of the program made dialogue most and least meaningful?

Cognitive mechanisms

- How much autonomy do you feel that you have to improve family engagement in your classroom? In your school?
- How innovative do you think other TIP participants are in improving family engagement in their classrooms? In the school?
- How much confidence do you have that if TIP participants continued to meet to discuss how to address challenges in family engagement, together, you could make a difference?

Affective mechanisms

- How connected did you feel to the other TIP participants? Why or why not?
- How connected do you feel to this school in general?

SOCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FACULTY AND FAMILIES

- What are some of the most common reasons you interact with families?
 - Please walk me through your most recent challenging interaction with a family member
 - Please walk me through your most recent rewarding interaction with a family member

- How did participating in the TIP program influence your interactions with families?
 - What specifically about TIP motivated changes in these interactions?
- How did participating in the TIP program influence your specific strategies to engage families?
 - What specifically about TIP motivated you to change these strategies?
 - Probe for changes in:
 - Parent-teacher conferences (more listening and less talking)
 - Phone calls (frequency of “positive” calls, tone of voice, etc.)
 - Written communication (one-way vs. two-way)

FACULTY BELIEFS ABOUT LOW-INCOME AND MINORITY FAMILIES/MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS

- What are the main challenges your students’ families face?
- How may the neighborhood many of your students live in influence how their families are involved in their education?
- In your opinion, why do so many of your students’ families face these challenges?
- What are the some of the strengths of your students’ families?

FACULTY COLLECTIVE TRUST IN FAMILIES

- If a new teacher were to join your faculty, what impression would s/he get about attitudes toward families in this school?
- How would the new teacher form these impressions? (i.e. through informal conversations in the break-room, grade team meetings, faculty meetings, leadership, etc.)
- Has TIP influenced how a new teacher would perceive other teachers’ attitudes toward families in this school? Why or why not?

SOCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FACULTY

- How often do teachers in this school discuss students’ families with colleagues? For what reasons do teachers talk about families?
- How often do teachers discuss strategies to engage families?
- Can you describe the last conversation you had with a colleague or colleagues about family engagement?

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

- What is the district doing to improve family engagement? How effective are these strategies?
- What educational policies most influence your experience as a teacher?
- What educational policies most influence the culture of your school?

POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

- How has [the national organization that operates community schools] influenced your school?
- How has your school been influenced by being part of the [place-based education reform initiative]?
- What else can the community school coordinator and the NNC do to support your efforts to improve family engagement?
- What else is needed to improve family engagement in your school?

Appendix C. Faculty Interview Protocol for Non-TIP Participants

WARM-UP QUESTIONS

- How many years have you taught in this school?
- How many years have you taught?
- What grade/subject do you teach?
- Why is family engagement important to you?

BEHAVIORAL, COGNITIVE, AND AFFECTIVE MECHANISMS

Cognitive mechanisms

- How much autonomy do you feel that you have to improve family engagement in your classroom? In your school?
- How innovative do you think your colleagues are in improving family engagement in their classrooms? In the school?
- How much confidence do you have that if your colleagues met to discuss how to address challenges in family engagement, together, you could make a difference?

Affective mechanisms

- How connected did you feel to your colleagues?
- How connected do you feel to this school in general?

SOCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FACULTY

- How often do teachers in this school discuss students' families with colleagues? For what reasons do teachers talk about families?
- How often do teachers discuss strategies to engage families?
- Can you describe the last conversation you had with a colleague or colleagues about family engagement?
- Have you discussed anything about the TIP program with any faculty members?

SOCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FACULTY AND FAMILIES

- What are some of the most common reasons you interact with families?
 - Please walk me through your most recent challenging interaction with a family member
 - Please walk me through your most recent rewarding interaction with a family member
- What other strategies do you use to engage families? How effective are these strategies? Why?

FACULTY BELIEFS ABOUT LOW-INCOME AND MINORITY FAMILIES

- What are the main challenges your students' families face?
- How may the neighborhood many of your students live in influence how their families are involved in their education?
- In your opinion, why do so many of your students' families face these challenges? (American Dream)
- What are the some of the strengths of your students' families?

FACULTY COLLECTIVE TRUST IN FAMILIES

- If a new teacher were to join your faculty, what impression would s/he get about attitudes toward families in this school?
- To what extent would the new teacher think that *other teachers* believe families are:
 - Well-intentioned
 - Competent
 - Reliable
 - Honest
 - Open
- How would the new teacher form these impressions? (i.e. through informal conversations in the break-room, grade team meetings, faculty meetings, leadership, etc.)

SOCIAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FACULTY

- How often do teachers in this school discuss students' families with colleagues? For what reasons do teachers talk about families?
- How often do teachers discuss strategies to engage families?
- Can you describe the last conversation you had with a colleague or colleagues about family engagement?
- Have you discussed anything about the TIP program with any faculty members?

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

- What is the district doing to improve family engagement? How effective are these strategies?
- What educational policies most influence the culture of your school?
- What makes you feel respected as a teacher? What makes you feel disrespected as a teacher?

POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

- How has [the national organization that operates community schools] influenced your school?
- What else can the community school coordinator and the NNC do to support your efforts to improve family engagement?
- What else is needed to improve family engagement in your school?

Appendix D: Codebook

- Perceived purpose of family engagement
 - Accountability for child
 - Child sees parents and teachers working together
- Perceived usefulness of TIP
 - Useful
 - Teacher sharing useful
 - Not useful
- Outcomes of TIP
 - Learning not to be judgmental
 - More positive communication
 - More communication
 - Greater understanding of personal struggles
 - Re-defining family engagement
- School Context
 - Affective
 - Level of trust in TIP
 - Strong
 - Needs improvement
 - Level of trust in school
 - Strong
 - Needs improvement
 - Behavioral
 - Faculty meetings
 - Collaborative planning time
 - Informal interactions
 - Cognitive
 - Collective efficacy
 - Orientation to improvement
- Teacher family engagement strategies
 - Communicate positive behavior
 - Inviting to classroom
 - Homework
 - Signing report cards/behavioral folders
 - Newsletter
 - Academically related event for families
 - Home visits
 - Phone
- Faculty Family Interactions

- Language barriers
- Trust-building
- Faculty benefits
- Blurry boundaries
- Emotions
- Didactic
- Informal interactions
- Related to behavioral problems
- Related to testing
- Hanging up phone
- Faculty trust in families
 - Competent
 - Open
 - Honest
 - Benevolent
 - Reliable
 - Willingness to be vulnerable
 - Perceived family strengths
 - Influences on trust
 - Hegemonic race class gender norms
 - Educational policy environment
- Collective faculty trust in families
 - Perceptions of colleagues' trust in families
 - Expectation from leadership
 - Faculty social exchange
 - Mastery
 - Vicarious experience
 - Social persuasion
- Schoolwide family engagement culture
 - Events for families
 - Ideas for improvement
- Educational policy environment
 - Standardized testing
 - Negative reputation of teachers
 - Top-down policies
 - No opinion
- Community School
 - Coordinator
 - Relationships with families
 - Relationship with teachers
 - Relationship with students

- [Place-based education reform initiative]?
- Teacher satisfaction
 - Low
 - High
- Gemeinschaft
- Gesellschaft

Appendix E. The Dual Capacity-Building Framework for Family-School Partnerships

