

Cross-Cultural Trust Networks and Advancing Education Equity in Place-Based Partnerships

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Abstract

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Research suggests that trust can be a foundational element for the success and sustainability of multi-organizational partnerships focused on advancing education equity in a particular neighborhood or region. As these place-based strategies gain popularity in the U.S., collaborators are increasingly required to navigate relationships where racial and cultural differences are present. However, the literature on trust and collaboration in education does not systematically take up issues of cross-cultural and interracial trust building, particularly as it relates to multi-organizational collaboration. Using critical race, social capital and micro-political theories, this study examines interpersonal trust in the context of complex collaborations and interracial and cross-cultural relationship building. Findings suggest that trust operates at multiple levels within place-based education partnerships and collaborators who attend to implicit biases, power dynamics and community context may be able to build stronger and more effective place-based partnerships. This study also offers practical suggestions for participants in place-based education collaborations to be able to navigate the socio-political dynamics of race and power in order to build a kind of trust between stakeholders that can enhance and sustain collective action.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the children and families served by our nation's public schools.

I envision a future in which our education system is worthy of your trust.

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Study Introduction

A local school engages low-income families around vital school spending decisions. Leaders from an urban school district and local community-based organizations create a coalition to tackle the school-to-prison pipeline crisis in their community. A network of cross-sector stakeholders convenes to talk about creating a continuum of birth to Kindergarten supports for young children and their families in their community.

These are just a few examples of the types of place-based partnerships that are sprouting up across the country. These types of partnerships often fall under the banner of cradle to career or collective impact initiatives, however they are referred to by a wide variety of names. Regardless of the nomenclature, these partnerships are comprised of networks of stakeholders who seek to reimagine institutional relationships in order to align goals and coordinate actions that seek to improve educational outcomes and opportunities for children of different racial and socio-economic backgrounds in a particular geographic region (Dobbie & Fryer, 2009; Henig & Stone, 2008; Kania & Kramer, 2011; Lawson, 2013); United States Department of Education, 2012). These partnerships often signal a redoubling of efforts to work across silos and traditional divides in pursuit of education equity.

Place-based partnerships are nothing new, but rather they are just one of the most recent instantiations of multi-organizational education initiatives (Henig, Riehl, Rebell, & Wolff, 2015). Empowering and enabling a group of stakeholders to play an active role in improving schools is an approach that is frequently anchored in the “it takes a village to raise a child” ethos. Social, financial, and human capital resources and services are coordinated within and outside of the school to create conditions for learning that can have a positive impact academic achievement. Some of earliest examples of community-based efforts to improve education services date back to the Community Schools movement in the early 1900’s (Blank, Melaville, & Shah, 2003). The Jane Addams’ settlement house, with timely support from Dewey’s framing of schools as “social centers,” created the context for breaking down the barrier between schools and communities (Dewey, 1902). The Community Schools movement introduced the idea of centralizing supplemental recreation, health, and educational services for immigrant and low-income students within the school (Blank, Melaville, & Shah, 2003). Over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries

the Community Schools movement has proliferated in model and scope under the premise that children cannot learn and thrive unless the basic needs of students and families are first met.

Up until recently however, most education partnerships were focused on implementing effective partnerships around service delivery for students and families (Lawson, 2013). Current place-based partnerships are an example of an evolution in education partnerships towards what Lawson (2013) calls “third-generation partnerships.” Third generation partnerships veer away from being centered around service delivery to focus on systems and policy change. Partners include can include representatives from universities, community organizations, school districts, government and the private sector, to name a few.

Contemporary, cross-sector, place-based partnerships are often created in response to devastating education inequities. As is well documented in the literature, the last four decades in public education are marked by stark disparities in access to high quality learning opportunities and academic outcomes for low-income and students of color (Carter & Welner, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Often referred to as the “achievement gap,” these disparities are a grim, yet defining feature of the post-Brown vs. *Board of Education* world. Unfortunately, many research and policy discourses are fixated on gap language, which tends to situate the problem of “achievement” in schools and ascribe blame to teachers, students, and/or families for student’s lackluster academic performance (Evans, 2005). This rhetoric does not acknowledge that public schooling in the United States has a long, cumulative history of exclusion, oppression and unequal access to education that continues to have social, economic, and socio-political repercussions (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Love, 2004). Reframing the achievement gap as an education equity movement moves the conversation away from a singular focus on school-based accountability toward a broader societal responsibility for larger, systemic inequities. In addition, it keeps the goal, rather than a deficit-based framing of the problem, in the foreground of this work (Carter & Welner, 2013; Evans, 2005). For the purpose of this study, advancing education equity is defined as efforts that seek to close opportunity gaps between students of color and students impacted by poverty and their white and/or affluent peers (Carter & Welner, 2013).

The pursuit of education equity is often highly political. Contemporary local, state and federal policies related to charter schools, accountability, and school funding can create vicious competition and deep contempt between systems, organizations, families and communities. This is often exacerbated by unequal power dynamics and superficial community engagement efforts

that can negatively influence school-community relations (see Russakoff, 2015 for example). Place-based partnerships often seek to bring together these disparate stakeholders around student and family success to create a common agenda for collective action that advances education equity in a given neighborhood or region.

In this context, it is not surprising then that emerging research shows that the success of place-based partnerships is highly reliant on trust between collaborators (Geller, Dykos, Craven, Bess & Nation, 2014; Henig, Riehl, Rebell & Wolff, 2015; Horsford & Sampson, 2014; McLaughlin & London, 2013). This builds on earlier research that shows trust may be one of the single most important variables affecting collective action, primarily due to the interpersonal and interdependent nature of collaboration (Bryk, 2002; Lundin, 2007; Ulsaner, 2001, p. 130). But trust is a slippery concept that can vary in definition and expression depending on context, experience, perspective or purpose (McKnight & Chervany; 1996). Trust is a phenomenon that can be viewed from an individual, organizational, or societal perspective, however it is common to think about trust as something that often exists between individuals. As such, one conceptualization of trust is interpersonal trust or the trust of everyday interactions that is specific to both individuals and the situation they are in together. For the purpose of this research, interpersonal trust is defined as an individual's willingness to be vulnerable based on the feeling and/or knowledge that another individual is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest and/or open (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 556). The focus on interpersonal trust in this study is to explore the foundational relationships that comprise complex, cross-sector education partnerships.

Trust can hold collaborations together, but we also know that distrust between stakeholders is very common. Trust is a dynamic phenomenon that can morph, change, erode and even disappear depending on the situation and/or context (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2006). Time and time again, we find that pervasive distrust can stall successful collaborations and thwart efforts to work together towards shared goals (Geller et al., 2014; Horsford & Sampson, 2014). In some cases, this lack of trust can be attributed to historical patterns of classism, racism, and/or exclusion (Bryk & Schneider, 1996; Cohen & Steele, 2002; Goddard, Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001) and in other cases distrust can emerge from misunderstandings and misconceptions between people from different institutions, organizations and/or cultural backgrounds (Getha-Taylor, 2012). The pervasiveness of the lack of trust between schools,

families and communities is a particular phenomenon that is the topic of much concern and discussion in the discourse about education equity (Auerbach, 2007, Tschannen-Moran, 2000; Williams & Baber; 2007).

While there is a wealth of research that examines the dynamics of distrust, we know less about the nature of trusting relationships that can unfold between collaborators in cross-sector education partnerships. It is unlikely that place-based partnerships are void of trusting relationships, but more research is needed to test this hypothesis (see Geller et al, 2014). Looking at cross-sector education partnerships through the lens of trust, rather than distrust, may allow us to see where we can cultivate the relationships needed to advance ambitious education equity agendas. Better understanding trust in the context of place-based partnerships may also illuminate different types of network relationships and resources that can be leveraged to promote transformative changes in education systems, policies and programs.

Studying trust in any context is incomplete without acknowledgement of the broader socio-political context. This includes the racial, cultural, socioeconomic and linguistic backgrounds of collaborators and the inherent power dynamics that shape micro and macro interactions. Interestingly, education scholarship to date recognizes that racial backgrounds and power structures play a significant role in the unfolding of trust in school improvement efforts, but the literature on this topic remains scant and disconnected, particularly from broader critical race perspectives (Baier, 1986; Barber, 1983; Bryk, 2002, Luhmann, 1979; Tschannen-Moran, 2001). Furthermore, the voices and perspectives of people of color are largely absent from the discourse. Without these perspectives, it is no wonder the field is challenged to move away from imbalanced partnership models that maintain the status quo, reify existing power structures and validate multifaceted systems of oppression. Truly transformational partnerships require grounding in the knowledge of the role race and power play in developing place-based partnerships and a shift towards actions that (re)build trust with a broad continuum of stakeholders so that they can be celebrated partners in decision-making and leadership. Furthermore, this shift can reinforce an interpretation of communities of color and poverty impacted communities as places with vast amounts of assets and strengths (Ishimaru, 2014; Yosso, 2005). To do this will require a deeper understanding of trust-building in cross-cultural contexts, reframing deficit-based perspectives that ascribe blame and assume the helplessness of low-income and communities of color and acknowledging the vast networks of relationships that

already exist, particularly in poverty-impacted communities and communities of color.

There are a multitude of sociopolitical factors influencing trust, however the focus of this study is on the role of race and power on trust in place-based partnerships. It is important to note however that factors, such as socioeconomic status, are also relevant in the development of trust in the context of place-based partnerships. Indeed, there is much work to be done to understand the connection between race, class and trust in education contexts specifically. For example, several studies in the realm of school-family relations indicate that socioeconomic status plays an important role in trust development in education contexts. In a study on the role of social class in school involvement among African-American parents, Diamond & Gomez (2004) found that middle class African-American parents tend to be more trusting of their child's teachers and school administrators than working class Black parents. In another study on family involvement and trust however, Adams, Forsyth & Mitchell (2009) found that parent's trust in educators was more closely linked to the social norms that seek to address parent's needs than contextual factors such as socioeconomic status or academic performance. As these two contrasting studies indicate, more research is needed to untangle the connection between socioeconomic status and trust in education contexts.

Outside of the education literature we see that socioeconomic status is an important contextual factor that informs trust development, however there is less empirical work on the specific role of socioeconomic status on trust and more on factors like social status (Lount, & Pettit, 2011) and race (Smith, 2010). This is not to say that socioeconomic status does not play a role, but rather our understanding of what role it plays in trust formation is underdeveloped. For example, in a study on neighborhood trust in Amsterdam Bakker & Dekker (2012) looked at the three largest ethnic minority groups and studied the patterns of trust between them. They found that specific neighborhood ethnic composition impacted trust, but that concentrated poverty and residential change did not have the same effect (Bakker & Dekker, 2012, p.2044). In addition to socioeconomic status, there are multiple types of "status" and/or privileges that may inform trust development. For instance, in a study on organizational behavior, Lount & Petit (2012) looked at the role of status in trust development. They define status as individual prestige, respect and admiration that individuals receive from others and found that individuals with high status more readily trusted others than individuals with low status. In this way, they view status as a structural, hierarchical feature rather than through the lens of economic earning results. Indeed,

these two lenses can be related but as these studies indicate they can also be viewed in isolation of one another.

Finally, some key studies indicate that when taken together poverty, race and trust are closely intertwined. The research indicates that in tandem, poverty and racism specifically can erode trust (Smith, 2010) and hinder collective efficacy (Hardin, Levi & Cook, 2009). For example, a longitudinal study by Sampson & Graif (2009) looked at community and social network predictors of trust in Chicago and found a connection between high poverty and low trust among residents. It is unclear from the research what the drivers are behind this phenomenon but Rudolph and Popp (2010) contend that the socioeconomic conditions in an environment shape racial perceptions and attitudes (p. 76) and Hardin, Levi & Cook (2009) describe poverty and racial segregation as a “centrifugal” force that hinders trust (p. 186). More research is needed to untangle the connections between race, trust and socioeconomic status, and it remains important that studies both in and out of education do not conflate race and socioeconomic status.

This study, broken into three parts, provides a more nuanced understanding of trust in the racialized and powered context of place-based partnerships. The first study is an interdisciplinary examination of cross-cultural and interracial trust in the context of cross-sector partnerships. The second study is a qualitative case study that uses social network analysis to unpack diverse trust networks in one place-based initiative. The final case study provides an in-depth analysis of the role of race and power in building trust and catalyzing collective action in the same place-based initiative featured in the second study. Together, these inquiries leverage critical race, social capital and micro-political theories to describe how interpersonal trust is shaped by racial, cultural and power dynamics for current and future place-based education partnerships to consider as they convene diverse stakeholders to address the devastating education inequities facing our nation’s public schools.

Part I: Cross-Cultural Trust and Place-Based Partnerships for Education Equity: An Interdisciplinary Literature Review

Introduction

In a world where a child's zip code can be a determinant for academic and life opportunities, we can no longer separate strategies for addressing educational inequities from the place in which they occur (Gutierrez, 2012; Newburger, H., Birch, E.L, & Wachter, S.M., 2011). Indeed, each place has its own history, social ecology, power structure, geography and demographic makeup that make the work of improving public education distinct in many ways from such work in other communities. Thus, "place-based" partnerships have emerged as a promising approach to addressing pervasive education inequities in regions and neighborhoods around the country. Place-based partnerships can appear both within and outside of the domain of education and can be referred to by range of terminology, including "cradle to career" or "collective impact" initiatives (Kania & Kramer, 2012; McGrath, 2005). Regardless of language, place-based partnerships are systems-level initiatives that leverage multi-organizational partnerships to catalyze educational, environmental or economic improvement at a regional or neighborhood level (McGrath, 2005).

Place-based partnerships are built upon research that shows collaboration among multiple stakeholders including families, school leaders, funders, universities and community-based organizations, can lead to improved social and academic outcomes, increase graduation rates for students, and increase positive interactions between families and school leaders (Bathgate et al, 2011; Bryk, 2012; Lawson, 2013; Valli, Stefanski, & Jacobson, 2013). There are several "generations" of collaborative initiatives in education (Lawson, 2013) ranging from school-family partnerships (Epstein, 1995; Henderson & Mapp, 2002), partnerships between schools and health and human service providers (Knapp, 1995), community schools (Blank, Melaville & Shah, 2003), collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011) and cradle to career initiatives (McGrath, 2005). Contemporary place-based partnerships in education are typically comprised of networks of stakeholders who work across sectoral and organizational boundaries to align goals and coordinate actions in order to improve educational outcomes and opportunities for youth in a particular geographic region (Dobbie & Fryer, 2009; Henig & Stone, 2008; Horsford & Sampson, 2014; Kania & Kramer, 2011; Sampson, 2012; United States Department of Education, 2012).

Education focused place-based partnerships often include school and district leaders, local funders, nonprofit and community-based organization leaders, elected officials, civic leaders, university partners, community members and business leaders who collaborate through cross-sector partnerships aimed at achieving a shared goal of improved academic outcomes for youth across some portion, or the entirety, of the PreK-college continuum (Bathgate et al, 2011; Lawson, 2013; Valli, 2014). Place-based partnerships are often seen as an opportunity to acknowledge and leverage the critical role that community context and community capacity for enacting social change plays in mobilizing a range of stakeholders towards shared goals (Chaskin, 2001). Place-based partnerships commonly seek not only to eradicate education inequities but also leverage partnerships to address broader structural inequities impacting youth and their families including access to housing, opportunities for employment, and navigating biased criminal justice systems (Carter & Welner, 2013; Henig et al., 2016; Smrekar & Hudson, 2013; Selsky & Parker, 2005). Coordinating these complex networks of stakeholders to work across organizational boundaries often requires extensive communication and relationship building in order to be an effective strategy (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Cousins et al, 2008; Getha-Taylor, 2000; Magolda, 2001).

In this way, the literature on cross-sector partnerships, broadly defined, is clear that trust is a key component of effective collaboration (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Emerson, Nabatchi, Balogh, 2011; Getha-Taylor, 2000; Lee et al, 2012). Trust is a sort of social glue that supports group cohesion (Cook, 2005; Luhmann, 1979) by helping collaborators build authentic relationships and share knowledge and resources (Getha-Taylor, 2000; McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998; Venn & Berg, 2014). Trust can be essential for promoting positive, productive interactions between stakeholders who may have different definitions of what it means to work collaboratively towards a shared goal. (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Edwards, 2011; Geller et al, 2014; Henig et al; 2016; Horsford & Sampson, 2014; Tshcannen-Moran, 2000; Williams & Baber, 2007). Not surprisingly then, recent research highlights a pattern of distrust that is playing out within some place-based partnership efforts that threatens to undermine the success and sustainability of these efforts (Geller et al, 2014; Henig, Riehl, Houston, Rebell, Wolff, 2016; Horsford & Sampson, 2014). For example, a recent study on trust in a Promise Neighborhoods initiative by Geller, Doykos, Craven, Bess & Nation (2014) finds that collaborative partners in place-based initiatives focus little attention on intentionally building and repairing trust among

collaborators from different institutions, and that distrust can significantly undermine the progress and sustainability of place-based partnerships (Geller et al, 2014). In addition, the research is also clear that there are racial, cultural and socio-economic dimensions to education inequities in the United States, with people of color and those impacted by poverty less likely to have access to excellent educational opportunities (Carter & Welner, 2013; Ladson-Billings, G., 2006). In order to realize the promise and potential of place-based partnerships as a strategy for eliminating these inequities, we not only need to better understand the role of trust in relationships between collaborators who are working toward a common goal but also the role that race and power play in the unfolding of these multi-organizational partnerships.

Collaboration and Interpersonal Trust

There are many different types of trust that are described in the literature, but this inquiry focuses specifically on interpersonal trust. Interpersonal trust is an individual's willingness to be vulnerable based on the feeling and/or knowledge that another individual is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest and/or open (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 556). Although this definition is grounded in a multidisciplinary, empirical analysis, it is worth noting that it is also somewhat limited by its static, individualistic description of trust. There is currently an opportunity in the field to leverage theories such as Cultural-Historical Activity Theory and network theories to add contextual nuance to our understanding of trust.

The purpose of focusing on interpersonal trust over other types is that it is a foundational form of trust that focuses on individuals as the units of analysis. This is not meant to ignore organizational and political dimensions of trust, but rather to focus in on the potential role of trust, and distrust, in everyday interactions between collaborators engaged in place-based education partnerships. Furthermore, in the field of education the topic of trust commonly remains confined to actors within schools, primarily focusing on trust between teachers, principals and parents (for example see Bryk, 2010; Bryk & Schneider, 2003; Tschannen-Moran, 2001). Current scholarship on school-community partnerships highlights trust as a key component of collaborative partnerships, but there are few studies focused specifically on trust in education collaborations that are anchored outside of schools, such as place-based initiatives led by community-based organizations and/or intermediary organizations.

If we are going to realize vision for equity in education where race is no longer a predictor for academic or life outcomes, there is much to learn about the mechanics of interpersonal trust in multi-organizational partnerships that bring together stakeholders from different racial and cultural backgrounds and who occupy various positions of power (LeChasseur, 2016). The extant literature on trust in the field of education writ large provides limited consideration of issues of race and power in multi-organizational collaborations and few studies reference race or culture as a factor in how partners working toward education equity develop trust with one another. The exceptions remain the select studies that reference trust in describing the role of race and culture in family-school relations (see for example Cousins, Mickelson, Williams & Velasco, 2008; Ishimaru & Lott, 2014; Khalifa, 2012; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Williams & Baber, 2007). However, these studies do not always have an explicit focus on trust and are almost exclusively confined to dynamics within schools themselves. Critical race theorists articulate how racism (Perez Huber, 2011), dominant white-middle class ideologies (Mitchell, 2013), and deficit perspectives of communities of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001) can undermine trust and related efforts to improve schools that serve poverty-impacted communities and communities of color. These scholars support the case made by this study that if we are going to understand the dynamics of trust we must also take into account the racial, cultural and power dynamics that shape collaborative relationships.

Thus, this review looks across disciplines to examine the intersection between interpersonal trust, community collaboration, and race and power establish a foundation of knowledge to guide future research in these areas. This review draws a set of emerging ideas from the literature to articulate the ways in which the field can think about identifying and leveraging trusting relationships between diverse collaborators in place-based partnerships in pursuit of educational equity. Thus, this inquiry is guided by the following research questions: *What does the literature suggest about the role of race and power in building interpersonal trust in place-based education partnerships? What implications can be drawn for theory and research from the literature for place-based education partnerships that seek to build trust between stakeholders?*

Frameworks

This paper is guided by the tenets of social capital and critical race theories. The sections below unpack each of these theoretical frameworks and describe how they apply to this study.

Social Capital

The scholarship on trust is deeply intertwined with the concept of social capital. Social capital can be defined as the socio-structural resources that are embedded in relationships and networks and are accessed to enable individual and collective actions (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2005). There are many different definitions of social capital in the social science literature, but this definition prioritizes several features of social capital that are central to this inquiry.

First, this definition allows for the positioning of trust as one of many relational resources that constitute social capital. It also affirms that trust is an embedded feature of social relationships. This is not to say that trust is a given in all relationships, but rather that trust, and distrust, are critical potential byproducts of social interactions. Trust tends to play a central role in the discourse on social capital, in part because trust is often conceptualized as a type of social “glue” that holds individuals and groups together (Glaeser, 1999; Putnam, 1995) and is part of a complex constellation of social resources that are derived from interpersonal relationships. Trust is also often used as a measure of the presence of social capital (Seppanen, Blomqvist & Sundqvist, 2007; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). However, trust is a fluid, ever-changing feature of social relationships and scholars warn of using it as a direct proxy for social capital (Seppanen, Blomqvist & Sundqvist, 2007). Thus, for the purpose of this study trust is conceptualized as one of many potential byproducts of social capital rather than an inherent feature of it. As Portes & Vickstrom (2011) point out, modern society functions largely on a cohesion that results from the strength of institutions and complex divisions of labor, not necessarily trust. This underscores that social capital can be correlated with a host of social dimensions that bind people together, including but not limited to, trust.

Second, there is much debate among social scientists about whether social capital is individual or collective in nature (see Glaeser, 1999). The definition of social capital above intentionally encompasses both perspectives because there is evidence that trust is a fluid feature that is present between individuals in the microcosm of relationships *and* can be examined in the macrocosm of larger networks (Cook, 2005). Furthermore, this study takes a social network

perspective of social capital as theorized by Lin (1999). In keeping with Lin's (1999) definition of social capital, this study views trust as one of many tools needed to fuel collective action. This idea is consistent with the central premise of social capital theory - that social capital can lead to elevated status, access, and/or privileges. In this case, trust is one such potential by product of social capital that can be leveraged to support collective action towards realizing educational equity.

The study and measurement of social capital has led researchers to question the "amount" of social capital in communities across the United States. In his bestselling book, *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam makes the case that social capital and trust are on the decline in America, particularly in low-income and communities of color (see also Putnam, 2007). He claims that the decline of social capital is a threat to the democracy and fabric of American life (Putnam, 2000). While Putnam's argument caused widespread fanfare and concern among scholars and the public alike, several scholars have pointed out that Putnam's argument rests on a particular hegemonic definition of "civic participation" that ignores neighborhood context, historical injustices, and the perspectives women and people of color (Arneil, 2006; Nunnally, 2012; Sampson & Graif, 2009). Putnam's primary measure of social capital is civic activity (as defined by membership in clubs and formal social groups), however the view that civic activity alone will increase trust in communities is a narrow one that does not account for the realities of many American communities that are plagued by poverty, structural inequalities, and crime (Arneil, 2006), nor does it account for informal networks and community alliances that undergird our nation's diverse communities.

Putnam (2000) also makes the claim that racial diversity in neighborhoods negatively impacts trust (p. 361-362), however evidence suggests that race may not be the only type of social diversity that influences trust. For example, in a quantitative study on social segregation in networks, DiPrete et al. (2011) found that religious and political affiliations may play an equal role as race in trust development. In addition to race, participants in the study were found to socially segregate according to perceived values and behaviors as well, which included socio-economic status, religious behavior, and political ideologies (DiPrete et al, 2011, p. 1271). This suggests that race and culture may be just a few of the many social forces at play that can influence people's networks and relationships. In addition, there are scholars who have disproved Putnam's theory by showing the positive effect of neighborhood diversity on overall trust

between residents (Hardin, Levi & Cook, 2009; Nunnally, 2012). This review seeks to join the chorus of scholars who challenge Putnam's deficit view of social capital and trust in the United States (see for example Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015; Arneil, 2006; DiPrete et al., 2011; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011; Wilkes, 2011) and seeks to understand trust through a racialized perspective (Nunnally, 2012). As such, this inquiry takes an asset-based view of communities and posits that there is a wealth of social and cultural capital present in communities of color (Yosso, 2005). Finally, this study assumes that, although understudied in the education literature, cross-cultural and interracial trust can and does exist in neighborhoods and communities around the country.

Critical Race Theory

In keeping with the views above, this study also uses a theoretical lens offered by Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT is a conceptual tool that was born out of legal scholarship to expose and challenge social-political constructions of race and ground scholarship in the unique realities of people of color (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009). CRT recognizes that race is a social construction, not a biological phenomenon, and that racism is a pervasive and undeniable feature of our society that perpetuates oppression and systematically limits people of color's access to power and privilege (Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). CRT articulates the ways in which our society is structured to protect white privilege and white-dominant norms and practices and asserts that the knowledge and experience of people of color are legitimate and integral to understanding racial inequalities. CRT requires interdisciplinary perspectives to analyze race and racism in both current and historical contexts to permanently eradicate racism and the oppression of people of color (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012).

While born out of legal scholarship, scholars have applied CRT to the field of education to better understand education inequities, power dynamics in public education and the educational experiences of students and families of color (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Howard, 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2012). The purpose of utilizing the CRT framework in this study is to recognize that the dynamics of trust are shaped by race, power and privilege and to lift up stories that illustrate how these dynamics play out in place-based partnerships focused on education equity. Specifically, this study is grounded in Solorzano and Yosso's (2002) critical race methodology and Yosso's (2005) notion of

community cultural wealth to understand trust in the context of a racialized and powered society. Counter-storytelling and community cultural wealth provide the methodological and theoretical foundations to challenge deficit discourses around interracial and cross-cultural trust in education collaborations. These theoretical lenses elevate stories that challenge the dominant narrative, refute cultural deficit perspectives, and validate the rich experiences, traditions and perspectives of people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2012, 131-147). These dimensions of critical race theory provide the theoretical foundation to view trust from an asset-based perspective, while also acknowledging the role that race and racism play in how trusted relationships do or do not develop between collaborators.

Methods

While the education literature can provide relevant insights on the role trust plays in school improvement efforts, a broader lens is needed to get a more complete understanding of the role that race and power play in building trust among diverse collaborators in multi-organizational education equity initiatives, like place-based partnerships. Given that place-based partnerships sit at the intersection of schools and communities, a review of the literature as it pertains to both contexts is needed to inform future research and theory.

Thus, this review looked across disciplines at research that pertains to a) multi-organizational collaboration and/or b) multicultural or interracial trust. The fields included in this scan included education, business, sociology, political science, psychology and public policy. These fields were selected because they had the most number of articles on the two focus areas of this review stated above. The exception to this was the literature in the field of health. The health field was omitted from this study because of the specific and contextual nature of health care and the patient/physician relationship.

For literature on the interpersonal trust development, I began with searches in Google Scholar and EBSCOHost since they are both comprehensive sources of social science research. The search terms used were “interpersonal trust” and “generalized trust” in combination with “education,” “race,” “culture,” “power,” “collaboration,” “cross-sector collaboration” and “partnerships.” Per the focus of this inquiry, this scan maintained a specific focus on interpersonal trust over other forms of trust (i.e. group trust, organizational, political trust, etc.). In some cases, interpersonal trust can also be referred to as generalized trust so it was also

included in the literature search. The purpose of looking across these literatures was to situate trust in a socio-political context and draw a set of emerging ideas from the literature that describes the trends in trust dynamics between diverse collaborators working together toward common goals. Additionally, this review seeks to provide a foundation for advancing the field's knowledge and research about cross-cultural interpersonal trust in the context of multi-organizational partnerships, specifically.

There was a total of 87 articles included in this review. Figure 1 below outlines descriptive information about the set of articles reviewed in this study. It is worth noting that articles from the field of education are over-represented in this review because the specific focus and interest of this inquiry was on education partnerships, and specifically those concerned with education equity.

Publications	<i>N</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Range</i>
Studies in Review	87		
Date Range			1971-2016
Source			
Journal Articles	68	78%	
Book Chapters	5	<1%	
Books	14	16%	
Number of Articles by Field of Study			
Education	30	34%	
Sociology	19	21%	
Business	12	13%	
Political Science	11	12%	
Public Policy	9	10%	
Other (i.e. organizational development, philosophy)	4	<1%	
Psychology	2	<1%	

Figure 1.1: Descriptive

Information About Included Studies

In order to assemble a representative review, I use constrained “chain” or “snowball” sampling, which limits the percentage of literature collected at each level of the search to assemble a sample of key publications (Lecy & Beatty, 2012). I made the decision to include international studies because there were enough studies (>10) on the topic of intercultural trust in the literature from other countries to warrant their inclusion. The data collection process stopped when saturation occurred, or when no new articles, books or concepts emerged related to my research questions (Randolph, 2009).

In the second phase, I read and coded each article using a descriptive coding process (Saldana, 2009; Wolcott, 1994) that drew from themes in the literature and was guided by overarching themes in the theoretical frameworks guiding this study, including both social capital theory and critical race theory (Merriam, 2009). Descriptive coding is a method that leads to an inventory of the contents of the data and can be a key step in the process of interpretation and analysis of the data (Saldana, 2009; Wolcott, 1994). As such, I coded each study for mentions of race, power, and culture, in addition to coding for examples of interpersonal trust, network perspectives on trust, and for various forms of collaboration (e.g. business partnerships, collective impact partnerships, education partnership initiatives).

Then I conducted a theme analysis across the articles to articulate the relationships between the literatures as related to the research questions (Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012). Theme analysis in the context of a review of literature is derived from ethnographic analysis and requires that the researcher return continually to the literature to continue asking probing questions related to the topic of study (Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012). Specifically, I engaged in a note-taking process that summarized each article and highlighted quotes that pertained to the research questions guiding this study. I then used these notes to create a concept matrix of themes and topics that emerged from this review (Webster & Watson, 2002). The topics in the concept matrix included cross-cutting ideas such as the role of implicit bias in trust building, the ways in which trust is talked about as a behavior versus an emotion, and how the literature talks about repairing trust. The matrix aided in the analysis process as I made sense of the literature in order to answer the questions posed by this study. This process allowed me to identify key themes in the literature, highlight areas of overlap and disconnect between the bodies of literature, and explore avenues for further research to articulate the role of

race and power in building interpersonal trust between collaborators, particularly in place-based, education-focused partnerships.

Limitations

Like any study, this literature review does have its limitations. First, as the primary researcher conducting this study I acknowledge that my personal biases and perspectives influence the interpretation of the literature and findings presented here. Second, this review is limited by the search terms and analytical methods that I used. More expansive search terms, coding schemata and/or frameworks may have produced different articles or findings. In addition, this study is limited by its scope. I intentionally chose to look at cross-cultural trust in the context of multi-organizational collaborations because of gaps in our understanding in this arena, however there are many relevant contexts in which trust is relevant and many lenses through which that trust can be studied other than race and/or power. For example, this review does not systematically examine the role that differences in socio-economic status, political and/or religious beliefs may play in the unfolding of trust in collaborative education partnerships.

Findings

The findings section below begins with an analysis of how interpersonal trust, race and power are taken up in the education literature and then analyzes how these issues are discussed in fields outside of education, including public policy, sociology, business, political science, and psychology. Each section will give an overview and then provide recommendations from the literature for place-based partnerships looking to build interracial and cross-cultural trust.

Trust in the Education Literature: School Improvement

While the importance of relationships and social connections are far from novel topics in the literature on school improvement (see for example Comer, Haynes, Joyner, Ben-Avie, 1996) in the late 1990's and early 2000's the field saw a sharp increase in the number of studies looking specifically at trust in schools and the role trust plays in improving academic outcomes for youth. In 1998, Tschannen-Moran and Hoy conducted a conceptual and empirical analysis of trust in schools and found that teacher's trust in their building leader was highly dependent on that principal's behavior. Similarly, they found that teachers' trust in one another was also

dependent on individuals' behaviors that either promoted or eroded trust. Notably, the study found the one behavior trait that engendered trust in both teachers and principals was authenticity (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 1998).

