



Understanding Trust in Planning

*An interpretive perspective on trust as a coordination mechanism
in collaborative planning processes*

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the relation between trust and planning. Trust is a relatively new concept in planning theory, but has already been considered as having a significant influence in the success of (collaborative) planning processes. This study seeks to explore the implications of trust to planning and more particularly aims to understand how trust works, develops and functions by recognising the relational aspects of collaborative planning. To do so, this thesis is composed of three parts, namely a theoretical, practical and an interpretative part. First, the theoretical part comprises an extensive (technical) exploration of the existing literature, which is carefully deliberated to define what trust is, how it is able to develop into thicker types, and what its function is regarding the concepts complexity and uncertainty. It is argued that trust functions as a governance mechanism in coordinating expectations and interactions of and between participants in communicative planning processes. Second, with these theoretical insights planning practice is approached through a case study of a collaborative planning project 'Maurik-Dijkzone'. The qualitative results of this case study are contemplated on five theoretical assumptions of the conceptual model, after which the usability and suitability of the mechanism of trust are deliberated. Third, an interpretative approach is applied in the light of the outcomes of the case study and the hitherto reasoning. Through the addition of nuances it allows a reflection on the pragmatic opportunities for trust building in planning practice. The study ends by providing concluding remarks and recommendations for collaborative planning and further research on trust in the field of planning.

Keywords: *Trust; trust development; collaborative planning; coordination mechanism; uncertainty; complexity; conceptual analysis; planning theory*

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*“He who does not trust enough,
Will not be trusted” (Lao Tzu, 600 BC)*



WAGENINGEN UR

For quality of life



Preface

During the progression of my study in becoming a professional planner, a relatively new concept in planning attracted my special attention, namely the concept of trust. The first time I got put in touch with this concept was during a planning policy module at University College Cork (UCC), in the course of the Erasmus Exchange Programme in autumn 2008. After reading and exploring the current and past discussions in planning theory about different paradigms, philosophical approaches, discourses and methodologies, I became aware of the importance of trust in collaborative planning processes as a potential mechanism to cope with uncertainty and complexity. Later during my internship at Grontmij, an consultant company, I experienced the significance of trust too. Firstly, in acting trustworthy towards the initiator (instructing party), and secondly in the exercise of building trust among stakeholders, councillors and citizens in (communicative) planning processes. I became aware that if a large amount of trust is present, it increases the opportunities of satisfied results in decision-making as well as the chances of actual implementation of policies. It stroke me that only little research has been done in the field of planning about the significance of trust and its potential for consensus building in collaborative planning processes.

After my internship, I got into the theory about trust and wrote a paper about the role of trust in planning processes for the course 'planning theory'. The excellent mark for that paper, and the consecutive pleasant conversation with Prof. Arnold van der Valk, encouraged me to select this subject as the research topic for my MSc-thesis. The theoretical framework of that paper is used as immediate cause for further exploring the role of trust and for investigating the opportunities to manage or build it. If trust can be influenced consciously, potential insights can be obtained for the design of new planning arrangements for collaborative planning. Hereby is my aim to provide a better understanding of the concept of trust as well as its role in collaborative planning processes and the possibilities to create it. Knowledge about the

role of trust as a coordination mechanism, provides an understanding that enables the formation of pragmatic cornerstones, as being skills for facilitating and managing communicative processes. This understanding will improve planning practice and nonetheless the planners of the future.

This thesis is written as the final assignment for the Master Landscape Architecture and Planning, with Spatial Planning as specialization. Writing a thesis is not an easy job; partly because the topic of trust is quite complex and abstract. Literature on trust within various scientific disciplines has been studied, which requires a skill to maintain constantly an overview of theoretical assumptions. Especially at times when this overview was missing, it became occasionally hard to find the motivation to continue. Therefore, I would like to thank everyone who helped me during this period. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisors, Jasper de Vries and Raoul Beunen, for their feedback and the freedom they gave me to execute this study independent, which enabled me to be creative in finding my own direction. Secondly, I would like to thank Rik Jansen, Renske Dijkwel and Gert Santema of Grontmij, who helped me finding an appropriate case study, as well as the Municipality of Buren that allowed me to conduct the case study. In addition, I am grateful to the people from the 'Dijkzone-area' in Maurik, who were willing to make time for me to make inquiries during interviews. Last but not least I want to thank all my close friends, my parents and particularly my girlfriend Brenda de Kok for their (financial) support and advice during all these years of study and for the fact that they always continued to believe in me.

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Summary

Trust, it has been argued, operates as a coordination mechanism that is able to influence the selection of expectations and actions in the face of other possibilities. Trust is in essence relational, and can only be offered and accepted. This thesis explores the functioning and consequences of the mechanism of trust. By reasoning its characteristics, which are 'predictability', 'interdependence', 'the willingness to expose vulnerable' and '(delayed) reciprocity', the act of trusting from the perspective of the trustor (someone who does the trusting) in a context of interdependence is consequently defined as *having confident positive expectations that another party's intentions and actions will not exploit one's vulnerabilities resulting from a willingness to accept risk, and that the other party therefore performs reciprocally towards a potential trusting act*. The two dimensional psychological approach accordingly provides insights in how trust and distrust coexist as complementary mechanisms through which they give rise to alternative social realities. Irrespective of the presence of distrust, high or thick trust is required to foster cooperation. It appears that trust develops to 'thicker forms' by a transformation of the basis of trust, which changes its character. Time (frequent interactions) and communication are defined as preconditions for this development of trust. 'Confidence in abstract systems' and 'rational calculative trust' are considered as calculus-based types of trust, and 'knowledge on other parties' norms' and 'trust on personal relations' are identification-based. These confident positive expectations occur from an interaction of cognitively-driven and emotionally-driven processes in the human brains. While calculus-based trust functions as a substitute for information and thereby reduces the analytical complexity where participants in collaborative planning processes have to deal with, it is particularly identification-based trust that substitutes for assurances and reduces uncertainty as a result. Increasing amounts of uncertainty and complexity are stated as the main problem in this study as these concepts are considered in having a delaying effect on planning processes. The theoretical assumptions in this study are outlined in a conceptual model, which has been contemplated and discussed against

the results of a case study of a collaborative process called 'Maurik-Dijkzone'. The case study comprises a running project that implies an initiative of 11 landowners, who want to develop approximately 55 houses in an area at the north of the village 'Maurik' in the municipality of Buren. Eight participants were interviewed by the use of open-ended questions through questionnaires. The qualitative results from that case study have consequently been contemplated in light of the theoretical assumptions of the conceptual model of trust. The mechanism of trust has provided insights in the progress of the studied process regarding the development of trust in relation to the presence and origin of complexity and uncertainty. Through a reflection on the usability and suitability of the insights of the mechanism of trust in planning practice it turns out that the mechanism of trust can be used as a method for interpreting planning practice. Especially in (local) collaborative planning processes, with a planner operating as a mediator, a focus on trust provides a practical guidance for the design of such a process and it enables the planner to influence the development of trust in order to reduce uncertainty, promote cooperation and reach consensus more efficiently.



1 Introduction

This thesis specifically focuses on the role of trust in relation to complexity and uncertainty in collaborative planning processes. Nowadays planning is not a hierarchical technocratic exercise anymore, but rather an interactive communicative exercise of mutual learning that incorporates different meanings and ideals about reality (Faludi, 2000). Complexity and uncertainty are two serious issues where planners and actors have to deal with within these processes. Herein trust is seen an important coordination mechanism in the relation between people.

1.1 Outline

Below I will introduce the topic by mentioning the relation between trust and planning, which gives an insight in the main problems and issues. After exploring and stating the main problems, the research objective, research questions and a hypoth-

esis are given. This will eventually lead up to the description of research methods, which identifies the character of this thesis work and clarifies how data will be collected and analysed in order to answer the research questions.

1.2 Introducing Trust and Planning

Trust is everywhere and is considered a basic fact of human life (Straker, 2008). A complete absence of trust would prevent someone from getting up in the morning, as the complexity of the world would appear as chaos, overwhelm him, and makes it impossible to take any decisions or action (Luhmann, 1979). This means that somehow trust is able to function as a support in a search for certainty. Especially in areas where the field of activity is future oriented and people are up against large amounts of uncertainty, trust could be an answer. This brings us to its relevance for planning. With planning framed as an inherently political activity (Low, 1991) on the one hand,

and an activity working in the public interest (Campbell and Marshall, 2002) on the other, “planning as a general activity is the making of an orderly sequence of action that will lead to the achievement of a stated goal or goals” (Hall, 2002, p. 3). The nature of planning is thus not only based on technical knowledge, but is also connected with broader aspects, such as communicative rationality, politics and persuasion (power). Together with the future-oriented perspective of planning, it ended up that planners have to cope with great amounts of uncertainty and complexity. “If planning were judged by results, that is, by whether life followed the dictates of the plan, then planning has failed everywhere it has been tried. No one, it turns out, has the knowledge to predict sequences of actions and reactions across the realm of public policy, and no one has the power to compel obedience” (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 21). From this quote of Wildavsky, we get concept of the differences between ‘the plan’ and ‘the reality’, or the gap between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’. Because of increasing inclusion of actors, which indicates complexity, and a lack of sufficient knowledge and divergent interests, which indicates uncertainty, the planning profession as a whole has been subject for change over the last couple of decades. The autonomy of planning as technical and rational expertise is argued to be insufficient and unreliable (see amongst others: Healey, 1997; Innes, 1995, 2004). “A growing number of planning theorists have taken a ‘communicative turn’ in describing and theorizing urban and regional planning or located policy making” (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000, p. 333). This communicative turn, or as Innes (1995) stated ‘communicative paradigm’, is based on Habermas’ publications about discourse ethics and communicative rationality. Many theorists have subsequently explored this larger field of communicative planning and this led to new fields of communicative approaches, such as collaborative planning (Healy, 1997), consensus building (Innes, 2004) and visioning (Graffikin and Sterret, 2006). “Those commonalities cluster around the idea of the planner, and the practice of planning, as facilitating communicative interchanges between interested parties, whether stakeholders or the community at large, over matters of common concern, and are not necessarily confined to issues of the development and land use (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000, p. 333). Planning cannot be suf-

ficiently understood and executed pure rationally and gradually anymore and should therefore better be considered as interactive, i.e. a cyclical learning activity based on communicative principles.

The focus of this 'communicative paradigm' has thus shifted away from logical positivism, with the planners' role as a technical expert, towards the promotion of planning by debate, in which a shared future is deliberately discussed among participants and where the planners' role in the process should be that of a skilled and trained facilitator (Fainstein, 2000; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Innes, 2004). As not all theorists who are in favour of the 'communicative paradigm' agree with the design of the process – Habermas' notion of communicative rationality gives the rules for a normatively designed process in advance (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002), while the theory of consensus building takes the view that the process is self-organized and unconstrained by conveners in its time or content (Innes, 2004) –, they do agree about the content of the process, which is pragmatic (situation dependent) and as 'bottom-up' typified. Planners are becoming more and more facilitators or mediators in a search for predictability and certainty, and securing confidence that the planning system is working in 'the public interest' (Stein and Harper, 2003; Swain and Tait, 2007). The role of the professional planner is significant in such participative processes as being "a central and autonomous figure in mediating planning decisions and who occupies a role in which questions of trust are particularly pertinent" (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 231). Apparently, trustworthiness in the process and the professional planner seem to be crucial for the success of the process in order to get possible agreements about realization and implementation. Trust can therefore be highly significant for planning as being some kind of substitute for certainty. Swain and Tait (2007, p. 230) even state that "trust appears as a crucial concept in understanding planning, not only in the individual relations of trust built by planners and others but also in the broader trustworthiness of the planning system and planning profession." Hence, the aim of this study is to provide a better understanding of the interactions between trust and planning.

1.3 Problem description and statement

Contemporary Western societies, typified by liberal democratic ideals, are under influence of different aspects of the rise of modernity. Swain and Tait (2007) argue for the emergence of four types of societies, which form the basic assumptions of this problem statement:

- **The risk society** implies the emergence of a more complex modernity – key elements are individualisation, and increasing uncontrollable technological risks – following that *complexity* in planning increased.
- **The pluralistic society** implies the emergence of a more fragmented modernity – key elements are fragmented loyalties and interests, and the sharing of power – following that like the risk society *complexity* in planning increased.
- **The rights-based society** implies the emergence of an ethical change of modernity – key element is the dominance of a rights-centred approach of individuals or groups over the obligations or duties they may hold – following that especially the amount of *uncertainty* in planning increased.
- **Advanced liberalism** implies the emergence of the political ideology of neo-liberalism of modernity – key elements are the functioning of the free market (with less state intervention) and decision-making by economic calculation – following that like the rights-based society the amount of *uncertainty* in planning increased.

These changes in society had and still have a significant impact on planning theory and practice. In dense populated countries, such as the Netherlands, rural areas become more and more urbanized with increasing (public) interests, and evolve into metropolitan landscapes. The right to a say was developed in the 1970s and shifted in two decades from an idealistic and normative solution for creating public support towards a formal instrument (Coenen et al, 2001). As a consequence, the engineer-

ing model of planning that served us during the past 200 years (with blueprinting and superiority in decision making based on technical knowledge) was no longer sufficient and ought to be abandoned (Friedmann, 1993). This theoretical shift in rationality slightly effected practice too. New forms of participation and joint decision making were introduced as a reaction towards the arise of new functions and more stakes, increasing urbanization as well as a lack of public involvement. The planning system shifted in many countries with liberal democratic societies from government to governance, so that more emphasis was put on joint decision-making in communicative planning processes that are often top-down initiated but bottom-up organized. This meant for planning practice that decision-making would take place more and more in consultation with actors and citizens. “Those commonalities cluster around the idea of the planner, and the practice of planning, as facilitating communicative interchanges between interested parties, whether stakeholders or the community at large, over matters of common concern, and are not necessarily confined to issues of the development and land use” (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000, p. 333).

The fundamental and social changes in society as a whole, which I described above, and the forthcoming significant shift of the planning system and planning practice, caused large amounts of complexity and uncertainty, which can be seen as problematic as they decline the opportunities for fruitful cooperation (Van Ark and Edelenbos, 2005). Due to a fragmented modernity, considered as individualistic and pluralistic, more and more actors want (or need) to be included in collaborative planning processes, which increase the potential complexity. This increased complexity directly leads to more uncertainty, which is not exclusively related towards the possible outcome of the process. During the process, uncertainty does also exist among actors about the design of the process, about knowledge and about other actors’ intentions and behaviour. Coping with complexity and uncertainty in collaborative planning processes is neither easy for the organizing planning institution nor for the participants. Suspicion against other actors and the avoidance of taking risks in such a process often result in dissatisfaction about the outcomes. Even if a plan has

been developed, lack of public support or the absence of trust in it could put implementation to a stop. Therefore, the most basic problems of this thesis research are increasing amounts of complexity and uncertainty, which are, as described above, the results of different aspects of the rise of modernity. Existing mechanisms, i.e. power and Strategic Choice, which should be able to cope with uncertainty and complexity in planning processes display shortcomings. The Strategic Choice Approach, elaborated for the purpose of planning by Friend and Hickling (2005), is significant from the point of view of rationality, but fails when the situation becomes too complex, as it is impossible to quantify either propensity for defection or the extend of potential gains and losses (Bachmann, 2001). Besides, this mechanism is not able to anticipate fully on changing circumstances. Power is another mechanism to coordinate expectations and to control the dynamics of a social relationship. Power is closely linked with distrust and often uses the mechanism of distrust to coordinate expectations by introducing deterrents, such as sanctions. In many respects, but not all, power can be efficient, and the risks of misplacement or unforeseen breakdowns do not often result in dramatic situations (Bachmann, 2001). However, power does not enjoy a very high reputation in day-to-day praxis. It is usually classified as unacceptable means to control social communication.

The last couple of years more and more scholars in planning and organizational studies put emphasis on the possibilities of the role of trust in communicative processes (Van Ark and Edelenbos, 2005; De Vries, 2008; Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Laurian, 2009; Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003; Rousseau et al, 1998; Stein and Harper, 2003; Swain and Tait, 2007; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). The social relevance of the concept of trust is a consequence of the intensified interdependence of actors within a collaborative planning process. Jasper de Vries (2008) concluded in his thesis that trust plays an important role in planning processes as being a condition for joining planning relations and for cooperation. He argues that trust is a possible substitute for control and certainties in planning processes. Kumar and Paddison (2000, p. 209) state that “actively seeking trust would [...] engage professionals with

the stakeholders in a process of continuous interaction under the conditions of communicative rationality leading to shared understanding and mutually agreed upon decisions”. As different authors have addressed the importance of the role of trust as a concept for planning relations in general, only little research has been conducted regarding the significance of trust as a mechanism in dealing with complexity and uncertainty. What is trust and can it be created as an incentive for collaboration or used as a method to reflect on planning processes? This makes the role of trust as a concept for planning interesting to study.

1.3.1 Problem statement

There is a lack of knowledge in understanding the concept of trust in collaborative planning processes regarding its role as a mechanism in dealing with complexity and uncertainty.

Studying the role and social function of trust is not only scientifically relevant, with a purpose to provide insights in its functionality as a coordination mechanism, but is also socially relevant by forming pragmatic cornerstones for using or creating trust. In that case, the study will also focus on contingent skills for communicative approaches and process management to better anticipate in various practical situations, which will improve the planners of the future.

