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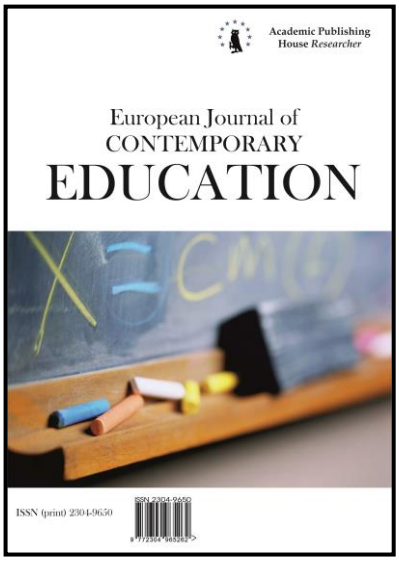

Theory of "Trust" in the Focus of Expectation Study Concerning Educational Space Key Actors

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Abstract

The article presents the results of the study, illustrating the expectations and the persistent stereotypes about the parent and the pedagogical community, which reduce the possibility of confidential interaction development in the sphere of education. The conceptual provisions of "confidence" theory by P. Sztompka, in which trust is viewed as a strategic resource for the development of social systems, became the initial prerequisites for the study. The empirical base of the study was represented by the educational facilities of Moscow. The focus group method was used as the main research method, in which 34 representatives of the parental community and 20 teachers of the Moscow general education schools took part.

The authors conclude that there are contradictions in the key expectations of educational space subjects. Parents consider the school as a social compensator for family dysfunctions, considering it is necessary to involve a teacher in the upbringing and the socialization of younger generation. The results of the study showed that the modern school does not have the necessary resource, personnel and socio-cultural potential; it is unable to meet the expectations of the parental community in the current circumstances. This circumstance undermines the very possibility of educational space key agent trust and supports the functional weakness of the modern school.

The novelty of the data obtained in the course of the study is the conclusion that the boundaries of social tension, the manifestations of frustration and the uncertainty of the parental and pedagogical community, as well as the risks of school education modernization have extended. The materials of the research work illustrate the reduction of positive motivation for educational space actors, the alienation during the interactions between a family and a school and the lack of an effective managerial practice in the development of constructive cooperation. Social attitudes of a student and a teacher, refracted in the prism of formal interactions between a "client" and

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"educational service provider", initiate the educational space deformation and the distortion of traditional roles.

Keywords: school education, parental community, teacher, expectations, trust.

1. Introduction

The Institute of Education has a very important role, since it is called upon to form a new type of personality, a new citizen, devoid of dogmatic stereotypes, capable of being an active participant in socioeconomic and political transformations (Rogach et al., 2018). An objective increase of education institution role for the development of intellectual, sociocultural and economic potential of Russia (Kasatkin, 2017), the current trends and the patterns in the development of the educational sector necessitate the study of actor expectations and needs in the educational space (Rogach et al., 2017). At the same time, the educational environment should provide an opportunity for the development and the selection of education for each student through an active participation in various areas of education using alternative technologies of knowledge obtaining (Sokolvyak, 2017). Thus, an adopted course on education system modernization should be based on the achievements of modern theories and concepts that justify the principles and interaction determinants between all parties interested in educational process quality improvement. The theory of "trust" is among such theories, which have special significance for the study of the educational space key actor expectations.

The authors attempt to analyze the conditions for trust relations development in the education system. This is due to the fact that the turn to the "soft variables", mental and cultural dimensions of public reality, the expansion of anxiety, uncertainty and risk boundaries actualizes the significance of "trust culture" category. P. Sztompka, substantiating this theory, comes to the conclusion that trust becomes an "indispensable strategy for moving forward" (Sztompka, 2012: 58), is "an attribute of the public-individual field in which people operate with the cultural resource used by individuals in their activities" (Sztompka, 2012: 59).