Tschannen-Moran & Hoy (2000) went on to conduct a multidisciplinary analysis of how trust is defined and measured. The definition of trust the authors distilled from the literature is a commonly used definition, particularly in the field of education. As previously mentioned, it is also the definition used in this study. They define trust as, "One party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is a) benevolent, b) reliable, c) competent, d) honest, and e) open" (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p.556). As previously mentioned, this definition provides a good foundation for the field, but is limited by an individualistic and time bound perspective on trust that does not bring critical and historical perspectives into view.

Tschannen-Moran (2001) went on to study levels of collaboration in relation to levels of trust between principals, teachers and parents. This was one of the first studies to look at collaboration and trust in schools, specifically. She found that principals, teachers and parents who trust one another collaborate more effectively than those who do not. In another pioneering study, Bryk and Schneider (2003) drew from longitudinal research in a dozen elementary schools in Chicago to articulate the importance of "relational trust" in school improvement efforts. This was one of the first studies in the field of education to make the case for trust between stakeholders as crucial to improving academic outcomes for children. Relational trust, as defined by Bryk and Schneider (2003) is "an interrelated set of mutual dependencies [that] are embedded within the social exchanges in any school community" (p. 41). Relational trust is organized around four dimensions; respect, personal regard, competence and personal integrity (p. 42). This definition is grounded in the social exchanges that take place in the school community and highlights the role of reciprocity in trust building (Bryk & Schneider, 2003). It is similar to Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) definition in that it is centered on individual relationships however this definition is really meant to apply to relationships in a school context so is not necessarily meant to be applied more broadly.

Drawing from the longitudinal studies on school improvement in Chicago, Bryk et al (2010) published evidence of a "reciprocal dynamic" between school improvement and trust development. They found that trust acted as a vehicle for organizational change in school

buildings and schools with high levels of relational trust. These schools were more successful at creating and sustaining the institutional structures needed to promote academic improvement (Bryk et al, 2010). Those structures included school-family relationships, professional development, and creating student-centered learning environments (Bryk et al, 2010). Similarly, Forsyth, Adams, & Hoy (2011) argue that collective trust or the “social phenomenon rooted in multiple social exchanges among members of a group” (p.22) is critical if school communities are going to make meaningful improvements in student’s academic outcomes.

Despite the rich conceptual and empirical groundwork on trust in schools that these studies offer, they each fail to systematically consider the role that race and/or culture plays in trust development in school improvement efforts. Although, Bryk (2010) factors race and socioeconomic status into the overall findings of the study on school improvement, he does not talk about the role of race in trust development specifically. This oversight in these seminal pieces on the role of trust in education improvement efforts leaves our understanding of trust in the public education context incomplete. By not acknowledging racial and power dynamics that are present in school and district efforts to improve student outcomes, these studies miss essential dimensions that shape how trust, and distrust, form between communities and schools. In many ways however, the studies on trust in school improvement are buttressed by discussions about trust in school-family relations. As such, the section below offers an overview on the intersections between trust and race as discussed in relation to school-family engagement.

Trust in the Education Literature: Race, Culture and Family Engagement

At its essence, family engagement in school is about the process of building relationships and promoting partnerships between educators and parents to ensure student’s academic and social success in school (Epstein, 1995; Henderson & Mapp; 2002; Mapp & Hong, 2012). In many cases, the success of those relationships depends largely on trust (Adams, Forsyth & Mitchell, 2009; Yull, Blitz, Thompson & Murray, 2014), particularly with families and communities of color who may lack trust in educators due to prior experiences of oppression and/or injustices in schools. As such, there are important insights relevant to this review that can be learned in relation to cross-cultural trust building in the context of school-family relations.

The literature on school-family relations is clear that building trusting relationships between families and educators requires more than passive forms of family involvement in

which families interact with educators in prescribed ways that can reinforce dominant ideologies and ignore the expertise and experiences that families bring to the table (see for example Ishimaru, 2014 and Mediratta, Shah & McAlister, 2009). Rather, family engagement that builds trust requires the intentional affirmation of families' cultures and cultural ways of knowing, acknowledging racial and cultural bias and a commitment to shared decision-making and addressing power asymmetries. Each of these practices is discussed in greater detail in the sections below.

Many families of color experience racism and cultural isolation in schools that can lead to and exacerbate existing distrust in educators and the institution of schooling in general (Jimenez-Castallanos & González, 2012; Quiñones & Kiyama, 2014; Williams & Baber, 2007). For instance, in a study on school-family collaboration between African American parents and educators, Williams & Baber (2007) found that parents in their study maintained deep distrust for educators and the school system writ large. One of the central questions posed by parents in their study was, "How can you trust a system that does not educate your child?" (p. 8). The injustices that families of color and their children often face in schools can take the form of microaggressions, colorblind racism, curricula that lacks multicultural perspectives and disproportionate disciplinary practices towards students of color, to name a few (Quinones & Kiyama, 2014; Yull et al, 2014). These dynamics often leave families feeling disempowered or "invisible" in the eyes of educators, which either reinforce existing distrust or erode trust in the often fragile, budding relationships between families of color and educators (Quinones & Kiyama, 2014).

However, when educators and education leaders affirm the cultural identities and traditions of families, it is possible to form trusted alliances between schools and families (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001; Lopez & Stack, 2001). These efforts go beyond culturally themed lessons and events, but embody a multicultural ethos that offers a new paradigm and challenges a dominant, white, middle-class status quo for family engagement in schools (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). One strategy for accomplishing this is when schools make a concerted effort to meet the needs of families of color. Warren, Hong, Rubin & Uy (2009) find that the community school model, a model where schools partner with local service agencies to provide wraparound services designed to support both families' and student's success (Blank, Melaville & Shah, 2006), can help increase families' trust in schools. This study suggests that when schools help

families meet their needs, there is a trust that is nurtured between educators and parents based on parents feeling seen and having their needs prioritized.

The school-family relations literature also suggests that cultural brokers may play a role in helping to facilitate trust and build relationships between families and educators (Ishimaru et al., 2016). Cultural brokers are individuals who can bridge the relationship and trust gap often caused by cultural or racial differences between families and educators (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001; Ishimaru, 2016). Anyone can be a cultural broker, however they are often community leaders, youth, or school leaders. These individuals typically already have a reciprocally trusting relationship with families and can help parents communicate effectively with school personnel and build relationships with educators (Ishimaru, 2016). School leaders, in particular, can play a critical role as cultural brokers. Principals can set the tone for interactions with families, either as hostile or with a commitment to building and repairing trust with parents (Cooper, 2009). Principals who take the time to get to know parents, honor their cultural identities, and are active and present members of the broader community outside of the school can help bridge the cultural divide between educators and schools and help nurture trust with families in their building (Cooper, 2009; Khalifa, 2012).

In addition to affirming families' cultural identities, another way the literature talks about building trust between families and schools is when biases in schools are acknowledged and addressed (Cooper, 2009; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2004; Yull et al, 2014). These biases show up in many ways such as racially biased mindsets on the part of educators or culturally biased curriculum and assessments that lack the perspectives and histories of communities of color (see Cohen & Steele, 2002 and Stovall, 2006). These examples add up and can lead to the erosion of trust between families and schools.

Another dimension to the racial and cultural dynamics between families and educators are power asymmetries that can complicate school-family relations. In many cases, educators and school leaders hold the power when it comes to school norms, curriculum and opportunities for parents to engage (Warren, Hong, Rubin & Uy, 2009). Critical Race Theory (CRT) highlights how structural inequities reinforce dominant ideologies and preserve educator's institutional power (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). For example, using CRT Stovall (2013) describes how education reform policies and politics in Chicago disinvested in and alienated communities of color and promoted policies that furthered gentrification in communities of color. Thus, building

authentic and trusting partnerships between educators and parents can require schools to democratize decision making and develop structures for sharing power with families (Auerbach, 2011). One strategy that is lifted up in the literature as particularly effective in accomplishing this is parent organizing. Parent organizing can empower parents to advocate for greater decision making authority in schools and help balance power asymmetries between families and educators (Mediratta, Shah & McAlister, 2009; Warren, Hong, Rubin & Uy, 2009). Furthermore, there is evidence that cross-racial organizing may not only help increase trust between parents and educators, but also between parents from different cultural, racial and socioeconomic backgrounds as well (Fuentes, 2005; Mediratta, Shah & McAlister, 2009). At the same time, there is also evidence that trust may be an elusive element of family-school partnerships. For example, contrary to other studies on parent-teacher trust, Ishimaru (2014) found that schools with more parent organizing engagement did not have higher levels of parent-teacher trust. That is, the reciprocal dynamic of trust between parents and teachers Bryk & Schneider (2003) observed in schools with highly functioning school improvement and communication structures was not present in schools with parents who were highly engaged and organized. This study highlights that perceptions of trust may vary depending on perspective and positionality.

Nonetheless, the literature on school-family partnerships adds critical insights into cross-cultural trust building towards educational improvement. The practices elevated here for building trust with families- affirming families' cultural identities, acknowledging racial and cultural bias, and addressing power asymmetries- can lend important insights for place-based partnerships, particularly those that seek to engage diverse families in collaborative education initiatives.

In the section that follows, the focus will shift to the scholarship outside of the field of education that takes up the topic of cross-cultural trust building and multi-organizational collaboration.

Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Dynamics of Race, Power and Interpersonal Trust

Collaborative networks, such as place-based partnerships, have the monumental task of facilitating a process by which people from different perspectives and backgrounds move towards collective action and shared goals. While the payoff for such work can be great, the advantages of working together can often be hampered by the complexity inherent in collaboration (Huxham, 2003). Tensions and conflicts are not uncommon among of collaborators

who bring different backgrounds, perspectives, expertise and power, and these differences can lead to overall ineffectiveness of the group or delays in the collaborative process (Bryson et al, 2006; Chaskin, 2005; Lee et al, 2012). The sections below outline propositions from the literature based on an interdisciplinary analysis of the challenges and opportunities in building trust across racial, cultural and power differences in collaborative networks. Each section offers recommendations from the literature for cross-cultural trust building that are relevant to place-based education partnerships.

Negative Role of Stereotypes and Implicit Bias on Trust Development

Multi-organizational collaborations and coalitions often bring together complete strangers who come from very different organizations, perspectives and backgrounds. In many cases, community leaders, nonprofit organizations, school district leaders, university partners and philanthropists convene to establish shared goals and plan for collective action (Allen, 2010; Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Chaskin, 2001; Crosby & Bryson; 2010; Henig et al, 2016; Kania & Kramer, 2012; Sheldon & Van Voorhis, 2004). While the structures and practices that overlay these collaborations can play a role in how trust does or does not develop, interpersonal dynamics are a foundational aspect of how collaborative relationships unfold (Maak, 2007). Specifically, what social group one identifies with and how we perceive other's social groups can significantly influence trust (Williams, 2001; Zucker, 1986). For example, in an international study on trust and reciprocity, Buchan, Croson & Dawes (2002) found that people who were part of the same social groups (i.e. per race, culture, socioeconomic status) formed trusting relationships faster than people who were from different social groups, leading to the finding that social group membership was a critical factor in trust development among strangers. This study also confirmed that "social distance" between individuals matters in trust development (Macy and Skvoretz, 1998). Social distance can be described as the tendency to "trust neighbors, not outsiders" (Macy and Skvoretz, 1998).

Putnam (2000) asserted that racial diversity negatively impacts trust, but there is currently a lack of scholarly consensus on whether overall group diversity promotes or inhibits trust. As the studies above indicate, the dominant belief is that people are more apt to trust those who they perceive to be similar to themselves. However, this may not be entirely true given mounting evidence that group diversity can actually promote trust (Abascal & Baldassari, 2015;

Gundelach & Freitag, 2014; McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998). For example, in a study in a medium-sized city in Germany, Gundelach & Freitag (2014) found that people in more ethnically heterogeneous communities tended to have higher trust with individuals who are culturally different from them than those in ethnically homogenous communities.

Additionally, Abascal & Baldassari (2015) found that there were high levels of trust within diverse communities of color, and that in these communities the lack of trust is generally directed towards white people, rather than other people of color. The authors suggest that the purported negative effects of diversity on trust varies among cultural groups and that distrust for individuals from different backgrounds may be more specifically a phenomenon among whites, rather than people of color (p.724). They argue that previous findings that suggest that diversity inhibits trust are actually picking up racial bias on the part of white participants as the dominant group, rather than an indication of widespread distrust among different cultural groups (Abascal & Baldassari, 2015). These findings reinforce that studies on trust must foreground race and racism in the perspectives of participants and work to lift up the counter-narratives of people of color in order to shed light on the complex nuances of cross-racial trust (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Indeed, while there is some element of trust that is conscious, there is evidence that people also make decisions about whom to trust that are unconscious and subject to the same stereotypes and bias that inform other racialized social interactions (Stanley, D., Sokol-Hessner, P., Banaji, M., & Phelps, E., 2011). These biases and stereotypes can be reinforced when individuals lack opportunities to have direct contact with people outside their racial, cultural and/or socio-economic social groups (Stolle, Soroka & Johnston, 2008). Neighborhood racial and socioeconomic segregation patterns in the United States can limit opportunities for cross-cultural and interracial interactions, however the research suggests that when they do occur, frequent face-to-face interactions with people outside of one's social group can lead to relationships with sustained interpersonal trust between individuals from different backgrounds (Stolle, Soroka & Johnston, 2008). However, race may not be the only factor to consider. In fact, some suggest that are social affiliations other than race that may be more of a source of greater social segregation than race, such as religious and political affiliations (DiPrete et al, 2011). There are also other intervening factors in how members of a given community build trust with

one another, including poverty levels, neighborhood demographics, and resident mobility (Bakker & Dekker, 2012).

It is important to note that cultural assimilation towards dominant, white culture is not the same as building cross-cultural trust (Dent, 2005). Critical race theory explains the ways in which dominant society uses the racialization of non-white people to maintain (or exacerbate) power and reinforce existing and inequitable social hierarchies (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). In this way cultural assimilation can be viewed as a form of oppression that fails to honor difference and allow people of color to preserve their culture and/or heritage (Dent, 2005). Rather, true cross-cultural (and intra-cultural) trust is grounded in a reciprocal acknowledgement and respect for each individual's racial and cultural heritage.

Actionable recommendations from the literature: Confronting biases and leveraging social networks to help build cross-cultural, interracial trust

A subset of scholars across multiple fields argue that cross-cultural trust is needed to build the solidarities needed to fight racial injustices in our country (Dent, 2005; Nunnally, 2012). Furthermore, large groups of people engaged in collaborative work require the bonds of trust to maintain the cohesion and effectiveness of the group (Blau, 1986). Place-based partnerships are one example of an effort to build those solidarities between individuals and organizations in a particular community or region in order to halt educational injustices. Given that cultural biases and stereotypes can erode trust, outlines what lessons can we draw from the literature as it relates to collaborative education networks, like place-based partnerships for education equity.

In keeping with the definition of social capital guiding this inquiry, trust can be viewed as a socio-structural resource that is embedded in both relationships and networks, and which can be accessed to enable individual and collective actions (Coleman, 1998; Lin, 2005). Much of the literature reviewed here takes a similar view of trust as a central feature of social networks (Cook, 2005; DiPrete et al, 2011; Goddard, 2003; Hardin, Levi & Cook; 2009; Lee et al, 2012; Powell, 1995), at both the individual and group levels (Burt, 2000; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012). As such, one of the findings from this analysis found that networks could play an important role when it comes to cross-cultural trust building. There are many different descriptors for social

networks, depending on the purpose and context (e.g. global networks, exchange networks, open/closed networks), yet this inquiry is most interested in trust networks. Cook (2005) describes “trust networks” as “tight-knight networks rooted in bonds of trust” (p. 10). According to Cook (2005) trust networks can encourage the exchange of information and other resources and illustrate how trust can be conceptualized as a social capital byproduct that enables individuals to access resources, knowledge and power (Cook, 2005; Lin, 2002). In addition, trust networks may also create the conditions in which actors are more likely to take risks and rely on each other during times of uncertainty (Cook, 2005). Trust networks can also be an example of Putnam’s concept of “bonding” social capital (2000), which describes the ties between mostly homogenous network members. However, individual identities and social boundaries may be more fluid than the social capital literature suggests and there is nothing to suggest that trust networks do not also involve “bridging” social capital, or ties between socially heterogeneous groups (Putnam, 2000). Individuals who work for the same organization, cultural or racial group may have existing trust with one another based on shared experiences or values (bonding trust). At the same time, individuals may work for the same organization but identify with different racial or cultural groups and still need to engage in the process of building trust with one another across racial or cultural differences (bridging trust).

In this way, the literature describes social or cultural brokers as playing an important role as bridging people from different backgrounds in multi-organizational partnerships. Social brokers can be individuals who have existing relationships across different organizations and social groups, or they can be organizations who act as intermediaries between different entities within the collaborative network as whole (Venn & Berg, 2014). For example, using quantitative methods Venn & Berg (2014) studied cross-sector social partnerships in Austria, Germany and Switzerland and found that mutually productive partnerships involve highly complex exchange patterns and the demand for trust increases as the complexity of the partnership increases, particularly as collaborators seek to achieve goal alignment, or manage power dynamics resulting from goal misalignment. Based on the findings of the study and the author’s read of the literature, they suggest leveraging individual and organizational “intermediaries” to “intervene in power play and facilitate the development of trust” (Venn & Berg, 2014, p.404). Applying this logic to place-based initiatives, social or cultural brokers may help develop relationships between people in the network who are working towards similar goals (i.e. improving school attendance

or addressing disproportionate discipline for example) and help mitigate power struggles that may arise between collaborators.

Additionally, while networks may be subject to social segregation (DiPrete et al, 2011), an examination of the literature on cross-cultural trust building across disciplines suggests that people from different social backgrounds can incorporate one another into their trust networks with intentional relationship building and frequent social interactions or exchanges. For example, in a cross-national comparative study on the influence of racial and cultural diversity on trust between neighbors in the United States and Canada, Stolle, Soroka & Johnston (2008) found that developing and maintaining social ties between neighbors from different racial or cultural backgrounds may mitigate any negative effects diversity has on trust building. As legal scholar George W. Dent (2005) concurs, people must be willing to challenge stereotypes and biases perpetuated by themselves and others and “repeat difficult truths” in order to facilitate trust development and racial healing. The implications for place-based partnerships focused on building trust across diverse stakeholders to achieve educational equity is to be intentional about naming stereotypes and biases as barriers to trust building, focus on relationships, recognize the strength in individual’s personal trust networks and leverage social brokers in helping to connect individuals from different backgrounds across the collaborative.

The Role of Community Context on Cross-Cultural Trust Building

Trust and distrust are multidimensional and complex phenomena (McKnight & Chervany, 1996) that can coexist within complex networks of individuals (Luhmann, 1979). However, scholarly literature often takes a one-dimensional view of trust (it either exists or it does not) without acknowledging that relationships are complex and change is constant. (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998). Furthermore, one of the reasons place-based partnerships hold promise is because of the focus on the place and context in which educational inequities occur. While individuals’ relationships and trust networks are vital to multi-organizational collaborations, community context provides the backdrop on which those relationships unfold (Marschall & Stolle, 2004; Rudolph and Popp, 2010). In short, multi-organizational collaborations centered on a specific place must also factor in the influence that the context of that place has on trust between collaborators.

Yet, neighborhood and social segregation by race and class can interfere with people’s

opportunities to build interracial trust (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015; DiPrete et al, 2012; Marschall & Stolle, 2004; Rudolph & Popp, 2010). In a study on interracial trust in the United States, Rudolph & Popp (2010) argue that racial prejudice can be mitigated by interracial contact. Using the Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS), a large dataset from 41 diverse locales around the United States, Rudolph and Popp (2010) found that different types of neighborhood heterogeneity (i.e. income, race) have different effects on trust between people from different racial and cultural backgrounds. They also found that interracial trust is less likely to occur among individuals who do not have racially homogenous friends and conversely, people who have racially heterogeneous friendships are more likely to develop trust across racial differences (Rudolph & Popp, 2010).

In the context of place-based collaborations, individuals in communities that lack or have limited racial heterogeneity may not have the same opportunities or expertise around building trust with people who are different from them. Thus, the demographics of the community setting are an important factor when considering people's capacity and experience for building trust across racial and cultural differences. For example, individuals who live in a relatively homogenous community may lack the social connections and cultural knowledge to be able to build authentic, trusting relationships with people from different backgrounds from their own.

Historic and ongoing oppression in communities and in the nation writ large also shape trust building (Smith, 2010). Communities of color frequently experience inequitable treatment in American society, from education and employment to wages and housing. Racist and xenophobic beliefs are deeply embedded in the routines and practices of American institutions, which many would argue were designed over many centuries to hinder people of color's social progress and access to power (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). This reality often makes people of color distrustful of institutions, particularly when prior discrimination has occurred, as is often the case for people of color who attended public schools as children (Smith, 2010). Furthermore, people of color may be more apprehensive to trust others outside of their own racial or cultural group because of repeated experiences of discrimination and unequal treatment within institutions and society at large (Smith, 2010; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Another critical dimension of context is power dynamics. In the context of collaborative endeavors, power is not always equal among all stakeholders (Cook, 2005) and as Farrell (2004) points out, profound power asymmetries can lead to high levels distrust. While relationships can,

and do, withstand some level of power difference between individuals, when one person holds power over another, mutual distrust is likely to occur (Farrell, 2004). For example, individuals can use the terminology of “collaboration” as an excuse to exercise their power and manipulate those without access to the same power to align with particular preferred goals or activities (LeChausseur, 2016; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2000). For instance, LeChausseur’s (2016) critical discourse analysis of collective impact initiatives, found that “change agents” described in collective impact initiatives are predominately CEO or executive level leaders who either see negative behaviors of individual people in the focal community as in need of change or frame what they see as community deficits as barriers to success (p. 6-8). Although this is not direct deception, it can lead to widespread distrust between those who are leaders of reforms and those who are the targets of it.

Participants in multi-organizational partnerships may also define power differently, particularly if they come from different sectors (Purdy, 2012). For instance, for some partners, power could mean access to resources and for others it could be expertise and legitimacy (Purdy, 2012). Nonetheless, the literature suggests that power asymmetries can invite exploitations of power and further diminish trust between collaborators (Farrell, 2004; Venn & Berg, 2014).

Actionable Strategies from the Literature: Understanding community context and addressing power dynamics

Community context and power dynamics are critical influences on the formation of trust, and the literature suggests several strategies that are relevant to place-based initiatives that seek to bring together diverse stakeholders to eliminate education inequities. Several contemporary partnership frameworks suggest that establishing shared goals among collaborative partners is critical to the success of the collective actions undertaken by partners (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2006 & 2015; Kania & Kramer, 2011). But, it may not be enough for collaborators to simply maintain shared goals. In a study on intergovernmental collaboration in Sweden, Lundin (2007) finds goal alignment without trust and trust without goal alignment can both hinder cooperation. Thus, the authors suggest effective collaboration to occur mutual trust and goal alignment must exist simultaneously (Lundin, 2007). For place-based partnerships focused on education equity, this could mean creating spaces for partners to establish and maintain trust either before or *while* common goals are articulated. In addition, establishing both trust and common goals are not time

limited activities, but rather can require ongoing work and commitment to maintain (Lundin, 2007).

The literature also suggests that place-based partnerships should be intentional acknowledging power dynamics and power asymmetries. Farrell (2004) reminds us that who holds both formal and informal power matters in cooperative endeavors. Drawing on multiple qualitative case studies, Purdy (2012) offers a *Framework for Assessing Power in Collaborative Governance Structures*, in which she argues that the collaborative process itself can be used to balance power. She offers a case in which the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) used a collaborative governance process in partnership with local communities, including many native communities. The author reports that FERC leveraged its authority to create a process in which the tribe's legitimacy and voice was amplified to create more balanced participation alongside their well-resourced neighboring land owner counterparts. Thus, the implications for place-based partnerships suggest that when the leadership of an initiative makes an effort to be inclusive, representative, and ensure equitable access to the decision making process, it builds trust and goodwill by sending the signal to partners that multiple forms of expertise and experiences are valued and those with formal power will not dominate the collaborative process. (Purdy, 2012).

Implications for Theory and Research

Place-based education partnerships hold promise for harnessing a community's potential for addressing educational inequities, however it is clear from the literature that trust is a key component of building effective multi-organizational partnerships. In education specifically, more attention is needed to understand how collaborators who come from different racial, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds find the common ground needed to build the trust initiate and sustain meaningful partnerships.

Social Capital Theory

To lay the foundation for this body of work, this review draws on social capital and critical race theories to better understand the dynamics of interracial and cross-cultural trust in multi-organizational collaborations. Social capital theory contends that trust can help solidify the bonds that hold individuals together (Glaeser, 1999), making it a potentially critical resource in

collaborative partnerships. As the studies in this review demonstrate, partnerships with greater levels of trust between collaborators are generally more likely to be successful than those without similar trust (Getha-Taylor, 2012). But trust is not a static feature of social relationships- it is a dynamic and evolving result of broader social dynamics at play in specific communities, and in the country as a whole (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). Thus, individual perspectives, experiences, and racial and cultural backgrounds can matter greatly when it comes to building trusted relationships. There is much debate among social capital theorists about whether this diversity is a threat to America's social cohesion (see for example Putnam 2000 & 2007). However, as the studies in this review demonstrate, social heterogeneity and racial diversity are not only nonthreatening, they can actually be assets that lead towards greater cross-cultural and interracial trust.

Through the studies in this review, we see how Putnam's (2000) concept of bridging and bonding social capital may apply to trust as well. As the findings of this study describe, there is a type of bonding trust that can occur between people from the same racial or cultural background, political perspective, socio-economic status, and/or religious affiliation suggesting that trust often between individuals who share common traits. At the same time, bridging trust can occur between people who come from different backgrounds or perspectives. As the findings of this study describe, these relationships can be aided by the help of social or cultural brokers who act as intermediaries or through increased and sustained exposure to people from different racial or cultural backgrounds than one's own. The concepts of bridging and bonding trust can provide nuance in the field about how trust is leveraged and negotiated in diverse social networks. Future research on trust in the context of place-based education partnerships can leverage a network perspective of social capital to describe how trust is distributed throughout a given network of collaborators and reveal where bonding and bridging trust exist. This can help identify where there may be social brokers who are uniquely positioned to help strengthen relationships between collaborators who come from different racial, cultural, organizational and socio-economic backgrounds.

At the same time, there is much debate among social capital theorists whether trust is an inherent feature of social capital or a byproduct of it. On the one hand, some scholars use measures of trust as a proxy for the presence social capital and others argue that the field lacks necessary clarity about the specific causes, effects and sources of social capital (Portes, 2000). In

order to leverage social capital theory, this study describes trust as one potential result of social capital however this ongoing debate in the field limits the confidence with which scholars can make inferences about the nature and dynamics of social capital and its related features, like trust. In addition, more studies are needed on intercultural exchanges of trust, given that different cultures often have different conceptualizations of trust (Seppanen, Blomqvist & Sundqvist, 2007).

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) provides an additional lens to this study as well. CRT acknowledges the realities of race, racism and systemic oppression in all aspects of how our society functions (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). The aim of using CRT in this study is to emphasize the ways in which relationships and trust are formed amidst a backdrop of privilege, power and the historical oppression of people of color. CRT can also highlight how place-based partnerships engaged in the work of building relationships across sectors, experiences and perspectives can lift up the perspectives of people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2012). In addition, Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth framework provides an asset-based framing to this study that is grounded in the forms of social capital that can be present in a community. The findings of this study suggest that building trusted relationships across racial and cultural backgrounds often requires intentional attention to personal and implicit biases, community contexts and power dynamics, but that these relationships are nonetheless possible and positive features of our society. Through the lens of critical race theory, we also see how trust is very much informed by power imbalances between individuals and organizations. The presence and exercise of power, particularly in the context of collaborators working across racial and cultural differences, can often shape how trust is or is not developed in partnerships. Historical oppressions, institutional traumas, and top-down decision making can limit the possibility for trust formation or repair between those in power and those who are regularly the targets of social reform, namely communities of color.

Nevertheless, the application of CRT in the field of education is still underdeveloped. Since Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) offered a much-needed call for greater inquiry into the role of race in education twenty years ago, we have seen a surge in the use of critical race theory in the field of education (Howard & Navarro, 2016; Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). Despite this

uptick in the use of CRT in education, there are still gaps in how the theory is applied in the field. While there are a substantial number of studies using CRT as it relates to teaching and learning (Vaught & Castagno, 2008), teacher education (see Anderson & Cross, 2013) and contemporary education reform (see Gilborn, 2013), these examples are illustrative of how CRT is often applied in specific, school-centric contexts as opposed to describing broader ecologies, systems and institutional structures that shape public education broadly. Furthermore, as it was born out of legal scholarship CRT is most effective at describing legal and structural mechanisms for discussing race and racism in our society, but the theory offers less with regard to solutions and how interpersonal dynamics are shaped by race and power. This study seeks to join the burgeoning efforts of scholars who apply CRT to the complex, intersectional, multi-organizational context that is public education today (see for example LeChasseur, 2014).

Conclusion

The theory of change behind place-based partnerships that seek to improve educational opportunities for poverty-impacted students and students of color is a sound one- align local stakeholders and resources around eliminating the barriers to educational success. However, the research tells us that collaboration across sectors, organizations, perspectives and backgrounds is a complex endeavor that requires ongoing attention to relationships between collaborators (Magolda & Taylor, 2013). The findings from this literature review suggest that there is more research needed on the dynamics of cross-cultural trust networks in the context of place-based partnerships for education improvement. Thus, this review seeks to lay the groundwork for how we can understand place-based partnerships in the context of the racial and power dynamics that influence how trust is formed, repaired and/or ruined in collaborative efforts for social change.

Part II: Network Analysis of Cross-Cultural Trust in A Place-Based Education Initiative

Introduction

Persistent disparities in opportunities and educational outcomes between students of color and low-income students and their white and/or affluent counterparts plague our current education system. In response, education leaders are joining forces to tackle systemic, programmatic and policy barriers that stand in the way of educational excellence and equity for all students. These collaborative education partnerships come in many shapes and sizes, however one type that is gaining popularity around the country are “place-based” partnerships that focus on a specific neighborhood or region and are designed to foster collaborative relationships between school systems, families, community-based organizations, universities and other institutional partners to improve social and academic outcomes for youth (Blank, Melaville & Shah, 2003; Comer, Haynes, Joyner, Ben-Avie, 1996; Dobbie & Fryer, 2009; Dryfoos, 2005, Epstein, 1995; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Lawson, 2013; McGrath, 2005). Place-based partnerships are one way to organize a community of stakeholders around a shared vision for equity and a model for collective action that can help address our nation’s failure to provide high-quality educational opportunities for all children, particularly those living in poverty (Ishimaru, 2014; Kania & Kramer, 2011; Stone, Henig, Jones, & Pierannunzi, 2001). Place-based partnerships are intentionally grounded in the specific context in which they operate and can be an effective strategy for engaging stakeholders from across disparate organizations, institutions and perspectives.

Underlying the place-based partnership approach is a theory of change that seeks to unite the often fractured, disconnected and/or biased systems that serve youth and their families in a given place (Bryk, 2010; Stone, Henig, Jones, & Pierannunzi, 2001). It is not uncommon for education leaders in a given locale to adopt strategies, programs and/or services that they feel address education inequities in their context. But these strategies often either exist in isolation or are disconnected from other services or strategies offered to students and their families. Cross-sector, place-based initiatives seek to align myriad institutions and organizations seeking to affect positive change in educational opportunities afforded to students and families in order to catalyze community-wide systemic change (Henig, Riehl, Rebell, & Wolff, 2015).