N. B. The concept of trust is quite abstract and can be broadly interpreted. Published articles in different fields of study conclude in general that trust has many opportunities as a particular mode of action (Stein and Harper, 2003). The challenge in studying trust is, thus, to make it tangible and amplified for planning purposes. By focussing on the relation between trust, complexity and uncertainty, this study intends upon better understanding the context of trust and thereby make recommendations for further research.

1.4 Research objective and research questions

1.4.1 Research objective

The main objective of this thesis is to study and understand how trust works, whether and how it is able to deal with complexity and uncertainty, and if it can be developed, used or influenced in a certain context, in order to obtain insights for the design of planning arrangements for collaborative planning.

1.4.2 Research questions

1. What is trust and where is it based on?
2. How does trust develop over time and what factors or practical actions may incite this?
3. What is the function of trust in relation to the concepts complexity and uncertainty?
4. How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?

1.4.3 Hypothesis

Knowledge about the development of trust provides an understanding of its social function as a coordination mechanism, which can strategically be applied in collaborative planning processes to reduce complexity and uncertainty on the one hand, and to foster cooperation on the other hand.

1.5 Research methodology

1.5.1 The character of the thesis work

The aim of this thesis is to inquire the role and significance of trust as a strategic mechanism in dealing with complexity and uncertainty in collaborative planning processes. A quick literature scan has provided a first inquiry about the concept of trust, which was essential for the selection of methodology for the execution of this thesis research. It turned out that regardless the operation of trust as a cognitively-driven phenomenon, it also operates as an emotionally-driven phenomenon (see amongst others: Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b). This presumes that knowledge about trust is also grounded in peoples' experiences within a relationship. With this recognition it can be postulated that knowledge about trust is socially constructed and context-dependent (Maturana and Varela, 1998). Therefore, the approach of this research presumes socially constructed knowledge claims. Several assumptions can be made about constructivism (Crotty in Creswell, 2003, p. 9):

- Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Qualitative researchers tend to use open-ended questions so that participants can express their views.
- Humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspective – we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture. Thus, qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally. They also make an interpretation of what they find, an interpretation shaped by the researchers' own experiences and backgrounds.
- The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community. The process of qualitative research is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field.

Assumptions on the concept of trust and the possibilities to create it can only be verified by individuals' experiences, which are the participants in (collaborative) planning processes. Their subjective perceptions about existing amounts of trust and trust development, in relation to their assessment of uncertainty and complexity in a search for certainty, provides an understanding of whether trust can be used by planners as a strategic mechanism. Practical trust building efforts can be made during the process by the planning system (arrangements by a planning institution), or by the planner (in their role as facilitator or mediator), which subsequently can be observed by the researcher.

1.5.2 Data collection and data analysis

The best suitable approach that fits socially constructed knowledge claims in this study is the use of qualitative research methods. "A qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e., the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern). [...] The researcher collects open-ended, emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data" (Creswell, 2003, p. 18). Because the objective of this thesis research is studying how trust develops among participants in a collaborative planning process over time, the strategy of data inquiry has been constructed as an ethnographic design. Here, research seeks to establish the meaning of trust from the views of participants. Especially *grounded theory* (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1998) and a *case study* (Stake, 1995) are methods that fit this inquiry approach. According to Creswell (2003):

- **Grounded theory** is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher attempts to derive a general, abstract theory of a process, action or interaction (*the development of trust*) grounded in the views of participants in a study (Corbin in Creswell, 2003, p. 14).

- A **case study** is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a process (*a collaborative planning process*). The case is bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake in Creswell, 2003, p. 15).

Creswell argues that one of the key elements of collecting qualitative data is to observe participants' behaviours by participating in their activities. Another method to acquire these data is by open-ended questions through questionnaires.

As the theory provides ideas for the development of trust in collaborative planning, the thesis work is representative for a case study approach. Such a case study exemplifies the effect of (the development of) trust, in a way participants form expectations about the process (and other participants' intentions) in the future, which has a straight connection with how they encounter complexity and uncertainty. The results of the inquiry of the case study are used to reflect on the theoretical assumptions of the mechanism of trust. Hypothetically, the perception of the amount of complexity and uncertainty will decrease as trust increases.

1.5.3 Literature

Different scientific sources are used to collect information about trust and related concepts. Because there is only a limited number of scientific literature available in the field of spatial planning regarding the concept of trust, other disciplines in the social sciences, e.g. organization-, management-, policy- and behavioural studies, as well as the field of psychology are explored to derive information from. Most research questions will be answered by the gathered knowledge from this literature study, which is subsequently elaborated and reasoned in the theoretical framework (chapter 2). The rationalization of theories and assumptions aims at making trust transparent for the field of planning and should be considered as fundamental re-

search. The theoretical framework forms, therefore, the major part of this study. At the end, the assumptions in the theoretical framework results in an all-embracing conceptual model, which is an expression of identified theories, models and concepts of trust that are relevant within the empirical complexity and uncertainty of the real world. Moreover, this conceptual theoretical model is the result of my own reasoning and creative act. The conceptual model, therefore, subsequently needs pragmatic contemplation, as being the assessment of the real world, by means of a reflection from a case study in planning practice.

1.5.4 Conceptual theoretical model

A comprehensive review on existing theoretical and empirical literature forms the indispensable basis to come from the pre-scientific understanding to a deeper theoretical understanding of the topic, which finally results in my own developed conceptual model. For the objective of this study, the conceptual model represents the relation between the topic of trust and planning related concepts 'complexity' and 'uncertainty'. This theoretical model is the expression of the analysis of the literature and includes further reasoning on the topic as well. The elaboration of theoretical assumptions and thoughts, which is amplified for planning here, forms the major part of this study and will be described, reasoned and explained in detail in the theoretical framework chapter (chapter 2).

1.5.5 Case study

A case study will be used to reflect on the theoretical assumptions about for instance the distinction between 'thick' trust and 'thin' trust. The case study must be perceived as an exercise to compare and translate the gained knowledge from the literature into practical agitating. These insights provide the foundation to reflect critically on the usability and suitability of the mechanism of trust in planning practice and planning theory. The selection of the case is according to the criteria of a collaborative

planning process in the Netherlands.

For the case study I have selected the running project called 'Maurik-Dijkzone'. This project implies an initiative of 11 landowners, who want to develop approximately 55 houses in an area at the north of the village 'Maurik' in the municipality of Buren. The project is running officially for almost two years at the moment of inquiry, and has resulted in a draft plan for the area. The landowners were asked by the municipality to cooperate in making an integral development plan for the area. It was assumed that some thicker types of trust have already been developed, because most of the landowners are neighbours. It will be argued that in situations where thick trust is present, the perception of uncertainty levels are minimized. Regardless the involvement of the 11 landowners (who comprise mainly 'the trustors'), the municipality of Buren and 'SRO', a consultant company, (who comprise mainly the trustees) are also involved in the process. The case study has been conducted by the use of open-ended questions through questionnaires during interviews in order to inquire the personal experience of the participants.

1.5.6 Interviews

The inquiry of information from the case study has been accomplished by open-ended questions during interviews. The purpose of data inquiry was to explore the experiences of the people involved regarding their perception of trust, complexity and uncertainty. Eight landowners have been interviewed, which comprises the perspective of trustors (participants who do the trusting). The interview questions (in Dutch) are displayed in Annex B. The questionnaire was drawn up in a way that allowed five different theoretical assumptions to be recognized. Although the case study regards my interpretation, the information has accordingly been recorded as carefully as possible. After the inquiry through interviews, the results are used in an interpretative analysis of the qualitative information. This interpretation of the results is reproduced and displayed in the discussion chapter (chapter 4) to reflect

on the theoretical assumptions of the mechanism of trust. Moreover, the analysis of the case study provides new insights in the potential suitability and usability of the vocabulary of trust. As a result, it argues for specific recommendations for the application of trust as a (strategic) mechanism in the design of collaborative planning processes.

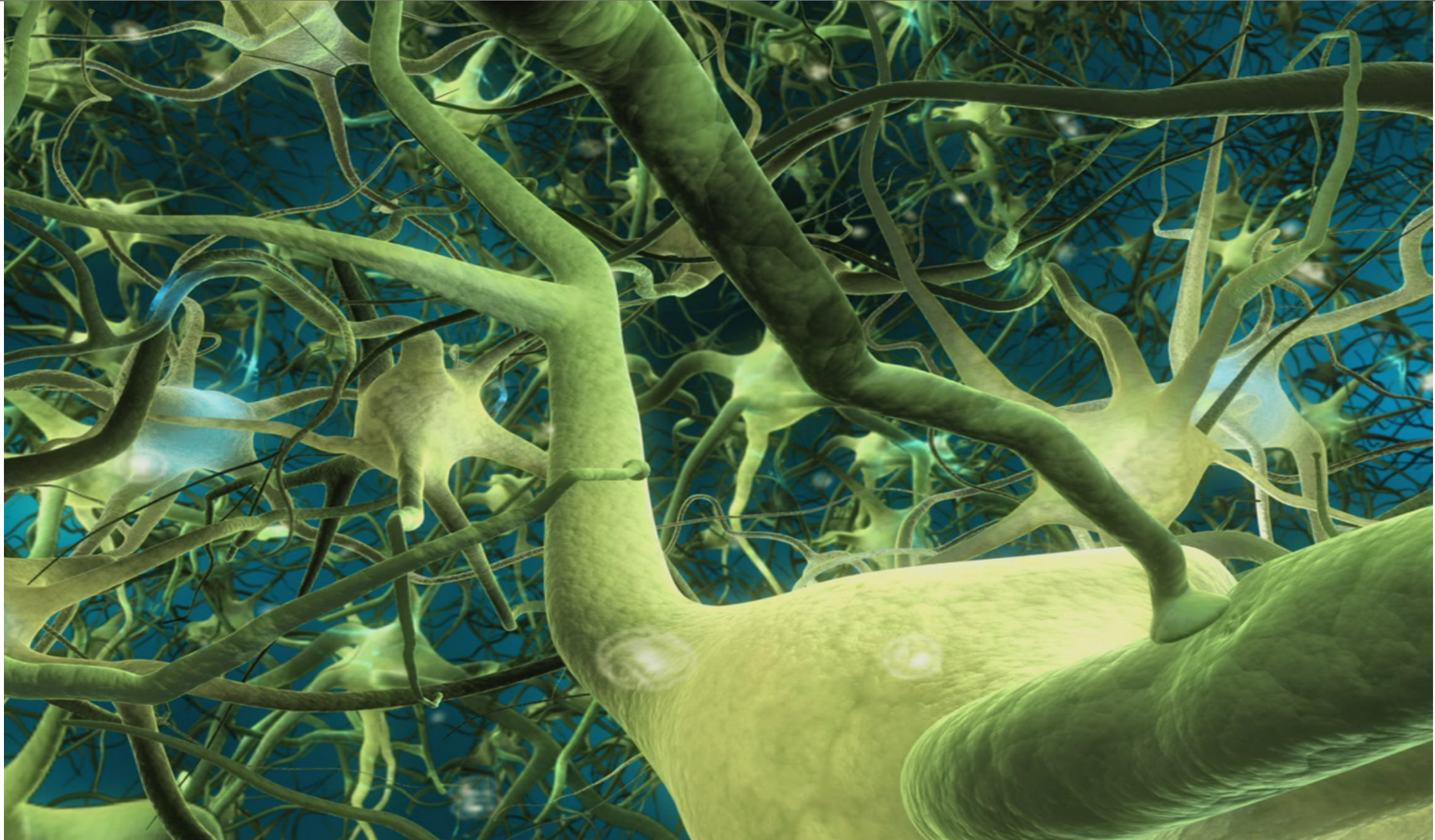
1.5.7 What not

In this thesis I will focus on the concept and role of trust in collaborative planning processes in liberal democratic societies only. The reason for the selection of collaborative planning processes is because the role of the planner in these processes is viewed as being a “facilitator”, and during my internship I experienced that these processes appear more often nowadays. Especially in local communicative processes, which include also citizens and non-experts rather than only representative stakeholders and professionals, trust is considered as becoming more significant for its eventual success. It is interesting to realize that within these processes trust may be held in the planners’ facilitating skills and their competence to build consensus, whilst simultaneously these planners are operating in systems aiming for performance management. The reason for focussing on liberal democratic societies only is that the development and experience of possible types of trust is cultural and societal dependent. That means that the expression of trust might be experienced differently here in the Netherlands than for example in China, where restrictions exist about the freedom of speech. This can definitely be the topic of another comparative study, but is excluded from this analysis.

1.5.8 Outline

After this introduction, the characteristics, development and social function of trust are discussed in chapter 2, which consequently results in a conceptual theoretical model. In chapter 3, the case study is introduced, the area described and the results

of this qualitative study are reasoned and displayed. In chapter 4, the results of the case study are subsequently discussed and compared with the theoretical assumptions regarding the conceptual model of the theoretical framework. The last chapter (5), will provide the conclusions as well as recommendations for collaborative planning, planners, and further future research on trust in the field of planning.



2 Theoretical Framework

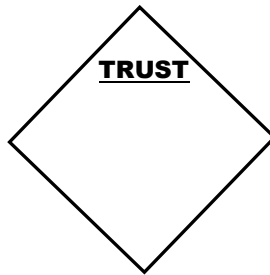
2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 An introduction to trust

Trust is a complex and multi-dimensional concept, which finds expression in the fact that it does not translate easily into one single definition. Trust is in its essence relational, being a mode of interpersonal relations embedded in a complex network of social relations and norms (Laurian, 2009; Swain and Tait, 2007). Trust is also usually experienced as something positive from a moral and emotional perspective, while on the contrary distrust is experienced as something negative. Some scholars make use of the traditional notion of trust and distrust and argue that they are bipolar opposites – as being a one-dimensional construct – (e.g. Rotter, 1971), others assert trust and distrust as existing along separate dimensions – as being a two-dimensional construct – (e.g. Lewicki et al., 1998). I will take a view based on more recent work, which suggests that there are different types of trust and that the nature of trust itself

transforms over time – as being a transformational construct – (e.g. Rousseau et al., 1998), and assemble this view with the insights of two dimensional psychological approach. In that latter view, distrust is based on the selection of negative expectations regarding another's conduct (Lewicki et al, 1998), what makes it a distinctive mechanism of another dimension. I will clarify this further on in this chapter.

Although trust can be seen as a deliberative action towards certainty, it is not exactly the same as confidence. This is because trust is considered as being a cognitively-driven as well as an emotionally-driven phenomenon (see amongst others: Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, Rousseau et al, 1998, Swain and Tait, 2007). In contrast with confidence, trust implies a leap of faith, i.e. a decision made beyond rational decision-making (Bradach and Eccles, 1989; Gambetta, 1988; Luhmann, 1988). Confidence is only based on cognition and implies hope. For example in being confident that the sun rises every morning. Accordingly, hope is an affective expression of blind trust. In some situations, such as collaborative processes with



much interdependency between actors, however, trust can manifest as a form of confidence when realistic deceptive choices are lacking, e.g. if the participant's only alternative is leaving the process which will result in excessive reputation damage. The presumed distinction between trust and confidence is indeed basically analytical by nature and it will turn out further on in this chapter that the two concepts show lots of overlap.

2.1.2 Outline

Describing and theorizing trust means digging through a massive amount of literature. Its common and broad usage, and connection with relational concepts and emotionally-driven aspects make it a complex concept to clarify. De Vries (2008) even speaks about trust as the making of a balance of several dilemmas. Further on in this chapter, I will attempt to define what trust is, how it works and describe its valuable connection with spatial planning as tangibly and systematically as possible. My aim hereby is to eliminate existing dilemmas through clarifying the conscious and unconscious reasoning behind a decision to trust that consequently forms a basis for certainty. Below, I will start relatively easy by providing some various definitions and applications of trust, describe its characteristics and then give a workable definition of trust as being the foundation for the further course of analysis. After that I will go further into the subject by providing an overview of four existing approaches in trust research and describe how they contemplate the scope of trust and distrust. The elaboration of these models creates a clear insight into the borders of the scope of this study by considering which model is best suited for planning research. This will result in a distinction between four different types of trust as an expression of the psychological transformational approach. I will then develop this selected model further and make it applicable for planning. Furthermore, the problem statement of this study will be included in order to finally come to an interpretative perspective, illustrated by the conceptual theoretical model. This theoretical conceptual model, displayed at the end of this chapter, represents the act of trusting as a mechanism

for the reduction of complexity and uncertainty.

I shall ground reasoning and present conclusions as deliberately as possible and make use of arguments that are based on theoretical assumptions from several scientific disciplines, such as management and organization studies, communication science, economics and psychology. In order to understand the conceptual model, I will describe and discuss every construction block of the model. To make every step more comprehensible, I will refer to the model by using an illustration of the part of the model that is going to be analysed. That part of the model will be displayed on every left page of this chapter and will then be built up gradually. Furthermore, I will attempt to use examples, metaphors, tables and figures that may be helpful to make the abstract concept of trust more explicit.

2.2 The complexity of trust: definitions and applications

Trust is a paradigmatic abstract concept and has many faces. Everyone must have had some experiences with trust or should at least be able to imagine a situation in which trustworthy behaviour occurs. The concept of trust exists as noun and as a verb. Trust as a noun refers to a phenomenon existing in some form between people within a relationship. Trust as a verb, on the other hand, focuses on the trustor (someone who does the trusting) and refers to something that is done or can be done (Egestad, 2002). Trust as a verb and noun are frequently used words, not only in scientific research papers, but in newspapers, journals and television programmes as well. If you take a look for example at the newspapers, the term trust is frequently used in its headings. To mention some: “Consumentenvertrouwen iets gedaald” [Consumer trust slightly declined] (De Volkskrant, October 21, 2009), “Marines invest in local afghan projects, hoping to earn trust” (New York Times, January 30, 2010), “Why don’t we trust climate scientists?” (The Guardian, June 21, 2010). Trust is something people face in their daily lives. To put it more resolute: chaos and

paralyzing fear are the only alternatives to trust and therefore is trust a natural feature of the world and of human nature (Luhmann, 1979).