Trust is the factor in the socio-economic development of society, life quality level increase and it determines the willingness of individuals to follow certain norms of behavior (Mareeva, 2015). Trust strengthens cognitive stereotypes and attitudes, forms intergroup mutual understanding, tolerance and organizational cooperation (Guzhavina, 2012). In the sociological aspect, trust is determined according to the social experience of individuals, as well as by individual goals and stability achievement extent to which the trust resource is able at the level of group interaction (Kozhina, 2013).

The complexity of the educational system, its inherent properties of conservatism and inertia, rather negative experience of reform perception in Russian conditions, cause the importance of trust study, which is one of modernization effectiveness key factors. In the context of trust development, the predictability of a management subject actions, the understanding of the main directions of educational sector reforming is of key importance. If institutional and organizational changes are perceived by actors as unsystematic and disorderly, this will lead to the level of trust decrease (Volchik, Krivosheeva-Medyantseva, 2016).

Trust is the mechanism based on the firm beliefs of the subjects in honesty, willingness to cooperate with other members of society and the confidence in the commonality of ethical norms (Fukuyama, 1997).

At that, one should take into account both interpersonal trust (in relation to other individuals) and institutional one (in relation to abstract systems and social institutions) (Giddens, 2011: 47). Interpersonal trust is based on positive expectations about the actions of other individuals. By interpersonal trust, we mean stable open interactions between actors in the educational space, focused on solidarity and cooperation in order to improve the quality of educational services. The characteristics of such interactions are the confidence in decency, positive motivation, interest in the most effective result and the creation of the best conditions for students, the disclosure of their abilities, the development of their skills and abilities on the part of all actors in the educational space (administration, teachers, parents, etc.). Trust releases and mobilizes human subjectivity, releases creative, free, innovative and energetic actions (Luhmann, 1979: 8). Interpersonal trust in a cohesive team contributes to higher pedagogical result achievement, improving the organizational effectiveness (Smith, Shoho, 2007). On the contrary, the lack of trust, the incompatibility of interests initiate tensions and hostility in the process of interaction, blocking

the exchange of information and knowledge (Jonasson et al., 2014). The key aspect in this context is the correspondence of expectations and behavior (activity) between interacting actors. The basis of trust between individuals is responsibility and complicity. Institutional trust (to abstract systems), formed in the modern era, provides the reliability in everyday life (Kiselev, 2014).

Civic engagement and interpersonal trust are the factors that shape institutional trust (Putnam, 2000). Many scientists and practitioners come to the conclusion that the most significant factor of family and school cooperation is trust (Angell et al., 2009; Shelden et al., 2010; Turnbull et al., 2015). "School trust and public responsibility relate to the fundamental foundations of education, the factor of ethical and social standard observance in the process of active learning" (Cherepaniak-Valchak, Pezhicka, 2014). A low level of trust initiates alienation in family and school interactions, blocks the development of sustainable patterns of behavior and norms based on the value of education, the prestige of pedagogical work, the motivation for learning, the development of personal potential and on the interest in new knowledge obtaining.

2. Materials and Methods

The goal of the study is to determine expectations and persistent stereotypes of the parent and pedagogical community that limit the possibility of confidential relations development in the field of education. The authors put forward the following hypothesis: the traditional parental perception of school as a key agent of the younger generation socialization is not reflected in the actual practice of the educational process, which undermines the credibility of the education system as a whole. The modern school does not have the resource and other potential that allows it to become a social compensator of family and social dysfunctions. The assumption is made that the expectations of the parents regarding the functional of the modern school are not supported. This assumption acts as an additional hypothesis that requires empirical verification. The functional weakness of the secondary school is manifested in the distance from the educational process, the lack of the opportunity to reduce the socio-cultural risks of young people growing up.

The empirical base of the study was the educational facilities of Moscow. The focus group method was used as the main research method, in which 34 representatives of the parental community and 20 teachers of Moscow general education schools took part. The questionnaire survey of focus group participants was used in order to verify the data obtained and the hypotheses put forward. The questionnaire included the following blocks of questions: the level of confidence and the factors of its formation; mutual expectations and the stereotypes of educational space key actors. The authors also used the general scientific methods of research in a comprehensive manner; research activities were applied supported by the methods of comparison, comparative and system analysis.