It is important to note however that “place” and “community” are not necessarily synonymous. The concept of “community” is integral to place-based partnerships, however it is often romanticized or left undefined, particularly in education-related scholarship (LeChasseur, 2014; Lynn, 2006). In addition, the term “community” is often used in education literature as a proxy for students and families of color, which allows for those who are engaging “communities” to make biased assumptions about who is being engaged and to what ends (Philip et al, 2013). As such, I use a definition of community that pays attention to both people and place, and maintains an awareness of how community is defined (or not) in the literature that informs this study. A slightly modified version of MacQueen et al.’s (2001) definition of community will guide this study. MacQueen et al. (2001) define community as “a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives and[/or] engage in joint action in geographical settings or locations” (p. 1929). In my view, any one of the components of this definition constitutes a community, hence the addition of “or” in this definition. For example, a community could be a group of people who are a part of a professional organization (such as a union), a group of racially and/or ethnically diverse residents from a geographic area, a group of nonprofit leaders who share similar perspectives about equity, or a group of students, families, teachers, staff and administrators who make up a public, neighborhood school. In contrast, the notion of “place” is anchored in broader conceptualizations of space within a geographic, ecological, political and social context (Gruenewald, 2003). It can be both spatial and relational, making a concrete definition difficult to pin down. In this study however, I use the term “place” in the geographic sense, with the understanding that there are ecological, political and social implications. Thus, for the purpose of this study, place-based partnerships are collaborations that are anchored in a particular geographic city, state or region.

While place-based partnerships offer a promising approach to working towards education equity in a neighborhood or region, coordinating a complex network of individuals from a wide range of backgrounds, perspectives, roles and organizations can require extensive relationship building and alignment between stakeholders (Edwards, 2011). Thus, scholars have noted that interpersonal trust between stakeholders can play a critical role in the effectiveness of collaborative partnerships (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Emerson, Nabatchi, Balogh, 2011; Getha-Taylor, 2012). People involved in school improvement work specifically are in a constant process of discerning whether others are trustworthy or not and can often make key decisions

based on this (Bryk & Schneider, 2002, p.42). In place-based initiatives, interpersonal trust between different stakeholders can more readily enable key players to rally behind improvement efforts, provide motivation to do the work required to sustain collaborative initiatives and encourage buy-in from community members (Bryk, 2010, p.139-140). Trust can increase collective will to tackle tough problems, facilitate collective decision making (Bryk & Schneider, 2003), enable community mobilization around an issue (Foster-Fisher et al, 2007), and/or facilitate better communication among collaborators (Tschannen-Moran, 2001).

Thus, the goals of this study are two-fold. This study seeks to provide an alternative perspective on trust in place-based partnerships that is focused on the unpacking the nuances of relationships where trust is present rather than focusing exclusively on the dynamics of distrust. In addition, this study aims to better understand the role that race and power play in building trust in multi-organizational collaborative education partnerships, specifically. The current body of research is primarily focused on trust between stakeholders in schools, however most place-based partnerships bridge schools and communities so it is necessary that our research on trust extends beyond just the school context. Regardless of context, trust is not always easily attained. Previous studies indicate that distrust between stakeholders can be pervasive and threaten the success of place-based partnerships (Geller, Doykos, Craven, Bess, & Nation, 2015), but there are a limited number of studies on the topic of trust in place-based partnerships. More research is needed to better understand how trust operates in the context of place-based education partnerships and where there might be opportunities to begin building trust among diverse collaborators focused on regional education improvement.

First, while Geller et al. (2015) identify that place-based initiatives can struggle to build trust, particularly between school staff and families, the authors did not suggest that trust was absent from the initiative. Indeed, it is common in multi-organizational collaborative partnerships for trust and distrust to exist simultaneously depending on relational and contextual dynamics (Luhmann, 1979; Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998). Thus, it is reasonable to consider that trusted relationships exist within most place-based partnerships. Yet given that we know so little about how trust operates in place-based partnerships, it is difficult to gauge where trust might exist and what practices might build or erode trust in the context of collaborative education partnerships.

Second, the current research on trust in education lacks a systematic examination of the role of race and power in building trust in multi-organizational education partnerships. Indeed, education scholars acknowledge that race, racism and power can play a profound role in relationship building between schools and communities (see for example Delgado-Gaitan, 2001; Lopez & Stack, 2001). Scholars outside the field of education acknowledge that there is a racialized dimension to trust development broadly speaking (see for example Nunnally, 2012) and that racial and cultural biases can play a significant role in our decisions to place trust in others (Stanley, D., Sokol-Hessner, P., Banaji, M., & Phelps, E., 2011). Despite this however, there is little existing research in the field of education that takes up the issue of interracial and cross-cultural trust development in the context of collaborative education partnerships. If we know that trust between diverse stakeholders can be a critical component of place-based initiatives' success and sustainability, then the field stands to benefit from further inquiries on how cross-cultural and interracial trust operates within place-based partnership networks.

Traditional Conceptualizations of Trust

There is a lack of definitional clarity in the literature about the parameters and nature of trust, particularly as it related to interpersonal trust in spaces outside of schools and trust in the context of cross-sector collaboration, specifically. Tschannen-Moran & Hoy (2001) conducted an extensive, interdisciplinary review of trust definitions and offered an operating definition of interpersonal trust. Per the authors, interpersonal trust is an individual's willingness to be vulnerable based on the feeling and/or knowledge that another individual is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest and/or open (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000, p. 556). While useful in the most basic sense, this definition does have limitations. It is a static definition that is individualistic in nature and lacks any critical historicity about the role that time and prior experiences play in the unfolding of trust. Bryk and Schneider also offer a definition of relational trust that emerged from their study of trust in school improvement efforts. Relational trust, as defined by Bryk and Schneider (2003) is "an interrelated set of mutual dependencies [that] are embedded within the social exchanges in any school community" (p. 41). This definition acknowledges the interdependent nature of social interactions and situates trust in the context of schools. These are two of the leading and most comprehensive definitions of trust in the context of education improvement and they are used to inform this study's understanding of trust, yet

neither is wholly sufficient. Place-based partnerships in education are specific contexts in which stakeholders maintain interdependent relationships across organizational and cultural boundaries that extend beyond just those relationships that occur schools. As such, one aim of this study is to begin to describe how collaborators in a place-based partnership focused on education equity conceptualize trust. The findings from this inquiry aim to help the field move toward a more nuanced and descriptive depiction of interpersonal trust that considers the unique nature of collaborative relationships and takes into consideration the racialized and powered context in which these relationships occur.

Theoretical Frameworks

This study is guided by two overarching theories. The first is a network theory of social capital and the second is critical race theory. These theories provide an integrated conceptual lens for understanding how relationships within a place-based network are shaped by network dynamics and racialized, powered dynamics between collaborators. Taken together, these frameworks articulate a conceptualization of interpersonal trust as feature of social networks that is inherently shaped by the socio-political dynamics of race and power.

Network theory of social capital

This research takes a network view of social capital as articulated by Lin (2005). Social capital is defined as “resources embedded in one’s social networks, [or] resources that can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the networks (Lin, 2005, p. 4). In the case of this study, the resource under investigation is interpersonal trust. Interpersonal trust is a type of currency through which individuals can leverage the social capital needed to enact collective activities (Lin, 2005). Social capital can be analyzed at both at the group and individual levels (Glaeser, 1999), and is characterized by the benefits derived from participation in social networks and relationships with others (Coleman, 1988). It is important to note that trust and social capital are not necessarily the same thing. Rather trust is more of a by-product of social capital that can allow individuals to access resources within the network (Cook, 2005; Lin, 2005). On the individual level, social capital analyses can provide insights into how trust manifests and what trust affords for participants in place-based partnership networks. For example, individuals can describe people they trust in their social network and how they leverage that trust to access

knowledge, resources or power. At the same time, education and community stakeholders in place-based partnerships are not static actors mechanically accumulating social capital. These actors are constantly navigating complex social structures and power dynamics that are happening behind the scenes to build and sustain complex partnerships between institutions, organizations and individuals. Studies also show that the overall performance of the network is enhanced by the social capital of network members and increases in social capital are likely to lead to more effective collaboration (Burt, 2002, p.218; Perry & Thomson, 2006, p.26).

Social Network Theory provides a foundation for the study of social networks. A social network is made up of people, or actors, who are connected by a set of formal or informal ties or relationships (Burt, 2005, p.24). An actor's structural position in relation to other actors is an important component of how they access resources and function within the network. Analysis of social networks is generally conducted at three levels: the node, the dyad and the entire network. The node is the individual actor and their position in the network, a dyad is a pair of nodes or actors and their positions in the network and the network is the collection of all nodes and ties (Daly, 2010). A network perspective on social capital views all actors and their actions as interdependent elements through which resources flow (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p.4). Actors take on different roles within a network based on their position, activities and the strength of their connections. Some individuals are inherently more active or influential than others in a given network making them "central" actors. Central actors often assume this role based on power, wealth, status or expertise (Freeman, 1978; Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Wasserman & Galaskiewicz, 1994). Freeman (1979) also added the idea of betweenness and closeness among actors, which refers to the distance and frequency of interactions between actors in a network (Borgatti, 2005). These dynamics can lead to gaps between clusters of actors in a network resulting in areas where actors have weak or nonexistent connections (Burt, 1992; Burt, 1982). These structural holes and/or weak ties can be bridged by actors who play a brokering role between people in disparate locations throughout the network (Granovetter, 1983). In many collaborative ventures, brokers are the "bridges" that hold disparate parts of a network together, thus improving access to information and resources for the network as a whole (Burt, 2005, p.7; Sobel, 2002).

Another central idea in network analysis is the idea of closure. Burt (2000) describes the concept of closure when everyone in a network is connected in some way, without opportunities

for the exchange of resources outside the network (p.351). This type of network density, as it is called, can result in close communication between actors, and often more limited access to information and/or resources (Burt, 2000, p. 374). Whether it is a closed or open network, all networks are bounded in some way. This can be a challenge for social network researchers since there are a multitude of relationships in any given context. Network boundaries can generally be established in two different ways; as perceived by the network members or per the “theoretical concerns of the researcher” (Wasserman & Faust, 2004, p. 32). In any social network analysis, boundary setting is a critical precursor to data collection. In this study I bound the analysis of the network by organizational affiliation, such that all participants are active partners in a local, place-based education initiative. The characteristics of a social network outlined above inform the conceptual foundation of this study by providing the lens through which the data collected was organized and analyzed. In particular, this study applied the social network theory concepts to examine the quality of the ties between collaborators specifically as it relates to interpersonal trust.

The study of social networks in education is beginning to gain momentum and scholar Alan Daly (2010) has contributed a great deal to the field regarding the role of social networks in education. His analyses of social networks in schools and districts has focused primarily on teachers, leadership, and as social network analysis as a change strategy for improving educational outcomes (Daly, 2010; Daly & Finnigan, 2010). This study seeks to expand the application of social network theory in education beyond just schools, to include collaborative, place-based partnerships that are designed around improving educational outcomes in a given setting. Using social network lenses allows for more comprehensive understandings of collaborative initiatives and how relationships and resources are structured to enable or impair collective action. Ultimately, mobilizing a group of people around a common goal comes down to how those people interact with one another and social network perspectives provide the theoretical underpinnings to unpack these dynamics.

Theoretical Conceptualizations of Race and Power

In addition to a network perspective of social capital and trust, this study also leans on Critical Race Theory to unpack the phenomenon of trust across a network and to center race and power as valuable and relevant components in the understanding of interpersonal trust within an education partnership, and in education equity work broadly (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

This study is grounded in several tenets of Critical Race Theory as described by Solorzano & Yosso (2002). First, this study maintains that race and racism are socially constructed, and are central factors in the social and societal experience of people of color. Furthermore, this study is grounded in the belief that racial oppressions intersect with other forms of subordination based on socioeconomic class, gender, immigration status, religion, and/or language (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). This perspective formed the foundation for the research questions, methodology and analyses in this study. Second, in keeping with the tenets of CRT this study seeks to challenge a dominant ideology that maintains white privilege and hegemonic power structures by prioritizing the viewpoints, expertise and experiences of people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). As such, I interviewed primarily people of color and prioritized their voices in my analysis of the data. This study also maintains a strengths-based understanding of the experiential knowledge of people of color to challenge deficit-based perspectives that distort this knowledge (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Many scholars argue that communities of color lack the resources and social capital to be successful (see for example Putnam, 1995), this study leverages the voices and experiences of people of color to show that strong relationships and trust are central features of many communities of color. Finally, this study is grounded in a commitment to social justice to eradicate racism and poverty and empower communities of color. Thus, this study focuses specifically on place-based initiatives that are led by people of color and are formed around eradicating education inequities. Solorzano & Yosso (2002) also maintain that CRT is committed to interdisciplinary perspectives, however this aspect is not a central feature of this study.

Critical Race Theory is the study of the racialized and powered interactions that shape our society and social experiences (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). However, given local power dynamics and power struggles that often emerge in collaborative change efforts, the study of trust in collaborative education partnerships also invites an in-depth look at how power informs interracial partnerships (LeChassuer, 2016). Critical Race Theory provides a broad conceptualization of racialized and powered experiences, but additional lenses are needed to

examine how power matters in interpersonal interactions. For this study, power is defined as a social phenomenon resulting from interpersonal interactions that seeks to guide, govern and/or organize people's actions or behaviors (Foucault, 1982; Wilmot & Hocker, 2007). I combine two conceptualizations of power to analyze how power shapes interactions in the place-based education initiative under study in this research. The first is Foucault's (1980) conceptualization of power as a pervasive and embedded feature of social relationships. Per Foucault, "power is everywhere" (1999, p.63) and is not only a mechanism for oppression but can also be leveraged as a positive force in our society. The second perspective come from Wilmot & Hocker's (2007) conceptualization of power as a product of social relationships. For Wilmot & Hocker (2007), power is relative to the social relationship between people rather than something that is only possessed by a singular individual. This is not to say that individuals lack power, but rather that individuals exercise power in social exchanges. In their analysis of power in interpersonal conflict, the authors argue that power results from interdependencies between individuals and is driven by who controls the social "currencies" that drive power, including (but not limited to) expertise, resource control, and interpersonal relationships (p. 72). These definitions do not consider the different types of power that can exist (i.e. institutional power, organizational power) but they provide a theoretical grounding for an analysis of power between actors in the place-based partnership under study. Together these perspectives assume that power is an inherent feature of social interactions that results from interdependencies between people and who controls social resources. Thus, this study takes the stance that power is constantly being negotiated between collaborators in place-based partnerships, therefore informing how social relationships are formed, how resources are negotiated and how trust is or is not cultivated between place-based partners.

Research Questions

The focus of this research is to identify the presence of trust in a place-based partnership network and understand the dynamics of trust in the context of race and power dynamics. As such, the following questions guide this inquiry: _

- a. How do individuals in a place-based education partnership conceptualize interpersonal trust? How do individuals conceptualize this trust in relation to racial and power dynamics in the network?

- b. Who do individuals trust within a place-based partnership network focused on educational equity and why? Where are there concentrations of trust within the network?

Methods

To answer these questions, I use a single-case study design using qualitative social network analysis to examine interpersonal trust within a place-based partnership network. A descriptive case study approach is appropriate for this study because it allows for the in-depth description of the phenomenon of interpersonal trust within the bounded context of a place-based network (Cresswell, 2007, cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 43; Yin, 2003). Furthermore, a network perspective can be a useful lens for understanding education transformation efforts to study how trust, as a manifestation of social capital, is activated within the context of a social network (Daly, 2010; Lin, 2005). This study builds on this prior research on the potential for networks to enhance education improvement efforts (see Daly, 2010; Russell, Meredith, Childs, Stein, & Prine, 2015) to better understand how trust unfolds between place-based education partners.

There are two basic entry points for any type of social network analysis (SNA): whole networks and ego networks. Whole networks take a bird's-eye view of the landscape of a network to describe all the ties (relationships) between nodes (actors). Whole network analyses often result in a visual representation of how individuals are connected within a network. In contrast, an ego network looks at networks from the point of view of individual actors. In this way, ego networks can still provide useful visualizations but do not result in a map of an entire network. Ego networks do offer researchers an opportunity to study the intricacies of personal networks from the perspective of the individual, rather than from the slightly more removed perspective of the network as a whole (Wellman, 1998).

This research utilizes ego networks for several reasons. First, ego networks are better suited for studies that are qualitative in nature because they can provide a more nuanced view of the nature of network connections, rather than just a depiction of who is connected to whom. Second, the nature of interpersonal trust is often as the name suggests, a personal phenomenon or experience. The research questions posed here seek to better understand personal conceptualizations, manifestations and definitions of cross-cultural trust, which can arguably be best described through the perspective of an individual. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this study seeks to identify the presence of interpersonal trust in place-based partnership networks to describe and examine how individual "trust networks" (Cook, 2005) are formed.

It is worth noting that social network analysis is historically thought of as a quantitative endeavor, but qualitative social network analysis is an emerging field that is gaining a methodological foothold in scholarly literature (Edwards, 2010; Heath, Fuller & Johnston, 2009; Scott & Carrington, 2011). Qualitative methods for analyzing social networks can add depth to traditionally quantitative social network analyses to highlight individual experiences, and consequences and benefits of participation in a social network.

Setting & Participants

I created a set of criteria to select an appropriate setting for addressing trust and racialized and powered dynamics in a place-based partnership. Selecting an appropriate setting is critical for qualitative case study research (Merriam, 2009) so several criteria were used to select a study site. The criteria for site selection included:

- Partnership Type: I sought to find an initiative that self-identifies as a place-based education collaboration including but not limited to a cradle to career initiative, collective impact initiative, coalition, or place-based partnership that is comprised of discrete, cross-sectoral representation and is bounded by a specific geography. At minimum, the sectors that were required to be included in the collaboration were organizations from the public and nonprofit sectors. Given the many forms that place-based partnerships can take, the purpose of this criterion was to ensure that the context under study fits the definition of a place-based partnership initiative set forth by this study.
- Size: The initiative had to be in a single city or established neighborhood within a city. To limit the universe of potential study sites, the total population in the geographic locale in question could not exceed 100,000 people. This ensured that the network in this study is of feasible size to study with a single researcher.
- Maturity: Only initiatives that were past the planning stages and at least 2-3 years into implementation were considered for this study. Planning a place-based partnership requires extensive relationship building and often involves people connecting for the first time. It is the hope that initiatives that are past the initial planning stages will have more established relationships in which to study.

- Equity: To be considered for this study, the initiative needed to have an explicit focus on education equity in the region in which it operates. A focus on education equity is observed as a stated goal by the partnership to eradicate educational disparities between students from different socio-economic and/or racial and ethnic groups. The initiative did not need to have a stated focus on family/community engagement, but I gave priority to partnerships where families and/or community leaders were engaged to some extent because it can be an indication that the initiative is trying to include the perspectives of marginalized and/or underrepresented groups.
- Culturally and/or Racially Diverse Setting: Given the focus on race, culture and power in this study it was important to ground the study in a setting where there were racially and culturally diverse actors involved in the partnership. I chose a setting with racially and culturally diverse participants to examine how race, culture and power shape trust.

For this study, I selected a regional coalition called the Coalition for Education Equity, a cross-sector partnership focused on advancing education equity in a racially diverse region of a Pacific Northwest city. According to coalition documents, the Coalition for Education Equity (CEE) is a partnership between community-based organizations, schools, educators, community leaders, parents and caregivers, and residents working together to improve educational outcomes for all children, and particularly children of color, in the region CEE serves. Per 2010 census data, the total population of the area served by CEE for Education Equity is approximately 100,000 people in a city with an overall population of approximately 600,000 (U.S. Census, 2010). The region CEE serves is a particularly diverse part of the city with approximately thirty-three percent of the residents identifying as white and sixty-seven percent of residents identifying as people of color, including African-American, Asian, Latino, Pacific Islander, Native American, and/or multiracial. CEE has eighty official partners (or “members”) that include community-based organizations, universities, public agencies, philanthropic organizations, and private companies. CEE’s footprint encompasses an area that includes five high schools, two middle schools and fifteen elementary and K-8 schools that all operate within a single school district. To protect the identities of the participants, pseudonyms are used for all individuals, organizations and geographic names mentioned in this study.

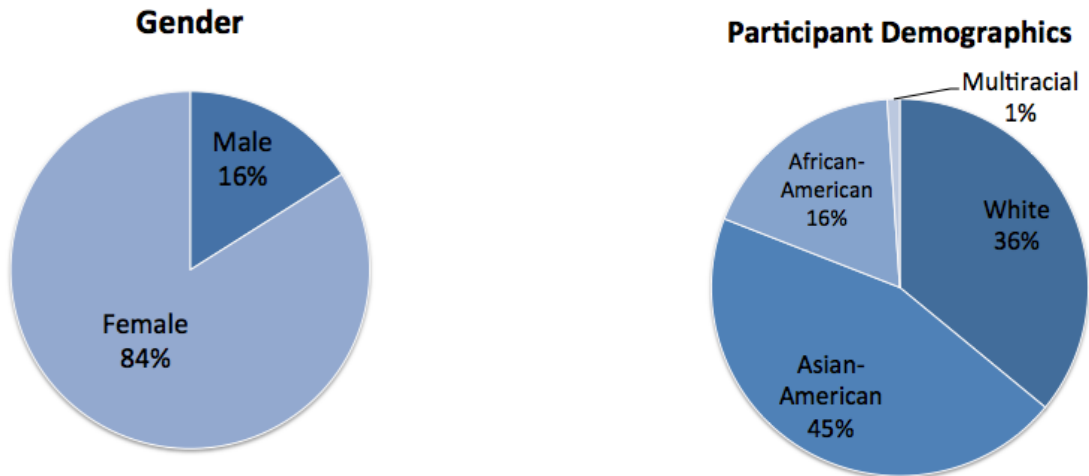
CEE has several important goals and areas of focus. Per the coalition's Executive Director, Tara, the organization's priorities were established through a collaborative engagement process with its members. CEE's priority areas include a) supporting early learning, b) parent and family engagement, c) supporting community-based organizations d) elevating community voice for policymakers and e) increasing grant and investment resources in the region. There are several activities CEE promotes to achieve these priorities. These activities are paraphrased from CEE documents provided by the coalition's Executive Director. They include:

- Convening partners to build bridges and advance a common vision
- Advocating for policies and practices that improve education for children of color living in the region
- Building collaborative relationships within the region's education community
- Sharing information about education news and events in the region
- Empowering communities of color to be actively engaged in education issues in the region
- Educating funders and the broader education community about engaging productively with communities of color

Participants in this study were selected using a combination of recommendations from the coalition's executive director and snowball sampling techniques (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). There were twelve participants in this study in total. Participants were limited to those participants who were affiliated with CEE's partner organizations and/or were directly involved in the coalition at the time this study took place. This included families of students in public schools located in the coalition's focus region, community-based organization leaders, school and district staff, and CEE staff. A detailed description of the participants in this study is provided below.

Name (pseudonym)	Coalition/Sector Affiliation	Gender	Race/Ethnicity
Tara	Coalition Executive Director (nonprofit)	Female	Asian-American
Robert	Coalition Staff (nonprofit)	Male	Asian-American
Stacey	Coalition Staff (nonprofit)	Female	Asian-American
Lori	Parent/Community member	Female	White
Monica	Public Agency	Female	African-American
Nicole	Consultant (private sector)	Female	Asian-American
Nancy	Public School District	Female	White
Rachel	Philanthropy	Female	White
Tanya	Public Agency	Female	African-American
Kian	Higher Education	Male	Asian-American
Tracy	CBO Leader (nonprofit)	Female	Multiracial
Lisa	CBO Leader (nonprofit)	Female	White

Figure 2.1 Descriptive detail of study participants



Figures 2.2 & 2.3 Demographics of Interview Participants

Data Collection

Research activities took place over a three-month period from February 2016 through April 2016 and included four observations of monthly coalition meetings, document analysis of current and past documents related to the coalition, and twelve interviews with stakeholders who were actively involved with the initiative during the period this study took place. The data collection process began with observations of coalition meetings to become familiarized with the initiative and the various stakeholders who are involved. Additionally, this created an opportunity for people within the initiative to become familiar with me as well. Given the nature of this research, it was particularly important to build trust and familiarity with participants to be able to engage in dialogues about potentially sensitive topics such as race, power and trust (Sullivan et al, 2001).

After attending a coalition meeting, I met with the Coalition’s Executive Director to identify initial participants. She identified these “anchor” participants as active and engaged members of the coalition. These anchor participants were people who played a role in the creation, design, implementation and/or funding of the initiative in some way. The executive director facilitated introductions between myself and the anchor participants via email and I promptly provided details about the study and answered any questions. The primary aim of these interviews was to help participants generate names of people they trust within the network and begin to map the “trust networks” within the initiative using visual mapping and name generator

techniques (Crossley et al., 2015). The goal of these methodologically rigorous strategies is to help participants translate their experience in social networks to the elaboration and theorization of those experiences (Emmel, 2008).

Name generators are a common strategy used in SNA to analyze ego networks. They are administered in survey or interview format and typically involve the researcher providing participants (ego) with a series of prompts to generate names of people other than the individual being interviewed (alters) (Burt, 1984). I used a semi-structured interview protocol that included prompts such as, “Who do you speak with most frequently about matters related to the initiative?” and “Who do you believe is essential to this initiative?” The interview prompts then moved to questions that explored trust more specifically such as “circle the three people you trust the most in this initiative” and probed to what they attribute this trust. Finally, I asked participants to describe various critical dimensions of their trust networks, such as who holds the most decision-making power, what the history of their interactions with relevant individuals is and descriptions of the dynamics of race and culture across their networks (see Appendix A for interview protocols).

After the anchor interviews, I used snowball sampling techniques to identify additional participants to include in the study (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Snowball sampling is a strategy that blends well with the construction of ego networks, since participants were already be asked to name people within their network as a part of the name generator activity. I attempted to interview at least one of the people identified by each anchor participant to get a more holistic picture of trust networks and patterns of trust between participants in the network. In most cases CEE’s executive director facilitated introductions to these participants in the same manner as with the anchor participants. There were a couple of cases where I had existing relationships with the potential participant and reached out to them myself to invite them to participate in the study. The structure and content of the interviews with people who were identified through snowball sampling methods were identical to the interview protocols utilized with anchor participants.

In addition to these interviews, I also observed monthly coalition meetings and took detailed field notes. CEE convenes its members for two hours at a set time every month. The number of members in attendance often varies by topic but ranges between 10-30 people. There is typically a guest speaker at each coalition meeting who has expertise or insights around some aspect of the coalition’s work. The purpose of these observations was to better understand the

context I studied and to observe potential group dynamics related to race, culture and/or power (see Appendix B for observation protocol). I also analyzed relevant documents related to the initiative that included agendas, meeting minutes, strategy documents, and website content.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data from these sources using qualitative social network analysis and coding techniques to describe how participants conceptualized trust, and the landscape and dynamics of interpersonal trust across the network (Daly, 2010; Burt, 2000). There were three primary phases to the analysis process. Each phase is described below in greater detail.

The first phase of analysis addressed the first set of research questions in this study: *How do individuals in a place-based partnership network focused on education equity define trust? How is trust conceptualized in terms of racial and power dynamics in the context of the network?* To answer these questions, I entered transcriptions of each interview into qualitative coding software and coded each interview for places where participants talk about their definition of trust. I input quotes with these definitions into an Excel spreadsheet to be able to compare and analyze responses across participants. Then, I created a concept matrix to organize participant's conceptualizations of trust according to themes that emerged from the data. Once I identified the emerging themes in the data I drew on the concepts outline in the conceptual framework to analyze and make sense of these themes. For example, I drew on the tenets of critical race methodology to elevate the perspectives of people of color in the data and paid attention to how power shaped participant's conceptualizations of trust.

The second phase of analysis seeks to answer the second set of research questions guiding this study: *Who do individuals trust within a place-based partnership network focused on educational equity and why? Where are there concentrations of trust within the network?* To answer these questions, the first step was to map the trust networks of individual participants based on their interview responses and the results from the name generator worksheets. To do this, I first entered the interview data provided by participants about who they trust within CEE network into an Excel spreadsheet and then used visual mapping software (Kumu) to map who participants stated that they trust. I then used the data in each individual trust map to draw a meta-map that included the interpersonal trust networks of all participants (McCarty & Sama, 2005) and identify "hot spots" in the network or places with individuals who had the most trusted

relationships. The purpose of identifying hot spots in the network is to locate the places where there were high levels trust and analyze what might contribute to that trust, and to identify places where there are likely to be the richest descriptive data about how trust operates in the network. Once these hot spots were identified, I analyzed trends and patterns across high trust individuals and used the social network principles from the conceptual framework guiding this study to consider the ways in which these individuals accumulate and leverage their social capital to develop trust with network collaborators.

Taken together, these data collection and analysis strategies comprise a methodologically rigorous approach to defining trust and analyzing its presence in the context of place-based partnerships that seek to advance education equity.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this research worth noting. First, this study is not longitudinal and does not specifically address the development of trust over time, but rather provides a “snapshot” of trust that can lay important groundwork for future longitudinal studies of trust in place-based education initiatives. While the findings from this study may highlight instances where distrust exists within the coalition, the focus of this study is to hone in on where trust is strong rather than systematically document where trust is lacking in this network. In addition, the small sample size and relative lack of diversity of the sample limit the conclusions that can be drawn. Although represented in the broader coalition, there were no Latino, Native American, or Pacific Islander participants and there was an over-representation of Asian-American individuals. The reason for this is likely multi-faceted. First, while the overall representation of individuals in the coalition is diverse the coalition’s staff is almost entirely Asian-American. This could lead to the coalition’s staff having an overabundance of close connections to other Asian-Americans in the network. Second, the use of snowball sampling in this study meant that I had limited control over the demographics of the pool of participants and was bound by the individuals who were named by participants. In addition, there was an over representation of female participants in this study. While there are generally more women than men who attend coalition meetings, the oversampling of female participants is also likely due to snowball sampling techniques. Most of the initial interviews that took place in this study were

with female coalition partners, who almost predominately recommended other female participants. Several requests to participate were extended to male participants who were not able to take part in the study due to personal and/or professional scheduling constraints. Furthermore, the findings from this study illustrate how trust can be conceptualized in the context of a place-based education partnership however, the views presented in this study are only a handful of perspectives and it is necessary to consider that there may well be other conceptualizations of trust that contradict the perspectives shared here and/or simply were not captured in this study.

Finally, this study describes what trust is and where it exists but it does not describe how trust contributes to advancing the coalition's goals. It also lacks an in-depth analysis of how race and power influence trust relationships in the context of place-based partnerships.

Findings

The findings section below is divided into two parts that correspond with each of the research questions posed by this study. The first section describes participant's trust networks and identifies where there are concentrations of trust within the CEE network and the second section details participant conceptualizations of trust.

Trust Network & Analysis

One of the questions posed by this study asks: *Who do individuals trust within a place-based partnership network focused on educational equity and why? Where are there concentrations of trust within the network?* To answer this question, I rely on qualitative social network analysis to map the self-reported trust relationships described by interviewees. As previously discussed in the methods section, I used ego mapping to construct a sample of trust networks in the Coalition for Education Equity. The network map constructed in this study does two things. First, it maps each individual participant's trust network and combines them into one meta-network to examine patterns across all participants. Please note the network(s) presented in this study are *not* representative of all coalition members, only those interviewed in this study.