But what is actually trust? And how is it used or can it be applied in several contexts? To start the exploration of the concept of trust, I will take off by giving a couple definitions of trust from scientific researchers working in different disciplines, in order to get a first broad understanding of its potential meaning. It is important to notice that the overall definition of trust does not exist, because the interpretation and application of trust is subordinated to its context – which is the scientific discipline or research tradition in this case. However, fencing off the concept and accurately defining trust is significant in the course of this study in order to make the concept operational applicable.

“Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395).

“Trust is an individual’s belief in, and willingness to act on the basis of, the words, actions, and decisions of another” (Lewicki et al., 1998, p. 439).

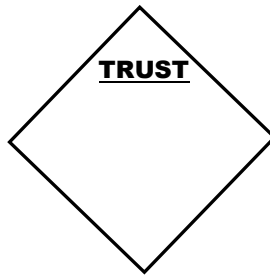
“Trust is a leap of faith [whereby stakeholders] believe that each is interested in the other’s welfare and that neither will act without first considering the action’s impact on the other” (Kumar, 1996, p. 95).

“Trust is the ability to form expectations about aims and partners’ future behaviours in relation to those aims” (Vangen and Huxham, 2003, p. 10).

“Trust is the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party” (Mayer et al., 1995, p. 712).

“Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community” (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26).

“Trust is the mutual confidence that no party to an exchange will exploit the other’s vulnerability” (Sabel, 1993, p. 104).



2.3 Trust in what?

The few definitions which I described are just a small part of the large body of literature related to trust. Before going further into the conditions for trust and making a deliberation of its characteristics, at first it is relevant to ask the question where could someone have trust in? Kumar and Paddison (2000) argue that one can have trust either in an individual or in abstract systems. This statement is consistent with Giddens' definition of trust, which he describes as "confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles (technical knowledge)" (Giddens, 1990, p. 34). To mention an example for both trusting situations, first, trust in abstract or expert system expresses when you weigh a pound of cheese by yourself in the supermarket and have to pay 3 Euros at the cash desk afterwards. In this situation, trust is manifested in abstract principles by the correctness of balancing of the weighing machine and in the consideration that 3 Euros is a good value for a pound of cheese. The latter is by the way in essence dependent on trust in the monetary system as a whole. Trust in systems, or system trust (Luhmann, 1979), is a significant principle of society. It is a fundamental guide of expected behaviour in society and manifests itself in for example laws and codes of ethics which are broadly accepted by the society. The expression of system trust in planning is done by the planning system, which forms the roadmap for spatial developments. Second, trust in an individual expresses when you buy a used car from a salesman. In this case, alternatives are consciously borne in mind by the individual to follow a particular course of action (Luhmann, 1979). As a buyer, you place trust in the salesperson or the reputation of the firm to try to avoid the occurrence of purchasing a car wreck. The possible manifestation that the other is able to take advantage of your vulnerabilities (i.e. opportunistic behaviour) is the risk of trusting (see amongst others: Bachmann, 2001; Das and Teng, 1998; Laurian, 2009; Van Ark, 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). However, the consciousness of that possibility itself, which is formed by the contingency of alternative actions of others

and especially the existence of a critical alternative, is an important feature of trust (Luhmann, 1979). This provides also the distinction between trust and confidence. Confidence reflects hope, which is a result of a lack of recognizable alternatives (Giddens, 1990; Luhmann, 1979). You can for example be confident that the sun rises next morning at 6:00 A.M. Because recognizable alternatives are lacking when having trust in abstract or expert systems (technical knowledge), I will consider this form of trust from now on as 'confidence in abstract systems'. In the next section, I shall discuss the difference between trust and confidence in more detail.

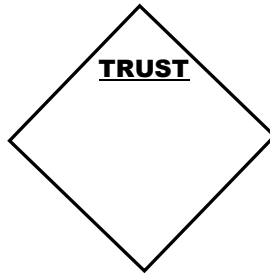
2.4 Trust and confidence

I do agree with Van Ark (2005) that the differentiation between trust and confidence is chiefly analytical by nature. However, to avoid any confusion further on in this analysis, I shall clarify this analytical difference below, drawn on the findings of Luhmann (1979, 1988) to gain a better understanding of their cohesion. The literature on trust is not consistent and sometimes even vague when it comes to the relationship between confidence and trust. This has already been shown by Sabel's definition of trust and is also signified by Cook and Wall (1980, p. 39), who define trust as "the extend to which one is willing to ascribe good intention to and have confidence in the words and actions of other people". Moreover, the Oxford English Dictionary describes trust as "confidence in or reliance on some quality or attribute of a person or thing, or the truth of a statement", and thus underlines the alliance of the two concepts. The two concepts are thus used interchangeably in a lot of cases.

Luhmann (1979, 1988) asserted that although both concepts refer to expectations that may lead to disappointment, trust differs from confidence because it requires a previous engagement on a person's part, recognizing and accepting that risk exists. "Trust always bears upon a critical alternative, in which the harm resulting from a breach of trust may be greater than the benefit to be gained from the trust proving

warranted" (Luhmann, 1979, p. 24). Van Ark (2005) verifies this and points out that confidence only appears in situations without alternative possibility measures and is thus passive by nature, while trust on the other hand allows for deceptive choices and is thus more active by nature. Confidence ignores contingency and implies therefore hope; trust reflects contingency and implies faith (Giddens, 1990; Luhmann, 1979; Stein and Harper, 2003). Confidence is based on A's ability to predict B's actions based on their regularity. Confident A does not consider alternatives and blames B if expected outcomes do not materialize. Trusting A considers alternatives, chooses to trust B, and blames himself rather than B if expected outcomes fail to materialize (Bradach and Eccles, 1989; Gambetta, 1988; Giddens, 1990; Luhmann, 1988). It becomes clear that the consideration of alternatives in particular is strongly dependent on that person's attitude. If someone shows too much goodwill and has the feeling 'that everything will be all right', this lack of critical attitude results in a complete disregard of alternatives and possible risks, and leads to blind trust, which is in essence a form of confidence again (De Vries, 2008; Van Ark and Edelenbos, 2005).

The main analytical differences between trust and confidence is summarized in table 2.1. Although both confidence and trust may become routine, the distinction depends on perception and attribution (Luhmann, 1988; Mayer et al., 1995). To fall back on an earlier statement that one can have trust either in an individual or the abstract system (Giddens, 1990; Kumar and Paddison, 2000), the latter implies technical knowledge or the correctness of abstract principles which is too complex for individuals in general to recognize alternatives. People can for example express a feeling of hope that the legal system secures justice. Trust in abstract or expert systems is therefore often seen as a form of confidence. When a local government for example participates in a collaborative planning process, the other actors can confidently expect that the government agents are acting in favour of the common public interest, and that existing instruments, like 'het bestemmingsplan' [land allocation plan], are created to support this. As an alternative conduct will not often be



considered by the participants, 'trust' in those government agents and the available instruments will take the shape of 'confidence'. Confidence, or blind trust, or hope, is thus a passive form of expectations which is situated at the end of the trust bandwidth. This trust bandwidth will be explained in more detail in the section where different research traditions on trust are described. According to Giddens (1990), the transformation from trust towards confidence in abstract systems has to do with education, in a way that the teaching of science has generated a general social attitude of respect for technical knowledge of all kinds. The reliability of that knowledge worked as an incentive within that process. "Attitudes of trust towards abstract systems are usually routinely incorporated into the continuity of day-to-day activities and are to a large extent enforced by the intrinsic circumstances of daily life. Thus trust is much less of a 'leap to commitment' than a tacit acceptance of circumstances in which other alternatives are largely foreclosed" (Giddens, 1990, p. 90). Again, therefore I will term this form of trust in technical knowledge as 'confidence in abstract systems'.

Table 2.1: Analytical differences between trust and confidence

| | Trust | Confidence |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| <i>Recognition of contingency (alternatives)?</i> | Yes | No |
| <i>Conscious awareness of circumstances of risk?</i> | Yes | No |
| <i>Nature of expectation</i> | Active | Passive |
| <i>Behavioural/emotional reaction</i> | Faith | Hope |
| <i>Type of relationship</i> | Reciprocal | Unilateral |
| <i>Blaming object when expectations are not fulfilled</i> | (mainly) Myself | Others |
| <i>Principal subject of expectation</i> | - (other) Individuals | - Abstract and Expert systems - Institutions - Experts representing abstract or expert systems |

The analytical separation of trust and confidence has gained us some insights in the differences of conceptualization. Nevertheless, trust is usually much more of a continuous state rather than a state that continuously contemplates alternative courses of action, which makes it a particular type of confidence instead something distinct from it (Giddens, 1990; Van Ark, 2005). Luhmann admits the cohesion of the two concepts and argues:

“A system – economic, legal, or political – requires trust as an input condition. Without trust it cannot stimulate supportive activities in situations of uncertainty or risk. At the same time, the structural and operational properties of such a system may erode confidence and thereby undermine one of the essential conditions of trust” (Luhmann, 1988, p. 103).

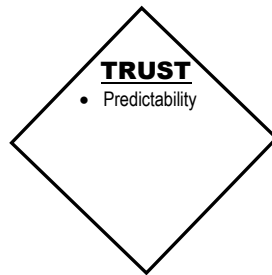
In order to make a condensed version of the above section, one can generally form a basis towards certainty through confidence in abstract systems or through trust in an individual. The distinction between trust and confidence in theorizing the concept is basically analytical by nature, but is often vague or intertwined in practical situations. In these situations confidence is usually considered as a form of trust that is closer to certainty. However, it discerns that in situations of trust risk must be recognized and assumed, which makes the expectation active by nature (Mayer et al., 1995). This is not to assume, on the other hand, that risk and the grounds for trust will be weighed up rationally before doing anything (Luhmann, 1979). “Trust can also be shown to be thoughtless, careless and routinized, and thus to require no unnecessary expenditure of consciousness, especially if expectation approaches certainty” (Luhmann, 1979, p. 24). Trust is able to take the form of confidence when realistic alternatives are lacking, for example when an actor from a well-established institution is involved in a process, and his only alternative regardless acting trustworthy is leaving the process, which will result in excessive reputation damage. If others become well up in the matter that alternatives are lacking, they might become feeling confident about this actor’s future action. And the reverse is also possible, that confidence can turn into trust when for example a senior advisor from a consultant company (expert) proves to be incompatible or incapable in his competences to be an expert, people

will stop feeling confident about him, with a result that more alternatives concerning his intentions come into being. In that case people can rather trust him or not, but they will not feel confident about him anymore. In order to understand this intertwining of these two concepts, it is important to realize that trust has a bandwidth and confidence is located at the end of it. As I will describe further on in this thesis, the location on the bandwidth is subordinated to the basis of the formation of expectations.

2.5 Characteristics of trust

As it seems premature to quickly sum up an overall definition of trust, with the risk of excluding something essential or including something redundant, I shall first give an overview of the main characteristics of trust. Because trust is a complex concept, it does contain several characteristics, which express themselves in the act of trusting (i.e. the verb trust). By making a deliberation of several definitions of trust and by reasoning which characteristics are significant, eventually four prominent characteristics become evident. On the basis of these comprising prominent characteristics of trust I shall subsequently formulate a workable and reasonable definition of trust, which I shall use in the sequel of this study to make the concept operational for further analysis. In the previous section one characteristic has already been identified, namely risk. It will become clear in this section that risk taking is not a straight characteristic of trust (i.e. the noun trust), but a characteristic of the act of trusting (the verb trust). “One does not need to risk anything in order to trust; however, one must take a risk in order to engage in trusting action” (Mayer et al., 1995, p. 724). Therefore, risk will be shared under another denominator, which is the characteristic of ‘willingness to expose vulnerable’ (3rd characteristic).

Trust is considered as being a cognitively-driven (derived from thoughts) as well as an emotionally-driven (derived from affection) phenomenon and is, as we have seen, in its essence relational (Laurian, 2009; Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Le-



wicki et al., 1998; Swain and Tait, 2007). Placing the characteristics of trust apart, requires zooming in on the relational aspects of trust. Communication, i.e. the exchange of information (knowledge), norms and values, forms a major incentive to create relational trust by setting cognitively-driven and emotionally-driven processes in train. The following abstract example provides an understanding of the relational aspects of trust:

“A (the trustor) trusts B (the trustee) with regard to X. Trust is A’s subjective assessment of the probability that B will act as agreed when B’s actions significantly affect A, independently of A’s capacity to monitor B’s actions (Gambetta, 1988). Trust is thus about positive expectations of B’s competence and willingness to do what A needs, or the reliance of A on B. In turn, B’s willingness to act as agreed depends on B’s motivation, affected by A’s and B’s cultural values, commitment to goals, perceptions of the virtue of trustworthiness, etc.” (Laurian, 2009, p. 371).

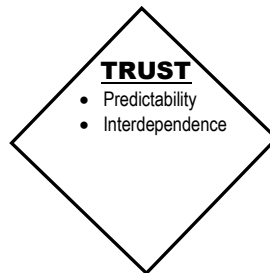
As we can deduct from the example, trust is a bond, a relationship between two individuals, namely a trustor and a trustee. In order to obtain the characteristics of trust, I will focus the relational aspects of trust, thus the connection between a trustor and a trustee in a relationship. Trust in systems, as I mentioned before, is less appropriate to obtain trust characteristics, because it is most of the times a manifestation of confidence. Especially the perspective of the trustor in relations is interesting and exceedingly relevant, because “it is not possible to demand the trust of others; trust can only be offered and accepted” (Luhmann, 1979, p. 43). For it is the trustor who decides to trust, not the trustee. Moreover, the scope of this study is also about (the development of) trust between actors in a collaborative planning process.

The literature on trust, nevertheless, provides more characteristics than I will mention below. Some of these characteristics show some overlap and are combined, others are excluded because they are not significant at all, or are related to a different trust context or dimension.

2.5.1 *Confident positive expectations:*

When comparing several definitions about trust it is striking that much consensus exist about the predictability feature of trust. Whether theorists call it 'a leap of faith' (Kumar, 1996; Luhmann, 1979), 'believe' (Lewicki et al., 1998), 'confidence' (Giddens, 1990; Korczynski, 2000; Sabel, 1993), or 'positive or confident expectations' (De Vries, 2008; Fukuyama, 1995; Laurian, 2009; Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a; Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998; Van Ark and Edelenbos, 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2003), these constructs all refer to predictability of something or somebody. It means being able to predict what other people will do and what situations will occur. It is a necessity to act in the complexity of the world (Luhmann, 1979). Predictability is a basic characteristic to create a safe present and to forecast ahead. In collaborative planning processes, predictability allows the participants to make plans in order to achieve longer-term goals. Yet, it is blunt to equate predictability and trust, as it would "suggest that a party who can be expected to consistently ignore the needs of others and act in a self-interested fashion is therefore trusted, because the party is predictable" (Mayer et al., 1995). Some authors (e.g. Dasgupta, 1988; Gambetta, 1988), indeed, argue that the normative differentiation (as being positive or negative) in the prediction of another's motives and intentions is not relevant in the movement towards certainty. They argue for example that a reliable enemy can be preferable to an unpredictable friend. Nevertheless, as I will argue in more detail later on, this assumption belongs to a tradition that leaves the nature and selection of that certainty, and the behavioural and emotional reactions that come with it, out of consideration. This view about trust does not match my view, which is based on a different tradition that considers positive expectations (trust) and negative expectations (distrust) as separate mechanisms. Their function is the same, namely the formation of expectations; their operational effectiveness, however, differs completely and is even the opposite. Hence, in my respect it is important to realize that the expectation regarding trust must be positively determined. If 'I do trust Peter', then my trust embodies a positive expectation about Peter's motives and intentions and I expect that

his actions would not harm me. If 'I do not trust Peter', then I have different (negative) expectations, which are based on a selection of other possible actions, ones that do harm me. The same counts when 'I have trust in the process', which means that I have a positive expectation of the trail and the outcome of a process (Eshuis in De Vries, 2008). A negative expectation of the trail and outcome of the process means that you consciously select another course of action, which has a significant influence on your own selection of actions. Negative expectations are subsequently indicators of distrust. So, the assessment basis for the first characteristic of trust is the probability of expected positive behaviour; i.e. 'confident positive expectations' about something or somebody.



2.5.2 Interdependence

For the second characteristic we draw further on the first characteristic about predictability. According to Fukuyama (1995, p. 3), “expectations about another’s trustworthiness only become relevant when the completion of one’s own consequential activities depend on the prior action or cooperation of another person (Dasgupta, 1988; Luhmann, 1979)”. A similar statement is proposed by Rousseau et al., who consider interdependence as a necessary condition for trust, “where the interests of one party cannot be achieved without reliance upon another” (1998, p. 395). It is actually quite obvious as we take a look at the interaction between people in a (planning) process. In such a process mutual dependence must be present; otherwise there is not a need for cooperation. As actors work together, they must depend on others in various ways to accomplish their personal and organizational goals (Mayer et al., 1995). It is generally acknowledged that trust develops by interaction between people over a longer period (De Vries, 2008). Based on the above mentioned notion of positive expectations about the process and the other actors’ intentions, value exchanges occur between the different actors during the process. This can be an exchange of goods or services, of which the value in such material bargaining is relatively easy to calculate (Straker, 2008). In most planning processes, however, value exchanges occur more often as being an exchange of information, which is more difficult to calculate. Especially at the beginning of a process, when full knowledge about the other actors, their intentions and the things they are offering is lacking, little trust is needed to make an exchange. Subsequently, shared values, norms and interests can lead to increasing trustworthiness in the other actor.