The results of the study were analyzed through the analysis of the relationship between the level of trust of parents in school and the level of their expectations (the formation of interest in learning, an individual approach, a teacher's authority, the educational function of school, etc.) and the use of the counting method for the Pearson's criterion χ^2. Statistical significance was set at $p<0,05$.

3. Results

During the focus group study of the parental community expectations, it was established that new socioeconomic conditions require to have a high level of employment and an active economic position from parents. In this context, the lack of free time, a large amount of work leaves its imprint on the assessment of the time that a child spends at school.

Olga D., 31 years old: "I pay electives, and prolonged studies. Why should I spend the remaining energy on homework check or school project performance? Why do I have to answer for the ways they teach my child there ... I pay, and the school has to do its job qualitatively."

The received results testify that modern parents of schoolchildren perceive themselves as the customers and the consumers of educational services. Other requirements for the modern school come to the forefront, and not only to its content part, but also to the resource-organizational context. At the same time, the introduction of market mechanisms in the educational sphere does not meet a clear understanding among parents: for many of them this practice is perceived as the narrowing of free, and most importantly an accessible education. A particularly negative reaction in the parental community relates to the need for significant expenditures on the education of modern

children, which are not the payment for the provision of qualitative educational services by an educational institution: "general fees", "money for repairs", "money for class needs", etc.

Anna V., 39 years old: "The fees increase, the quality does not improve. What is the purpose? I am afraid to imagine it ... ".

The current practice undermines the credibility to the school as a social partner, who has the same goal as parents - to educate a worthy citizen of society. With different goals and the means of their achievement, a teacher and a parent are outside the single "negotiating field", which provokes the emergence of high expectations from each other's actions without taking into account the real capabilities of all interested parties. In the course of the study the segmentation of parental interests in two polar positions is observed. With sufficiently high expectations, typical of almost all representatives of the parental community, some respondents are characterized by distancing and low involvement in a schoolchild's educational process, while the other part of the parents, investing considerable funds in a child's education, is not satisfied with the school preparation of their children. Those parents who talk about their great contribution to the education of their children are focused on a "symmetric" response from teachers in the form of centering on a child's interests, an individual approach to his learning and on the improvement of the educational process quality. However, in practice, the mass character and the stereotyped nature of the educational process are observed.

According to the results of respondent answer analysis to a number of key questions assessing the level of their expectations (the formation of interest in learning, an individual approach, a teacher's authority, the educational function of school, etc.), three conditional groups were identified: the parents with high, medium and low expectations. This division made it possible to reveal the relationship between the level of expectations and the level of parental trust in school as an educational space agent ($\chi^2 = 11{,}287$; $p<0{,}05$) (Table 1).

Table 1. Assessment of parental trust level in the pedagogical composition of educational institutions (N = 34)

Study groups	**Evaluation parameters**		
	High level of trust	Average level of trust	Low level of trust
Parents with high level of expectations	**1**	**4**	**9**
Parents with average level of expectations	**6**	**7**	**4**
Parents with low level of expectations	**0**	**3**	**0**

The discrepancies between parental expectations and the perceived reality limit the possibility of confidential relations development in the sphere of education. The indifference on the part of teachers, an inattentive and sometimes rude treatment of their children marked by children is perceived as the practice of "unfair" partnership. The results of the focus group study illustrate the change of the modern school vector from its perception as a social institution that ensures the reproduction of the social and intellectual potential of Russian society to "unavoidable evil."

Tatyana K., 43 years old: "Every year we perceive school as hard labor. We would like it be over soon!"

It is fair to say that this opinion is not the only one, although the dominant one among the parental community today. Some part of the parents is focused on the complexity of a teacher professional activity and the risks of his professional burnout.