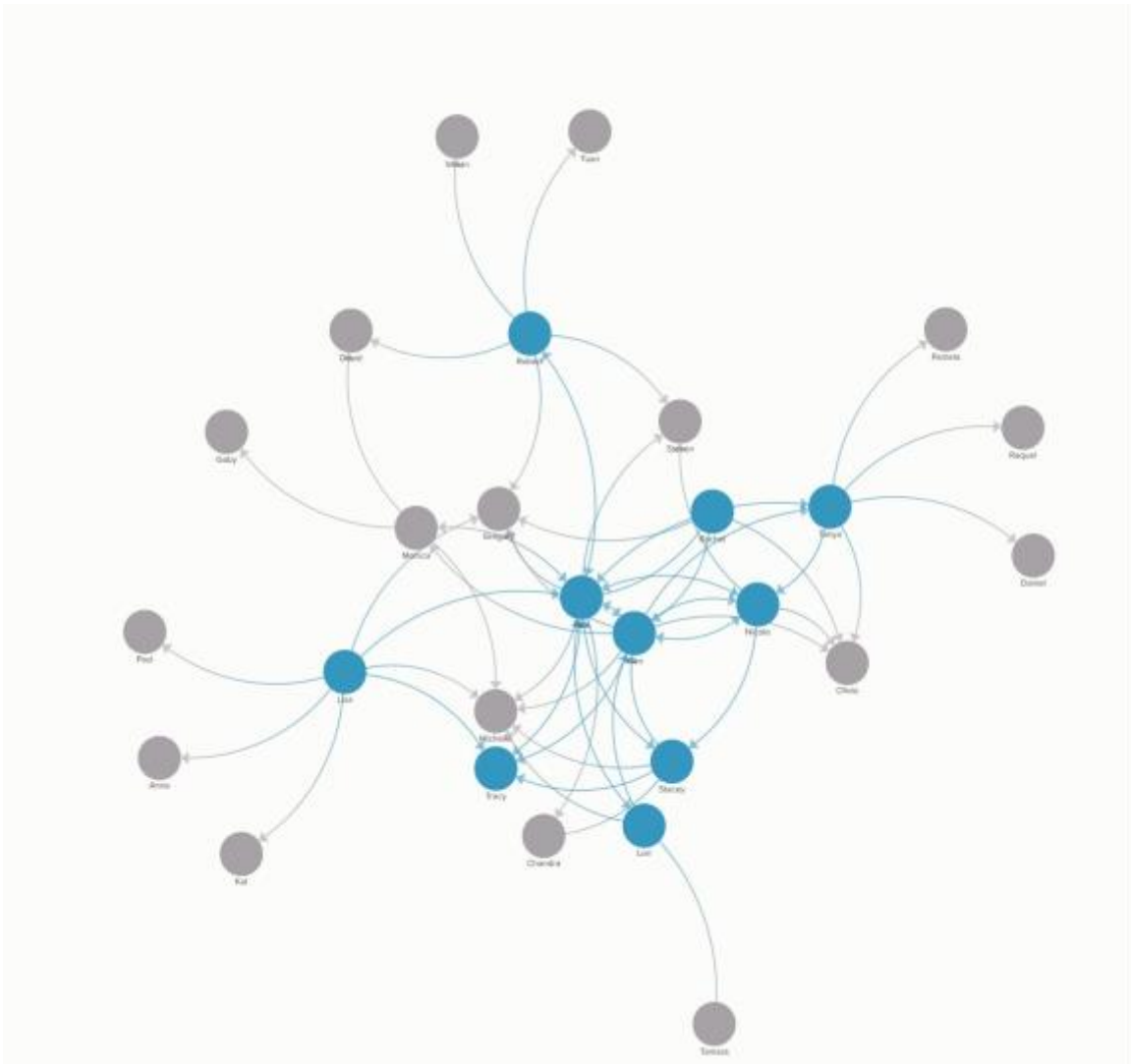


Figure 2.4 CEE Trust Network Sample

The network sample above represents a sample of the trust connections described by participants in this study. The blue circles represent individuals who participated in the study and the gray circles are people who were mentioned by participants as trusted partners, but did not participate in this study. All names used in this network map are pseudonyms to protect individual's identities.

The arrows indicate the directionality of the trust. In some cases, it is impossible to know whether the trust was reciprocated because the trustee was not a participant in this study and therefore did not have the opportunity to indicate who is in their trust networks. For visualization purposes, the network map above is an abbreviated version of each participant's trust networks. The omitted connections are individuals who did not participate in this study and were only

mentioned by one individual so therefore do not have multiple trust connections within the trust network. Across the twelve participants in this study, each person reported an average of eight trusted connections within the network, however individual reporting numbers varied from one trust connection to seventeen trust connections. To provide a complete account of each participant’s trust networks, the chart section below provides the number of reported trust connections that each participant in the study named.

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Number of Reported Trust Connections</i>
Nancy	1
Lori	4
Rachel	4
Tracy	4
Nicole	5
Stacey	6
Monica	8
Robert	11
Tanya	11
Kian	11
Lisa	16
Tara	17

Figure 2.5 Number of Individual Reported Trust Connections by Participant

As the figure above shows, there was a wide range in the number of reported trust connections. The trusted individuals named by participants ranged in terms of gender, racial and cultural background and organizational affiliation. Several interviewees noted that some of their trusted relationships in the CEE network were with people they met prior to being a part of the coalition and some were individuals they met through specific coalition projects or activities.

There was one project in particular that participants repeatedly reported as an activity that built trust with other coalition members. This was a survey project developed in partnership with in CEE leadership, a local university and a small group of about a dozen coalition members. This multi-organizational project team developed, distributed and analyzed a regional survey designed to gauge the education priorities of parents and caregivers in the region served by the coalition. In the passage below, Rachel, one of CEE’s funders, provides background on how the project originated:

If we believe parents and families are some of the greatest teachers and support for students, what does it really take to enable that? I use "parent" as de facto which is not always correct. I started having a conversation.... [to ask] what would it take to do that in a different way with a different community lens? Kind of zoom in in a region. [Tara] and I talked a little bit about it, and it happened to be in a [CEE] conversation with [Kian. They started having more of a conversation and by having the ability to be a nimble supporter of CEE's work and then also an interest in how organizations work together more effectively, we were able to think about, together, what would it take to do a parent engagement survey more locally? [Rachel]

The survey project was named by multiple participants as fostering trust among coalition members and in the coalition as a whole. According to study participants, the aim of the survey project was to understand parent engagement through the lens of families of color living in the region CEE serves. Interviewees mentioned that the project itself built trust with the community CEE serves because it was translated into several different languages, there was extensive outreach and in-person communication efforts. In addition, participants added that the process of collecting the survey data built trust among the people who were directly involved with the project. Tracy, a nonprofit manager, describes below how the project built relationships and also helped neutralize power dynamics between survey architects.

I think for example....the survey. We had at least two principals at the table. We had parents at the table, we had CBO representatives at the table. I think in the CBO representation, I don't think any of us were director level, I think we were all program direct service. Sometimes when you get that kind of, those different kind of positions in a room working on the same thing, especially people from a school versus a CBO where maybe where the kind of information that we're trying to extrapolate might be different. You could get some kind of conflict but we actually didn't find any conflict because I think everybody came to that table because we all sincerely wanted to know how the parents viewed family engagement, specifically within the school environment and how we as a community including school and building staff, administrative staff, and community based organizations and parents can all come together to make sure that all of the families that we serve and work with have the same opportunity as everybody else. I think because we all had that common goal, we all felt like any information we would get out of that would help us do our jobs better. I think it didn't matter that you had people at different levels. [Tracy]

In this case, Tracy describes how shared goals united the survey team around a common question. Kian, one of the university partners, described how the commitment of the survey team helped build trust. In the passage below, he talks about the high level of dedication from coalition members who worked on the survey project. It is worth noting that the individuals he is referring to here were also included in his list of trusted coalition members.

They both really brought it in terms of the number of surveys, how much they stretched themselves in learning about the situation and.....they said, 'Hey, we want to keep learning. Can

you teach us how to do what you did so that we can have a better understanding of it?' Which is really great. [Kian]

Participants also reported that the project may have helped build trust with the coalition as a whole. Monica explained, "What I like about [CEE] was they had a survey and they accommodated everyone so they could get their answers. That's really cool. They didn't just rely on one type of request and one type of way to deliver information. I think that's wonderful." Nicole shared a similar perspective. She described being impressed with the number of people who attended the survey report-out meeting. She said, "I mean I would also say the evidence in the fact that [Tara] can get almost fifty people on a Saturday morning to come together. I don't know how many people that they had actually fill out the survey. I think that shows a level of trust and investment because people have opened up. People who work in this arena have a lot of meetings to go and so it's like I mean I feel that way too it's like I could choose where I'm really going to spend my time ...". The survey project points to the possibility that the pursuit of shared questions, thoughtful engagement processes and intentional data reporting can help build trust among partners engaged in place-based partnerships. The data collected in this study does not allow for separating which of the activities above contributed to the greatest building of trust among coalition member, however the survey project experience was clearly one that left several participants feeling a greater level of trust for their coalition members and the coalition broadly. It is important to note that the survey project concluded during the collection of this data, so it was a recent shared experience among many of the study participants.

Another interesting trend that emerged from the data was this notion of trust by association. Several participants talked about how they trusted particular individuals because they had shared connections or because they were introduced to that person by someone whom they trust. Rachel described her trust for Kian in this way. Rachel came to trust Kian because Tara, CEE's executive director, vouched for him and because he had a relationship with another funder who Rachel works with and respects. In describing her trust network, Stacey, one of CEE's staff members, also states that if someone she trusts deems someone trustworthy she would be more likely to trust them. She explains:

Some of the ones that I haven't interacted with very often but I trust them, it's the ones that work more closely with us and come to make more meetings and I see them and I hear their name and it's based on their reputation of getting things done and being a force in the community that other

people trust. Knowing that others trust them I automatically feel more into and more willing to communicate and reach out. [Stacey]

While these examples illustrate how trust can be fostered within the CEE network, there are other factors that likely contributed to the presence of trust between individuals in a place-based coalition. To begin to more deeply understand how trust can be distributed in a place-based partnership network, I examined where there were concentrations of trust within the network as a first step towards understanding patterns to how particular individuals develop and maintain trust with one another.

Concentrations of Trust in the Network

In ego network analysis, an individual who is reporting connections is called the *ego* and the person who they identify as a connection is called the *alter* (Crossley et al, 2015). For this study, the term *hot spot* is used to describe concentrations of trust in the network, or individuals who are named most often as trusted individuals by other participants. These individuals can be egos or alters. In the case of the CEE network hot spots, these are identified as individuals who have four or more people who name them as an alter, or trusted connection. Four or more connections was selected as the criteria for hotspot individuals because in analyzing the CEE trust network, that is the number of alter-named connections held by the most frequently named individuals in the network.

There are several key hotspot individuals identified through an analysis of the CEE trust network. These individuals were Gregory, Michelle, Tracy, Olivia, Kian and Tara. Out of this group, half were participants in this study (Tracy, Kian, Tara) and half were not (Gregory, Michelle, Olivia). The reason the latter three individuals did not participate in the study was because of logistical constraints related to scheduling and the timing of this study with the end of the school year. As is to be expected, less is known about the individuals who did not participate in the study, however participants did provide some information about these individuals that is shared below. A deeper analysis of each of these individuals' trust network is provided below, beginning with non-study participants.

Non-Study Participant Hotspot Individuals

Michelle

Interviewees described Michelle as an Asian-American woman who works with a local community-based organization. She was named by six participants as a trusted connection. According to study participants, Michelle is a regular participant in the coalition and was a part of the team that organized the survey project. Lori, who identifies as bi-racial, described Michelle as “fabulous” and said she “definitely” trusts her. Rachel, who identifies as white, explained: “Michelle was on the family engagement survey committee with me, but I also worked with her at her organization on the family engagement program that I did for the previous two years. She's been a really easy person to collaborate with and connect with.” Lisa, who identifies as white, described Michelle as someone I can trust to take something from start to finish relatively quickly.” While Michelle was not a participant in this study, it is clear from participants that she is well-trusted by several individuals in the network for her follow-through and personable demeanor.

Gregory

Per interviewees, Gregory is an Asian-American man and a principal at a local elementary school. He was named by five individuals as a trusted connection within the CEE network. Several participants reported meeting Gregory through the survey project, however a couple of participants also had an existing relationship with him. Most people who described Gregory said that he was a hard worker who kept his student’s best interests at heart. In describing Gregory, Rachel said, “I was just really taken by how he was approaching the work.” When asked who he trusted in the CEE network broadly Kian almost immediately named Gregory and added, “If [Gregory] asked me for assistance, I would go with him and I would try to figure out a way to work with him.” In addition to Rachel and Kian, the other individuals who named Gregory as a trusted connection in the CEE network were Robert, Tara and Lisa. Robert and Tara are both on staff with CEE and both identify as Asian-Americans and Lisa is a community-based organization leader who identifies as white. Although Gregory did not participate in this study, his perspective would be an interesting one to explore given that he is one of the only school leaders who actively participated in the coalition.

Olivia

One participant described Olivia as Persian American and she was named by four participants as a trust connection. While most participants were clear about their trust for Olivia, they described her as playing more a peripheral role in the coalition. Kian explained, “You never see them, but you know that they are doing good. [Olivia] is a person like that.” In keeping with this, the other participants who listed Olivia (Tanya, Rachel, and Nicole) did not provide much detail about why they trusted her. The one interesting pattern was that two of the participants, Nicole and Rachel, stated that they had a previous relationship with Olivia outside of the CEE network.

Study Participant Hotspot Individuals

Tara

Tara is the executive director of CEE who identifies as Asian American. Perhaps because of her leadership position in the coalition, she had the most number of people name her as an alter with eight out of the twelve participants naming her as a trusted connection in the network. The eight people who named Tara as a trusted connection were Tracy, Lisa, Kian, Stacey, Monica, Robert, Nicole, and Tanya. Some participants reported that they knew Tara prior to her assuming the role as executive director at CEE and that they had come to trust her over time. There were other reasons for trusting Tara provided by participants as well. Nicole identified Tara’s leadership style as one reason she trusts her. In describing Tara, Nicole said,

When I look at past working relationships and my working relationship with Tara is that actually Tara trusts my moves and therefore doesn't have to have control over everything. I think mistrust is created on this interpersonal level but also at the societal level, when control is held. For me, when we work together, she ultimately gives me full control...so I test a lot of things in my work with the coalition that I might not be able to test with other clients. [Nicole]

Nicole’s comments point to a larger point around Tara’s formal leadership role in the coalition. Nicole points out that as executive director, Tara has the power to control the direction and activities of the coalition and its partners. Although Tara’s granting of control to Nicole and other partners is a source of trust for Nicole, it points to a potential opportunity Tara has based on her position of power to build trust with partners in ways that those who are not in formal leadership positions in the coalition may not enjoy. Other participants describe sharing personal characteristics with Tara that contributes to their trust in her. Monica explains, “I usually interact

with [Tara], and that is because, I think, we have this connection. Both [Tara] and I are troublemakers. I think troublemakers recognize troublemakers. It's not troublemakers in a bad way. Now they call it disrupters.” In this case, Monica feels a connection with Tara because of perceived shared personality traits. In addition, Tara is also viewed as someone with useful connections to powerful actors in the city and leaders of the community. Tanya describes her first interactions with Tara:

I would say, I relied on her as the expert for all things because I knew that she had served on the advisory committee with the mayor. Having an ally, having someone I trusted who had access to those circles, those powerful decision making circles, could help teach me about what I needed to know in anticipation of how the landscape was going to change.

Participants also described how Tara maintains strong relationships with members of the community that CEE serves and that her focus on building authentic relationships with coalition members is “where she gets her power.” Tara herself echoes this sentiment. She begins every coalition meeting by explaining the coalition’s effectiveness is dependent on building relationships and trust among its members. Tara’s dedication to building trusted relationships is reflected in how she readily gives and receives trust.

Kian

Kian is a researcher at a local university that partners with CEE, and he identifies as an Asian-American man. There were five participants who named Kian as a trusted connection within the CEE network, including Rachel, Tara, Nicole, Stacey and Lori. Kian was one of the lead researchers that worked with CEE on the survey project and as such, three of the six people that named him as a trusted connection worked with him on that project (Tara, Stacey, and Lori). In describing her experience of working with Kian, Stacey described his facilitation style as “open,” “thoughtful,” and “welcoming of different opinions” which made her feel comfortable and trusting of him. As mentioned previously, Lori’s trust in Kian was built off her impression of his depth of knowledge and expertise. She describes him as “intentional with his words.” The two people who did not work on the survey project but listed Kian as a trusted connection interestingly both stated that they trusted him because of trusted connections they shared. Nicole described interacting with Kian through Tara, but confirmed that she sees him as an “ally in the work.” Rachel said she trusted Kian because he was invited to meetings by Tara and because he knows some of the other funders with whom he has positive relationships.

Tracy

Tracy works for a community based organization partner that is focused on after school programming and identifies as bi-racial, African-American and Caucasian. She is the only participant who is a member of the CEE steering committee which functions as a governing board. She is also the only participant who was involved with CEE before Tara assumed the executive director position with CEE. As such, Tracy has extensive institutional knowledge about the coalition and relationships among coalition members. She was named by four participants as a trusted connection including Lisa, Kian, Tara and Stacey. In describing Tracy, Kian paints her as a reliable person who always follows through. Other participants do not go into much detail about why they trust Tracy, but note her long standing with the organization, consistent attendance at meetings, and approachable demeanor.

The examples above highlight the multitude of reasons coalition partners come to trust one another. These background details provide a foundational understanding of participant's trust networks and outlines some of the individual characteristics of trusted individuals in the coalition. These characteristics are not meant to suggest that these are the only traits that trusted individuals possess, but rather provide a snapshot of a few of the trusted individuals in the CEE network. While these broad descriptions illuminate who the key, trusted players in the CEE coalition are, they do not provide a more nuanced view of how participants conceptualize trust. Building on this foundation, the sections that follow articulate the ways in which trust is understood by people of color in the network and how trust is conceptualized in relations to racialized and powered dynamics.

Conceptualizations of Trust in the Context of Racialized and Powered Dynamics

A critical contribution of this research is to explore how conceptualizations of trust are informed by race and power dynamics in place-based partnership networks. Existing conceptualizations of trust fail to provide a description of trust that takes race, power,

positionality and the perspectives of participants of color into account (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). As schools and districts become increasingly diverse and as cross-sector education initiatives proliferate, the current descriptions that lack nuance about how trust operates in racialized and powered school improvement efforts are quickly becoming inadequate. Furthermore, there are many definitions of trust offered by the literature, both in and out of the field of education, however there are no current definitions of trust in the context of multi-organizational, multicultural, place-based collaborations in education specifically.

This study approaches this task in two primary ways. One is to name that racial and power dynamics exist in the first place and acknowledge that these dynamics play an inherent role in shaping social interactions (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). The second strategy is to elevate the voices of people of color to provide a counter-story to dominant perspectives of trust and deeper insights into how people of color in a place-based initiative understand and navigate trust (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

In general participants who identify as people of color felt more trusting of other people of color in the coalition than members who identify as white. In talking about her connections within the coalition, Nicole, an Asian American woman and race and equity consultant, succinctly stated, “I would say I don't know a ton of people [in the coalition] but I would say generally speaking I have greater trust with people who are connected to communities of color.” This sentiment was echoed by other participants as well. Monica, an African-American coalition member who works in the public sector explained:

I have to say that we all have biases. Mine is that I am going to give people of color the benefit of the doubt and be a little bit more reserved with people who are white because I have seen over time in working with [the school district] not only as the person who I represent now but as the parent who I used to be that they don't always treat people fairly, and a lot of it has to do with race and [the school your children attend]. [Monica]

Although Monica is speaking directly to her interactions with coalition members from the local school district, she also highlights the role that bias plays in trust development. She points out how her biases were informed by negative racialized experiences over time that influenced her current perceptions of particular coalition members, in this case white, school district leaders. She also described how her trust behaviors play out with people of color versus white colleagues, describing herself as more “reserved” with white people and giving people of color “the benefit of the doubt.” Monica’s perspective highlights the ways in which people of color may interact with one another with a shared understanding of personal and institutional histories of

disenfranchisement. Conversely, she conveys a skepticism towards people who identify as white in part based on her experiences not being treated fairly by white school district officials. While this example is a microcosm of larger racial dynamics at play in the coalition, and in society broadly, it points to the role that shared racial historicity can play in shaping trust relationships.

In another example, Tracy, a biracial woman who works for one of the coalition's CBO partners, described how race plays a role in who she trusts within the coalition:

I can definitely say with me, because I present as white, I don't present as biracial or black and so usually gravitate towards people who are either I assume are like me or I know are like me or are of color. Especially in professional settings because there are often times so few people of color represented. In all the cases of the people [I trust in the coalition], with the exception of [one person], they all happen to be of color so I think that I like being part of a network where I feel like there are people from different perspectives. [Tracy]

These examples demonstrate the ways in which people of color in the coalition often feel more comfortable and trusting of other people of color in the coalition. This adds new insights on existing theories related to the concept of bonding relationships introduced in the social capital literature. In his network perspective on social capital, Nan Lin (2005) describes how bonding relationships are those where individuals share certain characteristics or interests, but what participants share here indicates that assessments of trust are informed by more than shared characteristics. Rather, it is the common histories and shared experiences with racially biased structures, systems and powered hierarchies form the foundation of the bond. Lifting up the perspectives of people of color in the coalition brings this into view. Interestingly, this bondedness between coalition members of color is also perceived by white coalition members.

Lisa, a white woman, states:

I perceive as a white that there is definitely some bondedness among some people of color beyond working for the same organization. I perceive without knowing exactly how to anchor it. I am imagining that it's from similar victories or there are other networks that are not maybe explicitly ... people aren't necessarily wearing that hat at the table but those other hats in their lives connect them outside of that table in ways that I'm not connected with them. I perceive that there are some linkage networks that bring people[of color] together. [Lisa]

Lisa's description is rooted in more of a "feeling" than concrete examples but her perspective highlights how the bond that coalition members of color feel for one another is experienced by a white coalition member. While the goal of this study is to elevate voices of color, the perspective of someone who identifies as white can point to relevant racialized dynamics between coalition members that may inform how they build relationships across racial and cultural differences.

These illustrations give a broad picture of how primarily people of color in the coalition conceptualize trust. However, participants provided additional nuance to what actions and attributes contribute to trust building in the racialized and powered context of multi-organizational education collaborations. Specifically, participants described trusting people in the coalition based on how they show up, the extent to which they “speak truth to power” and whether or not they “walk their talk.”

Showing Up

Reliability is commonly described as a precursor to trust, but participants in this study went beyond describing indicators of reliability like predictability, follow-through, and consistency. CEE’s executive director, Tara, described how someone “shows up” is essential to building trust and advancing the work of the coalition.

It goes back to the relationship piece. We have to have a relationship with each other and you can only build trust from there. We have to just know each other, spend time with each other, and get to understand what coalition members are bringing together. Why they want to be a part of [the coalition], what their work is, and when that happens, then the trust gets built. It's the repeated showing up again and again and again to say, ‘Okay, we're in it for the long haul with you,’ or ‘You have a missing piece to the program that I'm running,’ or ‘You have key relationships that we're trying to access as well and how do we begin to broaden and deepen the network of who's in [the coalition]?’ [Tara]

These passages highlight how showing up over time is key to building trust within the context of the Coalition for Educational Equity. For participants of color, demonstrating support for one another is another way of showing up that builds trust. Nicole, the race and equity consultant, describes:

I would say from my perception, a lot of how trust exists in dominant society is exactly how trust exists in the communities of color too. It’s a familiarity of experiences, a constant showing up for each other.....You feel like there is a shared experience and therefore, you're comfortable and there's a lot of things you don't have to say or tip-toe around, which actually creates a quicker or easier trust, in my mind. [Nicole]

These passages highlight how relational commitments over time are key to building trust within the context of the Coalition for Educational Equity. Nicole’s perspective in particular points to how trust is often built more quickly between people of color through shared experiences and consistent support for one another. This does not mean that all people of color support and trust one another, but that there may be fertile ground for developing trust based on common values and shared experiences.

In another example Lori, a parent, describes her experience building trust with several local principals who consistently showed up on a coalition project they worked on together. She states:

The time that we spent on the work, I was thoroughly impressed by the people who signed up for the project, how committed they were to coming back to all those meetings. Principals have the busiest job in the world, and to have two principals who came during a weekday, school time on a pretty regular basis and were that committed to that work, I felt like that was definitely a sign of the trust that was being built and the real value of not just the work, but the group work that we were doing to prepare [for the project]. [Lori]

As these passages indicate, a showing up consistently for coalition activities and for individual coalition partners appears to go a long way in building trust. This is especially worth noting in a context where many coalition members work with students who are impacted by poverty and trauma, may be under pressure from funders and the school district to produce dramatic and quick results with students, and/or are stretched thin due to occupying multiple roles within their organizations. What Tara and Lori point out is that it is not just physical presence that contributes to trust being built, but a demonstrated dedication over time. As Tara succinctly put it, “nothing replaces spending time together.”

There is also a component of showing up that relates to how people engage with others in the coalition. For example, the coalition’s executive director, Tara, describes how respect and voice factor into her assessment of how people present themselves in the coalition. She states:

I think it's how they show up in the room, honestly. We've had school board members show up, we've had the governor's office, another one from a Congressman's office. Just how they show up in the room. Part of my job is to check their power and say, "You're one voice." Often times, I'll also say most of the time people show up very respectfully, and my job is to set the tone and say, "I value everyone's voice in the room, and we're here to talk about this. We're going to talk about the topic as it relates to students of color." Making sure that gets placed into the conversation in some way. [Tara]

Per Tara’s perspective, showing up is more than just being physically present. It is about how people carry themselves and how they interact with others. One critical component she points out is that showing up often means being willing to “check one’s power” and give voice to others in the room. Rachel, a white woman and one of CEE’s funders also speaks to how partners can mitigate power dynamics by showing up as invested and active in relationships with other partners. Rachel describes:

Where I've seen coalition member relationships be successful with power in the room, is relationships that aren't just one-off meetings. They are active relationships that people are ... I'm using the word 'investing,' which I know conjures up some other thoughts. Where people are almost coming to the table not with an assumption of, 'I need this from you,' but more what can we do together that we can't do alone? What can I do to support you versus this is what I need now? [Rachel]

Rachel indicates that people who are willing to move beyond surface level support and advancing their own agendas are able to more effectively build trust amidst evolving power dynamics. Rachel's perspective also affirms the value of ongoing personal commitment echoed by other participants in the earlier section and highlights a collaborative ethos that emerged as a defining feature of the coalition.

In another example, Tracy, a biracial woman and one of the coalition's community-based organization partners, described how Tara showed up as a responsive executive director in the early days of her transition into the role helped Tracy build trust for Tara more quickly. Tracy describes:

Any time I asked a question, she responded very quickly. If I needed a resource about something in the community, she was on it really fast. Coming from not really trusting the organization and the follow through for [CEE] and then having somebody come on board and completely go the opposite direction and really establish that trust from the get-go. I didn't know [Tara] at all. I think I actually knew of her but I had not worked with her before. It was a brand new relationship. [Tracy]

In this instance, Tracy implies that her burgeoning trust in Tara as a new executive director helped her rebuild trust in CEE as an organization. This passage may point to an interesting connection between the translation of interpersonal trust to organizational trust. Tracy implies that as a reliable and responsive new executive director, Tara helped rebuild her trust in the coalition broadly. Tracy's perspective also points to the notion that particular ways of showing up may speed up the trust building process, particularly in the case of new relationships.

Another form of "showing up" that came up among interviewees relates to knowledge and expertise. This has more to do with showing up in a predictable way that allows others to recognize and appreciate specific contributions or sensibilities that are relevant to the work of the coalition. Participants describe relying on or trusting specific individuals who share thoughtful analyses, expertise and/or content knowledge, as these were consistently viewed as critical assets to the coalition.

For example, in describing one of the coalition's CBO partners, Kian, an Asian American man and university partner states, "From a racial justice analysis level, I'm good with them, I

trust their analysis.” In another instance, Lori, a white parent and coalition member, describes her interactions with Kian, the aforementioned university partner. She states, “The first time he came to [the coalition] and stood up and did a presentation. . . . [it was] just the way he was intentional with his words. He presented his material in a way that made me think, ‘Okay, this is a guy I would want to work with.’” Lori’s goes on to describe how her trust in Kian’s expertise led her to suggest to one of the coalition’s other partners that they collaborate on a project together. In Lori’s view, it was Kian’s content knowledge but also how he showed up with a certain humility that led her to trust him.

Tanya, an African American woman and coalition member who works with local public agency, described how an appreciation of partners’ contributions or expertise contributes to her trusting them. She says, “They are people that I value their opinion. I think they’re smart, I think they contribute wonderfully to the conversations that have happened in coalition.” In a similar manner, Nicole, an Asian American woman and coalition partner specializing in race and equity, talked about intelligence playing a role in her trust in the coalition’s executive director. She stated, “I think one of the elements [of trust] is that I think she’s wicked smart.” Nicole went on to say that she appreciates the way Tara thinks and how she navigates the political dynamics of leading a multi-organizational coalition. This aspect of showing up has less to do with being “smart” per se but rather adding valuable contributions to the discussion and appreciating one’s insights or contributions to the coalition’s work.

The final dimension related to trust and showing up participants mentioned is vulnerability. One participant stated that the ability to be vulnerable was critical in whom she places her trust. Tanya, an African American woman who works in the public sector describes the coalition partners she trusts as, “someone you can check in with, because, this stuff isn’t easy. It is not easy and there are some days I’m better at skillfully navigating than others. Other days I feel completely vulnerable and just want to say, ‘You know what? I’m tired. I’m a little over it....when we establish that trust, I’m okay to peel back these layers and talk to you about, at my core, what inspires, what motivates, what scares, and what I dream, you know?’” Tanya’s sentiment and the passages above highlight a more emotional side to trust development that can potentially factor into how collaborators in place-based networks define and conceptualize trust with other collaborators. Tanya goes on to share:

I teeter totter a lot, because sometimes being vulnerable is not comfortable for me. I'm getting old, I'm set in my ways. I do not want to be uncomfortable. But I think it is in those vulnerable moments where even I'm questioning I have an opportunity to reflect and I'm asking deeper questions of myself, then I'm truly learning. I appreciate when peers and people that I trust ask that same thing with me. [Tanya]

Although these passages demonstrate the value Tanya places on being able to be vulnerable with other coalition members, she also implies that she is more trusting of people who are able to be vulnerable with her. In total, these perspectives affirm that there are multiple dimensions to how people earn trust by showing up, from demonstrating a commitment over time to how people share their knowledge and expertise. The breadth of ways in which showing up informs trust between coalition members signals that it is a complex feature of trust building in the coalition and that different people may value different aspects of what makes someone reliable.

Speaking Truth to Power

Traditional definitions of trust stress that honesty is a key component of building interpersonal trust (see Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001) and in this study, participants generally agreed that honesty is critical to building trust among coalition members. However, in examining the perspectives of participants of color in particular, they provided deeper nuance into how honesty factors into trusted relationships. Honesty was generally described as a characteristic of people who are not afraid to speak up, tell the truth, and give critical feedback. Specifically, participants trusted people who “keep it real” and “speak truth to power.”

Speaking truth to power involves a level of risk-taking that goes beyond just being honest. It is having difficult conversations and sharing inconvenient truths no matter the consequences. For example, Nicole, an Asian-American woman and consultant, stated, “If I'm trying to figure out if this the right way to say something or is this the right perspective, I need a perspective from someone who I think will give me the honest truth and not just tell me what they think I either I want to hear or what should be said.” Another participant, Robert, an Asian-American man who is member of CEE's staff, echoed this sentiment when talking about building trust with the coalition's funders. He said, “To me, [it's] important [for funders] to be able to share constructive critiques on materials that I'm working on. It really doesn't matter what we're

talking about or what the issues are, what the themes are, it's more of a sharing of ideas and perspectives that are important to each of our jobs.” In this instance, Robert perceives funders’ honesty as a commitment to both the organization and to his individual relationship with them.

In another example, Nancy, a senior leader in the local school district’s central office, said that she trusts the coalition’s executive director, Tara, because she “is honest and assertive.....and speaks truth to power.” Nancy describes an instance in which she was in a high-stakes meeting with several local school district leaders where Tara went against the grain to challenge the perspectives of several school district leaders about a district-wide policy change. Tara argued that the proposed policy change would negatively affect families of color and argued that the school district had not done enough to understand the needs of families of color. Nancy described how Tara earned her trust in that meeting through her courage to speak her mind, despite the risk and potential lack of support from district leaders.

The candid disposition of CEE’s executive director, Tara, came up as a quality that promoted a trust in her and her abilities with other participants as well. Kian, one of the coalition’s university-based partners and an Asian-American man, described his first interactions with Tara as laying the foundation for his ongoing partnership with her and CEE.