Although the characteristic of interdependence principally refers to the dependence of one actor on another (to create and achieve common goals within a relationship or process), it addresses context-dependency as well (Sheppard and Sherman, 1998). Context-dependency is the conceptualization of a more complex view of the relationship in which trust occurs (Lewicki et al., 2006). Instead of asking the ques-

tion ‘do you trust hem?’, context-dependency places emphasis on the question ‘trust them to do what?’ (Mayer et al., 1995). It outlines that within a relationship you can trust somebody regarding something, but distrust that person regarding something different. For example, a husband may trust his wife to take care of the children but not to drive the premium sports car (as past experience has revealed the wife’s inexperience with parking the car) (Lewicki et al., 2006). Within relationships, there may be several reasons to trust (or not to trust), and these reasons are able to change depending on the context. The dependency of the act of trusting on several factors and reasons, is also what De Vries (2008, 2009) concluded as he speaks about ‘the balancing of dilemmas’. Every new situation has another context and demands the trustor to make a new balance whether to trust or not in this new situation.

Besides, when it comes to trust in abstract systems, which I already typified as a form of confidence, the trustor commits dependence on the correctness of abstract principles (Giddens, 1990). In some cases, the degree of (inter)dependency may actually alter a form trust may take, which is exemplified by Rousseau et al. (1998) as they compare the nature of trust a firm places in temporary workers with trust in its core employees. So, the assessment basis for the second characteristic of trust is ‘(inter)dependence’; i.e. reliance upon an individual or abstract principles about something in a certain context.



2.5.3 Willingness to expose vulnerable

The third characteristic of trust draws further on the first two characteristics in a relational context, i.e. confident positive expectations about something, while being dependent on someone to fulfil these expectations. The dependency on somebody or something to fulfil your expectations implies the willingness to expose yourself vulnerable. “When one depends on another’s goodwill, one is necessarily vulnerable to the limits of that goodwill” (Baier stated in Laurian, 2009, p. 374). A feature of exposed vulnerabilities is the possibility that someone can take advantage of it through opportunistic behaviour (Bachmann, 2001; Das and Teng, 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). If, for example, A wants to buy a car from B, and A does not know a good price, then B can lie to A to get a better bargain. In that case, opportunistic behaviour by B (the trustee) will result in a loss for A (the trustor). Being vulnerable implies thus that there is something of importance to be lost (Mayer et al., 1995). This perceived probability of lost, as interpreted by the trustor, is risk (Chiles and McMackin, 1996; Rousseau et al., 1998). The willingness to expose yourself vulnerable, therefore, also means the willingness to assume risk. This does not mean, however, that apart from that trust itself also implies risk. I shall explain this below.

In the literature on trust across scientific disciplines there seems to be some general agreement about the assessment of risk as an essential condition of the conceptualization of trust (Lewicki et al., 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998). Nevertheless, there exist also some confusion around the concept of risk due to different research approaches (Lewicki et al., 2006). Some researchers argue that risk is an inherent characteristic of trust (e.g. Bachmann, 2001; Luhmann, 1979; Van Ark, 2005). These researchers use a behavioural approach to analyse trust and risk and focus on the execution of ‘risk behaviour’, which is characterized by “the degree of risk associated with the decisions made” (Sitkin and Pablo, 1992, p. 4). They are thus interested in the behavioural manifestation of being vulnerable (Mayer et al., 1995). As I have explained earlier, being vulnerable implies risk taking. On the other hand,

there are researchers who use a psychological approach to analyse trust and risk are interested in 'trust propensity' (e.g. Lewicki et al., 1998; Rousseau et al., 1998 Swain and Tait, 2007), which is defined as "the tendency of a decision maker either to take or to avoid risks" (Sitkin and Pablo, 1992, p. 5). This tendency implies the *willingness* to expose vulnerable, thus the *willingness* to take a risk (Mayer et al., 1995; Sitkin and Pablo, 1992). Considering the two approaches, the latter is most suitable for planning, which I shall discuss later in more detail, as it considers cognitive and affective processes between a trustor and a trustee that could be influenced in order to create trust. So, I agree with Mayer et al. (1995, p. 724) that "one does not need to risk anything in order to trust; but one must take a risk in order to engage in trust-ing action". The '*willingness* to take a risk' is thus a characteristic of trust; risk taking itself is a characteristic of the act of trusting.



2.5.4 (delayed) Reciprocity

The last significant characteristic can be determined as reciprocity, which means simple that ‘I trust because you trust’ (Das and Teng, 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). For instance, if in a relationship full knowledge about the other is lacking, it can be difficult to accept that some kind of value exchange is not fully transparent. This assumption of risk is the start of the act of trusting, but the trustor will only expose himself vulnerable (the actual taking of the risk), if he is confident enough to expect that the trustee will not take advantage of this exposed vulnerability. The assumption of risk thus creates an opportunity for trust, which leads to risk taking (Rousseau et al., 1998). Risk taking buttresses a sense of trust when the expected behaviour materializes (Das and Teng, 1998). The materialization of expected behaviour by the trustee will be considered as evidence for the trustor that trust is reciprocal. Reciprocity as characteristic of trust is thus evidence that a partner bears the vulnerability stemming from the acceptance of risk (Vangen and Huxham, 2003). It is a significant element to understand the ongoing path-dependent connection between trust and risk taking in a relationship (Rousseau et al., 1998). As demonstrated by Axelrod (1984), “when one trusting act is reciprocated by another, gradually a durable basis for cooperation can be erected” (in Vangen and Huxham, 2003, p. 12). This ongoing reciprocal trusting act is what Laurian (2009) defines as a ‘positive feedback loop’. “When A trusts B, B wants to act in a manner that is worthy of this trust. In turn, A will want to behave in a manner that maintains B’s trust, should it be called for” (Laurian, 2009, p. 373). She argues, therefore, that in planning practice, planners are encouraged to be trustworthy, because they are trusted.

The response to the act of trusting (the action of risk taking), is usually delayed in time, because expectations of repayment amount and timing are not fixed. This poses an information problem, which constitutes uncertainty, about how the other person will react (Fukuyama, 1995). “It does not mean that the gift-giving act conveys no expectation at all (the ‘free gift’), but it carries the expectation of reciprocity

in some form at some time in the future” (Torche, 2004, p. 6). Due to this delay in the confirmation of expectations, the fourth characteristic of trust should be defined as ‘delayed reciprocity’; i.e. giving something now with an expectation that it will be repaid in some form at some unspecified time in the future.



2.6 Definition of trust

With the identified and elaborated characteristics of trust it is now possible to give a definition of trust that can be applied for the next part of this study:

Trust (in a context of interdependence) is having confident positive expectations that another party's intentions and actions will not exploit one's vulnerabilities resulting from a willingness to accept risk, and that the other party therefore performs reciprocally towards a potential trusting act.

Result = Cooperation

2.7 Definition of distrust

Although trust and distrust may be functional equivalent (Bachmann, 2001; Luhmann, 1979), distrust is based on the selection negative expectations regarding another's conduct (Lewicki et al, 1998). Nevertheless, general consensus about the concept of trust in relation to distrust is lacking. Simple reasoning would suggest that trust and distrust are each others opposites. Yet, the definition of trust and distrust plus its measuring methods is highly dependent on the scientific research tradition (Lewicki et al., 2006). This will be clarified more deliberately in the next section about the scope of trust and distrust in different research traditions.

For now, I take the view that trust and distrust are functional equivalent, as both mechanisms are able to function as a support in a search for certainty through the formation of expectations (Bachmann, 2001; Luhmann, 2001). The difference between the two mechanisms, however, regards the mode of selection of these expectations. Whereas, trust implies positive expectations about something or somebody, distrust implies negative expectations about something or somebody (Bachmann,

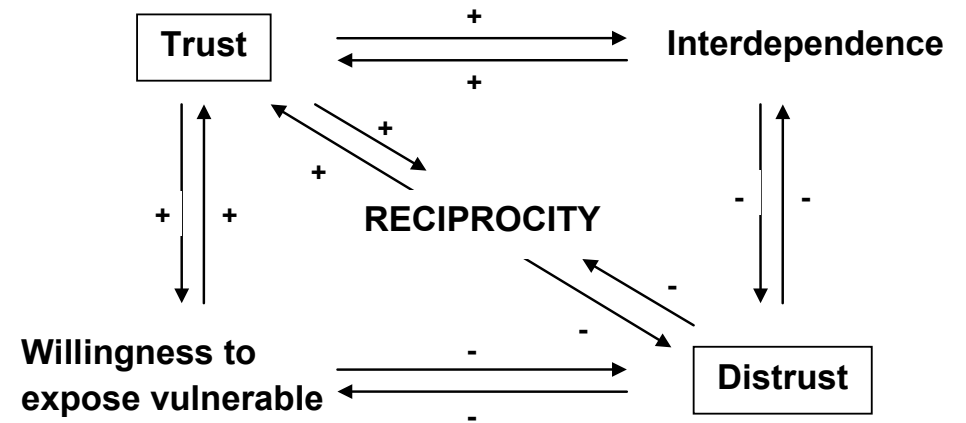
2001; Lewicki et al., 2006). Positive expectations contain different possible actions than negative expectations and both mechanisms result in a different selection of one's own action to anticipate. This distinction can be made understandable by looking at the connection of the just described characteristics of trust. These characteristics can be drawn upon the concept of distrust as well, which is illustrated in figure 2.1, and makes the distinction between the two mechanisms tangible.

Drawn upon the elaboration of the characteristics of trust in relation with distrust it is now possible to give a definition of distrust:

Distrust in a context of independence is having confident negative expectations that another party's intentions and actions will exploit one's vulnerabilities resulting from a willingness to accept risk, and that the other party therefore performs egoistically towards a potential trusting act.

Result = Competition

- The mechanism of trust implies confident positive expectations about another's conduct (Lewicki et al., 1998; Rousseau et al., 1998).
- Someone who trusts expects that another actor will refrain from opportunistic behaviour and is therefore willing to expose oneself vulnerable.
- Actors usually refer to shared resources and knowledge (Giddens, 1984), which indicates interdependence.
- Reciprocity confirms the trusting expectation and generates (more) trust.
- Social actors usually have *good reasons* when they consider investing in trust (Bachmann, 2001)



- The mechanism of distrust implies confident negative expectations about another's conduct (Lewicki et al., 1998; Luhmann, 1979).
- Someone who distrusts expects that another actor will behave opportunistic and is therefore not willingly to expose oneself vulnerable.
- Actors usually refer to 'authoritative' and 'allocative' resources and knowledge (Giddens, 1984), which indicates the avoidance of interdependence.
- Egoism (i.e. not acting reciprocal) confirms the distrusting expectation and generates (more) distrust.
- Social actors usually have *good reasons* when they consider the use of distrust (Bachmann, 2001).

Figure 2.1: Comparison of the mutual characteristics of trust (confident positive expectations) in relation to distrust (confident negative expectations) in social relationships.



2.8 The scope of trust and distrust in different research traditions

Various scientific disciplines in which trust has been studied, defined, measured and examined have resulted in different approaches and traditions. This has created a problem to compare and synthesize outcomes and conclusions randomly from studies across the existing scientific literature. It is important to keep in mind that trust measures and indicators are context-dependent and thus cannot be generalized blindly onto other targets and contexts (Lewicki et al, 2006). In the previous part of this study an effort has been done by making the phenomenon of trust accessible through describing its characteristics and providing a workable definition. Before continuing with theorizing and analyzing trust and its possible application for planning, however, I consider it important to first discuss the dimensionality of trust for two reasons. First, it provides a clear insight in understanding how the mechanisms of trust and distrust exactly work in their selection of expectations. Second, it will appear that different research traditions think differently about how trust is created, used and thus how it should be studied. These traditions of theorizing on the concept have resulted in a distinctive awareness of possible dimensions of trust and these cannot be rashly mixed up unwittingly. Below, I will give a summarized overview of four existing models and describe how they contemplate the scope of trust and distrust. After that, I will consider which model is best suited for planning research and argue why it should form the basis for further analysis in this study.

2.8.1 Behavioural and psychological traditions

In order to exemplify the four approaches of research on trust over the last couple of decades, first a distinction should be made between behavioural and psychological traditions. Lewicki et al. (2006, p. 992) outline these as follow:

- The **behavioural tradition** of trust views trust as rational-choice behaviour, such as cooperative choices in a game.

- The **psychological tradition** of trust attempts to understand the complex intrapersonal states associated with trust, including expectations, intentions, affect, and dispositions.

The main difference between these two traditions is that the focus of the behavioural tradition is on observable behaviour and thus on direct measurable actions of participants, whereas the psychological tradition emphasizes cognitive and emotional processes, which causes these actions of participants. Besides, the behavioural tradition only assumes trust as strict rational expectations, while psychological approaches allow for the possibility that trust may result from other factors (Lewicki et al., 2006). Psychological researchers do not assume trust as “behaviour (e.g., cooperation), or a choice (e.g., taking a risk), but an underlying psychological condition that can cause or result from such actions” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395). Within the psychological tradition three different models can be indicated. This is made clear in the next section where the four models of trust (one behavioural approach and three psychological approaches) are summarized.

2.8.2 Behavioural approach

Content of the approach

As stated above, the behavioural theoretical approach to trust is about observing an actors' actions, which are based on rational choices, in an interpersonal context (Lewicki et al., 2006).

The definition of trust

“An individual may be said to have trust in the occurrence of an event if he expects its occurrence and his expectation leads to behaviour which he perceives to have greater negative motivational consequences if the expectation is not confirmed than positive motivational consequences if it is confirmed” (Deutsch, 1958, p. 266). Trust is thus expressed in this approach as cooperative behaviour and distrust as non-cooperative behaviour.

Table 2.1: Classic example of the prisoner's dilemma (PD) (Axelrod, 1984)

The prisoner's dilemma

Two suspects are arrested by the police. The police have insufficient evidence for a conviction, and, having separated the prisoners, visit each of them to offer the same deal. If one testifies for the prosecution against the other (defects) and the other remains silent (cooperates), the defector goes free and the silent accomplice receives the full 10-year sentence. If both remain silent, both prisoners are sentenced to only six months in jail for a minor charge. If each betrays the other, each receives a five-year sentence. Each prisoner must choose to betray the other or to remain silent. Each one is assured that the other would not know about the betrayal before the end of the investigation. How should the prisoners act?

Research design within the behavioral tradition

Researchers within this area want to measure behavioral choices, for example cooperative behaviour, by means of observation techniques in experimental games, such as the Prisoners Dilemma (Axelrod, 1984) of which an example is illustrated below. Noteworthy is that experiments are set up under conditions that minimize interpersonal interaction.



2.8.3 Psychological approach: 'Unidimensional approach'

Content of the approach

As mentioned earlier, the psychological approach differs from the behavioural approach in a way that it includes also cognitive and affective processes that can lead to action, regardless only rational decision making as dominant assumption in the behavioural approach (McAllister, 1995).

The unidimensional psychological approach is often denominated as the traditional notion of trust and considers trust and distrust as bipolar opposites of a single dimension (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a). This is illustrated by the trust spectrum in figure 2.2 (Straker, 2008). Here, the trusting (or distrusting) position in the spectrum is determined by several component elements, such as cognitions, emotions and/or behavioural intentions, and may change over time when trusting expectations are being confirmed or unconfirmed during interaction. Although they recognize that trust has several component elements, they suggest that it is possible to combine these components into a single trust construct (Jones and George, 1998). In a general sense, trust is thus grounded in the perception of another's trustworthiness. Researchers who are aligned with the unidimensional psychological approach, however, do not all agree with the initial amount of trust/distrust at the start of a process or relationship. Authors have various interpretations whether the initial trust baseline is a zero-trust base line, which develops gradually over time (e.g., Jones and George, 1998), an initial positive trust base line (e.g., McKnight et al., 1998) or an baseline of initial distrust (e.g. Sitkin and Roth, 1993) and use several factors to ground their reasoning. Accordingly, they do agree upon the notion that trust is good and distrust is bad.

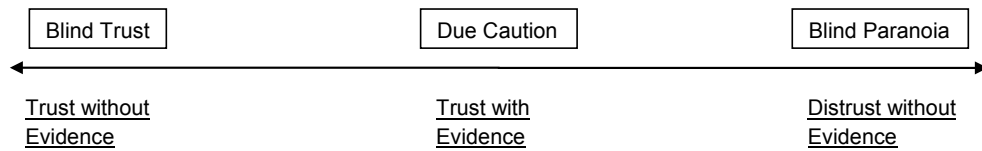


Figure 2.2: *The Trust Spectrum of the unidimensional approach (retrieved from Straker, 2008).*

The definition of trust/distrust

In the psychological tradition trust is defined as “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395). Within this unidimensional psychological approach, which assert trust as the opposite of distrust, the latter is considered as a psychological state comprising “lack of confidence in the other, a concern that the other party may act so as to harm one, that he does not care about one’s welfare or intends to act harmfully, or is hostile” (Govier, 1994, p. 136). In this case low trusting expectations are equivalent with high distrusting expectations. Here, distrust is thus explained as a lack of trust. Luhmann (1979) agrees that distrust is not just the opposite of trust, but also a functional equivalent for trust. He strengthens his statement by an example in which he argues that “someone who is thinking of buying a television set, and weighs the advantages against the disadvantages, normally sees no need also to compare expressly the advantages and disadvantages of not buying one. It would simply be the same list with the signs reversed” (Luhmann, 1979, p. 71). Trust, however, is an easier option than distrust, because trust is able to exclude more than distrust. Easily said, the imaginable relative amount of possible trustful behaviour of another is always smaller during interactions than the imaginable relative amount of possible distrustful behaviour (see figure 2.3). This is because distrust (negative expectations) always contains more possibilities than trustful behaviour (positive expectations). According to Luhmann (1979), distrust, for example strategies of combat, will eventually swift into trust, in a way which makes it possible to act within the circumscribed area. The consciousness of distrust in such cases is often lost, because negative expectations will take

the form of a positive expectation of injurious action. “A person who distrusts both needs more information and at the same time narrows down the information which he feels confident he can rely on. He becomes more dependent on less information” (Luhmann, 1979, p. 72). For this reason he argues that distrust should be positively determined, because negative expectations excludes less, and therefore become too complex.