Elena P., 38 years old: "The situation is hard for teachers nowadays. Sometimes we are tired of our children, and they need to cope with twenty or more at the same time, and each one demands an individual approach. And they are also burdened with papers, everyone demands something ... ".

Almost universal absence of institutional trust in the system of Russian education as a whole is compensated partially by the development of personal trust relations with specific

representatives of the pedagogical community. Parents, seeing a teacher's interest in the quality performance of their professional activities, are ready to establish a constructive dialogue with him.

Some positive practices are noted, but the general negative color of statements about school education prevails.

Anastasia M., 45 years old: "Formerly the school had a high authority. A teacher had a sacred role, a child respected him and listened to his opinion."

During the study they found that parents expect the implementation of traditional role from teachers, which does not allow their excessive convergence in the personal space, beyond the educational process. It is noteworthy that deceived expectations, a disrespectful attitude of parents towards a teacher and a general negative attitude towards the school is widespread in the family circle. Pupils imitate the behavior of parents and reproduce a disdainful attitude towards teacher's work.

Svetlana Ch., 37 years old: "My husband calls school teachers in disdainful ways, and the son repeats it. I tried to explain many times that this is only worse for our child, nothing changes concerning such a disregard to a teacher's work."

The situation is exacerbated by administrative restrictions concerning teacher activities, who believe that the requirement of conflict-free interaction has a greater "weight" in their practice than real some attempts to educate and upbring a child.

Victor D., 53 years old (a teacher): "The director, if it is in his power, will never allow a conflict with his parents. In any case, a teacher will be guilty: he did not teach properly, did not watch properly, or something else."

This circumstance reduces the motivational component of a teacher's work, reduces the degree of his trust, both to the actions of the educational facility management, and to the actions of schoolchildren parents. In addition, the findings show that teachers do not have disciplinary, organizational and other resources that would allow them to level out the destructive behavior of students, to influence them, also to strengthen their authority.

Anna S., 54 years old (a teacher): "It's easier not to pay attention to the defiant behavior of a student and release him from school quickly than to come into a conflict with inadequate and sometimes aggressive parents who protect their child in any situation."

The orientation of the educational process on the training of students for USE adopted today limits the monitoring and the evaluation of schoolchildren educational activities with quantitative indicators. Less attention is paid to the quality aspect of school preparation in these conditions. According to teachers, it is very difficult to implement the traditional educational functions of the school, if neither parents nor the school authorities support them in this matter. In the course of the study, the correlation was found between the teachers' assessment of their professional activities (educational, motivational component, etc.) and the level of their support by the school administration ($\chi^2 = 11.746$, $p < 0.05$) (Table 2).

Table 2. The relationship between teachers' self-assessment of their professional activities and the level of their support from the school administration (N = 20)

Study groups	**Self-assessment of teacher professional activities**		
	high	average	low
Teachers who are satisfied with the level of support from the administration	**4**	**1**	**1**
Teachers who are not satisfied with the level of support from the school administration	**0**	**9**	**5**

Alexandra T., 47 years old (a teacher): "We can not even drive a child out of the class despite all of his misbehavior. Over the years, I question myself more and more frequently: do parents raise their children in general or do they throw them off at school to make us suffer with them?"

The continuity of educational sphere reformation has led to the breach of trust between a teacher and the administration of an educational institution. The expectations of teachers to the actions of management is reduced to their legal (protective) and motivational functions. In particular, in modern conditions the economic expectations of the pedagogical staff prove to be unsupported. The situation is aggravated by a high level of "paper" workload, including the innovative initiatives of the educational institution administration.

4. Discussion

The implementation of not only educational, but also upbringing functions of the school is associated with certain imbalances in the expectations of key actors. In modern conditions, the complications of the social environment, the actualization of younger generation growing risks, the expectations associated with the performance of educational functions are not realized. The pedagogical staff, overloaded with routine, paper work, mostly focuses on the performance of basic educational activities, the transfer of knowledge, believing that socialization and the upbringing of a child is the parental prerogative. Parents, in their turn, failing to cope with the influence of the external environment, the growth of information aggression and the propaganda of the consumer way of life make high expectations for the development of value-motivational attitudes of an individual within the school.