I remember from the get-go, Tara was very honest and assertive about her sense of equity work. She was also skeptical on multiple levels. For me, that was very comforting in terms of talking about building trust, because I think I spent a lot of my time getting to meet people being like, okay, here's our ‘honeymoon’ stage.....When somebody meets you and the first time you have a one-on-one, they go ahead and name the problems that they foresee themselves having with you, but they're still sitting down with you....For me, that was a very culturally familiar way of engaging with someone in a really rapid way. Let's get real and then let's get to work. I think that's why I felt the ability to connect and do work together. [Kian]

This passage and the quotes above go beyond shallow conceptualizations of honesty as speaking with integrity and/or voicing preferences. Rather participants describe the ways in which speaking truth to power can counter dominant narratives and surface interpersonal tensions. These tensions and narratives are grounded in a set of values that challenge common understandings of normative relations between partners. For these participants, trust is built when others voice critiques, challenge the status quo, and engage in uncomfortable conversations as a means of building solidarities between partners. For participants of color in this study, speaking deeper truths and risking sharing difficult or unpopular perspectives in the name of advancing equity is a type of social currency that increases the likelihood that people will earn their trust.

Walking the Talk

Participants of color talked about how a shared commitment to a common mission and ongoing investment in building reciprocal relationships were defining features of coalition members whom they trust. However, this commitment goes beyond just doing what one says they will do, but rather “walking the talk” in a way that signals a deeper dedication to aligning one’s actions with shared values around racial equity. Walking the talk involves pushing beyond symbolic commitments to demonstrate concrete actions that indicate greater personal investment in a shared mission to advance an equity agenda. For example, Robert, an Asian American man and CEE staff member, describes how his trust in coalition members was founded on a perceived dedication to the overall mission of the coalition to create more equitable educational opportunities for students in the region.

I think in this capacity in this organization with this coalition and this community, there's a common agenda that you find with the people that we're working with- funders, nonprofit leaders, community folks- there's a selflessness about them that without it I don't know the trust would be developed as quickly as it has. [It is] almost immediately recognizable. When I worked in the corporate [sector] everyone there was looking for the next step. Where can I go from here? What can I do to become an assistant vice president, a vice president, how can I make more money, where's my next opportunity? I don't sense that with the people that I work with here. They're not looking for the next big payday. They're not looking for the next big title. They're looking for the mission and they're grounded in that and they're working towards that....probably if it wasn't for that I wouldn't work here. [Robert]

In another example, Nicole, a race and equity consultant, described how shared commitments helped her build trust with CEE’s executive director, Tara. She said, “We have each other's best interest at heart and the coalition and community's best interest at heart. Whatever it is we're doing, ultimately is trying to achieve the same goal and we're going to try to do that together in the different ways that we work together.”

Lisa is a white coalition member who echoes this sentiment. She runs an organization that is focused explicitly on family engagement and describes how she trusts one of the other coalition partners because of their shared passion and way of thinking about family engagement work in the region. She states, “I would say I trust her because we have been in meetings around a collective table where you talk about who you are and what your organization does and she has a similar passion for and aligned sensibility about family engagement.” These passages indicate that in addition

to backing up words with actions, demonstrating alignment to a shared awareness is a critical competent of “walking the talk.” As Nancy, a white coalition member who works for the local school district summarizes, “I look for trust for somebody who is honest and consistent, and walks their talk.”

According to participants, an additional dimension to walking the talk is reciprocity. The literature suggests that reciprocal social exchanges may increase trust between individuals (Blau, 2002; Cook, 2005), and in keeping with this study, participants described reciprocity as an important feature in how they define trust with other coalition members. In most cases, participants described reciprocal relationships as founded on actions that demonstrate one’s dedication to building relationships. For example, Stacey, an Asian American woman and one of the coalition’s staff members, describes how she knows if she trusts someone in the coalition. She said, “When I think of if I ask them a question [and] I know they’re going to get back to me, or if they can’t they [will] tell me, ‘I can’t help you with this’ and it is reciprocal. They’ll ask me for things and because they helped me, I want to help them and so I’ve developed that human relationship with them.” This notion of reciprocity introduced by Stacey came up with other participants as well. One of CEE’s funders, Rachel, summarized:

I think about trustful relationships that people are actively investing in. They’re working at it. I think it’s hard to just implicitly trust people without question. When I think of the relationships where I trust the other person substantially, I think about how much time I actively also work to maintain that. I think there’s a sense that it’s an equal thing. Certainly not equal every day or equal every month, or who knows even years, right? But at some point the other person has invested into the relationship enough that you feel that it’s a valuable use of your time. [Rachel]

Rachel’s perspective highlights an important point about the nature of reciprocity. The way she describes it, reciprocity is relational not just a mere material exchange of information or resources. This notion of reciprocal investment in relationships with other coalition members can take multiple forms. In the passage below, Robert provides several examples of how reciprocity is key in his relationship with both funders and coalition members, such as school leaders. He explains:

I think in the relationship around proposal development there has to be a lot of trust developed quickly because we are sharing information with them about the organization’s weaknesses, their strengths, all that kind of thing, so because of that relationship, if they didn’t trust me, it would be pretty obvious to me. I think because of that I think there’s a great reciprocity going on. Some with some of the principals that I’ve had the chance to work with was always around developing a program so they again the sharing of information that was necessary and I guess if you asked them they would say they trusted me enough and I think because of that there are reciprocal feelings. [Robert]

Interestingly the coalition's executive director, Tara, held a firm view on the importance of reciprocal investment in relationships in order to build trust. She said, "I think we start from a place of, we need to build a relationship to get to a place of trust, but it's not like they have to walk in and prove themselves as well. I think the trust goes both ways. I'm accountable to the coalition so they need to hold me, and they need to push and say, 'This is what we want from our coalition.'" Given that Tara is a central figure in the coalition, it is possible that her view informs the overall culture of the coalition as one that is intentional about building relationships between coalition members.

Discussion

Current conceptualizations of trust in the school improvement literature are often colorblind and narrowly define power dynamics between education stakeholders. Where race and racism are taken up there are often deficit based conceptualizations of how people from different and/or racial backgrounds build trust with one another (see for example Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001, p. 560-561). In addition, discussions of the role of trust in school improvement are often confined to schools and fail to systematically examine the broader organizational and political context in which schools operate. This study pushes beyond the extant literature to begin to conceptualize the role of race and power on trust development particularly in the context of place-based, cross-sector education partnerships.

Scholars who study the dynamics of trust in education contexts have found that trust between parents, school leaders and educators is critical to the effectiveness and sustainability of school improvement efforts (Bryk & Schneider, 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 1998). In particular, Bryk & Schneider (2003) are credited with articulating a definition of trust that is grounded in the mutual dependencies between school-based actors and families. The authors argue that when schools and families recognize these dependencies and center school improvement efforts around respectful social exchanges, positive changes are more likely to occur (Bryk & Schneider, 2003). Other scholars affirm that trust is grounded in social exchanges and contend that attention to the quality of these exchanges is critical for building a collective sense of trust between school leaders, educators and families (Forsyth, Adams & Hoy, 2011). While these studies provide important groundwork on the nature and dynamics of trust in education, they fail to acknowledge power dynamics and take up issues of race in their analyses.

Rather, individuals are statically defined in terms of their role (i.e. “educator” or “parent”) and socio-political positionalities are not considered or explored. These oversights make the field’s understanding of trust incomplete and potentially erroneous in its assumptions about the way trust operates in schools and in school improvement initiatives. In addition, all of the aforementioned scholars identify as white and even beyond these seminal scholars there is an underrepresentation of scholars of color and/or perspectives of people of color in the scholarship on trust. Concepts like trust are shaped by cultural and social values, yet to date the extant literature provides predominately dominant, hegemonic conceptualizations of trust.

It is worth noting that one of the subfields in the area of education improvement that takes up issues of race, power and trust is the school-family engagement literature. Several family engagement scholars have noted a general lack of trust between educators and families of color and have endeavored to unpack the power dynamics surrounding school-family partnerships (see for example Quiñones & Kiyama, 2014; Williams & Baber, 2007). In particular, family engagement scholars point out the importance of acknowledging racism (Yull et al. 2014), honoring cultural identities (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001) and leveraging cultural brokers (Ishimaru et al., 2016) in efforts to build trust between educators and families of color. The literature related to education organizing also unpacks the role of power dynamics in school-family relations. These scholars explore power asymmetries between parents and educators and document efforts to organize parents from different racial and cultural backgrounds to advocate for more equitable outcomes and opportunities for youth of color (Fuentes, 2005; Mediratta, Shah & McAlister, 2009). These examples point to a promising intersection within the field of education between studies on trust and those focused on multi-racial, multi-stakeholder partnerships focused on advancing education equity.

The findings from this study add additional nuance to the existing literature on trust and collaboration. By studying trust from the perspective of people of color, in addition to their white counterparts, this study reveals additional dimensions to the fields’ understanding of trust in education partnerships. First and foremost, this study reveals a tendency for people of color to maintain greater trust with one another. This goes beyond typical claims grounded in theories of homophily, or the tendency for people flock towards people who are like them (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook (2001), but rather indicates that trust can be formed on the basis of shared

experience, history and/or an understanding of what it means to be marginalized within dominant society.

In addition, participants in this study affirm that overarching qualities such as honesty, reliability and commitment help shape the formation of trusted relationships, yet their descriptions go beyond Tschannen-Moran & Hoy's (2001) static definition of these attributes. For Tschannen-Moran & Hoy (2001) honesty is a matter of integrity, however for participants in this study honesty is about speaking difficult truths and voicing opinions that challenge dominant narratives. Similarly, reliability is more than just predictability. Rather it is how people show up for one another and as partners in a way that is in alignment with equity-based values and authentic relationship building. Finally, participants in this study believed that commitment is about backing up words with actions, not making symbolic or surface promises. These findings suggest that further research is needed to explore the intersections between trust, collaboration and racial and power dynamics, especially from the perspective of people of color.

The analysis from this study also highlights that there can be extensive trust networks among coalition collaborators. Social network analyses in education often focus on the structure of school-based relationships rather than looking more broadly at the complex landscapes of multi-organizational education partnerships. Furthermore, the use of ego networks is underutilized in education to describe to quality and nature of network ties. It is clear from the data that trust forms for different reasons, however working together on collaborative projects, leveraging existing connections and prioritizing relationship building emerged as key activities that helped build trust among coalition members. It is possible that these findings are unique to partnerships that are focused on education equity, however further research is needed across a range of place-based partnerships to better understand the complexities of how trust forms in multi-organizational collaborations.

Another interesting dimension that emerged from the data is the role of organizational affiliation. Several participants shared that knowing someone is affiliated with CEE will make them more likely to trust that person based on their respect for the organization and knowledge of its values. In addition, in describing who was in their trust networks, several participants named organizations and then dug deeper into who within those organizations they trusted. Conversely, several participants shared that they were inherently distrustful of individuals who worked with

the local school district indicating that organizational affiliation can also have a negative effect on trust. But, what also was clear from participants was that people engaged in multi-organizational partnerships recognize multiple identities, both in themselves and other. Participants recognized that people are often tied to their organizational affiliations, but also bring their own relationships, histories, sensibilities and experiences to their engagements with partners. While the focus of this study is on individual connections, it is important to note that organizational affiliation is likely to play a role in how coalition members do or do not build trust with one another and could be a relevant aspect to pursue in future studies on trust in multi-organizational, place-based partnerships.

Contributions to the Field and Future Research

This study builds on a burgeoning body of research on the topic of place-based collaborative initiatives in education (see Geller et al., 2014; Henig et al., 2016; Lawson, 2013). One of the primary contributions of this study is to examine the presence of trust in place-based collaborations, rather than simply unpacking the dynamics of distrust. In addition, this study introduces race and power as formative dynamics in shaping trust between partners for school and system improvement. The current body of research on trust in education has adopted a colorblind approach to understanding interpersonal trust that ignores the socio-political dynamics that shape relationships. This oversight has makes our understanding of the role of trust in education improvement efforts incomplete and is particularly problematic in the increasingly multiracial and multicultural context of multi-organizational partnerships that form to address education inequities. The combination of Critical Race Theory and Social Network Analysis to understand the dynamics of cross-cultural trust in place-based networks brings new lenses to examinations of trust and helps situate interpersonal partnership dynamics in the broader context of social networks and structural inequities. The prioritization of perspectives of people of color in this study also provides an alternate narrative to existing dominant and normative conceptualizations of trust.

While this study lays important groundwork for the study of cross-cultural trust in collaborative education partnerships, more research is needed to continue exploring how race and power inform trust dynamics between place-based partners from different racial and cultural

backgrounds. Specifically, the field lacks a robust understanding of how cross-cultural trust is enacted within place-based education partnerships and what the role of trust is in advancing partnership goals. It is also essential that future studies continue to examine trust from multiple perspectives, rather than defaulting to white, normative conceptualizations of trust. As this study affirms, social, political and historical inequities can shape individuals' interpersonal relationships and future examinations of trust must take these experiences into account to better understand how they shape collaborative relationships. Furthermore, we know from existing research that trust plays an important role in fueling collective action, however we know less about how this plays out in multi-racial and multi-organizational contexts like place-based education partnerships.

If the enormous investments of time and resources in place-based education equity initiatives are going to yield positive results for youth and families, then we must not only pay attention to improvements in academic outcomes but also to the ways in which relationships between adult collaborators support or impede the goals of a given place-based initiative. Additionally, in a world that is becoming increasingly diverse in every way, collaborative relationships and trust cannot be viewed in isolation from broader socio-political factors that shape social interactions. Place-based initiatives have an opportunity to bring together disparate stakeholders and build solidarities across racial, political and social differences in service of improving educational opportunities for underserved students and their families. Improvements in education programs and policies are undoubtedly necessary, however they are unlikely to sustain systemic change without the fundamental social cohesion needed to transform how we work together towards education equity.

Part III: Critical Analysis of Race, Power and Trust in Place-Based Education Equity Initiatives

Introduction

There is a well-documented legacy of the challenges children of color and their families encounter in obtaining a high-quality public education in the United States (Carter & Welner, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Black students in the South did not gain widespread opportunities to attend high school and college until the 1960's (Ladson-Billings, 2006), Latino and other non-

native English speaking populations students have struggled to access high quality educational opportunities including bilingual education (Gandara & Contreras, 2009), and the advent of missionary schools for Native American children pulled families apart and forced native people's assimilation to Western culture (Deyhle & Swisher, 1997). The current movement to advance education equity is shaped by these histories and the individual perspectives that stem from people who have endured these injustices for generations. In addition to these historical inequities, influence over specific education policies, practices and reforms often fall into the hands of few powerful individuals in institutional leadership positions (Hong, 2011; Lopez & Stack, 2001). When power is situated at the institutional level, underserved students, parents and community members are easily excluded from decision-making processes and efforts to achieve educational equity can fail to gain necessary community support (LaChapelle, 2008). These dynamics can stall efforts to improve education opportunities for poverty-impacted and students of color (Klor de Alva & West, 1997).

Thus, Warren (2014) challenged the field of education, and particularly those concerned with equity, to think about what it would take to launch and sustain an educational justice movement that is led by communities impacted by educational inequities. Cross-sector, interdisciplinary partnerships are one mechanism for such a movement (Warren, 2014). Formed to address issues that sit at the intersection of education, poverty and systems of oppression, place-based education partnerships are systems-level initiatives that leverage multi-organizational partnerships to catalyze educational, environmental or economic improvement at a regional or neighborhood level (McGrath, 2005). Place-based partnerships are a current example of how community assets and social capital can be leveraged community to advance educational equity (Yosso, 2005). While the place-based model holds promise, an essential component of any social movement are the relationships that hold it together (Anyon, 2014). This is especially true given the large investments of time, money and human capital being directed towards these collaborative efforts. As such, this study provides a window into the relational and socio-political dynamics that undergird place-based partnership efforts.

To be sure, no one strategy or solution is likely to sustain an educational justice movement but place-based school and systems improvement partnerships that focus equity and promote alliances between diverse stakeholders often move beyond programmatic tweaks to tackle broader systemic inequities impacting underserved youth and their families (Geller et al,

2014; Horsford & Sampson, 2014). Yet, trust between collaborators can quickly erode, or fail to develop altogether, when power differentials combine with fractured relationships generate widespread distrust (Geller et al., 2014). These dynamics can be exacerbated by racial tensions and power dynamics that perpetuate the marginalization of people of color and reinforce dominant, normative ways of working together. A critical, yet understudied, phenomena is how racial and power differences influence the way in which multi-organizational collaborations and trust relationships are formed and sustained. Despite the research on the importance of trust in collaboration and school improvement (see for example Bryk 2002, Getha-Taylor, 2012), the field of education lacks a deeper understanding of how trust is shaped by these broader socio-political factors. Building on the substantial body of literature on how trust can be leveraged in the context of schools (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth, P. B., Barnes, L. L., & Adams, C. M., 2006, Goddard, R. D., Tschannen Moran, M., & Hoy, W. K., 2001; Tschannen-Moran, M., 2004; Tschannen-Moran, M. & Hoy, W. K., 1998; Williams, E. R., & Baber, C. R., 2007), this study seeks to explore trust in the context of cross-sector education partnerships by studying the dynamics and processes surrounding trust between racially diverse collaborators in place-based initiatives focused on education equity.

Defining Interpersonal Trust

There are multiple levels of analysis one could examine trust relationships within place-based partnerships. This study prioritizes interpersonal trust over other units of analysis such as institutional, political or organizational trust because the dyadic relationships between individuals are arguably the most basic unit of analysis within place-based partnerships. Interpersonal trust is defined as an individual's willingness to be vulnerable based on the feeling and/or knowledge that another individual is benevolent, reliable, competent, honest and/or open (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001, p. 556). This definition was derived through methodologically rigorous means and highlights the key components of trust relationships. It does not, however, recognize the dynamic ways in which those relationships shift and change over time or the context in which they operate. The complexity of these partnerships lends itself to analyses related to organizational, political and other forms of trust that emerge in larger networks, however given the limited understanding we have as a field about how trust operates in multi-organizational, collaborative education initiatives, I argue for the need to start with examining

the basic building blocks of collaboration: interpersonal relationships. That said, interpersonal relationships are the unit of analysis, but I seek to understand these micro-dynamics within the broader organizational and socio-political context.

Per the gaps in the literature outlined above, this paper seeks to answer the following questions:

- a) How do individual stakeholders describe the role that race and/or power play in trust development between collaborators in a place-based education initiative? How is trust enacted in place-based partnerships?
- b) How do collaborators in a place-based education initiative perceive the role of trust in advancing partnership goals? In what ways, if any, can trust support collective action?

Theoretical Frameworks

The aim of this study is to explore the racial and power dynamics in place-based partnerships and how trust might be leveraged to achieve educational equity. Specifically, this study provides a deep dive into how individuals in place-based education initiatives describe the role of race and power in building trust between collaborators and what role, if any, trust plays in helping to advance education equity.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) forms a theoretical foundation of this study. Critical Race Theory was born out of legal scholarship in the 1970's as the pedagogies and sentiments of the civil rights movement were being implemented, yet more subversive and subtle forms racism persisted (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). The key tenets of Critical Race Theory include (Bell, 1987; Delgado & Stefanic, 2012; Howard & Navarro, 2016; Tate, 1997):

- Race as a social construction, not a biological reality and racism as a present, “ordinary” and relevant feature of our society
- Interest convergence or significant racial progress for people of color only when it is in the best interest of the dominant group
- Commitment to social justice
- Re-centering voices and stories of people of color
- Interdisciplinary and intersectional orientations

These tenets have continued to evolve as CRT develops both within legal scholarship and

outside fields. In the field of education, CRT is used to describe the ways in which race, racism and oppression operate within schools and school systems (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). For example, CRT has been applied to research on curricula (Stovall, 2006), teacher preparation (Ladson-Billings, 1999), native education (Brayboy, 2005), and school-family partnerships (Yull et al., 2014), to name a few. Critical Race Theory informs the analysis of cross-cultural and interracial trust in this study by acknowledging racial tension as an omnipresent feature of our society and centering the perspectives of people of color. The latter, often referred to as counter narratives, tell the stories of people whose experiences are not often told and challenge dominant discourses about race and power (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Thus, in this study I prioritized the voices of participants of color in my analysis and frame my findings around their perspectives.

Critical Race Theory provides a useful framework for understanding the structural dynamics that contribute to racial oppressions, however the theory does not unpack how these dynamics play out on an interpersonal level. Thus, micro-political theory complements CRT in this study to examine how trust is shaped by interpersonal power dynamics. Micro-political perspectives examine the ways in which individuals and organizations obtain and exercise power and provide theoretical lenses that are often applied to the politics of schooling and education (Malen, 1994). Specifically, in this study, I apply a micro-political lens to better understand the role of trust in shaping power dynamics between collaborators and the ways in which these interpersonal relationships play out broader structural dynamics.

Drawing from micro-political theories, this research takes the perspective that power is a product of social relationships and not an individual characteristic (Corbett, 2001; Wilmot & Hocker, 2007). Power is thus an ever-evolving phenomenon based on social exchanges that can stem from several factors, including social positionality and access to resources (Corbett, 2001). But as Bloome & Willett (1991) also point out, power does not always have to be defined in relation to competition and domination (in Blasé, 1991, p. 208). This patriarchal view of power overlooks the potential for shared power, cooperation and equity in interpersonal dynamics (Bloome & Willett, 1991). With these perspectives in mind, this study is guided by the following assumptions about power:

- Power is manifested through social interactions and relationships between individuals with differential access to resources and authority (Corbett, 2001; Wilmot & Hocker, 2007).

- Exercised power can either constrain or liberate other's behaviors (Bloome & Willett, 1991).
- Power dynamics are not fixed, but rather are constantly shifting and evolving depending on social contexts and interpersonal interactions (Corbett, 2001)

Taken together, both Critical Race and micro-political theories are applied in this study at every level of analysis, such that the interpretation of data and findings resulting from this study are shaped by these key beliefs. Specifically, Critical Race Theory centers racial dynamics and challenges dominant norms and values as it relates to building cross-cultural trust. Micro-political theory helps unpack how these broader socio-political dynamics play out at an interpersonal level, particularly in relation to power imbalances between collaborators in place-based education initiatives.

Methods

Setting & Participants

This study is part of a larger body of research focused on trust in collaborative education networks. The study context and data collection strategies outlined below are similar to those in the related study, which is focused on mapping trust networks in place-based education partnership networks. There were several key attributes that characterize the site that was selected for this study. First, I sought to find an initiative that self-identified as a place-based education collaboration that is comprised of discrete, cross-sectoral representation and was bounded by a specific geography. Second, I looked for place-based initiatives that were beyond the initial planning stages and were at least two to three years into implementation. In addition, to be considered for this study, the initiative needed to have an explicit focus on education equity in the region in which it operates. A focus on equity was defined by this study as a stated goal by the partnership to eradicate educational disparities between students from different socio-economic and/or racial and ethnic groups. Lastly, given the focus on race, culture and power in this study it was important to ground the study in an initiative that was led predominately by individuals who identified as people of color.

The case study site that was selected for this study was a regional coalition called the Coalition for Education Equity, a cross-sector partnership focused on advancing education equity

in a racially diverse region of a Pacific Northwest city. Per coalition documents, the Coalition for Education Equity (CEE) is a partnership between community-based organizations, schools, educators, community leaders, parents and caregivers, and residents working together to improve educational outcomes for all children, and particularly children of color, in the region CEE serves. Per 2010 census data, the total population of the area served by CEE for Education Equity is approximately 100,000 people in a city with an overall population of approximately 600,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The region CEE serves is a particularly diverse part of the city with approximately thirty-three percent of the residents identifying as white and sixty-seven percent of residents identifying as people of color, including African-American, Asian, Latino, Pacific Islander, Native American, and/or multiracial. CEE has eighty official partners (or “members”) that include community-based organizations, public agencies, philanthropic organizations, and private companies. CEE’s footprint encompasses an area that includes five high schools, two middle schools and fifteen elementary and K-8 schools.

The Coalition for Education Equity [CEE] was formed out of a need to address educational inequities in the specific community CEE serves. Per CEE background documents, the organization was created in response to a statewide report that listed several schools in the neighborhood CEE serves as under-performing as compared to other schools in more affluent neighborhoods. A group of nonprofit leaders, educators and parents came together to address the concerns about education achievement in their local schools and they decided to form the coalition. The coalition was spearheaded by local leaders of color and included community-based organizations, school leaders, families and community leaders focused on improving student achievement outcomes in their local schools over the course of five years. CEE has several important goals and areas of focus. Per the coalition’s Executive Director, Tara, the organization’s priorities were established through a collaborative engagement process with its members. CEE’s priority areas include a) supporting early learning, b) parent and family engagement, c) supporting community-based organizations d) elevating community voice for policymakers and e) increasing grant and investment resources in the region. There are several activities CEE promotes to achieve these priorities. These activities are paraphrased from CEE documents provided by the coalition’s Executive Director. They include:

- Convening partners to build bridges and advance a common vision

- Advocating for policies and practices that improve education for children of color living in the region
- Building collaborative relationships within the region’s education community
- Sharing information about education news and events in the region
- Empowering communities of color to be actively engaged in education issues in the region
- Educating funders and the broader education community about engaging productively with communities of color

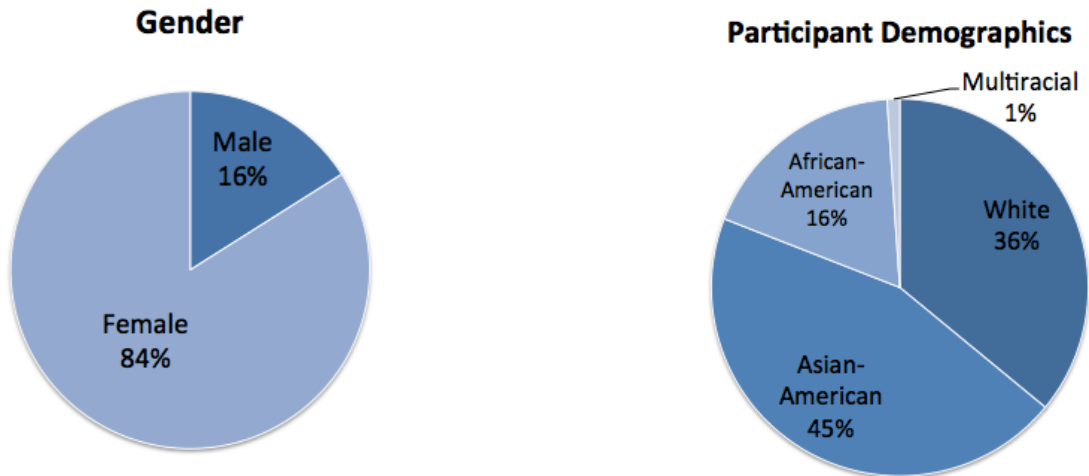
These activities are primarily enacted through monthly coalition meetings that take place at a local church. Each meeting typically focuses on a specific topic and features a speaker, table discussions and/or whole group discussions related to the topic of the month. CEE staff typically select the topics and speakers, and serve as the primary facilitators of these meetings. There are typically between twenty and forty partners at each meeting who represent a broad range of organizational or individual affiliations, but who are all connected to education improvement in the region in some way. It is worth noting that the Coalition for Education Equity is led primarily by people of color and has an explicit focus racial equity. At the time of this study, the coalition was in the beginning stages of planning the future directions and actions coalition partners would undertake together in the coming months and years.

There were twelve participants in this study. Participants were limited to those participants who were affiliated with CEE’s partner organizations and/or were directly involved in the coalition at the time this study took place. This included families of students in public schools located in the coalition’s focus region, community-based organization leaders, school and district staff, and CEE staff. A detailed description of the participants in this study is below.

Name (pseudonym)	Coalition/Sector Affiliation	Gender	Race/Ethnicity
Tara	Coalition Executive Director (nonprofit)	Female	Asian-American
Robert	Coalition Staff (nonprofit)	Male	Asian-American

Stacey	Coalition Staff (nonprofit)	Female	Asian- American
Lori	Parent/Community member	Female	White
Monica	Public Agency	Female	African- American
Nicole	Consultant (private sector)	Female	Asian- American
Nancy	Public School District	Female	White
Rachel	Philanthropy	Female	White
Tanya	Public Agency	Female	African- American
Kian	Higher Education	Male	Asian- American
Tracy	CBO Leader (nonprofit)	Female	Multiracial
Lisa	CBO Leader (nonprofit)	Female	White

Figure 3.1 Descriptive detail of study participants



Figures 3.2 & 3.3 Demographics of Interview Participants

Data Collection

Research activities took place over a three-month period from February 2016 through April 2016 and included four observations of monthly coalition meetings, document analysis of current and past documents related to the coalition, and twelve interviews with stakeholders who were actively involved with the initiative during the period this study took place. The data collection process began with observations of coalition meetings to become familiarized with the initiative and the various stakeholders who are involved. Additionally, this created an opportunity for people within the initiative to become familiar with me as well. Given the nature of this research, it was particularly important to build trust and familiarity with participants to be able to engage in dialogues about potentially sensitive topics such as race, power and trust (Sullivan et al., 2001).

After attending a coalition meeting, I met with the coalition’s Executive Director to identify initial participants. She identified these “anchor” participants as active and engaged members of the coalition. These anchor participants were people who played a role in the creation, design, implementation and/or funding of the initiative in some way. The executive director facilitated introductions between myself and the anchor participants via email and I promptly provided details about the study and answered any questions. The primary aim of these interviews was to engage in a discussion with participants about their trust relationships with

other coalition members, the dynamics of race and power in these relationships and the role they see trust playing in advancing the goals of the coalition.

I asked participants to describe various critical dimensions of their trust networks, such as who holds the most decision-making power, the history of their interactions with trusted individuals and descriptions of the dynamics of race and culture in their interactions with trusted coalition members. I also probed participants on their broader perspectives on cross-cultural trust and collaborative education initiatives. An example of an interview question in this domain was: “What, if anything, do cross-cultural trusting relationships accomplish towards achieving educational equity?”

After the anchor interviews, I used snowball sampling techniques to identify additional participants to include in the study (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Snowball sampling is a strategy that blends well with the construction of ego networks, since participants were already be asked to name people within their network as a part of the name generator activity. I attempted to interview at least one of the people identified by each anchor participant to get a more holistic picture of trust networks and patterns of trust between participants in the network. In most cases CEE’s executive director facilitated introductions to these participants in the same manner as with the anchor participants. There were a couple of cases where I had existing relationships with the potential participant and reached out to them myself to invite them to participate in the study. The structure and content of the interviews with people who were identified through snowball sampling methods were identical to the interview protocols utilized with anchor participants (see Appendix A for interview protocols).

In addition to these interviews, I also observed monthly coalition meetings and took detailed field notes. CEE convenes its members for two hours at a set time every month. The number of members in attendance often varies by topic but ranges between 10-30 people. There is typically a guest speaker at each coalition meeting who has expertise or insights around some aspect of the coalition’s work. The purpose of these observations was to better understand the context I studied and to observe potential group dynamics related to race, culture and/or power (see Appendix C for observation protocols). Specifically, I examined how racialized and powered dynamics played out through social interactions, comments and questions that arose from coalition meetings. I also analyzed relevant documents related to the initiative that included

agendas, meeting minutes, strategy documents, and website content to ground myself in the coalition's values, goals and intentions.

Data Analysis

Narratives and counter-storytelling play a central role in critical race methodologies as a technique for bringing to light the perspectives of people of color specifically (Delgado, 1989; Solorzano & Yosso, 2005). These narratives can surface personal experiences that challenge previously held, and often deficit-based notions of racial equity and power dynamics (Parker & Lynn, 2002). Participants in this study were invited to share stories about how they observe or experience trust being leveraged in CEE.

I used open coding and memoing to make sense of the interview data collected, however I used slightly different analysis techniques for each of the questions guiding this study. The first question asks: *How do individual stakeholders describe the role that race and/or power play in trust development between collaborators in a place-based partnership network? How is trust enacted in place-based partnerships?* To answer this question, I first engaged in an open coding process with interview transcripts and drew from codes that included the topics of "Race" and "Power." I created a table with passages assigned to these key codes and read each passage and took notes on trends and patterns I noticed to create a list of themes or categories that emerged from the data (Merriam, 2009). I also analyzed my field notes from observations at coalition meetings using the same codes to identify and analyze how trust was enacted in the coalition (see Appendix D for sample code matrix). These themes are summarized in the findings section that follows.