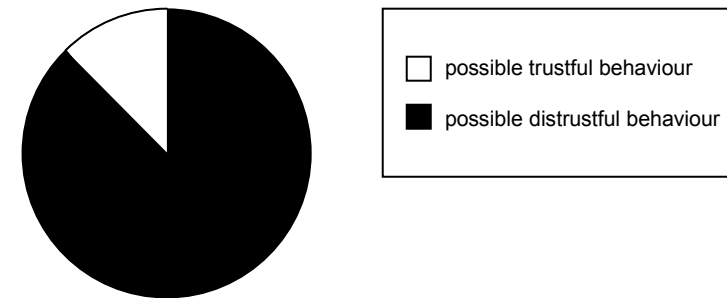


Figure 2.3: *Imaginable amount of possible trustful - and distrustful behaviour during interaction.*

Although trust in this approach is recognized as having multiple component elements (cognitions, emotions and behavioural intentions), it may be questionable, however, if they can be reduced systematically to a single global trust construct for analyzing complex relationships.

Research design within the psychological tradition

“Researchers who describe and test the psychological tradition have used data collection paradigms in more face-to-face, direct interpersonal contexts that focus on parties’ intentions; motives and affect towards the other; and perceptions and attributions of the other’s personality, qualities, intentions, and capabilities. Therefore, psychological approaches allow for the possibility that trust may result from other factors in addition to, or instead of, strict rationality (e.g., decision biases, ‘hot’ emotions, etc.)” (Lewicki et al, 2006, p. 996).



2.8.4 Psychological approach: 'Two dimensional approach'

Content of the approach

The two dimensional psychological approach views trust and distrust as dimensionally distinct constructs. This is illustrated by the trust and distrust spectra in figure 2.4 (derived from Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a). The trusting and distrusting position in the spectrum is determined by the same component elements as with the unidimensional approach, thus by cognition, emotion and behavioural intentions. The foundations for this approach are drawn from the work of Luhmann (1979) as he provides an understanding of trust and distrust as distinct but potentially coexistent mechanisms. He mentions the qualitative difference between trust and distrust, but also explains their functional equivalency (Luhmann, 1979). "Both constructs are invoked to describe certainty judgments about the other's conduct" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1002). The term 'conduct' addresses the words, actions and decisions of an actor. However, researchers within the two dimensional approach do not fully agree with Luhmann (1979) and the unidimensional approach that trust and distrust are bipolar opposites. They argue that trust and distrust exist along two separate (not bipolar opposite) dimensions (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a; Lewicki et al., 1998; 2006). Viewing trust and distrust as existing along separate dimensions recognizes the context-dependency of trust. In some contexts we may trust another, but in other contexts we may distrust them. Hence, it is possible for actors to both trust and distrust one another. The two constructs are envisioned to be independent of each other. This approach places thereby emphasis on the complexity of relationships and interactions between actors, and argues that both trust and distrust have a valid role in managing them (Lewicki et al., 1998). "Contrary to the traditional, normative views that trust is good and distrust is bad, this perspective recognizes that trust is valuable insofar as it is appropriate to the context, and that a healthy amount of distrust can protect against the risk of exploitation" (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a).

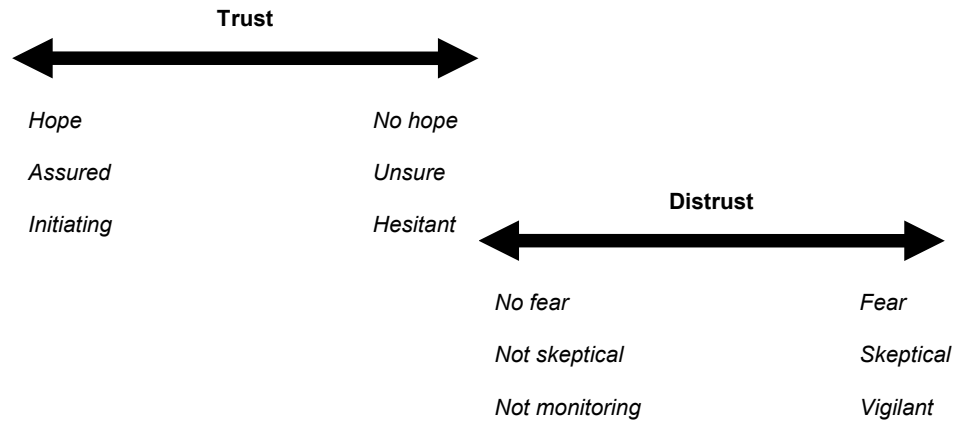


Figure 2.4: Trust and distrust as two distinct dimensions and the emotional and behavioural reactions that come with it (retrieved from Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a).

The definition of trust/distrust

The literature concerning this two dimensional psychological approach provides the following statements in defining trust and distrust (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a; Lewicki et al., 1998, 2006; Luhmann, 1979):

- The dimension of trust is seen as the trustor's confident positive expectations regarding the trustee's conduct. Trust evokes a feeling of hope and demonstrated willingness to become vulnerable to a trustee. Hereby allows trust the possibility of undesirable behaviour by the other hand to be removed from consideration.
- The dimension of distrust is seen as the trustor's confident negative expectations regarding the trustee's conduct. Distrust evokes fear and actions to buffer oneself from the harmful conduct of the other party. Hereby is distrust able to reduce complexity and strive for certainty by allowing undesirable behaviour to be seen as likely and to be managed.

Yet, it may be made clear that this distinction between trust and distrust as sepa-

rate dimensions does say something about the qualitative differences in emotional perception in certain situations, but does not mean that their function as strategic mechanisms differ likewise. "While both trust and distrust involve movements toward certainty of another's conduct, the nature of that certainty and the emotional and behavioural reactions that come with it will differ considerably" (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003a). This means that low trust is not the same as high distrust, and high trust does not necessarily translate into low distrust. Researchers who are promoting this approach have combined these separate constructs into a trust/distrust model with four alternative social realities as a result (Lewicki et al., 1998, 2006), which is put down in figure 2.5.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| High Trust Characterized by: Hope Faith Confidence Assurance Initiative | High value congruence Interdependence promoted Opportunities pursued New initiatives | Trust but verify Relationships highly segmented and bounded Opportunities pursued and downside risks/vulnerabilities continually monitored |
| | 2 | 4 |
| Low Trust Characterized by: No Hope No Faith No Confidence Passivity Hesitance | Casual acquaintances Limited interdependence Bounded, "arms-length" transactions Professional courtesy | Undesirable eventualities expected and feared Harmful motives assumed Interdependence managed Preemption. Best offense is a good defense Paranoia |
| | 1 | 3 |
| Low Distrust Characterized by: No Fear Absence of Skepticism Absence of Cynicism Low Monitoring Nonvigilance | | High Distrust Characterized by: Fear Skepticism Cynicism Wariness and Watchfulness Vigilance |

Figure 2.5: Integrating trust and distrust: alternative social realities (Lewicki et al., 1998, 2006).



In the combined trust/distrust model four prototypical relationship conditions can be identified, which are outlined in the four different cells. In relationships trust and distrust is sustained at a certain level through an equilibrium of forces, but as the context changes (i.e. aspects of the relationship change through interaction), the equilibrium changes as well by the upward or downward movement of the operational level of trust and/or distrust (Lewicki et al., 1998). Due to the complexity of positively and negatively experienced interactions within a relationship, it is reasonable that a combined level of trust and distrust toward another is more common than only trust or only distrust, especially in an early relationship. “Relationships with a limited number of facets and low in richness are likely to result in low trust and low distrust” [i.e. cell 1] (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1004). This is also often the case with collaborative planning processes, where stakeholders normally remain some amount of suspicion, because of a lack of information about the other. In the initial state of a process, actors remain uncertain regarding how the other is likely to behave in future independent situations entailing risk (Lewicki et al., 2006).

2.8.5 Psychological approach: “Transformational approach”

Content of the approach

The transformational psychological approach suggests that there are different types of trust and distrust and that the nature of trust itself transforms over time (Lewicki et al., 2006). It is a recognition that the bandwidth of trust varies in the same relationship over time. The depiction of the two dimensional psychological approach, which differentiates trust and distrust as separate concepts, already detected variations in bandwidth across relationships where trust (expectations of positive intentions) and distrust (expectations of negative intentions) can exist simultaneously (Rousseau et al., 1998). “These models have developed as researchers have attempted to achieve two goals: to understand the nature of trust as relationships develop beyond simple transactional exchanges to other relationship forms (Fiske, 1991) and to understand whether ‘deep’ trust in close relationships is phenomenologically different

from transactional trust” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1006). Thus, researchers related to this approach focus on the development of trust within a relationship by considering different forms of trust that are included in the total bandwidth in order to explain how it functions. Therefore, these studies are aimed at the features of a relationship that contribute to different proposed basis for trust (Lewicki et al., 2006).

The definition of trust

The definition and identification of different types of trust, which together form the total trust bandwidth within the transformational approach, is dependent on the context (Rousseau et al., 1998). For example studying trust in a business relationship will result in different types of trust than those studying intimate, personal relationships. For instance Shapiro et al. (1992) have revealed three types of trust in their study about business relationships:

- *Deterrence-based trust* exists “when the potential costs of discontinuing the relationship or the likelihood of retributive action outweigh the short term advantage of acting in a distrustful way” (Shapiro et al., 1992, p. 366).
- *Knowledge-based trust* is grounded in the ability to know and understand the other well enough so as to be able to predict his or her behaviour (Shapiro et al., 1992).
- *Identification-based trust* occurs when one party fully internalizes the preferences of the other. He or she is able to identify with the other and they can make decisions in each other’s interest (Shapiro et al., 1992).

The context-dependency of this approach in relation with possible types of trust becomes clear when one takes a look at the study of Rousseau et al. (1998), who embraced the idea of a more complex, multifaceted view of trust. They have determined other types of trust and named them differently, despite of some possible similarities regarding the above-mentioned definitions:

- *Calculus-based trust* is “based on rational choice and characteristic of interactions based on economic exchange” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 399). This type of trust emerges when the trustor perceives that the other party intends to perform an action that is beneficial for him and is therefore chiefly dependent on credible information about the other, such as intentions or competence.
- *Relational trust* is based on information from within the relationship itself – reliability and dependability in previous interactions between trustor and trustee –, which give rise to positive expectations about the trustee’s intentions (Rousseau et al., 1998). Repeated interactions over time give rise to emotional affection between the parties, because frequent longer-term interaction leads to the formation of attachments based upon reciprocated interpersonal care and concern (McAllister, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). Noticeable is that this type of trust conforms to the definition of ‘identification-based trust’ at its broadest scope.
- *Institution-based trust* comprises the broad institutional supports that facilitate the development of both calculus-based and relational trust in an organization context (Rousseau et al., 1998). These supports can exist at the organizational level (e.g. the form of teamwork culture or processes for assuring fair and consistent employee treatment) and at the societal level (e.g. protection of individual rights and property or the protection capricious government leaders and agencies) (Lewicki et al., 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998).

Regardless the three types of trust, the authors also mentioned deterrence-based trust as being utilitarian considerations that enable one party to believe that another will be trustworthy, “because the costly sanctions in place for breach of trust exceeds any potential benefits from opportunistic behaviour” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 398). However, despite Shapiro et al. (1992), these authors do not consider deterrence-based trust (e.g. detailed contracts) as a type of trust. They argue that deterrence-



based trust finds expression in sanctions, which is a form of control. Control comes into play only when adequate trust is not present. Some controls actually appear to signal the absence of trust, and in that case may be closer to low levels of distrust, which makes the authors reason that such control mechanisms cannot be trust (Rousseau et al., 1998). With positive expectations about the intentions of another party as a necessary condition for trust, deterrence is based on negative expectations. Trust is therefore not a control mechanism, but a substitute for control through which they dismiss the Shapiro et al. (1992) construct about deterrence-based trust as being a form of trust (Lewicki et al., 2006).

Despite some differences in the detection and denomination of types of trust, researchers working within the transformational psychological approach do broadly agree with the transforming nature of trust as the relationship develops. As repeated interactions between parties start under the condition of interdependence, expectations are formed and get adjusted to a common created history of these interactions. Parties get to know each other better and gain more knowledge about the others as they engage in activities that generate this knowledge. “As parties work together, talk with each other, and watch the other respond in a number of different circumstances, they ‘get to know the other’ and learn to trust each other because the other becomes more understandable and predictable” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1011). This knowledge is a fundamental basis for trust itself and generates a movement along the trust bandwidth. As relationships further develop, some initial types of trust (principally trust on a calculus-based level) decrease in dominance and other types of trust (principally trust on personal relations) increase, which makes affection to become more dominant and rationality less dominant. The development of trust over time (transformation of the nature of trust) is illustrated in figure 2.6 (Rousseau et al., 1998).

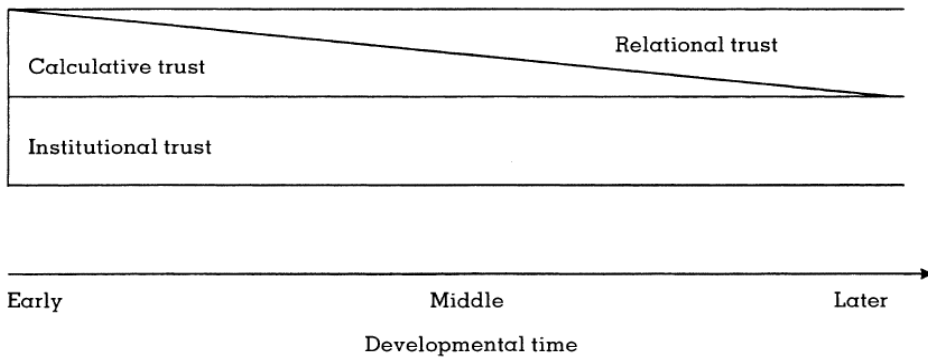


Figure 2.6: Model of the transformations of trust over time (retrieved from Rousseau et al., 1998).

2.9 Elaboration of the scientific research traditions on trust

To examine which approach and model is most suitable for this study, first a choice must be made between the behavioural and psychological tradition. As stated in the previous section, the behavioural tradition only assumes trust as strict rational expectations, while psychological approaches allow for the possibility that trust may result from other factors as well (Lewicki et al., 2006). The actual contemplation here is whether trust should be considered as the behavioural expression of rational decision making or as a psychological state preceding behavioural actions. Regardless whether it is possible to quantify the extend of potential gains and losses altogether, one of the reasoned characteristics of trust is the willingness to expose yourself vulnerable, i.e. the willingness to take a risk. If the act of trusting (behavioural expression), implies risk taking, then this contradicts the assumption of the behavioural tradition that trust is the result of strict rational expectations. A feature of rational calculation, namely, is that all possible knowledge is available to make decisions, and as a consequence it alienates the bearing of risk. Above all, “it is only these

[risky] situations in which trust might become relevant at all” (Bachmann, 2001, p. 345). Besides, the focus of this study is on the development of trust in collaborative planning processes where interpersonal interaction forms a core aspect. The behavioural tradition tends to minimize interpersonal interaction under laboratory conditions (Lewicki et al., 2006), which makes this approach not suitable for studying planning processes.

On the contrary, psychological traditions are most appropriate to study the interactions between trust and planning, because they “attempt to understand the complex intrapersonal states associated with trust, including expectations, intentions, affect, and dispositions” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 992). It is more reasonable to study trust as some kind of psychological state, including emotionally-driven processes. Therefore, I agree with Rousseau et al. (1998) that “trust is not a behaviour (e.g., cooperation), or a choice (e.g., taking a risk), but an underlying psychological condition that can cause or result from such actions. Regardless of the discipline of the researcher, we share the root assumptions that trust is psychological and important to organizational life” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 398). Within this (social-) psychological tradition, the research focus has been on understanding the emergence and development of trust, which is seen as a necessary ingredient for cooperation (Laurian, 2009; Luhmann, 1979; Stein and Harper, 2003; Swain and Tait, 2007; Van Ark, 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). Still, a reasonable deliberation of the different psychological models is required, which should be amplified for planning. “Planning is an inherently political activity, engaging democratic governance in land management and infrastructure investment decisions. As such, it relies heavily on collaboration and cooperation between stakeholders for policy and plan making and implementation” (Laurian, 2009, p. 376). Again, the existence of trust is significant for cooperation. If planners can become aware of the emergence and development of trust, and especially the factors that incite this, they may be able to improve cooperation between actors in planning processes. Therefore, the focus of analysis must be subsequent to the development of trust.