The implementation of the educational function in modern conditions is also largely associated with distorted expectations. The concept of "education quality" carries a different semantic load, it is identified with such characteristics as "the sufficiency of knowledge for the passing of USE and the admission to a university," "the development of abilities for further education," "the development of independent and critical thinking," etc. Such discrepancies reduce the probability of "an expected action" significantly. An additional negative incentive is the lack of coherence in the issues of parents' participation share determination in the educational process (the traditional functions of the school "to teach a child to read and write" are shifted to the shoulders of parents, a negative perception is caused by the need to provide material assistance to the school, etc.). A high level of tutoring service distribution is illustrated by the fact that nowadays the expectations of the parent community in the field of school education are not satisfied fully. Since the expectations are not justified, mutual trust does not arise, which leads to a number of dysfunctions, the lack of coherence and the consensus in the actions of educational space key actors. The most significant dysfunctions are the decrease of a teacher's authority (unjustified parental expectations are projected on the attitudes between students), the deformation of the institutional forms of student-teacher interaction, the decreased interest in learning by schoolchildren, conflict risks in the interactions between parents1 and the pedagogical staff.

Alienation is also characteristic for the interactions between the teaching staff and the school administration. The expectations of educational institution leadership are developed from the concepts of personal development declared by the authorities, the variability of educational programs, the competence approach on the one hand, and from rather stringent requirements to the results of the Unified State Examination and conflict-free interactions on the other hand. The perception of the pedagogical corps of the possibilities to realize one's expectations, the fairness of observing the parity of rights and duties is characterized by negative assessments of teachers.

Despite the fact that the state educational policy has set a course for public participation expansion in the management of education, there is a consistently low parental participation in this process (Rogach et al., 2017: 794). In the course of the focus group study, it was established that the parental and pedagogical community can not "agree" on their share representation in the processes of a child education and upbringing due to a number of reasons. The absence of a single analytical framework for the perception of the expectations, needs and interests of each other by parents and teachers entails the decrease of mutual trust level. In these conditions, the measures taken by the state to involve the public to the solution of the educational sector problems development (state-public management, the creation of expert and parental councils) (Frolova, Rogach, 2017) are not supported and perceived by parents as the way to shift the school functions to their shoulders.

5. Conclusions

In the course of the study, the team of authors identified the stable expectations of the parent and pedagogical community. The key expectations of parents, which limit the possibility of trust interaction development in the education system, are concentrated in the socially-role characteristics of the modern school. The educational institution is considered by parents as a social compensator of family and other dysfunctions, one of the key actors in the processes of younger generation upbringing, education and socialization. However, according to the results of the study, they determined that a modern school does not possess the necessary resource, personnel and socio-cultural potential (the decrease of the teacher's profession prestige, its authority among pupils and parents, etc.), which provokes the emergence of professional destructions among teacher activities and attitudes. A teacher's inability to meet the expectations of the parental community in the current conditions not only undermines the very possibility of trust between the key agents of the educational space, but also threatens an effective modernization of school education.

The functional weakness of the modern school and the deformation of the institutional forms of "student-teacher" interaction entails the discrepancy between the expectations of key interested parties and the actual practice of the educational process. The social attitudes between a student and a teacher, refracted in the prism of formal interactions between a "client" and the "provider of educational services", initiate the deformation of the educational space and the distortion of traditional roles.

The novelty of the data obtained in the course of the empirical study is the conclusion about the increasing boundaries of anxiety, the uncertainty of the parental and pedagogical community, and the risks of school education modernization. Accepting the assertion that trust is "an indispensable strategy for moving forward" as the constant the materials of the research work highlight the lack of positive motivation for educational space actors, the alienation in interactions between a family and a school, the lack of an effective managerial practice for constructive cooperation development.

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