The second question posed by this study was: *How do collaborators in a place-based education initiative perceive the role of trust in advancing partnership goals? In what ways, if any, can trust support collective action?* There were specific questions in the interview protocols that correspond to these research questions that shaped the analysis around this question (see Appendix A). I used the initial open coding process to identify participant's responses that related to the role that trust plays in advancing the coalition's goals and activities. Then, I populated a table with these passages to organize and further analyze these passages using analytical coding techniques (Merriam, 2009, p.180). Analytical coding goes beyond descriptive coding to identify themes that emerge from the data (Merriam, 2009; Richards, 2005). As I

coded, I kept a running memo with emerging themes from the data and a running record of how I am making sense of the data (Merriam, 2009).

In addition to transcript data, I also conducted observations and collected publicly available documents related to the coalition and its activities. I engaged in a similar open coding and analytical coding process with observation notes and documents as well. I compared themes across all forms of data and as it pertained to each research question to derive the themes and findings presented in the section below.

Limitations

This study is derived from a larger study on trust in place-based partnerships and like any empirical inquiry there are methodological and conceptual limitations. This case study was limited in scope and geography and therefore is not necessarily generalizable to other communities. In addition, the views presented here are not necessarily representative of all coalition partners, or the coalition writ large. This study was also limited to those participants who had availability to participate in interviews during the period in which the study was conducted. In addition, relative lack of diversity of the sample limit the conclusions that can be drawn. Although represented in the broader coalition, there were no Latino, Native American, or Pacific Islander participants and there was an over-representation of Asian-American individuals. The reason for this is likely multi-faceted. First, while the overall representation of individuals in the coalition is diverse the coalition's staff is almost entirely Asian-American. This could lead to the coalition's staff having an overabundance of close connections to other Asian-Americans in the network. Second, the use of snowball sampling in this study meant that I had limited control over the demographics of the pool of participants and was bound by the individuals who were named by participants. In addition, there was an over representation of female participants in this study. While there are generally more women than men who attend coalition meetings, the oversampling of female participants is also likely due to snowball sampling techniques. Most of the initial interviews that took place in this study were with female coalition partners, who almost predominately recommended other female participants. In addition, several requests to participate went out to male participants who were not able to take part in the study due to personal and/or professional scheduling constraints. Because this study used snowball sampling, it is also possible that the resulting participants showed higher levels of

connectedness to one another. This could increase the likelihood that participants were previously engaged in trusting relationships with one another. The purpose of this research was to describe where trust exists and what collective activities might be possible when trust is present, so prior connections between participants are also a potential benefit of the study design. However, it is possible that would skew the results of the study towards participants who trust one another. In terms of collective action, this study also does not aim to demonstrate any causal relationship between trust building and increased student outcomes. Finally, this study was conducted specifically in the context of education improvement and the findings may not be generalizable to other fields.

Findings

The following section outlines themes that emerged from my analyses of the data regarding how partners in the Coalition for Education Equity characterize race and power in the development of interpersonal trust. The findings from this study suggest that trust operates within the coalition at multiple levels: personal, organizational and systemic. These dimensions are further shaped by powered and racialized contexts in which trust is both enacted through interpersonal relationships and shaped by broader organizational and structural dynamics.

Interpersonal Level

Kindred Spirits

At the interpersonal level, participants viewed race through the lens of social interactions and built trust based on personal connections stemming from shared identity, shared values and/or feelings of respect. As one participant put it, there is a trust among “kindred spirits” that can form between individuals who share similar cultural backgrounds or values.

Tanya, an African American woman who works in the public sector, described it in her own words, “there's a unique connection that happens between women of color, because we're so passionate about giving space [and] considering communities of color in the work.” In this case, Tanya describes the inherent trust she feels for women of color in the coalition based on her perception of how other women of color show up in the coalition. She also reveals her values

around being thoughtful about how one interacts with others and level of intention around considering the role communities of color play in the coalition.

Nicole, an Asian American woman and a race and equity consultant, echoes this sentiment. She describes how a common identity and shared experience among Asian Americans in the coalition who are at similar places in their careers makes it easier to build trust. She said:

It's like it's just easy, it's comfortable. You feel like there is a shared experience and therefore, you're comfortable and there's a lot of things you don't have to say or tip-toe around, which actually creates a quicker or easier trust, in my mind....There is this unique place as Asian-Americans, who are probably all at a similar places in our career that we share similar challenges and struggles. How we're perceived as Asian-Americans, how we're allowed and show up in rooms or allowed in places of power because of who we are, so that positionality I think plays a piece of just like a kindred spirit I guess of deep understanding.

Nicole's perspective suggests that there may be a trust "shortcut" for people who share a cultural or racial heritage. She also notes that being at a similar career stage can add to this feeling of trust based on shared "challenges and struggles." Nicole and Tanya's perspectives point to the critical role that shared identities and positionality can play in building trust between partners. This is not to say that all women of color or Asian Americans will automatically trust one another, but rather that there is a deeper understanding that comes with shared backgrounds that can lead to a greater likelihood that trust will develop.

The examples above draw from people of color in the coalition. These perspectives were intentionally prioritized to center the views and experiences of people of color in this study broadly (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). At the same time, it is interesting to note how a white participant views the role of identity in building trust. This perspective was captured by Lisa, a white woman who leads a community based organization focused on family engagement. Lisa described the connection between people of color in the coalition, particularly African-American coalition members:

I feel like there are people, there are connectors among particularly African-American leaders who are a part of [the coalition], but also among some other groups that seem to connect them or bond them beyond just [being in] the group. I equate it to being similar to and having a common interest that is outside the group that carries over to it....a common connection. [Lisa]

In this passage, Lisa affirms that people with shared identities and/or experiences often develop a specific bond. She also perceives a connection between people of color that transcends the boundaries of the coalition. Lisa goes on to explain, "There is also a racial dynamic in the people that come from outside who aren't the parents or live in the neighborhood. A lot of that is I think racial and not necessarily always acknowledged."

This passage hints at the converse side of relationships built on shared identities. Lisa implies a distancing effect that can occur when people join the coalition who do not live in the neighborhood or do not have children. She perceives this effect to be racial in nature, but does not describe in what way these dynamics play out in the context of the coalition. Regardless, in both passages Lisa suggests an insider/outsider dynamic that can either positively or negatively affect trust depending on how a person identifies and/or is perceived by others.

Shared cultural identities and experiences are one way in which interpersonal trust is built between coalition members. Another way in which participants described how interpersonal trust is built was through shared values or respect for other coalition members. Tanya, an African American woman who works in the public sector, describes a connection she feels with one of the other coalition members who is a white man. She said:

You know that feeling of when you're in a space with someone and they're talking and you're like, 'I should be more intentional in connecting with that person. I appreciate their contribution. I appreciated some of their deeper questions. I appreciated the challenge.' He does that. He does that....Now I recognize he comes with a different skill set and has been doing that work a lot longer. In some instances, that's not a fair comparison. I think just the way he shows up. Not as like, 'I'm here as this white man to school everybody on race and social justice work,' but to say, 'Here are some other things that I think we should be thinking about.' Then stepping aside and letting communities of color have a say in what they'll decide....[Tanya]

Tanya's description of the white, male coalition partner illuminates how her trust in him developed based on their shared values, despite racial differences. Tanya perceives him enacting his whiteness within the context of the coalition in a way that is different from other white men. She describes him as not trying to be the expert who knows more than anyone else, but rather seeking to engage communities of color by conceding expertise and decision-making authority. She also expresses an appreciation for the way in which he contributes to discussions and then steps aside to let other voices in the conversation.

Rachel, a white woman who is one of CEE's funders, rejects the notion that values are culturally or racially-based and affirms values-based interracial connections are possible. In the passage below, she described how assumptions about race-based values can inhibit relationship building. She said:

I think it goes back to how much time and attention are you going to give it. Without this truly becoming a full-on therapy session, I think that there sometimes is an assumption that all white people have a certain type of values and all black people have a certain set of values. I don't actively think is true, but I do think that that assumption influences and restricts a lot of movement. [Rachel]

Rachel also points out that just because organizations opt into the coalition and are made aware that it is a space where racial equity is openly discussed, racial tensions can still arise. She stated:

I think [CEE] is fantastic. I also think it's a group of organizations that are opting in. It's a group of individuals that are opting in, and it's in a community that is having a heightened conversation around equity and the role of non-profits and the role of community-based organizations. I think all of those things help bring people to the room, but it also makes people show up with baggage from other meetings that have gone crappy, or other historical frustrations and cultural divides. Those are not things that you conquer in a two-hour meeting or a retreat. I think that while I have seen from a visual indication people across cultures and races working together, I'm not sure how much of that is transactional or transformational. [Rachel]

Rachel's perspective above illuminates a shift away from a purely representational notion of people from different racial backgrounds within the coalition working together towards a conceptualization of interracial trust relationships that can lead to transformative action. Rachel implies that shared values may not be enough alone to build this deeper trust between coalition partners, given individual's potential prior racialized experiences and historical oppressions. Thus, while she acknowledges the "visual" indications of people building relationships across racial differences, she questions the depth and impact of those relationships.

Representational Notions of Racial Equity

Another way participants characterize interpersonal trust is through representational notions of racial equity. These notions take up issues of race in terms of the proportion of the number of people from particular racial backgrounds who are represented in a given context (Bensimon, 2009). One way that participants talk about racial representation is to compare the number of people of color at a meeting to the number of white people in attendance. In the passage below, Nicole talks about how the coalition, and Tara specifically, is intentional about prioritizing the voices and perspectives of people of color in the coalition. She stated:

About half the people who were at the coalition meeting at the time were actually white. It was actually I think a great way to show how can we hold up different voices even in this space...I think [Tara] has been really good at that, at being okay and comfortable with saying because we know this is not a place that even a lot of mainstream allies have been attracted to or how are we going to hold up communities of color. I think things like doing the different number dots as a way to show that we want to value the voices of people who are actually living here. [Nicole]

She describes a specific activity in which coalition members were instructed to vote on priority action items for the coalition moving forward. Tara and the coalition staff asked coalition members to use different colored sticky dots to vote on which action items they thought

were the most urgent and should guide the coalition's work going forward. However, not all coalition partners were given an equal number of dots. Everyone got two dots to start but coalition partners got extra dots for being a person of color and/or living in the community CEE serves. This strategy was meant to elevate traditionally marginalized voices in the coalition's decision making process.

In another example, Stacey, an Asian American woman who is a CEE staff member, describes her connection to other people of Asian descent on representational terms. She describes:

I started to realize a lot of [the people I trust] are Asian and I don't think I necessarily actively seek that out but after going to school with eighty percent white people and not having that familiarity and being more aware of my race and then coming back, I missed that. [Stacey]

In addition to her tendency for trusting other people of Asian descent, she describes how this happened because of previous feelings of isolation and subsequent reintegration with her own cultural group. However, she does this in a way that takes a representational view of culture in which her experience moving through predominately white spaces reinforced the trust she feels for other people who identify as Asian. In saying that she "missed" having familiarity with her cultural group, she is possibly conveying a certain level of nostalgia she feels being around people who share a similar background as her own.

The passage below from Lisa, a white woman leading a community-based organization, highlights the perspective of a white coalition member. Interestingly she uses the term "minority," a term often associated with people of color, to describe her experience in the coalition. She arrives at this term based on her experience as being a part of a numerically smaller group of white coalition members. She says: "For the larger reason that I'm often one of smaller member of white people at the table and I'm more often in the minority [at the] table of the community part of the project. It's tricky a little bit to be that but that's also an exercise in learning about [my] privilege." She acknowledges the discomfort in being a racial minority but describes approaching the experience as a learning opportunity. While Lisa does not explicitly describe how this feeling informs how she builds trust with other coalition partners, her perspective provides another example of a representational approach to understanding racial dynamics in the context of the coalition.

Taken together, these perspectives offer an emergent portrait of how interracial trust operates at an interpersonal level in the context of a place-based education partnership. The narratives shared by participants suggest that individual identities and values can play a critical role in the formation of trust. Furthermore, these findings affirm that people show up in collaborative spaces with their own histories and experiences that can inform how they do or do not build trust with other collaborators across racial and cultural differences.

Organizational Level

If you don't start with race, you can lose race

Although interpersonal dynamics play a central role in the formation of trust between coalition partners, several participants also described the ways in which interracial trust is cultivated at an organizational level within the coalition. First, participants appreciated the diversity of CEE's coalition and expressed that it is an organization that prioritizes conversations about race. One of the primary drivers of the coalition's approach to talking about race is Tara, the coalition's executive director and an Asian American woman. She described being intentional about ensuring that coalition members are always talking about the role that race plays in the coalition and in their own work. In her own words, Tara describes:

Yeah. We talk about race. We focus on, and we use a racial equity lens. We don't have racial equity theory of change or racial equity toolkit or anything, but really try to center work in communities of color at our meetings. We talk about race. This is how we talk about race. This is our invitation to coalition members to have that conversation. I think that's different than in other spaces and I think we're better because of that. [Tara]

According to Tara, the way she keeps the conversation focused on race is to tie all issues and conversations back to the perspectives and priorities of communities of color, and specifically students of color. One way she does this is by introducing a framework called the Color Brave Space at the beginning of each coalition meeting. The Color Brave Space was developed by one of the coalition members as a way to center race and power in the coalition's conversations. The tenets of the Color Brave Space and how they are interpreted in the CEE context are:

- Put relationships first: Coalition leaders believe that advancing racial equity requires being in relationship with each other.

- Keep focused on a common goal: The goal of the coalition is to focus on students and families of color in the region CEE serves.
- Notice power dynamics in the room: Coalition members notice who is speaking, who is disengaged and how privilege shows up in the room.
- Create space for multiple truths: Coalition members are encouraged to recognize that we all bring different perspectives.
- Be kind and brave: Coalition leadership encourages partners to be explicit in how they talk about race and bring up uncomfortable truths. They encourage partners who have personal issues they are working through in relation to talking about race to talk one on one with one of the coalition staff members or a trusted coalition partner.
- Practice examining racially biased systems and processes: Coalition leadership describes this as examining what systems need to be changed to get the best results for children.

Color Brave Space placards with these descriptions are placed at each table at every coalition meeting. After everyone in the meeting introduces themselves, Tara outlines each of these tenets and asks coalition members to hold each other accountable to upholding them. One of the main reasons for this according to Tara is because, “If you don't start with race, you can lose race.” By this she implies that talking about race must be central to efforts to advance education equity in order to illuminate both the barriers to achieving racial equity and identify the opportunities within the coalition to advance racial equity. Tara shared her belief that race is too often dismissed as a relevant factor in conversations about advancing education equity, so she vocalizes the coalition’s responsibility to put race at the center of their work to examine how programs, policies and partnerships affect students and families of color. She also describes going out of her way to make sure people of color feel welcome at the coalition meetings. One way she does this is by checking in with coalition members of color to make sure they feel comfortable, supported and heard. As Tara explains:

I think one of the keys is, we really try to keep it centered on communities of color, on students of color. Using that as an anchor point in saying ... I'll work twice as hard to try to bring partners of color in and make them feel welcome over white allies. They're definitely welcome, I'll do the work to get them in, but given the opportunity I'm going to invest more in trying to get a person of color there versus somebody else. Then also, really kind of keeping the conversation focused on students of color overall.... I think cross culturally as well as making sure that everybody does feel, it is their coalition. [Tara]

Several participants in this study noted that they are more aware of racial dynamics and respectful of the relationships that CEE is trying to create between coalition members. Tanya, an African American woman who works in the public sector said, “It probably is one of the more diverse meetings that I've attended in terms of a wide representation of all people from representing all cultures and ethnicities.” Nancy, a white woman who is a senior leader at the local school district stated, “I think that [CEE] is the most racially diverse group that I have worked with. A lot of the other [community groups] are more culturally based.” For CEE, engaging in multi-organizational dialogues about education equity requires grounding work in communities of color, making sure partners of color are comfortable at meetings and encouraging dialogue about how policies and programs impact students of color specifically.

Tara, the coalition’s executive director, also views the building of cross-racial relationships as essential to the coalition’s mission and success. She states:

I need to broaden and deepen this network of people if we're going to do something different. There's somebody out there that has a key piece of information that somebody in the coalition is going to benefit from, but we need to bring that person in. I don't know who the magic people are, so people need to do the work to get there....it's part of it. It's one of the keys. I'm also very cognizant, when you bring people who are different, who aren't used to talking to each other, who might be uncomfortable or don't see themselves, we have to take the extra leap to say, ‘You are welcome. You have a place. We'll help you. It's our job to help you see yourself as being an important part of this coalition.’ On the reverse side, if you're not the right fit, if you're not comfortable about talking about race, if you're not comfortable about being part of it, you're welcome to stay, but you need to operate in a way that's going to be beneficial to all of us. If you're not okay with talking about it, come back when you're ready. [Tara]

This passage captures Tara’s unapologetic focus on race in all matters related to the coalition. For Tara, the coalition’s success rests on people’s abilities to build trusted relationships across differences and acknowledging those differences is the first step towards building a relationship that may not otherwise thrive. Tara also points out that not everyone is ready to talk about race and underscores the need for coalition members to be unified in their commitment to talking about how racial dynamics shape how they build trust and work together toward shared goals.

Tanya, an African American woman who works in the public sector, echoed Tara’s assertion that bringing diverse voices together is essential to the coalition’s success. She said:

I think it's the beauty of what happens when people organically are in the same space... The beauty of that is we're not speaking for, I'm not speaking for my community, but I am a voice that's part of a community. I think the more voices that are there, that are in that space, just help add to the value of the discussion to the work. [Tanya]

Tanya expresses her appreciation for not having to speak on behalf of the African-American community and being able to just share her personal perspective. In addition, she indicates that the more perspectives the coalition supports the better the dialogue coalition members can have about their collective work. Tanya and Tara's perspectives highlight how people who have experienced racism can have shared sensibilities and specific insights into how systemic oppressions shape social relationships.

Lori, a white woman and a local parent of multi-racial children echoed this sentiment and described the role the focus on race has on how she "shows up" at coalitions meetings. She said, "I think people who are regularly committed to [CEE] are aware of race and racism and the role race plays in the work. I try to be conscientious." Tanya also described how race-based caucusing at coalition meetings really helped her build relationships with other coalition partners and helped nurture trust in the coalition as a whole. Race-based caucusing occurs in CEE meetings in a few ways. In some cases, partners are asked to break into small table discussion groups based on whether one identifies as white or as a person of color. In other cases, coalition members break up according to specific racial or cultural groups such as African-American, Latino, or multiracial. CEE partners do not do race-based caucusing at every meeting, however based on observations of coalition meetings it is a common strategy CEE leadership uses to create safe spaces for people of color to process information and ask questions. Tanya describes:

I can't think of another coalition meeting where we actually caucus, do race-based caucus work. The idea that I can sit in a group of similar people who are all talking about some issue in this room, but to intentionally create an environment for [conversations about race.] To have those discussions, they can go deep quick. It's huge. It's huge. It's huge. It leaves me with a feeling of saying, "My voice matters. My community matters." This is not going to be a typical coalition meeting where we say, "Generally speaking, yes we gather people from all sorts of sectors and walks of life." I think the nature of how those meetings are set up and facilitated, it really honors that. I feel that. I feel that. [Tanya]

These perspectives are relevant in how coalition partners describe the role of race in building trust. First, since that the coalition's leadership is explicit about naming race as a key component of advancing education equity and acknowledges that there is some vulnerability and risk involved in engaging in dialogues about race, it is possible that coalition members have an elevated level of trust based shared perspectives and a history of engaging in difficult conversations together. Second, in keeping with Critical Race Theory, the coalition's strategy of centering voices of color is a critical part of challenging dominant narratives and institutional structures that can contribute to educational inequities (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). In

creating intentional spaces for coalition members of color to share their perspectives, CEE is enacting an organizational stance that embraces full acknowledgement of how personal and historical racial experiences shape social relationships.

While the general tone about CEE's approach to surfacing and confronting racial dynamics was positive, there was also some concern about the homogeneity of CEE's leadership and the way in which those leaders were selected. Tara took over as executive director of CEE in 2014 and prior to that the coalition was led by a white, female executive director who employed three African-American staff members. But by the time Tara, an Asian American woman, was hired as CEE's executive director all three of the African-American staff members had been laid off by the previous executive director. This meant that Tara was charged with hiring new staff to help lead the coalition. Over the course of her first year as executive director, she hired two new staff people, both of whom were Asian-American, making CEE's staff entirely Asian-American.

This was concerning for several coalition members. Lori, a white woman and local parent described the transition in her own words. She said, "They got [a new staff member], and before they were hiring her, they said, 'Oh, we want to find a hidden gem who lives in the neighborhood.' For me, they had three hidden gems who were from the neighborhood, who knew the neighborhood, who were African American who they laid off all at the same time and hired an Asian person. That's what it is." Tara was aware that this part of the coalition's history was a point of tension and stated that she hoped to be thoughtful about who they bring onto the coalition's staff moving forward. She explained, "The internal joke that is often too true is the internal leadership of CEE has been very heavily Asian. I'm Asian. [Robert] is Filipino and White, and Stacey is [second generation] Chinese. I'm very conscious of who we contract with [because] we are ripe for criticism." Robert, an Asian American man and CEE staff member, affirmed Tara's concern about the homogeneity of CEE's staff. He said, "from what I understand from before was [the organization] was almost all African American staff who were running programs. When they were all let go or the programs were moved to other organizations, the sense that I got was that there was some ill feelings within the community because they were all let go and I'm not sure if that also transitioned to some ill feelings towards [Tara] personally but then it became almost an all Asian staff, and she's very sensitive to that."

In addition to complicating racial dynamics among coalition members, CEE also operates in a broader community context with shifting demographics. The part of the city where CEE

operates was traditionally a predominantly non-white community with hundreds of language, ethnicities, cultures and races represented. However, increases in housing prices has driven large-scale gentrification in many neighborhoods served by CEE. Thus, the shifts in the coalition's leadership is also happening against the backdrop of shifting community dynamics.

As Lori summarizes:

If we're not careful then you just go for the lowest hanging fruit and as the neighborhood gentrifies and gentrifies it's just something that ... Like I said, I feel like [the coalition] lost the black community. We haven't got them back. It's just something that we need to pay attention to or else it's not going to be good.....For the trust, specifically, for me I feel like I've been able to build a relationship with [Tara], that's pretty good. I just feel like they lost they black community when they did that, and they haven't got them back yet, and I think [Tara] knows that....but how they could do that, get more buy-in with the black community. That is an important part of our neighborhood. [Lori]

This sentiment expressed by Lori highlights the potential risk that CEE takes in not being inclusive of specific racial groups. In this case, Tara inherited distrust from particular community members based on the actions of the previous executive director. Exacerbating these tensions, Tara also chose to hire all Asian-American staff. Although Tara is aware of the dynamic, it is unclear from this research what the coalition is doing to earn back the trust of the African American community. Furthermore, the shifting demographics of the coalition's leadership also mirrored some of the shifts happening in the region CEE serves where elevated housing prices and increasing gentrification is leading to the displacement of African-American families that have lived in the neighborhood for generations. These dynamics highlights a critical interplay between place-based partnerships and the community in which they are operating and signals that relationship building consistently happens against the backdrop of broader regional dynamics.

The zero-sum game

Another way in which participants describe trust as shaped by organizational influences was through the lens of competition. This perspective frames power as a limited resource that coalition members and their organizations are constantly competing with one another to obtain.

As Kian explains:

I think part of the challenge is we play into the power as zero sum game. For instance, there is no reason why we can't both be specific about talking about people of color as the victims of white dominance, white supremacy, white privilege, and talk about the specific needs of each community. Those are both true and real. However, because we have fifteen minutes in front of the school board or fifteen minutes in front of city hall, there can only be one protest on this day,

one protest that everybody's going to attend and which one is it going to be? Because we fight for those zero sum wins, that's when we get locked into these fights where everybody loses. There's no way to win. [Kian]

Kian's description illuminates the influence competition can have on building relationships between coalition partners. The way he frames it, when partners compete with one another "everybody loses" which can contribute to feelings of resentment and/or stifle people's willingness to work together towards shared goals. In addition, Kian is also talking about whiteness as a form of domination that informs how powered relationships take shape within the context of the coalition. For Kian, a dominant frame about power that is centered on people of color being forced to operate in a system of white dominance imposes a competitive dynamic that forces winners and losers (Harris, 1993). In this way, Kian's perspective highlights the problematic nature of separating race and power in analyses of how relationships form in collaborative endeavors. While not synonymous, power and race are implicated in how coalition partners operate both separately, and in tandem, towards shared goals.

Lisa, a white woman and community-based organization leader, echoes this sentiment from her perspective. She states:

I think a lot of times I've sat at tables- sometimes founder-led convenings, sometimes [EEC] or organizational led convenings where we are all talking about wanting the same thing but the power dynamics are such threat. People are like, 'Well, I'm here because I'm supposed to be here.' There is a little bit of frustration about status, or voice or is it helping anything. That aside, the very act of coming together regularly is I think fostering community among a diverse side of leaders both in terms of perspectives but also particularly in terms of culture. [Lisa]

Lisa identifies the competitive power dynamics between diverse coalition partners, but also identifies that there is a "community" being formed between them that may help mitigate some of the threat of competition. Both Lisa and Kian's perspectives point to the notion that coalition partners are often vying for the same resources, power positions or other "wins" that can bring them into opposition with one another and can create tensions that inhibit trust building. Place-based partnerships focused on a specific goal, such as education equity, will inherently bring together individuals and organizations with shared interests, but this does not mean that competition is necessarily an inherent feature of collaborative partnerships. Rather, competition is an organizational dynamic that is shaped by broader systemic inequities that force collaborators into a zero-sum game. In the passages above, participants suggest that building trust relationships across race and power difference can help mitigate the effect of dominant

conceptualizations of competition and how organizations can work together towards shared goals.

Participants offered relevant counterpoints and insights on how coalition partners approach remedying some of these tensions in order to build trusted relationships among coalition members. For example, building trust was itself named as a way to rebalance power between partners. Stacey, an Asian American woman and coalition staff member shared her feeling that trust was essential to addressing power imbalances. She illustrated this by describing her experience planning an ECC-hosted annual community meeting (called a “Summit”) with other coalition partners. She stated:

That trust made it so that it was easy to ask questions and make statements. You could explore the possibilities rather than sticking to some narrow path or way that you think that things should be done. I think this planning for the [meeting] was the biggest thing because there was a racial equity facilitator and researchers and [Tara] who’s the ED and then me who hasn’t figured out her place. It was such an open environment and you’re very aware of the trust when everyone can express their opinion and not have it be questioned in terms of its validity. We explored every single option with that sort of objective view because we knew that we all trusted each other and so we valued each other’s opinions....It’s very, very conversational and didn’t feel authoritative. [Stacey]

Other participants echoed having experiences where they felt their voice was heard and that the EEC staff was making an intentional effort to address power dynamics in the room. In describing her experience with EEC’s Summit meetings Lori explains:

I do feel like at least with the Summit, this year I was not able to go to the Summit, but the year before I felt like it was very clearly intentional sort of rebalancing of power, making sure people of color had a voice, making sure that you couldn’t get washed out by a white person who was in your group who’d talk loudly, fast. That was well designed and I appreciated that. I think they used a similar model this year, even though I wasn’t there, so I feel like those are important things to keep doing when you have a chance and the time to do that. [Lori]

Lori and Stacey’s accounts of both the planning and execution of EEC Summit meetings reflect a few ways that trust itself is a mechanism for addressing power imbalances and enacting values that are consistent with intentionally counteracting dominant forms of engagement. Participants also describe an appreciation for how CEE staff pays attention to racial dynamics and creates systems for ensuring people of color in the room have opportunities to speak. For example, in one community meeting that was observed as a part of this research, EEC assigned dialogue trackers to each breakout table to take note and keep the group accountable to who was contributing to the discussion, including paying close attention to racial dynamics. Another strategy illustrated in the passages above is creating an environment where different opinions are

welcomed and people are encouraged to take experiment and take risks. Stacey refers to this as meetings having a “conversational” and non-authoritative tone. She also describes feeling as though her contributions were both valuable and valid.

The passages above describe how the coalition leadership creates inclusive meeting spaces that intentionally address power dynamics and elevate underrepresented voices. However, power dynamics between collaborators can show up in a variety of ways that are often subtle. Nicole described how navigating power dynamics can often involve specific skills in “speaking the language of power” and bridging stakeholders who approach the coalition from different perspectives. She explains:

I would give a lot of the credit to [Tara] who knows how to navigate very well and operate within communities of color, but [she] also knows how to navigate and they speak the language of power. I think knowing how to bridge both of those, both for the sake of people who operate dominant society but also for communities of color I think is important. The reality is that, short of a revolution we do have to operate together and so having the skills and the ability and the people that know how to operate together is necessary...I think [EEC] is doing a good job of helping funders and mainstream organizations understand that this is the way you operate and you have to gain this other skill to operate differently and that’s valuable. I think that’s a really critical role of building that trust and I also think it’s why [EEC] is seen in such a favorable light. [Nicole]

Nicole’s perspective provides insight into how Tara navigates power dynamics and acts as a bridge between communities of color and dominant society (articulated here as “funders and mainstream organizations”). The skill Nicole described is a type of social flexibility that allows Tara to navigate the “culture of power” (Delpit, 1998) as a part of her role as executive director. According to Delpit (1998) there are a prescribed set of rules for engaging in power that are narrated by those who hold power (p. 282). Nicole describes Tara as a deft power broker who acts as a bridge between those who she perceives to have power (“people who operate in dominant society”) and those who do not (“communities of color”). Nicole further asserts that this skill helps Tara build trust with stakeholders and bolster the reputation of the coalition overall. Kian provides additional insights into how Tara does this. He explained:

A big piece I've seen is that [Tara] is really good and I'm really good, we both have an analysis around, but we're both really good at working with white women....I've seen that [Tara] will intentionally strike a non-confrontational tone and it's good because I can critique that sometimes, I'm like, how do we talk about racial equity if we don't talk about whiteness? But how are we going to talk about whiteness in a way that doesn't drive off all white people? [Kian]

Kian implies that Tara’s “non-confrontational” tone may be a weakness, but also acknowledges that it is this approach may also keep white stakeholders engaged.

Although Kian is speaking specifically to Tara’s skill with building relationships with

white women, it underscores the cultural brokering (Ishimaru et al., 2016) that Tara engages in when it comes to navigating power dynamics. Kian implies that Tara has learned effective ways to communicate with white women about racial equity and whiteness in a way that is nonthreatening and keeps them engaged. In this way, Tara is enacting the coalition's commitment to racial equity by meeting people where they are and communicating in ways that are culturally recognized by the dominant group (i.e. white women) in order to gain trust and legitimacy with that group.

Structural Level

Navigating systems of oppression and privilege

A third way trust was conceptualized and enacted by coalition partners was at a structural level. Participant narratives depict trust through the lens structural and/or systemic racialized and powered dynamics that play out between coalition partners. For example, Kian, an Asian American man, describes how building cross-racial relationships occurs against a backdrop of broader systemic influences. In the passage below he describes how systemic oppressions can impact relationship building and the subsequent impact that racial equity work can have on individuals. As he describes it, building trusted relationships across racial and cultural differences requires a specific effort to “navigate” systemic dynamics that can leave people feeling fatigued. He explained:

One of the challenges of building trust is that we are in a system of systemic oppression and in a multicultural system as well, where we have to ask what trust means for different people and what winning means for different people. To navigate all of that is really challenging. [Tara] definitely has her work cut out. Not just [Tara], but speaking about community orgs at large. This is one of the reasons why there's always such high turnover rates, is because you can only last so long on the treadmill before you're like, I need a break before I come back. That's the challenge. [Kian]

Kian's perspective illustrates how the coalition and the interactions within it are embedded in and shaped by a broader socio-political context. Kian points out that building trust amidst the backdrop of broader systems of oppression can be a challenging and exhausting process. Another coalition partner, Nicole, describes in detail how she sees trust being enacted in the context of historical oppressions. Although Nicole was the only participant used a historical frame, it is important to consider her perspective in relation to how structural dynamics can inform trust formation.