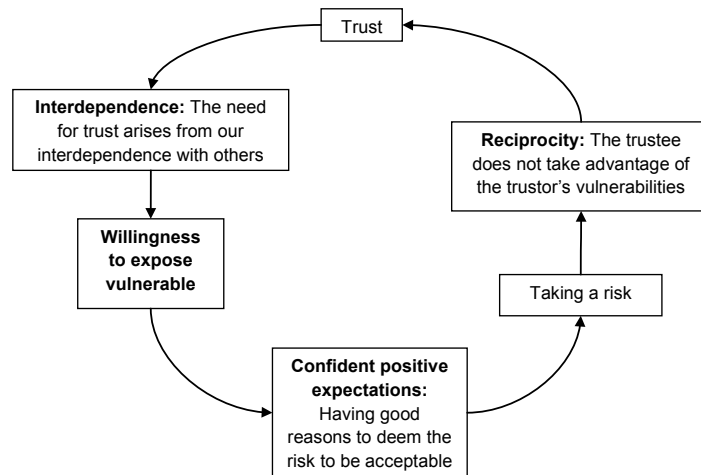


Within the psychological tradition, three different approaches have been described in the previous section. The difference between the unidimensional and two dimensional approach in their course of defining trust and distrust has a significant influence in understanding these concepts. This differentiation in dimensionality refers to separate paradigms. Both approaches consider trust and distrust as mechanisms for cooperating or competing each others' expectations in order to increase certainty about one's own future predictions. These mechanisms, thus, increase the amount of certainty about what is going to happen. The difference between the two approaches is whether trust and distrust alternate each other in one dimension, or coexist in two dimensions. If trust and distrust are considered as bipolar opposites of one dimension, a violation of a trusting expectation will lead directly to distrust, and a refutation of a distrusting expectation will lead to trust. In such a relationship, one person can rather simple trust the other person or simple distrust him. This approach therefore ignores the context of trusting expectations and thereby ignores the complexity of relationships. It is especially this context which is important and should be included in studying trust. If a researcher studies trust in a relationship then he cannot simply conclude that one person trusts another person, but he can conclude that one person trusts another person 'to do something'. Imagine for example a planning process, where actor A trusts actor B in making a cost-benefit analysis, while, at the same time, actor A does not trust Actor B in representing A's stake or interest. This proves that trust and distrust do exist simultaneously as separate mechanisms, and thus argues in favour of the two dimensional psychological research approach. Depending on the context, rather trust or distrust is preferred and subsequently becomes more dominant as strategic mechanism. Trust and distrust can thus be envisioned to operate independent of each other: "Trust allows the possibility of undesirable behaviour by the other to be removed from consideration, whereas distrust reduces complexity by allowing undesirable conduct to be seen as likely (if not certain) and to be managed" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1002). Some authors argue that some amount of distrust is indeed actually healthy for the relationship, because it prevents the creation of 'blind trust' and keeps the parties focussed

and critical, which benefits cooperation (De Vries, 2008; Van Ark, 2005). Especially in collaborative planning processes that include actors with diverse stakes, some amount of distrust will always be present. Furthermore, the two dimensional psychological approach does give a clear insight how trust and distrust can coexist and in doing so they give rise to four alternative social realities, which are applied in Lewicki et al. (1998)'s combined trust/distrust model (figure 2.5). Lewicki et al. (1998, 2006) argue that initial relationships, which are often typified as relationships with a limited number of facets and low in richness, are represented by the social reality of cell 1 (low trust/low distrust). This state often occurs in early relationships, "due to a lack of information about the other, resulting in less certainty regarding how the other is likely to behave in future independent situations entailing risk" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1004). The level of trust and distrust will change over time due to interaction from which more information becomes available, and can cause a transformation towards another social reality. "Trust and distrust increase in strength (depth) and breadth (bandwidth) as a function of the frequency, duration and diversity of experiences that either affirm confidence in positive expectations (trust) or confidence in negative expectations (distrust)" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1005). From the details within the four cells with imaginable alternative social realities one can derive that despite the amount of distrust, a high amount of trust is advantageous to increase the possibilities of successful cooperation. Low trust forms an impediment for cooperation, because parties do not have faith in a possible success. Only the alternative social realities of cell 2 and 4, where high amounts of trust are determined, form a relevant atmosphere for cooperation. Thus, irrespective of the amount of distrust, high trust is required for and between actors in a collaborative planning process to cooperate fruitfully. To summarize the reasoning above, trust and distrust are stated as different mechanisms operating simultaneously into separate dimensions. For the purpose of cooperation, social realities with high trust are most appropriate. This makes trust, and specifically the development of low trust towards thicker forms of trust, most interesting to study. Hence, I will leave the concept of distrust, as being the mechanism on its own, out of consideration for the remaining part of this study.

Though, one should constantly be aware that this distrust mechanism always exists and operated simultaneously with the mechanism of trust.

The following part of this study will focus on the development of trust in order to identify different forms of trust. A planner who is operating as a facilitator or mediator in a collaborative process should intend to create an atmosphere in which high trust is able to develop among the participants. Therefore, we adopt the transformational psychological approach to gain more insight into the development trust. The transformational psychological approach seems to be most appropriate for this purpose, as it considers the transformational nature of trust itself when the relationship develops over time. Therefore, the basis for trust needs to be disentangled, as well as the distinction between low and high trust and the possible actions or conditions that can incite this.



2.10 The act of trusting

In order to understand how trust develops and what elements cause the level of trust to change over time, we should first take a look at the act of trusting. That means looking at the sequential steps of trusting in order to obtain a better understanding of the trust mechanism at work. Therefore we grab back on the definition of trust:

Trust (in a context of interdependence) is having confident positive expectations that another party's intentions and actions will not exploit one's vulnerabilities resulting from a willingness to accept risk, and that the other party therefore performs reciprocally towards a potential trusting act.

The act of trusting is the actual execution of trust from the perspective of the trustor. By analysing the consecutive steps of the act of trusting, which are connected with the four earlier described characteristics of trust, we can get an insight into the development trust. Figure 2.7 illustrates the act of trusting, which appears to be a cyclical process as the characteristics of trust come into play. The step 'taking a risk' is also added here, because this element has been determined earlier as a characteristic of the act of trusting.

To summarize the different steps of the act of trusting, it starts with the characteristic 'interdependence', because the need for trust arises from interdependence (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b). To put it differently: without interdependence there is no need for trust. Through the existence of interdependence, completion of a persons' own sequential activities depends on the prior action or cooperation of another person (Dasgupta, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Luhmann, 1979). As the interests with others are odd and intertwined, a trustor must recognize that there is an element of risk involved, insofar as he often encounters situations in which he cannot compel the cooperation he seeks. The trustor then must be willingly to expose himself vulnerable, in which he assumes the related risk that the trustee can exploit this exposed

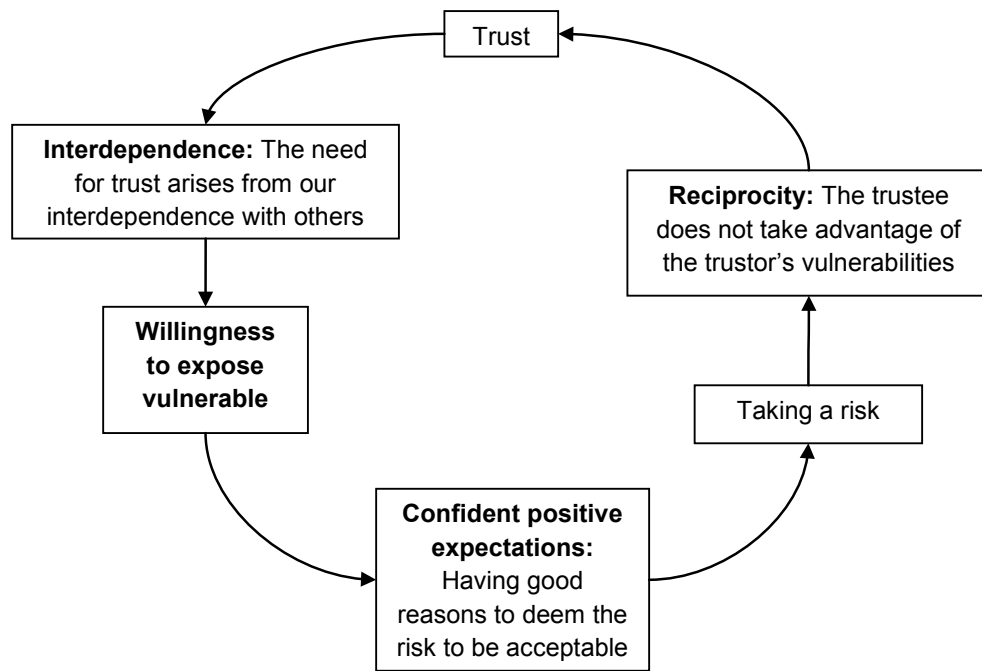
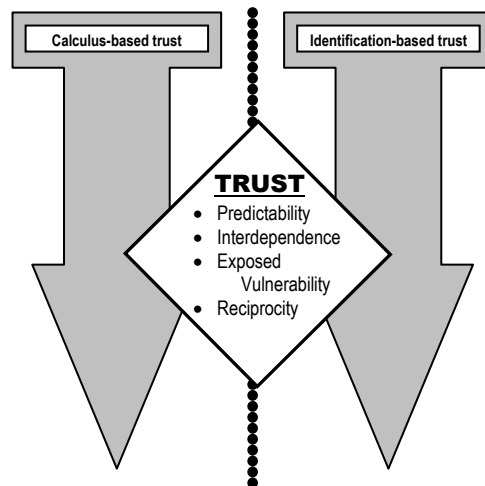
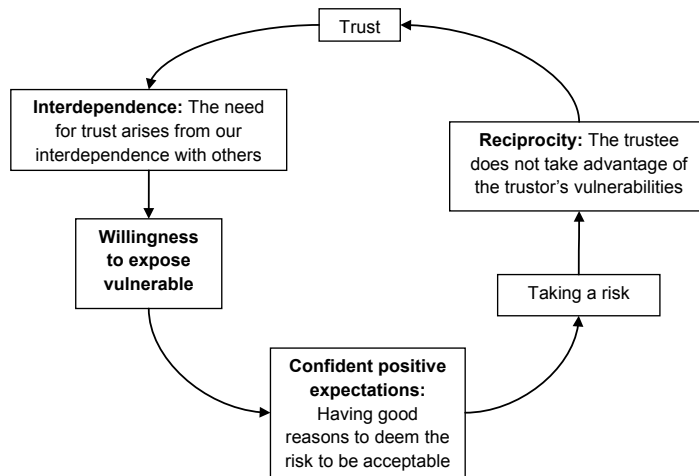


Figure 2.6: The act of trusting in relationships: A cyclical trust loop.

vulnerability. This step is what other authors have called ‘trust propensity’, which is defined as “the tendency of a decision-maker either to take or to avoid risks” (Sitkin and Pablo, 1992, p. 5). When the trustor deems the risk to be acceptable, which means that he has confident positive expectations that the trustee will not take advantage of his exposed vulnerability, then he will take the actual risk. This step is very significant for the act of trusting, as the basis for trust is created here. It is the ability to form positive expectations about another person’s conduct (e.g. intentions, competences and actions), but also about the process and present knowledge (e.g. through institutions, government and abstract principles), which corresponds to positive expectations about the outcome and creates the ground for risk taking. “The

outcomes aimed for need to be realistic relative to the level of trust between (and to the capabilities and capacities of) the participating organizations” (Vangen and Huxham, 2003, p. 12). The next step is taking the risk, or actual exposing yourself vulnerable in a relationship, which is the behavioural manifestation of the act of trusting (Mayer et al., 1995). Reciprocity from the trustee towards trustor’s trusting act is essential to sustain the positive feedback loop. Here, the trustee confirms the trustor’s expectations by not taking advantage of his exposed vulnerabilities. This reciprocity, which is usually delayed, forms the evidence for the act of trusting and reinforces trusting attitudes. The act of trusting is therefore a cyclical learning process, because evidence of trust increases trust, which in turn results in a greater willingness to expose vulnerable (Mayer et al., 1995; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). This continuous cyclical trusting process not only creates ‘higher trust’, but it also makes the nature of trust transform as the relationship develops over time (Lewicki et al., 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998; Swain and Tait, 2007). I will explain this in more detail in the next section.

Note: Distrust features also a cyclical feedback loop (see Annex A).



2.11 The nature of trust: a basis for confident positive expectations

In the previous sections it has been noticed that the basis for trust is created by confident positive expectations about another's conduct, or in the correctness of abstract principles (Giddens, 1990; Kumar and Paddison, 2000). The significance in trust development concerns accordingly the formation (willingness to expose vulnerable) and fulfilment (reciprocity) of expectations. Vangen and Huxham (2003, p. 10) argue that "the formation of expectations can be interpreted from both future-oriented and historical perspectives". Firstly, trust from a future-oriented perspective is rooted in anticipation that something will be forthcoming and is especially important in the initial stage of a relationship (Lyons and Mehta, 1996; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). Future-based trust serves as a substitute for formal contracts and is gained through agreements on expected outcomes by the actors in the relationship (Bradach and Eccles, 1989; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). In order to form expectations from a future-oriented perspective, it is important that an actor develops an understanding of the other actor's expectations. According to De Vries (2009), active future expectations are based on the image we have of the past. Information regarding the other actor's conduct, therefore, is basically historical rooted and is significant for trust development. Secondly, is thus trust from a historical perspective, which is based on previous experiences and can either be derived out of repeated interactions over time between the trustor and the trustee, or can be based on credible information regarding the intentions or competence of an actor, such as reputation (Dasgupta, 1988; Korczynski, 2000; Laurian, 2009; McAllister, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998; Swain and Tait, 2007; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). The former implies 'identification-based trust', which is an emotionally-driven phenomenon; the latter implies 'calculus-based trust', which is a cognitively-driven phenomenon (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Rousseau et al., 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). In other words, cognitive processes consist of rational calculation, and are grounded in judgements of the trustee's predictability and reliability; while affective processes consist of the emotional bond between the trustor

and trustee, and are grounded in perceptions of interpersonal care and concern, and satisfaction of mutual needs (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, Swain and Tait, 2007). Together, these processes create the underlying basis from a historical perspective for the formation of confident positive expectations about joint actions in the future (Vangen and Huxham, 2003).

2.11.1 Cognitively-driven processes: Calculus-based trust

Lewicki and Tomlinson (2003b) denominated trust from cognitively-driven processes as 'calculus-based trust'. Calculus-based trust should be seen as a denominator for types of trust that are based on rational decision-making and grounded in judgments of a trustee's predictability and reliability (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Rousseau et al., 1998). Lewicki and Tomlinson argue:

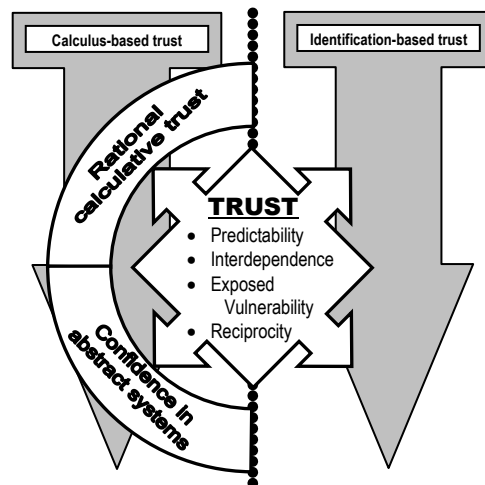
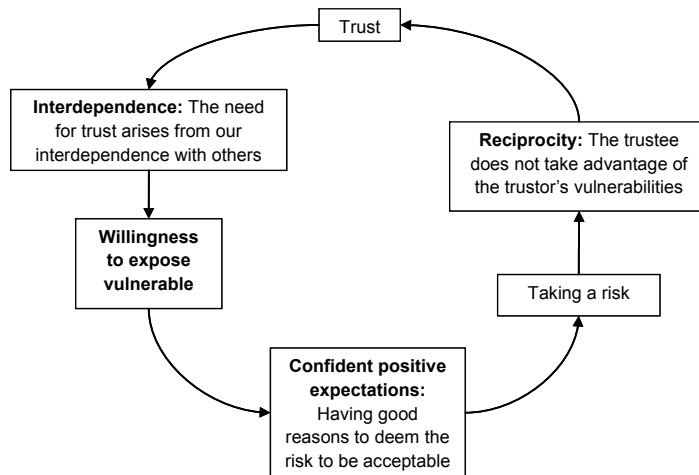
In situations of trust at a calculus-based level, "an individual will carefully calculate how the other party is likely to behave in a given situation depending on the rewards for being trustworthy and the deterrents against untrustworthy behavior. In this manner, rewards and punishments form the basis of control that a trustor has in ensuring the trustee's behavioral consistency. Individuals deciding to trust the other mentally contemplate the benefits of staying in the relationship with the trustee versus the benefits of 'cheating' on the relationship, and the costs of staying in the relationship versus the costs of breaking the relationship. Trust will only be extended to the other to the extent that this cost-benefit calculation indicates that the continued trust will yield a net positive benefit" (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 2).

2.11.2 Emotionally-driven processes: Identification-based trust

In contrast with calculus-based trust, Lewicki and Tomlinson (2003b) denominated trust from emotionally-driven processes as 'identification-based trust'. Identification-based trust should be seen as a denominator for types of trust that are based on affection and grounded in perceptions of interpersonal care and concern (benevo-

lence), and mutual need satisfaction (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Rousseau et al., 1998).