Nicole described her own sense of distrust for “mainstream,” white-led, education organizations. She did not specifically name any organizations but described a dynamic in which she said she was less inclined to trust leaders that fall in this category based on her own knowledge and experiences with “mainstream education organizations” and general perceptions about how white people have interacted with communities of color. She explained:

Clearly I think some of the organizations that are more white-led and some of the more main standard educational organizations there is definitely less trust, but what is that based on? I don't know those people personally, I mean it is based on reputation and I think a history of how mainstream organizations have interacted. Both the organizations themselves but I also think how in general even white folks have interacted with communities of color. [Nicole]

This sentiment captures the role that prior experiences and structural historical oppressions can play in building trust between place-based collaborators. Place-based partnerships can benefit from being grounded in a neighborhood or community where there are often extensive relationships and deep knowledge of the community that collaborators bring to the partnership. But as Nicole points out, there is also a racialized history that can factor into relationship building between collaborators where reputations and/or prior distrust can shape partner's perceptions of one another and the organizations they represent. Nicole goes on to describe how she helped organize a coalition meeting to focus members' attention to the importance of historical context in their work.

We did a session where we pulled out a bunch of data from the civil rights and labor history website [and we used] historical documents and [had] people respond to those historical documents. It's really sad actually. If you look at historical documents from the early 1900s, even maybe before that, to where they are now and some of the language around race relations and also education and equity and issues particularly as they relate to racial inequity, almost nothing has changed. If anything has changed it is actually the fact that in the 1960s they were using more explicit language around race, and now we're using more coded language. It is a way for people to see that where [we are now is] built on this foundation of everything that's happened before us and what we have to learn from that. [Nicole]

In this activity, Nicole is using historical data to inform the coalition's current work. She describes her goal in bringing this information to coalition members to help them see their work in the context of the work that has come before them and as an opportunity to learn what has and has not worked in the past in terms of advancing racial equity. One of the dynamics that she names highlights the role that interest convergence may play in the coalition's work. Interest convergence is a concept that comes out of Critical Race Theory that describes occasions when policies or practices aimed at benefiting people of color gain widespread support because they advance the goals of a white majority as well (see Bell, 1987). Nicole explained:

In particular, I would say when I've seen mainstream orgs try to push an agenda through that's supposedly on behalf of communities of color there's a lot of push-back because it's like 'is that really [what you want]?' Part of is legitimately asking, is that really [what you want]? Part of it is historically is there a level of mistrust that's there. Or I feel like [CEE's] history of [coming] out of communities of color and trying to stay deeply rooted even though it's become very attractive to other people, these outside players. [Nicole]

Nicole describes how “mainstream” organizations who advocate on behalf of communities of color can erode trust when their intentions are not clear. Nicole conveys a sort of skepticism towards “outside players” who may or may not have the CEE community’s best interest at heart. She implies that one of CEE’s strengths is its grounding in communities of color, and although she does not mention what race the “outside players” are, however based on the dynamic she describes it can be presumed that they are white.

Another way participants talk about structural influences on trust building is by unpacking the dynamics of privilege within the coalition. One facet of this is who has the socio-economic privilege to participate in the coalition in the first place. Most monthly meetings are held on a weekday during the lunch hour, and although the coalition staff usually provides food and snacks, some people are not able to attend meetings at that time. Some of the longer meetings are held on the weekends and this can present similar challenges for people who are not able to get out of family or work obligations. Monica, an African American woman who works for a local elected official, shares how this can change the dynamics of the meetings. She explained:

Well, it changes the dynamic because when you have financial resources, you have more options. When you come from a structure where you may be in leadership, you have compensation for being someplace on a Saturday for three hours. If you are more of a parent volunteer, that's a big investment to make to come, even though you have lunch or breakfast or whatever. There is a power that allows you to do something on a Saturday morning for three hours. [Monica]

As Lori, a white woman and local parent, concurs:

It's because of my position of privilege that I can come to those meetings every month or almost every month and sit in the room and listen and talk and take information back and coordinate an event at this school because I have the time and the resources to do that work. [Lori]

While there is unlikely a single meeting time that would work for all coalition members, Lori and Monica both point out a socio-economic privilege inherent in being able to take the time to participate in the coalition meetings and activities. According to the coalition staff, many coalition members attend on behalf of their organizations and are therefore compensated for their time, but many members are working parents or community members who must take time away

from other obligations to attend the meetings. Robert, an Asian American man and coalition staff member, describes the awareness the coalition's staff has of the perception that it is a privilege to attend meetings and describes in greater detail how he thinks this dynamic might affect coalition participation. He states:

Some of the smaller CBOs don't have the bandwidth to send somebody to the meetings and a lot of times those are people of color and that a lot of the larger organizations who employ mostly white people do have the bandwidth because they have larger budgets a bigger footprint and that those are the people who tend to come and they all know each other and they're continuing to build trust with one another. [Robert]

Robert's perspective also highlights a racial dynamic that may occur as well. He indicates that many of the larger organizations are staffed by white people and the smaller community-based organizations are more likely to be staffed by people of color. Analysis of the coalition's meeting rosters indicates that there is large variation in who attends monthly meetings and the size of the organizations they represent. The meeting rosters do not provide demographic information, so it is not possible to confirm or disconfirm Robert's claim from the data collected in this study. Tara, CEE's executive director and an Asian American woman, expresses a similar concern in relation to the coalition's all Asian-American staff. She explained:

I don't want [negative perceptions of privilege] to be transferred to the Asian community, which I think if we're not conscious of it could happen with just who is in leadership [in the coalition] and all that, and it's partially, maybe we get passing power in different ways. I call it the Judge Ito effect, where people of color are more educated and we assimilated differently. If you look at [CEE], we are in danger of becoming that. [Tara]

Taken together, Tara and Robert's concerns highlight a type of racial or cultural privilege that distinguishes how racialized experiences can inform how relationships are or are not built within the coalition. It is unclear exactly what Tara means by the "Judge Ito" effect, but she alludes to the way in which she perceives she and other Asian Americans assimilate to the dominant culture in a way that may be perceived as different, and perhaps more effectively, than other people of color. Other participants noted a similar dynamic around privilege and flagged it as an important one for the coalition to consider moving forward. Lori expressed concern about the future of racial and power dynamics in the coalition:

I think it's a really dangerous thing with [CEE] that we could slide in the wrong direction too much if we're not careful because if we're not conscientious of who's coming into the room and race and racism and power, then we could end up just sliding into [having] more white privileged people, like myself, white privileged people who can't ... I do take time out of my day, but also I can take time out of my day. I work part time. I live in a three-parent household. I have a lot of flexibility in how I use my time and what I do during the course of my life. [Lori]

Lori's concern underscores coalition members' sensitivity to who attends meetings and the need to maintain awareness of how coalition members' privilege influences coalition meetings and subsequent coalition-wide decisions or actions. Although indirectly, Lori's concern underscores a potential organizational distrust that can form among coalition members when adequate attention is not paid to who is in the room and what privileges they bring. Rachel, a white woman and one of CEE's funders takes this a step further to suggest how the coalition might start to address the role of privilege in meetings. She is speaking to her own role as a funder, but suggests that others should engage in an ongoing process to examine their own power and privilege. She suggested:

I think acknowledging power isn't just something you do at the beginning of the meeting. I think it's something you actively have to consider as you set up a meeting, as you work through an agenda, as you think through who should be speaking. It's not just, 'Oh hey, just want to put power on the table,' then proceed to dominate the conversation as a white female in a private institution. We have a lot of work to do in acknowledging our own power and privilege..... [Rachel]

Rachel's view illustrates how positionality and privilege can shape interactions and relationship development. Critical Race scholars point out how privilege reinforces racist narratives and actions and upholds a dominant notion of who has power in our society (Delgado & Stefanic, 1997). Thus, in the context of building trust in place-based partnerships, Rachel questions the efficacy of symbolic acknowledgements of privilege in building relationships between coalition partners and challenges coalition partners to acknowledge the multiple dimensions of their privilege, including race, class, gender, and organizational affiliation.

Decision Making and Power Dynamics

Related to the dynamics around privilege is how decision-making power plays out in the coalition and how this informs trust development. Decisional power comes from the power to make decisions on behalf of others (Corbett, 1991). In some cases, this comes from being in a position of formal authority which can be defined as "legitimized power" (Corbett, 1991; Scott, 1981). This is power that is legitimized through a formal role or process that grants authority to an individual or organization (Corbett, 1991). In the context of the Coalition for Education Equity, several participants talked about how decision making power matters for how relationships and trust are developed between members.

One way this came up was in relation to who validates one's cultural or racial identity.

Kian, an Asian American man who works at a local university, explained:

I'll say another quick one about an example of power, in coalition building, being told for instance when we're like, look, we're multiracial, because we have all these different African diaspora groups, and then being told by legacy African Americans, historical African Americans, African Americans [in different neighborhoods]- It's like, they aren't really black. Power, right? Who gets to name themselves as black? Who gets the name whether they are a multiracial organization, so that tension plays out again, between who gets counted as what. [Kian]

Kian points out the long-standing tensions between African American and African immigrant communities and names a powered dynamic that is unfolding between the different African diaspora groups and those outside of these two groups. Not only are there inherent tensions between Africans and African Americans of different heritages, but additional power dynamics play out as these groups navigate within the context of a "multicultural" organization. According to CEE documents, the leadership describes the coalition as multicultural and the diversity of attendees confirms that there are a wide range of racial, cultural, abilities, and genders represented in the coalition's membership. However, Kian's point underscores that there may be a particular power in who gets to define "multicultural" and important implications for how different racial or cultural groups are framed under the multicultural banner. For example, in looking at the coalition's staff that is comprised of individuals of Asian-descent, another organization might challenge that the coalition is not in fact multicultural. On an interpersonal level, Kian's observation also highlights the role that stereotyping and/or bias might play in how coalition members perceive one another.

Another way decisional power came up among study participants was in relation to who gets to make decisions that impact schools. The coalition has several school district and school level staff who are members and attend meetings regularly. CEE often seeks to influence education-related policies and practices through collaborative partnerships and ongoing relationship building with key school district decision-makers (i.e. school board members). Since CEE is regional in focus, they also tend to focus mostly on those issues that impact the students in the community CEE serves.

That said, several participants noted that the relationship with the school district is a strained one. Lori, a white woman and local parent, describes the power dynamic between coalition members and school district leaders around decision making. She states:

[The school district] will say, 'Oh, we're going to have a task force,' and people put in a hundred hours on the task force trying to decide what curriculum is best, and then they choose something

else. You have, really, no power to make decisions. You can influence decisions at times with your mobilized force, but to say, ‘Okay, we’re going to make the decision based on what this community group says of how to go forward,’ that’s a real chance to really be part of decision making. It’s good if they do follow that because people need more power to make decisions, especially in a neighborhood where the people who live here know best what’s best for the people. But people who work at the [district], they say, ‘No, we shouldn’t worry ourselves about it,’ but they don’t actually know [what is best for our kids].

Lori highlights the formal authority the school district has to make decisions about things like what curriculum students are taught. She describes the way in which district leaders engage community groups like the Coalition for Education Equity as granting power in mostly symbolic ways, rather than honoring the community member input. Lori describes this as a way in which the school district overlooks the contributions of community coalitions and asserts that the district needs their input in order to make decisions in the best interest of the students CEE represents. The undertone in Lori’s description, in addition to sentiments echoed by other participants, is one of general distrust for school district staff. Given that there are several school district staff members who are a part of the coalition and regular attendees at coalition meetings, this dynamic could affect how district staff develop trusted relationships with coalition members who may share Lori’s perspective. Lori’s comments point to the concern that community input is not seen as valued by school district leaders.

Tracy, a biracial woman who is part of EEC’s steering committee and is a program manager at a local community-based organization, also recognized the distrust between coalition members and the district, but believed that trusted relationships between EEC members and district staff were possible. She explains:

I think that there is kind of an inherent, maybe unwarranted distrust with the district and the people who make the decisions for everybody who’s affected by the schools. I think that doing everything that we can to kind of break down those barriers between the district and the members of the [EEC] community, and broader community, is probably one of the most important things. I think, everybody talks about the inequity within the district, whether it’s intentional or not, depending on where you live in the city, the resources are scarce in some areas and abundant in some areas and all of us who work and live in this part of [the city] are aware of that every single day. I think EEC is doing a great job in trying to be an equalizer and bring some of these issues up. I think just continuing to do that and like I said, breaking down those barriers and just trust. Which is going to be inherent regardless because I think a lot of people will just automatically blame the district for things even if it’s not their fault. [Tracy]

Tracy’s perspective indicates that distrust for “the district” may not be a direct result of their actions and/or decisions but rather a general distrust for all things under the district’s purview. She suggests that continuing to break down barriers and build relationships will help engender greater trust between coalition members and district staff.

Nicole, an Asian American woman, consultant and coalition partner, points out that deficit thinking may play a role in how effectively people are able to develop relationships with one another. Like Kian, Nicole questions who gets to make decisions about what a community is and is not, and in this case whether trust exists in low-income communities and communities of color. In her view, people who are part of the dominant group in society often take a deficit view of communities of color, which can lead them to overlook trusted relationships that may exist in that community. She explained:

I think that is a deficit model that something doesn't exist in a community because you can't see it or you can't understand it. I think that applies to many different areas but also trust. It's like in many ways I feel dominant society doesn't think that maybe trust exists in communities of color because trust doesn't exist between low income communities or communities of color and white folks. It doesn't necessarily mean that trust doesn't exist within, but until I think dominant society can validate that trust exists between or can validate in a way that they understand trusting is here, it doesn't exist...., the power plays on because unless you are from a position of power and can validate that it exists, you won't believe it exists. I think that adds to this element of mistrust between communities. [Nicole]

Nicole's perspective highlights several key points. First, she names how misconceptions of a community can arise based on one's own experience rather than an authentic investigation of how a community operates. Second, she brings up this notion of validation that was echoed by Kian. In Nicole's view, "dominant society" has a form of power (because of their dominant positionality, she suggests) that can affirm or disconfirm certain features of a community, regardless of whether those perceptions are accurate or not. This is different decision making power than deciding what curriculum a school will adopt. This form of decision-making power is akin to Cheryl Harris' (1993) notion of whiteness as property interest in which dominant institutions shape meaning in particular ways that reify stereotypes and deficit thinking about non-dominant groups in order to maintain power among white, normative actors. This is less about who makes the decision and more the assumptions, norms and values that govern our society and whose contributions are considered legitimate (Harris, 1993). As Nicole points out, these dynamics shape interpersonal relationships and can have detrimental effect on building or repairing trust between dominant and non-dominant groups. While Nicole is not necessarily speaking directly about a dynamic taking place in the coalition, it is a broader concern that could influence how relationships unfold within the context of the coalition.

Collective Action

The sections above outline the many ways in which race and power are conceptualized by collaborators in a place-based partnership focused on education equity. These critical perspectives provide insights into how people build trust across racial and cultural differences to work toward common goals. Several scholars have indicated that trust is necessary for collaboration broadly (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Emerson, Nabatchi, Balogh, 2011; Getha-Taylor, 2000; Lee et al., 2012), but we know less about the necessity of cross-cultural trust in place-based partnerships, specifically those focused on advancing education equity. In addition, we also know very little about the ways in which trust may help place-based collaborators achieve individual or collective goals. As such, the section that follows examines participant's perspectives on the role of trust in the success of the coalition overall.

In what ways, if any, can trust support collective action?

As a part of the interview process, I asked each participant if they thought trust was necessary for the success of the Coalition for Education Equity. For the most part participants shared the opinion that trust was a critical component of the coalition's success and necessary to help partners move towards collective action. Robert, an Asian American man and CEE staff member, explained that trust is essential not only between coalition partners, but also with coalition staff in order help deepen collaboration. Robert explained:

Within SESEC there's so many small emerging non-profits that are doing important work within our community with our constituents that don't have the resources necessarily to do the work as effectively as they can so I think there's a lot of trust needs to develop in a number of areas. If they're going to work collaboratively with any other organizations, I think they need to have that level of trust to be able to develop those collaborations. If they are working with me, as I described earlier, on a proposal development process, they have to be able to share with me probably some issues that their organizations are experiencing that I'd need to be aware of in order to be able to help them effectively. I think just like in a coalition meeting to be able to sit there and talk about some things without fear of feeling less than is important because there's sometimes it's the only way you're going to get advice or constructive criticism. [Robert]

In Robert's view, trust is essential for organizations to be able to work together productively. In addition, he notes that coalition members also need to trust CEE's staff with critical information about the opportunities and challenges their organizations face so that they can provide necessary support and feedback. He hints at a crucial vulnerability on the part of coalition partners to be able to share their organization's challenges with the coalition staff.

Robert affirms that this transparency requires trust but also suggests it is vital for the coalition and its partners to learn and improve together.

Rachel, a white woman and funder of CEE's work, shared Robert's sentiment that trust is critical to EEC's success.

I think trust is absolutely necessary. I think of the other collaboratives and coalitions that I'm a part of and there are some where trust is not paramount. They become a learning and sharing group, but there isn't really a commitment to doing something together that you can't do alone. I think for [CEE], given the intentions of the group, trust needs to be a priority. At the same time, [EEC] can't be the only place where organizations are working on that trust. How organizations value the time together with [CEE] but also complement it with other work outside is where the contribution versus attribution stuff gets a little messy. The answer is yes. Trust has to be there. [Rachel]

Rachel points out that there are indeed collaborations that function without trust, however in her opinion, their efforts become centered around "learning and sharing" rather than taking concrete steps toward collective action together. For example, the survey project CEE led was an example of collective action. First, the coalition identified a need around elevating the voices and priorities of families of color, then the coalition convened researchers from the local university and key partners who had ties to families of color in the region CEE serves. This working group developed a survey, facilitated data collection, analyzed the data and shared it out with the broader coalition. This action goes beyond the typical CEE meeting structure of hearing from speakers and creating space for coalition members to learn and share together. Although the survey example is an isolated one, it signals willingness and capacity among coalition partners to act together towards shared goals. In addition, Rachel points out that coalition partners must prioritize building trust with one another both within and outside their work with the coalition. Given the breadth of seventy organizations who are members of the coalition, there are likely varying opportunities for specific organizations to collaborate. However, Rachel's point remains clear: Trust is key for the coalition to produce tangible results towards the goal of closing opportunity gaps for the students in the region CEE serves.

For Monica, an African American woman who works for a local elected official, trust creates a "safe space" for people to come together around a common goal. She explains:

The coalition can't be effective ... I don't think [a] true coalition can be effective without trust. I believe when people come into the room, it's a safe space. I believe that not one voice is heard over another or giving legitimacy over another. I think that whether you're a parent, a person representing a CBO, a person representing government- we are equal when we walk into that room, and I like that. I think it's good. [Monica]

In many ways, Monica describes trust as having the potential to balance power dynamics in collaborative partnerships by giving all participants voice and legitimacy in the room. This perspective portrays trust as an omnipresent feature of a given social space rather than an interpersonal dynamic. Monica suggests that CEE is one of those spaces and that this is a contributing factor to her comfort at CEE meetings. Tracy, a biracial woman and local community-based organization leader, describes this trusting environment as necessary for everyone in the coalition to feel like they can work together towards a common goal. She states:

I think [trust] has to be the foundation for the success of something like CEE because you've got people who have their own agendas. They have to because their agenda is their community based organization or their school or their kids who are in the school system or whatever. Everybody comes to those meetings wearing their own hat or multiple hats in a lot of cases and I think in order for everybody to feel like they can come together and discuss issues that affect all of our kids, that we have to be able to trust that even though you're actually a principal at a school that you have the same goal as I do as a parent even if it's a different school or as a community based organization or a program provider or whatever. I think it has to be there. [Stacey]

In Tracy's view, trust helps coalition members find common ground that can lay the foundation for action. She acknowledges individuals' positionality in their school, organization or community but also describes the need for trust to develop for partners to be able to explore the intersections in their work. Although people have their own "agenda," Tracy describes trust as a necessary factor aligning these agendas in order to move together. Similarly, Tara, CEE's executive director, believes that trust is essential, particularly in conversations about race. She explained:

I broaden that to say relationships and trust are essential for everything that we just talked about. Especially if we're talking about race, especially if we're talking about hard things and asking people to change and do things differently. I can't ask that of people until there's trust and a relationship there. I can ask them, but they're not going to change. They're not going to do anything differently until they understand why. Until they understand how it relates to them and their work. [Tara]

According to Tara, trust is necessary for people to actually change the way they operate. In her view, it is not necessarily enough for people to align agendas or goals. In order for positive change to occur people have to change their behaviors. This moves beyond an interest convergence framing towards a vision for how positive change is enacted in collaborative initiatives. She describes trust as critical to getting coalition partners to understand why particular decisions or requests are made. She also implies that challenging the status quo requires trust, otherwise people will not feel compelled to "do things differently." Taken together, these perspectives make a persuasive case for the need to develop trust between

collaborators in place-based education initiatives that moves beyond shared goals, but rather challenge the way in which people engage in their work both separately and collectively.

Conversely, several study participants questioned whether trust was essential for collective action. Tanya, an African-American woman and public sector leader, asserted that trust was not necessary for the coalition to be successful in achieving its goals. In her perspective, common goals are enough to get people to work together effectively. She states:

I don't think so. I think maybe on a deeper level, there has to be some element of trust to get people to stay the course, to stay engaged, even when the results are not immediate. I think that if you do just a good job of convening people, and you say these are our next two to three priorities over the course of the year, even if we don't have that trust, if we have a common goal of addressing these three things, I think it's okay....The trust may come in handy in terms of us staying with the process, but I don't think it's necessary. I don't. [Tanya]

According to Tanya, trust is nice to have but not essential in getting coalition partners to come together to identify common priorities. For her, moving towards shared goals is more of a logistical matter than a relational one. She points out that trust may play a role in sustaining engagement, but suggests that as long as the coalition's priorities are clear partners will understand how their work intersects with the goals of the coalition. Another participant questioned what efficacy means in the context of the coalition. Lisa, a white woman and community-based organization leader explains:

I would say it depends on what you [mean by] effective. The kind of effective I would like to see would depend on trust and I would say that [EEC] is not there yet. A lot of it has to do with the money and the competitive piece, which is the ugly stepchild that everybody knows about it but isn't actually talked about in public. It's, 'No, we didn't get this grant but so and so did and they are not even doing good on-the-ground work.' All that stuff is talked about in the before and the afters in the parking lots and it's not really addressed in the community, but it is a part of the dynamic in the community. Because nobody is really funding the collective work they are funding the collective organizing, they are funding the CEE and [other projects] to organize people and they are funding organizations within those collectives to do work....There is a systemic piece missing and what's happened both in the [CEE] and [other collaboratives] is there is a little bit of trickle-down but it's not enough, powerful enough to effect the trust lost. I think there is just a fundamental little bit of mistrust that's lurking in that because of those dynamics that are mostly not talked about. I think that the next level, or the next several levels of building that collective work is reliant on the trust that we have to get to by addressing that situation head-on or mobilizing together with the funders or something like that. Right now, I feel like I am in a ton of places where it's happening in a gossipy sort of way which is not a trust-based, moving forward sort of way. [Lisa]

Lisa's perspective offers nuance into the role that trust plays in the coalition. In her view, the Coalition for Education Equity is functioning well, but in order to reach its potential the coalition must address dynamics around funding and competition between organizations. She

describes this issue as a hidden one rather than one that is confronted in coalition-wide spaces, which in her view, only further contributes to increased distrust between coalition partners. It highlights the multiple levels and spaces in which trust operates and some of the ways which dominant frames exacerbate distrust and zero-sum frames about power and resources. In her view, the coalition is functioning but not necessarily effective because of this distrust.

While there was not consensus among participants that trust was critical to the coalition's success, there was a sentiment that trust can play a role. There was some variation in how participants characterized the role of trust in facilitating collective action. For some participants, clear priorities were enough to move the coalition towards action, while others believed that trust was necessary to help partners align their agendas and establish common ground. Tara, CEE's executive director, took this a step further in her assertion that coalition partners needed to change the way they function in their organizations and in the coalition, broadly. In her view trust between coalition partners is a prerequisite for behavioral change. In addition, participants illustrate the ways in which interpersonal trust plays out in a broader context outside of the coalition. This highlights that even though place-based education initiatives are bound by their geographic scope and mission, they operate within a larger ecosystem of organizations, initiatives and socio-political influences. Partners from place-based education initiatives like CEE are thus enacting interpersonal trust in multiple spaces and at multiple levels at all times.

Looking Ahead

At the time of this study, the Coalition for Education Equity was at an interesting inflection point in its' organizational development. Tara was two years into her term as the coalition's executive director and had spent the bulk of that time focused on building relationships with coalition partners, articulating the coalition's focus on racial equity and creating spaces for coalition partners to develop deeper relationships with one another. In her two years as executive director, Tara accomplished several tangible goals. First, she established a monthly meeting format that created the opportunity for coalition partners to learn together and discuss how specific issues intersect their work and the lives of children and families in the region CEE serves. In addition, she spearheaded a coalition-wide survey project that sought input from families of color on what education priorities were most important for them and modeled a community data collection process that was grounded in the voices and perspectives of people of

color and put real-time data in the hands of practitioners. According to participants, the sum total of these activities has resulted a coalition that is grounded in its values around racial equity and in the robust relationships that have developed across racial, cultural, and organizational differences.

However, at the time when data was collected for this study the coalition was in the midst of determining its next steps. While coalition members expressed general satisfaction with the work of the coalition, many questioned whether there was more they could be doing together to catalyze positive change in their neighborhood schools. Tara was aware of this sentiment and the critical juncture for the organization. She explains in the passage below her feeling that the coalition needs to be “bolder” and more proactive in taking action if trust in the coalition is going to be maintained. She stated:

I think the next phase is we need to really...need to start being bolder and doing more so that the trust is, ‘Okay, they're actually doing something different.’ Right now we're still small. I think maybe there are a lot of passes because we're only about two years into the turn around, but at the same point that's also not going to be there. When I took this job [a friend] told me, ‘Look, if you're not continuing to invest in yourself as an organization, you're not continuing investing in your infrastructure, in doing something different, you've hit the dust pile.’ It's always looking at that as well. It's interesting to know, trust on that, because if we're not doing something different, people are going to get bored or they're going to lose interest, and then the trust is going to [disappear] ... We've taken their time, we've taken something from them and not given something back. I'm excited to see what happens with that, because that's a really good place to say, ‘We've heard you and we're giving you space to advance your own agendas as well. We're not giving you the space, but we're trying to help you say, what's important to you that we can support.’ It's also going to be a new way of being a little bit more proactive, possibly adversarial to the establishment. [Tara]

From Tara’s vantage point, to maintain the trust of their members the coalition must demonstrate actions that challenge the status quo, not just state their commitment to education equity. She implies that there is a reciprocity involved in coalition building such that if the coalition staff asks for participation, they have a responsibility to show results in return. Interestingly, she also suggests that the coalition can play a role in supporting its members’ agendas. There is a potential tension inherent in this perspective however, between advancing the goals of the coalition as a whole and those of specific member organizations. Nonetheless, for Tara, action and trust are inextricably linked and are necessary to move the coalition forward.

In talking about the previously mentioned coalition-wide survey project, Lori echoes this same sentiment. She explained, “If we'd ever want to do [the survey project] again, what we have to do is report out and then take action to actually value, not just show that, but to actually value the input that families give, we have to take action based on that.” Like Tara, Lori suggests that

there is a reciprocal dynamic between input and trust as well. For both participants, trust comes from honoring people's input and acting in accordance with that input.

Kian, an Asian-American man and a university-based coalition partner, highlights that CEE's commitment to racial equity may unfairly impact what is expected of Tara and the coalition. In Kian's view, trust in Tara and CEE are dependent on the coalition demonstrating that they can positively impact education equity in the community they serve. But as Kian explained, Tara and CEE may be held to higher expectations because of the organization's focus on racial equity. He explained:

What's really unfair and unjust, which it's possibly because CEE is an organization that's committed to racial equity, it's like running against a treadmill or up an escalator that's going down. It's that you always have to be moving even to be in the same place. Unfortunately, something that's going to be true for [Tara] moving forward and for the trust that's built at CEE is that there has to be equity wins, otherwise, trust would be lost.... An equity win is policy changes, equity wins are more Pre-K [programs], better translation services, more research dollars, attention being drawn to issues like that. Those are equity wins. [Tara] needs those equity wins....Is the community still here tomorrow is the key question. Or if that's really true that there needs to be more viable, signature wins. Do we believe that the fight for equity is a fight that can actually be won? What does winning mean for us? [Kian]

Kian suggests that for the coalition to generate a sense of collective efficacy there must be evidence of the coalition's effectiveness. The question he poses: "What does winning mean for us?" is a critical one and it could have different answers depending on whom in the coalition one asks. Kian's reflections highlight the complexity surrounding collective action that place-based education partnerships often face. If trust in the coalition is dependent on shared wins, and coalition members have different definitions of "winning" then it raises the question of how one charts a course forward and brings everyone along. Interestingly, Kian describes those wins as necessary for Tara rather than the coalition at large. This implies that trust in the organization and trust in Tara as an individual are closely intertwined, and suggests that trust in the coalition is dependent, in part, on Tara's success. In addition, Kian's reflections suggest that CEE must prove it can produce tangible results maintain trust and legitimacy, both internally and externally. He also points to how one measures optimism within the context of a place-based partnership by questioning whether the fight for equity can be won. It raises the question as well of who gets to decide what a "win" is in the context of the coalition. Again, this situates trust in a broader context of normative and dominant conceptualizations of success (Harris, 1993).

Michael, a coalition staff member, agrees that there is more the coalition can do to work more collaboratively on shared goals. However, in his view, the trust coalition members have in Tara is a critical foundation for CEE's future action. He explains:

It's still a long way to go I think to get this coalition functioning far more effectively. Now it's mostly people coming to meetings and getting information and stuff like that, but to the point that they can work that much more collaboratively together is the challenge. I could see it happening but I think it's still a ways off, but it wouldn't happen without someone like [Tara] who could unthreateningly enable people to come and share and learn from each other and participate....[Michael]

According to Michael, Tara's approachable leadership style is part of what helps keep people engaged in the coalition. Several participants cited their trust in Tara as a critical reason why they attend coalition meetings and stay engaged in coalition activities. Tara is aware of this dynamic, however she pushed back on multiple occasions that she and CEE are inseparable. She explains, "I try not to be the gate keeper of [CEE]. I also try not to be [CEE]. I am staff, I am a physical member within it. It's not me. It's bigger." For Tara, the success of the coalition is dependent on people developing deep relationships with each other to catalyze new approaches and partnerships that will advance equity. She explains:

That's one of my goals with [CEE] is to say, the coalition is not that- but that the coalition is not just who's on paper. The coalition is also who shows up, who does the work, and where are the relationships, and where can we broaden that? Where can we bring more people in? How can we also deepen the relationships to say, 'Outside of the [CEE] meeting, are you meeting with people? Are you leveraging who you meet at [CEE] meetings to make the work more meaningful or interesting or deeper in some way?' There's a lot of that trust building that has to happen there as well. Again, if [CEE] can just be the catalyst for it, but we don't need to own it, that's perfect. [Tara]

Thus, in Tara's view CEE is a catalyst for productive relationships between partners, not the owner of them. She expressed an overarching concern that faith in her alone could stand in the way of a broader sense of collective efficacy among coalition members, particularly as the coalition moves from relationship building to action. She also affirms that trust functions at multiple levels and is more than just an interpersonal dynamic.

Several participants in this study suggested that there are barriers standing in the way of CEE partners being able to move effectively together. One barrier that was previously mentioned is competition. As Lori explains, competition often drives people to pursue different goals or compete for funds to take on similar goals. She cites CEE as a space that is both necessary and intentional about creating a supportive environment for coalition members to collaborate. She stated:

I read the book *Tribal Leadership* which talks also about sharing power and about how to be a leader who shares power. Also what was important about that book was the notion that everybody can be great and not trying to be like, 'Our school is better than your school.' I think it's such a competitive environment so often, especially with city levy funds and stuff like that. People are always competing with each other. I feel like even all these different CBOs and all that are oftentimes made to compete with each other to get dollars. That's bad, and so I felt like [CEE] has a way of making a space for people to come together and partner with each other, and I felt like I needed to take an approach of 'We can all be great. Every school in this neighborhood actually can be great at the same time and should be,' and that's the way we change the world right here is by all being great at the same time. That's what drives me to keep going to the meetings is that I believe we can all be great. [Lori]

Lisa, a community based organization leader, echoes this sentiment:

I think many of us, most of us, maybe all of us are really about moving the needle and getting the work done. Our definitions of the work overlap but they are not really systemically universal in collective work. I find that I often trust people who have similar complicated relationship to the value of the collective work and the individual organization work. That's a commonality that we share, how we are navigating that collective competitive landscape, how we are trying to position our work to align with whatever seems to be blessed in the moment? [Lisa]

As these passages indicate, competition can be a big barrier to building the trust needed to engage in collective action. For Lori, competition can cause collaborators to develop fixed mindsets about funding and school improvement and limits the vision for what is possible. Her sentiment that everyone can "be great" at the same time suggests that competition may hinder collaborators' ability to envision what they can do with the resources they have and how they can move together towards excellence for all. Lisa points out that each individual organization in the coalition must simultaneously monitor their individual impact and collective goals, amidst competing interests and limited funding. Interestingly, rather than seeing competition as a threat, she describes feeling more aligned with people who demonstrate awareness of the "collective competitive landscape." Sandy, a community-based organization leader, suggests that it may in fact be individual egos that stand in the way of true collaboration. She observes, "You have to be able to put egos aside and realize that yes, you are representing your school or your whatever, but that in order to have everybody succeed you have to get out of that and think more broadly." This sentiment affirms the need to examine trust at multiple levels, rather than just through an interpersonal lens.

One participant, Nicole, indicated that CEE is beginning to take steps towards being a space where people are engaging in new ways to advance education equity. In describing previous conversations with coalition members, Nicole explained:

They really cited the work of [CEE] and their involvement in [CEE] specifically as being something that's really helping them think about and transform the way they're doing and how

they want to then engage with communities of color differently. I think that is evidence of people engaging in this work, having some self-reflection and then going, wow, I want to be able to reach out and engage and do my work differently. I don't know if it means....What I think CEE is really good is helping people understand why it's good to engage closely together, across race.

CEE coalition members may still be figuring out how to effectively collaborate but Nicole's perspective indicates that the work the coalition is doing to lift-up the importance of working across racial and cultural differences may lay the foundation for future action. While the goals, activities and relationships that will shape the coalition moving forward continue to evolve, the passages above indicate that trust, particularly trust between partners from different organizational, cultural and racial backgrounds, will play a critical role in how effectively the coalition pursues its goals.

Discussion

Place-based partnerships focused on advancing equity can be one example of how an educational justice movement can take shape (Warren, 2014). However, there are a limited number of studies that show how trust unfolds in the contexts of these partnerships and what leaders of place-based partners should consider regarding how to navigate racialized and powered dynamics between partners. This study examines trust through the lens of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefaniec, 2012) and the micropolitics of power (Blasé, 1991) to provide a better understanding of how collaborators work together across racial, cultural and power differences to advance education equity.

The results from this study indicate that trust operates at multiple levels within place-based partnerships. The first level, and the original framing for this study, was interpersonal trust. Interpersonal trust describes trust between two or more actors. Participants described forming interpersonal trust based on shared cultural and racial identities and shared values around what it means to enact racial equity in the context of the coalition. Trust also operated at the organizational level. One way this occurred was the unfolding of trust or distrust based on organizational affiliation. Some participants suggested that organizations that were led by people of color deserved elevated status in the coalition meetings to ensure that their voices and perspectives were heard. Trust at the organizational level also tended to be informed by organizational stances on racial equity, how collaborative spaces were constructed, and the

extent to which dominant notions of competition and organizational “turf” negatively influenced relationship development between partners.

Finally, participants talked about the ways in which trust is enacted at a structural level. Trust at this level is informed by how broader histories, oppressions, and systemic influences get enacted in collaborative spaces. One way this came up was through the historical tensions between communities of color and dominant, white led organizations. Similarly, participants also talked about the role of privilege in trust development. Participants recognized that people come to the coalition with different privileges and the extent to which those privileges get acknowledged by coalition partners and the coalition as a whole influences how trust is or is not formed.

Participants also talked about a type of political trust (Vakil et al., 2016) that was operating in the coalition. Political trust had to do with how participants described forming alliances, navigating competition, and moving the coalition towards collective action. Participants also suggested that there were certain institutions that incited automatic distrust. An example of this was the local school district, which several participants described as not trustworthy because of the district’s perceived lack of concern for the community the coalition serves.

These examples illuminate the ways in which organizational and structural dynamics get replayed through interpersonal interactions. The focus of this study was originally intended to zoom in on individual dynamics of trust and how interpersonal relationships are shaped by race and power. However, as the findings from this study reveal, it is very difficult to separate interpersonal trust from the larger context in which those relationships operate. For place-based partnerships, this includes the inherent organizational dynamics and the influences of historical, structural racial oppressions. At the same time, there was a certain value placed on relationship building among coalition members and a respect for the racial diversity of CEE’s partners. But it is perhaps because of the multiple levels at which collaborative relationships get negotiated that participants conveyed interracial relationship building as an arduous task that requires skill, time and an acknowledgement of how the partnerships within the coalition are shaped by racial inequities.

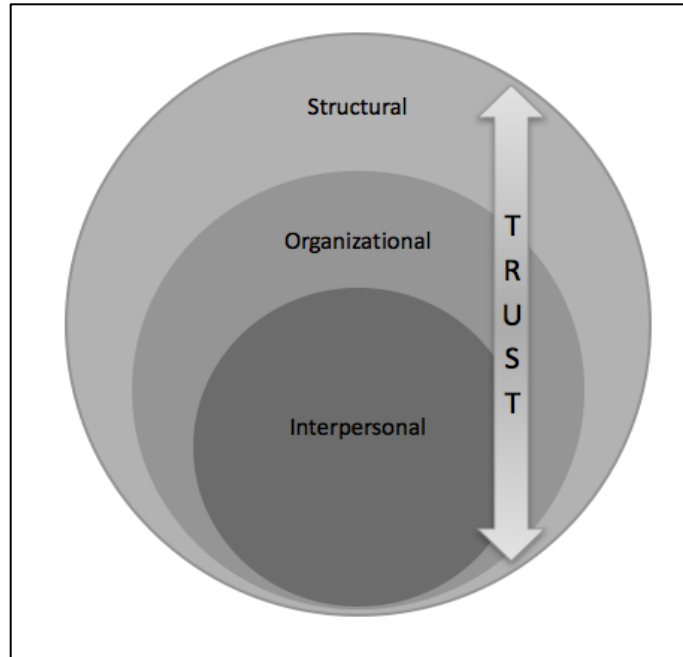


Figure 3.4 Contexts in which trust is enacted in place-based education partnerships

Participants also demonstrated an awareness of how power shaped how trust developed in the context of the coalition. There was a general sentiment among many participants that CEE did a good job of addressing both racial and power dynamics in meetings and in the work to advance education equity broadly. This perception led many participants to have trust in the organization’s executive director and in the organization, as whole. However, at the same time, there was some apprehension regarding the effectiveness of the coalition overall. Participants described CEE as having the necessary will and mobilization to achieve collective goals but several participants warned that if coalition partners did not figure out how to engage in collective action that trust in the organization would erode. This points to a potential connection between trust and action. While relationships are a critical component of place-based partnerships, participants also suggested that trusted relationships without collective action are not enough to sustain engagement in the coalition.

Previous studies on trust in place-based education partnerships often paint a linear picture of trust and collaboration. For example, Geller, Doykos, Craven, Bess & Nation (2014) conceptualize trust as a “building block” for community engagement. Geller and her colleagues (2014) posit that trust between collaborators in a place-based initiative can lead to four increasingly complex types of engagement: community readiness for change, civic mobilization,

collective efficacy, and collaboration. Thus, according to Geller et al. (2014) the greater the engagement between collaborators, the more likely they are to move towards true collaboration. Community readiness for change is the first step in the process and describes a community's awareness that change is both necessary and possible (p.5). The next level of engagement outlined by Geller et al (2014) is civic mobilization. Civic mobilization describes when stakeholders engage in an initiative based on connections in their social networks (Chaskin, 2001; Cook, 2005; Foster-Fishman et al., 2006). The third level of engagement relates to the role of trust in promoting collective efficacy. This refers to stakeholders' belief that change is possible and that the collective efforts of the partnership(s) will yield positive results (Geller et al., 2014). The optimal form of engagement according to Geller et al. (2014) is effective collaboration. Effective collaboration involves addressing power dynamics to engage a diverse set of stakeholders in the planning, shaping and implementation of partnership goals (Chaskin, 2001; Geller et al., 2014). We know trust plays a critical role in collaboration (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015; Emerson, Nabatchi, Balogh, 2011; Getha-Taylor, 2000; Lee et al., 2012), however the framework proposed by Geller et al. (2014) suggests that there is a linear relationship between trust and collaborative relationships. However, the findings from this study suggest that trust is more of a fluid, dynamic phenomenon that is shaped by a multitude of socio-political and contextual factors, rather than a linear process that automatically results in "collaboration."

This study also points to several theoretical limitations to studying trust in cross-sector education collaborations. First, while Critical Race Theory (CRT) provides a necessary lens for understanding the role of race and power in education improvement, the theory's focus on structural inequities (and related structural solutions) overlooks the interpersonal dynamics that often drive systemic change efforts. This is more than unit of analysis question and points to the need for CRT scholars to push the theory beyond experiential and structural analyses into relational domains. One promising example of this is Tara Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth framework in which she applies the principles of Critical Race Theory to describe the six forms of social capital present in communities of color. Yosso's (2015) framework provides an asset-based perspective of individual strengths communities of color bring to the fight for social justice. This framework does provide an example of how CRT can be applied at a personal level, however it does not necessarily describe interactional dynamics between individuals.

In addition, Critical Race Theory does not provide robust descriptions around the dynamics of power. CRT scholars describe power as an inherent, structural feature of our society that is primarily negotiated through laws (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). Power is also seen as a tool used by dominant society to marginalize non-dominant groups (Crenshaw, 1991) and advance normative values around whose decisions, voices and communities matter (Harris, 1993). Given CRT's limitations in relation to understanding interpersonal power dynamics, this study borrowed from micro-political theory to unpack participant's conceptualizations of power and the ways in which trust unfolds on the interpersonal level (see Corbett, H.D., 1991). Collaborators in this study described power in terms of navigating decision-making processes, privilege, and competition in their experiences building trust with other coalition partners. But there remains great potential to explore how CRT can be applied to better understand power imbalances in education partnerships specifically. This study affirms that power can play a critical role in how education partnerships develop, and how partners develop trust with one another. There is currently the opportunity for CRT scholars to further develop the theory to be applicable to unpacking powered dynamics between individuals.

In total, the findings from this study confirm previous studies that contend trust is an important component of collective action. For example, in a qualitative study on cross-sector partnerships Getha-Taylor (2012) found that trust was necessary to bring, and keep, people working together. In addition, Bryson & Crosby (2015) found that inclusive practices like those used by CEE are can help develop trust in collaborative partnerships. This study also answers the call put forward by Geller et al. (2014) to begin to describe how trust can be leveraged for social change. In the Coalition for Educational Equity we see an example of a predominantly community of color coming together to prioritize racial equity in education improvement efforts. While the coalition itself is still negotiating the details of how they will engage in collective action, they have worked hard to build a racially diverse coalition, build interracial relationships founded on trust and engage thoughtfully with the community they represent.

The findings suggest that CEE's success may depend on developing or repairing relationships with the local school district and currently marginalized racial or cultural groups. Research suggests that trust is a fragile component of relationships, particularly newly formed ones (McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998). Thus, it is critical that place-based partnerships pay special attention to patterns of trust and relationships that develop between partners. This

could mean prioritizing building trust between partners before moving to shared goals and action (Lundin, 2007) or systematically examining the strengths and assets of coalition partners (Kretzman & McKnight, 1993; Yosso, 2005). In addition, this research confirms that people tend to more readily develop trusted relationships with whom they perceive to be like them (Oberg, P., Oskarsson, S., & Svensson, T., 2011) but also points to important opportunities to build interracial relationships based on shared values and/or the mere recognition of interpersonal differences. Given this, place-based partnerships building diverse coalitions must also be intentional about creating opportunities for collaborative partners to identify shared values, interact with people from multiple backgrounds and unpack race, racism and privilege in the context of their collective work together (Dent, 2005). If place-based partnerships are to be a part of a social movement for educational justice that transforms public education it will be necessary to build new alliances, bridge cultural and racial divides and approach collaboration as a form of social healing and resistance to dominant norms.

Contributions to the Field and Future Directions

This study aims to contribute to field's understanding of the role of trust in the context of place-based education partnerships. This study contributes to a growing body of educational research that is conducted through the lens of critical race theory and one of the only studies to do so in the context of contemporary cross-sector education collaborations. As such, this study provides an in-depth look at how socio-political factors such as race and power influence trust development in collaborative contexts. This contribution is a significant one given that the extant literature on trust in education improvement efforts minimally acknowledges cultural and racial factors as informing interpersonal trust. This provides a more nuanced conceptualization of cross-cultural trust that can be applied in multitude of contexts in the field of education.

There are also several opportunities to build on this study. For one, expanding the scope and size of this study could yield additional insights into the nature of cross-cultural trust in collaborative education initiatives. This could include having a larger and more diverse sample, comparing multiple place-based initiatives and/or using mixed methods to quantitatively measure trust between collaborators. In addition, more research is needed to explore the impacts of other factors on trust including socio-economic status, religious or political beliefs, and/or

neighborhood context (i.e. urban versus rural settings). Nonetheless, this study provides an emergent foundation for the understanding of how collaborators in place-based education partnerships understand the role of race and power in collective action, however more research is needed to explore specific actions or activities that build cross-cultural trust relationships within an education partnership network. Given the various ways in which cultural groups approach and define trust building, further studies could explore cultural conceptualizations of trust and how different conceptualizations of trust shape collaborative relationships. In addition, there is an opportunity for the field to get far more specific about what trust enables in education partnerships. For example, studies on collaborative education partnerships could explore whether trust between collaborators increases effectiveness, improves partnership sustainability, and/or increases partners' access to resources. Finally, there are important questions about the efficacy of place-based partnerships broadly speaking, so studies that examine the impacts of these initiatives can inform how they are implemented moving forward.

Conclusion

This paper makes the case for paying closer attention to racial and power dynamics in place-based partnerships, and demonstrates the ways in which these dynamics can shape how people come together across organizational and personal differences to fight for education equity. Interpersonal dynamics can stifle meaningful progress, so the findings of this study start to unravel how collaborators can navigate the racial and power differences to build trusting and lasting relationships. In this new era of shifting demographics and evolving power dynamics, it is imperative that education stakeholders combine both head and the heart in efforts to develop meaningful partnerships aimed at improving education outcomes for youth of color and those impacted by poverty. This study signals the possibility that solidarities can be built across racial, cultural and organizational differences based on more than just common interests or goals. Rather, this study suggests that building trust on the basis of difference may be an alternative operating principle for cross-sector and interracial collaborative education partnerships. Rather than focusing on the common, shared dimensions of our work across organizational boundaries, the findings from this study suggest that trust may be built on an honest acknowledgement of our differences and the intentional building of authentic relationships across these differences (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012).

Study Conclusion

This study provides a much-needed examination of trust in the context of multi-racial, cross-sector collaboration in education. As education disparities between dominant and marginalized groups persist, education stakeholders are finding new ways to come together to collectively tackle the systems, structures and policies that stand in the way of students' educational success. One such model for collaboration that is gaining traction nationwide are place-based partnerships that leverage local knowledge, resources and relationships to catalyze systemic change. These partnerships require alignment and trust between collaborators, but the education literature to date provides only a limited window into how relationships are unfolding in the context of these initiatives. Furthermore, in studies on trust in education contexts scholars have neglected to fully unpack the role of race and power in how trust develops between collaborators from different organizational, racial and cultural backgrounds. Thus, this three-part study explores interdisciplinary perspectives on interracial trust and cross-sector collaboration, how interracial trust networks form in place-based education partnerships, and how diverse collaborators conceptualize the role of race and power in building trust and promoting collective action.

The findings from this study suggest that building cross-cultural, interracial trust in collaborative education contexts requires commitment, intentionality and time. Relationships between collaborators form the foundation of many place-based education partnerships, and trust can play a vital role in helping people persist through the complexity, risk and/or ambiguity that often arises from multi-organizational collaborative initiatives. Furthermore, this study surfaces the fluid nature of trust and the ways in which socio-political dynamics get enacted in interpersonal relationships. This study also highlights a need to create more spaces for people of color to provide input, participate in and lead education improvement efforts. The coalition featured in this case study helped build cross-cultural trust between partners in part by highlighting the experiences students and families of color and prioritizing the perspectives of people of color in coalition decisions and dialogue. This also became one of the ways in which the initiative enacted racial equity in their context.

Traditional conceptualizations of trust in education fail to consider the multidimensionality of how trust unfolds amidst fluid and evolving relationships and/or contexts. These outdated conceptualizations of trust tend to be static, culturally void, one-dimensional

definitions that do not consider how trust is influenced by broader socio-political factors. As such, we need new lenses to conceptualize trust in the context of education improvement efforts.

Based on the findings from this study, I propose an emerging framework for understanding trust in the context of place-based education partnerships. First, this framework acknowledges the contextual complexity inherent in place-based education equity work and views trust as a fluid and ever-present feature of any given context. Second, historical and socio-political perspectives are taken into account as having an influence on trust development between collaborators. This includes, but is not limited to the influences of race, culture, power and socioeconomic status. These factors shape how people define trust and how they approach developing trust relationships. In addition, previous conceptualizations of trust are individualistic in nature and describe trust as a feature that is universally defined across the population. However, as this study indicates trust is shaped by an individuals' backgrounds and values. Thus, this framework views trust as grounded in individual, group and/or societal values that may shift based on the context rather than a universal set of values to which we are all expected to adhere. Finally, trust literature in education explores trust as a means to improve academic outcomes for youth however, there are several ends towards which trust can be achieved. In addition to academic outcomes, trust can be a vehicle for improved collaboration and/or the improved wellbeing of students and families. Trust is a type of social glue that can enable collective action, and bring people together in support of one another. Taken together, the features of this framework provide an expanded lens through which we can understand how trust relationships form between collaborators in place-based partnerships (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012).

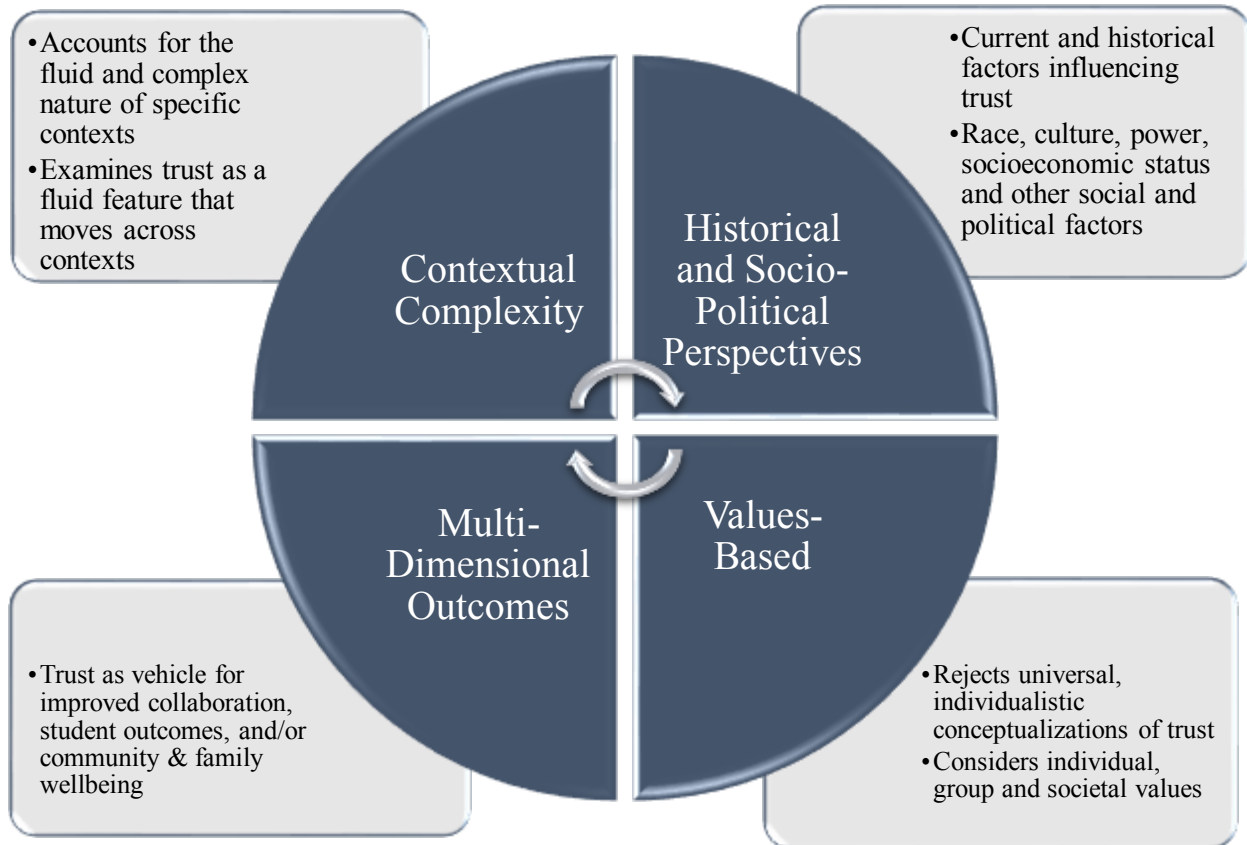


Figure 4.1 Emerging Conceptualization of Trust in Education Systems

Place-based education partnerships hold promise for bringing together regional stakeholders to enact a vision for education equity. These partnerships are born out of a recognition of a community’s shared fate (Warren & Mapp, 2001) and the catalyzing potential of a group of people with a unified mission. However, the act of a community collectively acknowledging the need to address education inequities and coming together to identify shared goals is only part of the process of enacting systemic change. Place-based partnerships occur in a social, historical, economic and relational context that is constantly shifting and informs how relationships and partnerships are formed. These relationships can play a critical role in the success or demise of place-based initiatives and as a result, we often find that key features of cross-sector partnerships are rampant distrust between schools and communities (see Geller et al., 2014), unchecked power imbalances (LeChasseur, 2016) and a colorblind approach to relationship building.

The rhetoric around cross-sector collaboration in the field of education is centered around stakeholders coming together to find common ground and shared goals (for example see Henig et al. 2016), but perhaps there are other organizing principles for collective action. Indeed, a missing piece from the collaborative rhetoric in education may be an honoring of difference rather than a continued fixation with sameness. In a world that increasingly seems to be characterized by the polarization of ideas and people, the path towards building solidarities may be grounded in building trust across differences, in addition to seeking the alignment of goals and values. This is not to say that there is not important work to be done to re-organize the practices, behaviors and policies that influence how individuals, organizations and institutions pursue an education equity agenda together. Rather, this is to suggest that there may be more to building solidarities than “getting on the same page.” Place-based education partnerships without a solid foundation of trusted relationships and an intentional focus on the racialized and powered contexts in which those relationships unfold may continue to get caught in a cycle of distrust that inhibits forward progress. Ultimately, the success of the educational justice movement may not rest on funding or goal alignment but rather on the capacity of adults to acknowledge and move together through our divisions.

Appendix A

Interview Protocols

Greetings. Thank you for taking time to be here today. My name is Amber Banks Grubb and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Washington's College of Education. I am conducting a qualitative research study on trust in collaborative education partnerships and would like to ask you a few questions about your trusted relationships in your work with the Southeast Seattle Education Coalition. In addition, I would also like to talk about trust in the context of issues of race, culture and power that you may encounter in your work. Our conversation will be recorded but will remain confidential and I will use pseudonyms for all names and organizations. I am interested in your honest perspective but you also do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable answering. Do you have any questions so far?

We are going to start with a few introductory questions, do a little activity, and then talk a little but further about trust in your work. Do you have any questions? I am happy to answer any questions now or throughout the interview.

Part I: Introductory Questions

1. Can you please share your name, title and organization, if you are representing one?
 - a. Probe: How long have you worked there?
 - b. Probe: What is the focus of your work/role/organization?
 - c. Probe: (Parents only) How old are your children and do they attend school(s) in the neighborhood served by the coalition?
 - d. Because we are going to talk about race and culture today, do you wish to share how you identify according to race and/or ethnicity?
2. How long have you been a member of the Southeast Seattle Education Coalition?
 - a. Probe: How did you learn about the coalition?
 - b. Probe: Did you know anyone else who was a part of the coalition (either people or organizations)?
 - c. Probe: Why did you decide to join?
3. We are going to transition to talk more specifically about trust. Think of someone in the coalition who you trust. How do you know you trust them?
 - a. Probe: Can you think of a time when you built trust with someone in the coalition over time? What enabled you to trust them?
 - b. Probe: How they build trust with others?

Part II: Visual Mapping

Now we are going to do a short activity so that I can better understand your trusted relationships in the coalition. [Provide participants with the name generator worksheet.]

1. On this piece of paper, we are going to write down the people in the coalition that you trust. We will talk about why you trust these individuals and we may also talk about some

of their characteristics such as the organization they work for, their job title, their race/ethnicity, and/or other identifying features. To help provide some context, I am going to share a list of partner organizations that are members of the coalition. You can reference this list or not as it is helpful to you.

2. First, let's talk about people you work with most closely as it relates to the members of this coalition. Next to their names, there is also a column for individual descriptions. Let's start with Question 1: *Who do you interact with about activities related to the coalition?*
 - a. Probe: How long have you known this person?
 - b. Probe: Did you meet through the coalition or did you know them before?
 - c. Probe: Do you know how this person identifies racially/ethnically?
 - d. Probe: Would you describe this person as being in a position of power, in relation to others in the coalition?
3. Let's move on to Question 2: *Of the people you listed above, please circle those who you trust in some way.*
 - a. Probe: Why do you trust these individuals over others?
 - b. Probe: Does race or culture play a role in why you do or don't trust people in the coalition?
 - c. Probe: Does organizational affiliation play a role in who you do or don't trust?
 - d. Probe: Which of these people would you describe as being in positions of power?
4. For questions 3, 4 and 5 there may be some overlap with the people you described above, which is okay. The next couple of questions are designed to dig a bit deeper into who you trust in the coalition and why. Question 3: *Of the people in the coalition, whom do you rely on for accurate information?*
 - a. Probe: Can you share a story about a time you relied on one of these people to obtain accurate information?
 - b. Probe: In what ways if any does the racial/cultural background of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to share accurate information?
 - c. Probe: In what ways if any does the organizational affiliation of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to share accurate information?
 - d. Probe: Does it matter whether this person is in a position of power or not?
5. Question 4: *Of the people in the coalition, whom do you rely on to get things done?*
 - a. Probe: Can you share a story about a time you relied on one of these people to accomplish something related to the coalition?
 - b. Probe: In what ways if any does the racial/cultural background of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to get things done?
 - c. Probe: Does it matter whether this person is in a position of power or not?
 - d. In what ways if any does the organizational affiliation of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to share accurate information?
6. Question 5: Who do you go to when you have a problem they need to solve?

- a. Probe: Can you share a story about a time you relied on one of these people to accomplish something related to the coalition?
- b. Probe In what ways if any does the racial/cultural background of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to get things done?
- c. Probe: Does it matter whether this person is in a position of power or not?
- d. In what ways if any does the organizational affiliation of this individual factor into your decision to trust them to share accurate information?

Part III: Leveraging Trust

Thank you for your insights thus far. Now we are going to shift gears a little bit to talk about trust what trust enables in the coalition. We are also going to talk a bit about power dynamics and the role that race and/or culture plays in building trust within the coalition.

7. Thinking about the people you just named, can you give an example or share a story about when you got something done with one of these people because you trusted each other?
 - a. Probe: What was it about this person that enabled you to trust them?
8. Tell me a story about a person in the coalition who you came to trust but did not expect to? Can you give an example of an unlikely ally in the coalition who you trust?
 - a. Probe: Why would you not ordinarily trust this person?
 - b. Probe: Why do you think you and this person developed a trusting relationship?
9. Can you think of an example of time when you experienced or observed a trusting relationship between two people in the coalition that crossed cultural or racial differences?
 - a. Probe: To what do you attribute to the formation of this trusting relationship?
 - b. Probe: Why do you think this relationship developed where others may have not?
 - c. Probe: What role did race/culture play in this relationship?
 - d. Probe: What role did power play in this relationship? Was one person in a position of power over another? Did they share power?
10. What, if anything, do cross-cultural trusting relationships accomplish towards achieving educational equity?
 - a. Do you think trust across racial and cultural differences is necessary to achieve the collective goals of the coalition? Why or why not?
 - b. Probe: Can you think of an example of a time when trust was necessary to accomplish a particular goal or task?
 - c. Probe: Is trust always necessary or can the coalition still be effective without it?

Appendix B: Observation Protocol

Field notes will be recorded during observations in monthly coalition meetings. Observations will take place three times over the course of three months (at total of three observations) with a focus on the following information:

Context:

- Where does the meeting take place?
- Who is facilitating the meeting?
 - What is their role?
 - Why was this person chosen to facilitate? Who chose?
- Who else is present at the meeting?
 - What is their role?
 - Are there specific people who have access or is it open to everyone?
- What is the purpose of the meeting according to the agenda and/or facilitator?
 - Is the purpose clearly communicated to participants?
 - Is there a theme for the meeting?
 - Is there a guest speaker or presenter? How was this person chosen?

Discussion:

- How do the members of the coalition talk about the problems they are working to solve?
- How do members of the coalition talk about their individual goals in relation to other activities within the coalition?
- How do members of the coalition talk about solutions?
- How do members of the coalition build or talk about trust, if at all?
 - Are there opportunities for coalition members to get to know each other?
 - Is trust mentioned in the meetings?
- How do members of the coalition address or talk about race and/or power dynamics in the room and/or in the broader neighborhood?
 - In what ways is race and/or power discussed?
 - In what ways are topics of race and/or power avoided or not discussed?

**Appendix C:
Name Generator Worksheet**

Question	Response (Names)	Description (Characteristics)
Who do you talk to most frequently about activities related to the coalition?		
Of the people you listed above, please circle those who you trust in some way.		
Of the members of the coalition, whom do you rely on for accurate information?		
Of the members of the coalition, whom do you rely on to get things done?		

Appendix D
Sample Code Matrix

Parent Code	Meaning	Subcode	Meaning
Race	Participant references race, either their own or someone else's. Also includes references to racialized dynamics.	Race: Identity	Participant references their own racial identity and/or the racial identity of others.
Culture	Participant references culture, either their own or someone else's. Also includes references to culture in social relationships.	Culture: Identity	Participant references their own cultural identity and/or the cultural identity of others.
Power	Participant references individual power and/or group power dynamics.	Power: Privilege	Participants mention their own privilege, the privilege of others and/or the role that privilege places in social relationships.
		Power: Positionality	Participants reference their own positionality or the positionality of others in relation to power
Trust	Participant references trust in relation to themselves or the concept of trust.	Trust: Building	Participant describes an action, event and/or moment in which they built trust with another coalition member.
		Trust: Definition	Participant provides their own definition of trust
Context	Participant references coalition, organizational or regional/ neighborhood context	Context: Coalition	Participant provides information about the coalition's context
		Context: Region/Neighborhood	Participant references their neighborhood or regional context.
		Context: Historical	Participant references historical context in relation to their work or the coalition.
Network Connections	Participant references their connection to others in the coalition. This code was used for qualitative network mapping.	NC: Individuals	Participant references their connection to another individual in the coalition.
		NC: Organizations	Participant references their connection to an organization in the coalition.
		NC: Other connections	Participant references their connection to an individual, organization, or institution outside of the coalition.

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