In situations of trust at an identification-based level, "trust has been built to the point that the parties have internalized each other's desires and intentions. They understand what the other party really cares about so completely that each party is able to act as an agent for the other. Trust at this advanced stage is also enhanced by a strong emotional bond between the parties, based on a sense of shared goals and values" (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 2).



2.12 Types of trust

Within the formation of expectations through cognitive and affective processes, a subdivision can be made wherein different types of trust are determined. Although it must be said that the literature in economics, management- and organization studies as well as in psychology and the social sciences in general is quite diverse and has various categorizations of types of trust. Yet, some of them are complementary or based on ultimately contradictory assumptions (Korczynski, 2000). Again, the basis for trust in a relationship has been defined as positive expectations about another's conduct, which finds expression in a form of confidence that the other party will not exploit one's vulnerability. Korczynski (2000, p. 4) argues that "if trust is the confidence that the other party to an exchange will not exploit one's vulnerability, then types of trust should relate to the basis or reasons for that confidence". Based on the analyses of Korczynski (2000) and Swain and Tait (2007), four types of trust can be delineated that are grounded on the basis of confidence and derived through cognitive and affective processes. Below, I will outline these types of trust.

Calculus-based trust addresses two types of trust, namely 'confidence in abstract systems' and 'rational calculative trust'. Identification-based trust addresses two types of trust: 'knowledge on other parties' norms' and 'trust on personal relations'. The separation as different types of trust is clarified in more detail in the next section. Table 2.2 (page 57) contains a summarized version of the four types of trust and an overview of its relevant characteristics.

2.12.1 Confidence in abstract systems

Content

The first calculus-based type of trust is 'confidence in abstract systems'. This type of trust gets its basis for confidence from abstract knowledge in abstract systems or social institutions. As I mentioned earlier this chapter, this type of trust is in fact no

real trust, because trust is fundamentally active by nature. With this type of trust alternative possibility measures are lacking, which means it is passive by nature, and therefore it is a form of plain confidence. This type of confidence is what people face daily and forms an important basis for the development of other types of trust. Giddens (1990) mentions as a fundamental example of confidence in abstract systems the use of money. “Trust here is vested, not in individuals, but in abstract capacities. Anyone who uses monetary tokens does so on presumption that others, whom she or he never meets, honour their value” (Giddens, 1990, p. 26). As a result, some authors link confidence in the monetary system to confidence in the government (Giddens, 1990; Korczynski, 2000). Institutions, such as governments and professional associations, are creating ‘confidence in abstract systems’ by using system power (Bachmann, 2001) and this confidence may be seen as environmental back-up structures that ensure the validity of commonly acceptable (and accepted) norms and social standards of behaviour (Korczynski, 2000; Lane and Bachmann, 1996; Zucker, 1986). These institutions use system power through introducing deterrents, such as sanctions, to create what Luhmann calls ‘system trust’ (Bachmann, 2001, Luhmann, 1979). System trust, or confidence in abstract systems, is very significant for planning, which translates into trust in the planning system. The social function of the planning system is to direct expectations. According to Bachmann (2001) are legal norms the most effective remedies confiding the risk of trust, and thus for providing good reasons to trust. Institutional arrangements should promote trust in the planning system, executed by planners in their everyday work. If participants in a collaborative process do not trust the planning system, for example the procedures proposed by the government to make developments happen, including (environmental) sanctions resulting from laws and mandatory surveys, then it will be hard to create trust within that process, because suspicion (the utterance of distrust) against the government and its representatives will remain dominant.

Basis of confidence: relationship between X to Y

This type of trust “relates to confidence in abstract systems (Giddens, 1990; Zucker,

1986). Here Y is confident that X will not exploit her, and thus trusts X, because X is ‘linked’ to accepted technical norms, code of ethics and social standards of behaviour. In this case, [...] trust is about abstract, expert systems. Such norms may be associated with professional standards and codes” (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 234).

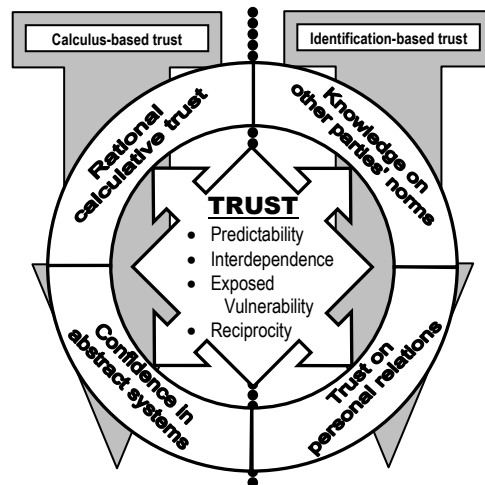
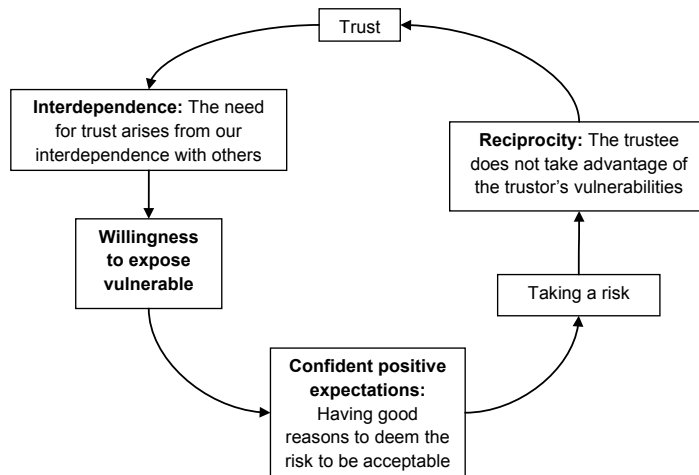
2.12.2 Rational calculative trust

Content

Another calculus-based type of trust is ‘rational calculative trust’. Here, the basis of confidence lies in the incentive/governance structure relating to the exchange. Incentives and sanctions form significant knowledge for the cognitive process of creating trust and may be either economic or social in nature (Korczynski, 2000). A typical incentive discussed in this context is that of reputation. This type of trust emerges when for example one party’s intentions and actions are beneficial for the other party. But also when one party trusts another party’s intentions in performing certain tasks or in keeping appointments, as negative sanctions ‘prevent’ otherwise.

Basis of confidence: relationship between X to Y

This type of trust “describes the positive benefits for X to act in Y’s interest. Y will trust X because she knows that X will get benefits for acting in Y’s interest. Similarly rational calculative trust may also be about negative sanctions. Y trusts X because she knows that X will lose something, or be exposed to some form of sanction, for example loss of reputation if X fails to act in Y’s interest. As such trust is a highly utilitarian concept that is seen as a commodity or good to be traded in transactions. This might be seen as a version of ‘thin’ trust” (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 233).



2.12.3 Knowledge on other parties' norms

Content

The first identification-based type of trust is 'knowledge on other parties' norms'. The basis of confidence is created here through knowledge of the other party's internal norms. The reciprocal characteristic of trust is important here, as one party expects that the other party will not exploit his/her vulnerability because of information on the internal norms and values of that other party (Korczynski, 2000). Sabel (1993) even argues that trust is constitutive of all social relations to the extent that a degree of vulnerability is present in all forms of social interaction. While 'rational-calculative trust' is based on the calculation of economic or social interests, 'knowledge on other parties' norms' is based on knowledge on other parties' norms, values and motives. "Where confidence is based on knowledge of the other party's motives it is not assumed that non-exploitation of vulnerability is in the economic or social interests of the other party" (Korczynski, 2000, p. 6).

Basis of confidence: relationship between X to Y

This type of trust "is a function of the tendency of others to act in an 'appropriate' manner. Here Y is confident that X will not exploit her because Y has some sort of knowledge about the norms and motives of X. As such trust is not based on the economic calculation of benefits or sanctions [...] but that one party has information that allows them to trust another's motives. This trust is 'thicker' than rational calculative trust; in essence it describes not solely trusting someone else to do something, but also that you trust in that person because you know their values and norms" (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 233).

2.12.4 Trust on personal relations

Content

The second identification-based type of trust is 'trust on personal relations'. Con-

confidence is based on the created 'social capital' in the relationship (Putnam, 1993). The relationship between two parties transforms in a kind of friendship, in which the relationship itself becomes valuable. Korczynski (2000, p. 5) argues that "there is a degree of potential overlap between personal relations and incentive/governance structures as bases of confidence in that X may have confidence that Y will not exploit X's vulnerability partly because to do so would damage their friendship, and X believes that Y values this friendship". There is, however, more to personal relations as a basis of confidence than a particular social form of incentive/governance. An additional advantage of this type of trust is that information can be derived first-hand which increases the quality of information significantly (Granovetter in Korczynski, 2000). This type of trust is the ultimate form of trust as relations are more detailed, richer and thus more helpful. It is what Hardin (1992) describes as 'thick' personal trust and is often defined as the purpose of trust building. A notable example of this type of trust is the promotion of what Putnam (1993) describes as 'social capital'. Social capital refers to connections within and between social networks and that these networks have a value (Putnam, 1993). According to Laurian (2009), socio-cultural aspects or what she defines as 'social trust' is an important element of social capital. Socio-cultural aspects do have an influence on the act of trusting, because they are connected with the general perception of trustworthiness. Furthermore, Fukuyama (1995) has examined these socio-cultural aspects and contends that some societal cultures tend to be more trusting than others. This is, however, beyond the scope of this study. Once again, connections within and between complex social networks constitute social capital, which forms the source for norms, cultural values, commitment to goals and perceptions of the virtue of trustworthiness. In that sense does this generalized social construct of trust consequently contribute to confidence in abstract systems by promoting code of ethics and social standards in behaviour. Trust in general is therefore "a mode of interpersonal relations embedded in a complex network of social relations and norms" (Laurian, 2009, p. 371). Figure 2.7 illustrates the wider connection of social trust, as being a part of a complex network of social relations.

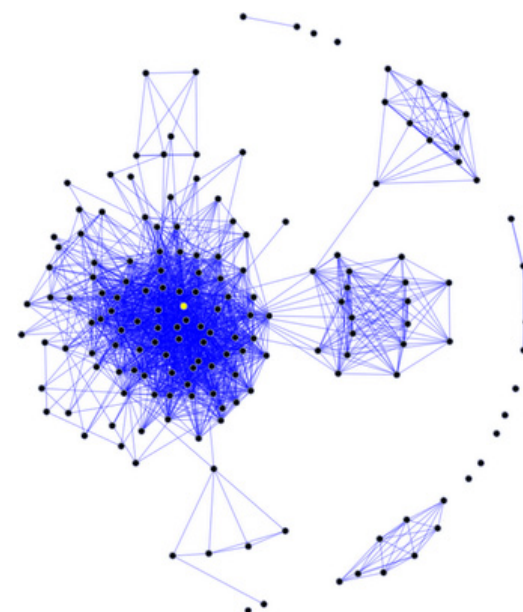


Figure 2.7: Schematic illustration of the complex network of social relations.

When this identification-based trust reaches its extremist form in a relationship, however, trust is at the end of its bandwidth and comprises 'blind trust'. Because an absence of a critical attitude can be fatal as critical alternatives are disregarded, blind trust does not contribute to fruitful cooperation in collaborative planning processes and will be kept out of consideration (Van Ark and Edelenbos, 2005).

Basis of confidence: relationship between X to Y

With this type of trust "the relationship between parties (or between X and Y), and the personal bonds between parties constitutes trust. If Y knows X personally, or knows any group that 'represents' X, then trust may be formed through the first-hand experience of knowing someone and not wishing to upset or hurt them. Lack of trust may be formed through distance, through lack of personal relations with others" (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 233).

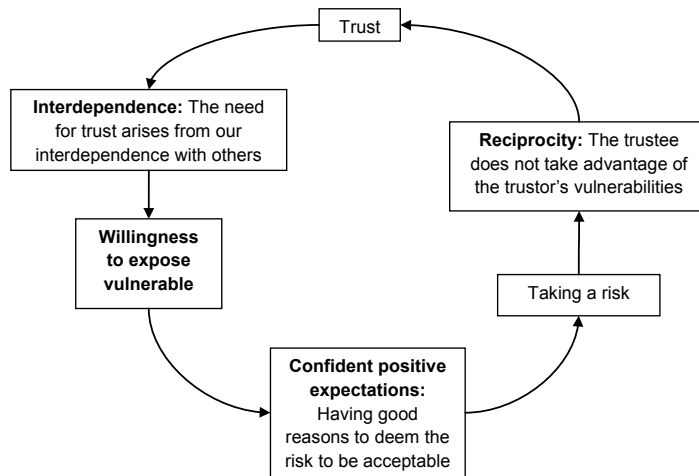


Table 2.2 identifies the subdivision of four major types of trust, which are grounded on their basis of confidence (Korczynski, 2000; Swain and Tait, 2007). The basis for trust is thus created by the underlying reasons for having confident positive expectations. Swain and Tait argue that these four different types of trust “might be identified as existing within the everyday activities of planners, who may be held accountable through utilitarian means of accounting, who may build personal relations of trust with politicians, work to understand others’ viewpoints and values, or who may be trusted to use expert, abstract knowledge to solve problems” (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 234).

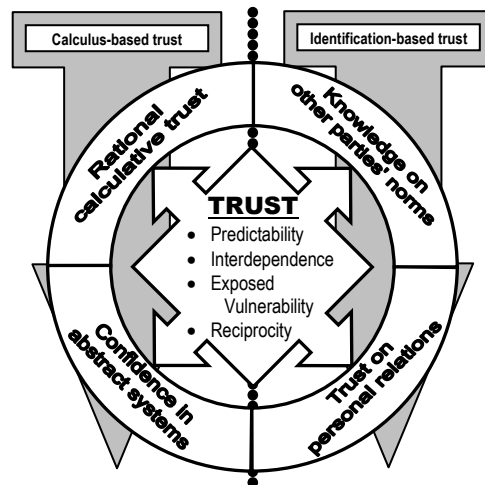
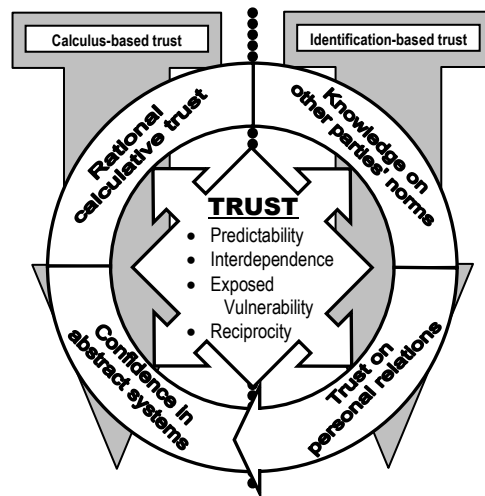
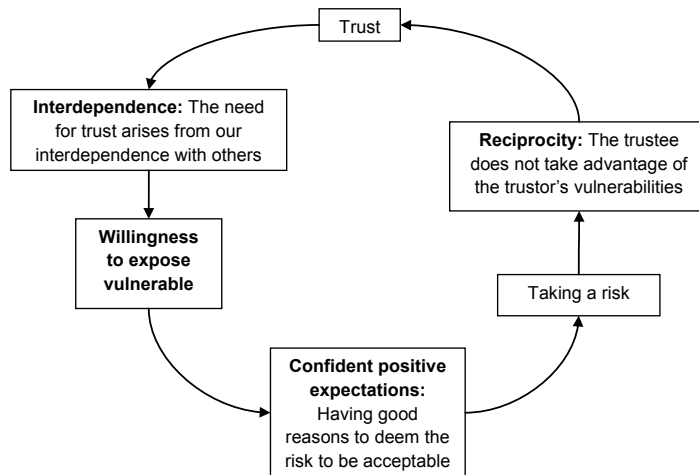


Table 2.2: 4 types of trust, grounded in its basis of confidence

| | Mental processes | Type of trust | Basis of confidence | Relationship X to Y | Function as support for certainty | 'Thickness' of trust | Examples of discussions within the literature |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|---|---|----------------------|--|
| Calculus-based trust | Cognitive-ly-driven processes | Confidence in abstract systems | <i>Y is confident that X will not exploit her, and thus trusts X, because X is 'linked' to accepted technical norms, code of ethics and social standards in behaviour.</i> | <i>Abstract</i> | <i>Knowledge of standards and codes from systems and institutions</i> | <i>'Thin'</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - System trust (Luhmann, 1979); - Institution-based trust (Zucker, 1986) - System trust (Giddens, 1990) - System trust (Lane and Bachmann, 1996) |
| | | Rational calculative trust | <i>X has positive benefits when he acts in Y's interest. Y will trust X because she knows that X will get benefits for acting in Y's interest.</i> | <i>Utilitarian (Incentive/governance structure)</i> | <i>Deliberation of positive benefits and negative sanctions</i> | <i>'Thin'</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trust through reputation (Dasgupta, 1988) - Encapsulated interest trust (Hardin, 1992) - Deterrence-based trust (Shapiro et al., 1992) - Calculative trust (Williamson, 1993) |
| Identification-based trust | Emotionally-driven processes | Knowledge of other parties' norms | <i>Trust is a function of the tendency of others to act in an 'appropriate' manner. Here Y is confident that X will not exploit her because Y has some sort of knowledge about the norms and motives of X.</i> | <i>Knowledgeable</i> | <i>Knowledge of the other party's internal norms</i> | <i>'Thick'</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diffuse social norms of obligation/cooperation (Bradach and Eccles, 1989) - Trust involving altruism (Lyon and Mehta, 1994) - Internalized ethical habits and reciprocal moral obligation (Fukuyama, 1995) |
| | | Trust on personal relations | <i>The relationship between parties (or between X and Y), and the personal bonds between parties constitutes trust.</i> | <i>Personal</i> | <i>Experience formed through social interaction</i> | <i>'Thick'</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thick relationship trust (Hardin, 1992) - Personal trust (Luhmann, 1979) - Personal relations that overlap with economic exchange (Bradach and Eccles, 1989) - Trust in persons (Giddens, 1990) |



2.13 The transformational nature of trust

Four different types of trust have been defined now, after which the focus in this section will be on how these types of trust can develop and evolve over time. The transformational psychological research approach suggests that “trust builds along a continuum of hierarchical and sequential stages, such that as trust grows to ‘higher’ levels, it becomes stronger and more resilient and changes in character” (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 2). It involves the movement of trust on its bandwidth from ‘thin’ trust to ‘thick’ trust. In the model of Lewicki et al. (1998) it implies roughly the transformation from cell 1 (Low Trust/Low Distrust) to cell 2 (High Trust/Low Distrust). See box 2.2 for more details.

Box 2.2: Definition of two social realities

Low Trust/Low Distrust (Cell 1)

“Under conditions of low trust and low distrust, an individual or actor has neither reason to be confident nor reason to be wary and watchful. The relationship likely is characterized by a limited number of facets, few bands, and low band-width. Over time and with increased interdependence, awareness of the other will develop quickly, giving rise to the establishment of beliefs about the other’s trustworthiness and untrustworthiness. Parties are not likely to engage in any relationship dynamics requiring complex interdependency or in complex assessments of risk or vulnerability. Conversation most likely is simple and casual, not violating the privacy of either party or suggesting the existence of any closeness or intimacy (Lewicki et al., 1998, p. 446). This social reality corresponds to ‘thin’ trust on a calculus-based level.

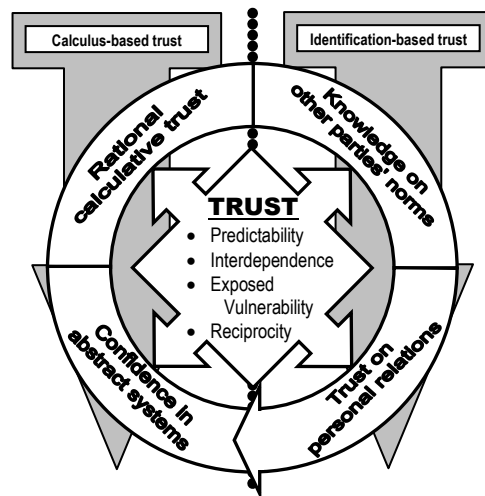
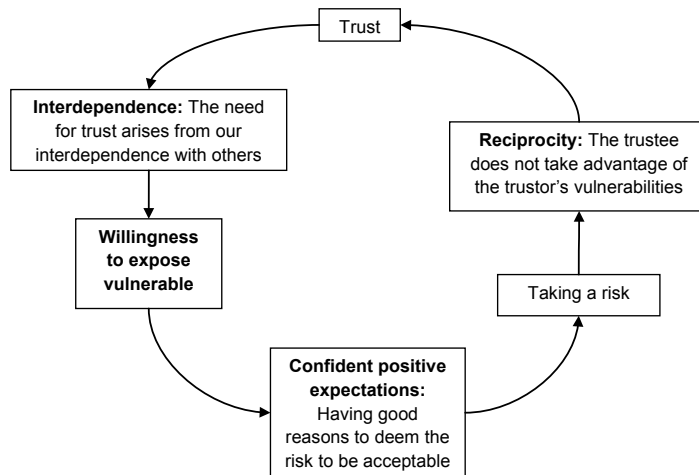
High Trust/Low Distrust (Cell 2)

“Under conditions of high trust and low distrust, one actor has reason to be confident in another and no reason to suspect the other. The relationship likely is characterized by pooled interdependence, where interested parties are assured that partners are pursuing common objectives. The facet elements, bands, and band-width of the relationship reflect a large number of positive experiences, in which the aggregate experience has been trust reinforcing. This experience creates social capital that enables the trusting party to exercise initiative, assured of the support of the trusted party. Parties are likely to seek ways to continually develop and enrich this relationship and to expand their mutually beneficial interdependencies. Conversation likely is complex and rich, reflecting each party’s awareness of the other. In addition, the trusting party is likely to identify with the trustee’s values, feel strong positive affect toward the trusted, and express these feelings through various verbalizations of appreciation, support, and encouragement (Lewicki and Bunker, 1995; McAllister, 1995). Parties will interact frequently, periodically invent new opportunities for interaction, and also monitor and ‘repair’ the trust as tensions surface and are resolved” (Lewicki et al., 1998, p. 446). This social reality corresponds to ‘thick’ trust on an identification-based level.

As I discussed earlier, the act of trusting is a cyclical process and is based on the formation and fulfilment of expectations. “Each time partners act together, they take (small) risks and form expectations about the intended outcome and the way others will contribute to achieving it. Each time an outcome meets expectations, trusting attitudes are reinforced. The outcome becomes part of the history of the relationship, increasing the chance that partners will have positive expectations about joint actions in the future. The increased trust reduces the sense of risk for these future actions” (Vangen and Huxham, 2003, p. 11). Acting reliable and predictable (in other words reciprocal, i.e. not taking advantage of another’s exposed vulnerabilities) is significant, especially at early stages of the relationship. Reliable and predictable behaviour forms the cause that trust in a relationship is able to transform from a calculus-based level into an identification-based level (Rousseau et al., 1998). ‘Thin’ trust at a calculus-based level is always present, but is mainly dominant at initial stages of relationships. It is hereby important to notice that it takes time to constitute the transformational development of ‘thick’ identification-based trust in a relationship (Lewicki et al., 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). According to Rousseau et al. (1998), the level of trust is posited to change through repeated interactions.

Planning theory also offers an opportunity to create ‘thick’ trust between conflicting groups, by focusing on communicative rationality (e.g. Stein and Harper, 2003; Swain and Tait, 2007). Communicative rationality implies that the stakeholders in a particular discussion situation must be able to fulfil the ideal speech conditions of comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy and truthfulness (Habermas in Kumar and Paddison, 2000, p. 207). Open communication and time (i.e. repeated interactions) are two necessary conditions for communicative rationality. Since there is a lot of discussion about this theory of communicative rationality (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000), it is important to keep in mind that it is an ideal type (Innes, 2004). In western liberal societies hardly anybody is against the principles of collaborative planning and its strength lies in its ability to contribute to better debate, discussion, and deliberation about shared futures. Besides, as em-

pirical theory fails and most prescriptive theory is not able to diminish the gap between theory and practice, planning should be normative (Friedmann, 1993) and pragmatic (Flyvbjerg, 2001). In that case *planning theory should focus on providing ideas to achieve a certain state in a certain context*. Since the recognition that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed (Maturana and Varela, 1998), planning theory and practice have withdrawn the greater part of scientifically constructed empirical knowledge (quantitative research), and continued in participative and collaborative approaches grounded on communicative rationality (qualitative research). Yet, this shift was unavoidable and has been a result of the different aspects of the rise of modernity (Swain and Tait, 2007). With the context of planning seen as participatory processes based on communicative rationality and with goals which are commonly defined within that process, the aim of planning theory in this context should focus on creating trust within that process. Or as Kumar and Paddison (2000, p. 209) put it: “Actively seeking trust would, therefore, engage professionals with the stakeholders in a process of continuous interaction under the conditions of communicative rationality leading to shared understanding and mutually agreed upon decisions”. Nonetheless, as there probably is not full consensus among authors about the focus on communicative rationality, Innes (2004) argues that in a consensus-building process discussion does not process through the force of the better argument. “Participants search for a future scenario where all their interests are met to some degree or at least better than they would be if they had not come together” (Innes, 2004, p. 11). This calculation of benefits represents ‘rational calculative trust’. The earlier mentioned ‘confidence in abstract systems’, which expresses itself for example as trust in the planner as an expert or in planning institutions, is another calculus-based type of trust. These two types of trust may be high at initial levels when members of organizations barely know each other (McKnight et al., 1998). The question remains, however, how trust, and specifically ‘thick’ trust on personal relations and knowledge on other parties’ norms and values, develops in a relationship. Rousseau et al. (1998) have visualised this development by a model representing the transformational psychological approach, which basics can be used for this essay. When added with the four types of trust and extended with some notifications, the development of trust in collaborative and partici-



pative planning processes can be visualised as such in figure 2.8. The development and transformation of types of trust is incited by reliable and predictable behaviour from the participants and needs time (a certain amount of repeated interactions) to develop. I will discuss these incentives in more detail in the next section.

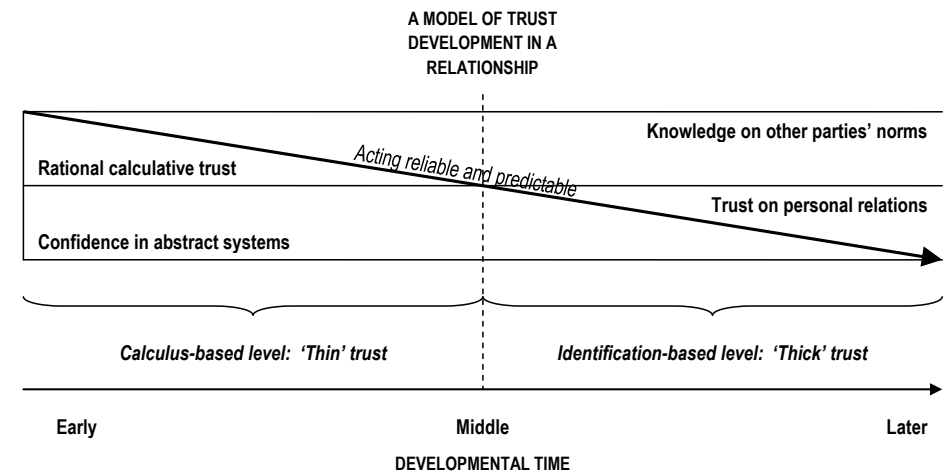


Figure 2.8: A model of the development of trust in collaborative planning practices, based on reliable and predictable behaviour.

2.13.1 Early relationships

This model presumes that a trustor and trustee meet for the first time, thus that they do not have a common history. If parties do have a common history of interactions, 'identification-based trust' might already exist. The development of trust and the transformation of types of trust (a transforming basis for confidence) is highly dependent on the frequency of interactions. In an early stage, 'social capital' has not been built yet and trust is mainly based on calculation (see figure 2.9).

2.13.2 Relationships at middle developmental time

After several interactions (middle developmental time), valuable 'social capital' is

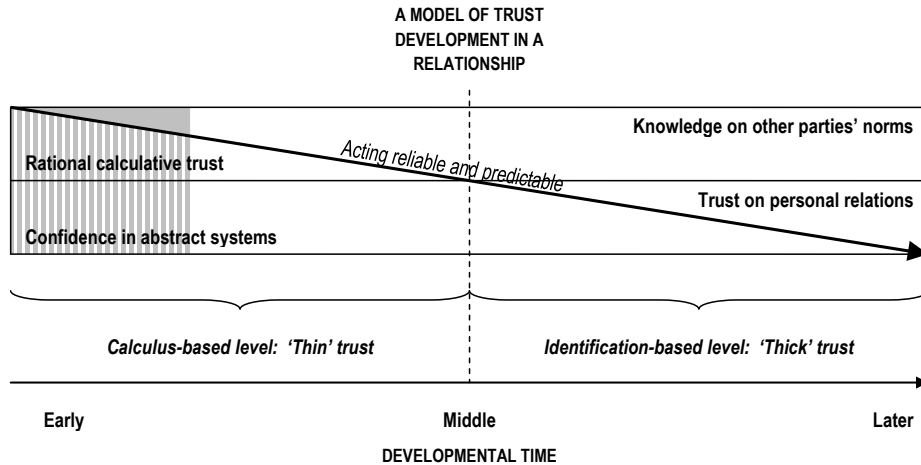


Figure 2.9: Types of trust existing at the beginning of a relationship.

starting to create and parties begin to understand the norms, values and motives of other parties, although trust is still largely based on calculation (see figure 2.10).

2.13.4 Relationships after long developmental time

Again, the development of trust and the transformation of types of trust (a transforming basis for confidence) is highly dependent on the frequency of interactions. When the frequency of interactions increases, the relationship becomes rich of identification-based trust if the formed expectations are getting fulfilled. Parties show similarity as they gained an understanding of one another's norms, and they value the 'social capital', which they created together. This means that on a long-term period trust is more and more based on personal relations, while calculus-based trust becomes less significant and decisive (see figure 2.11). Identification-based trust in general can be derived "from repeated interactions over time between trustor and trustee. Information available to the trustor from within the relationship itself forms the basis of relational trust. Reliability and dependability in previous interactions with the trustor give rise to positive expectations about the trustee's intentions. Emotion enters into the relationship between the parties,

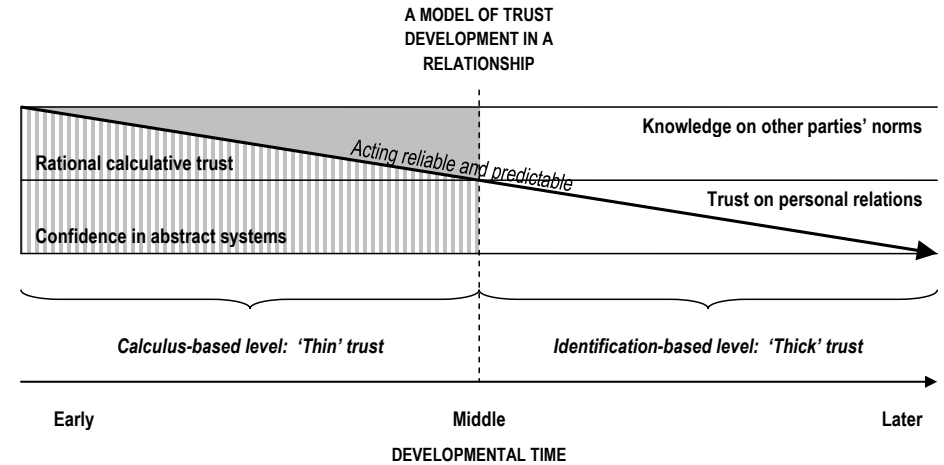


Figure 2.10: Types of trust existing in a relationship at middle developmental time

because frequent, longer-term interaction leads to the formation of attachments based upon reciprocated interpersonal care and concern (McAllister, 1995). (For this reason, scholars often refer to this form of trust as 'affective trust' [McAllister, 1995] and as 'identity-based trust' at its broadest scope [Coleman, 1990])" (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 399).

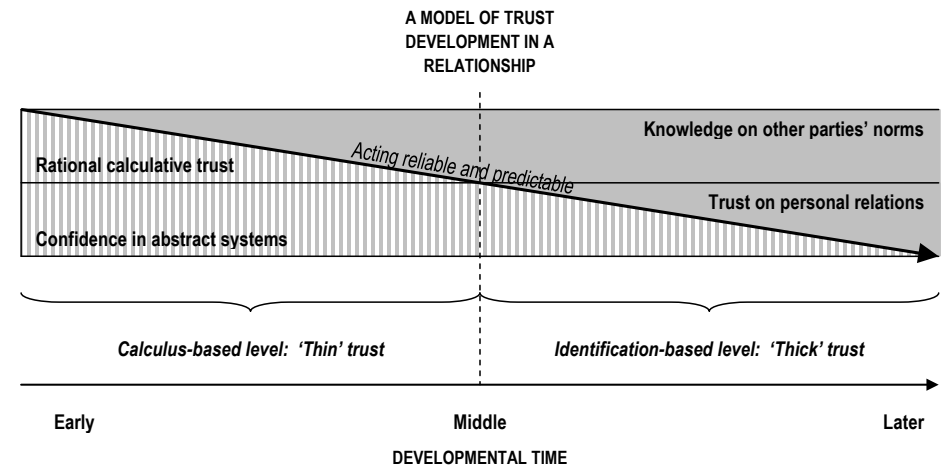
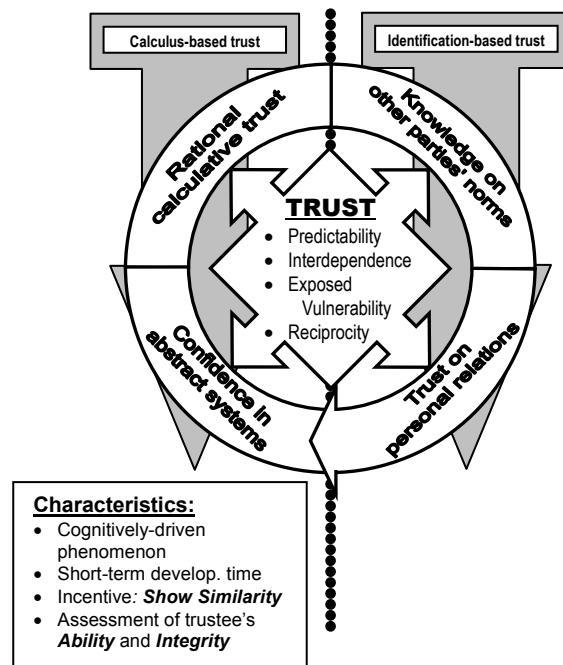
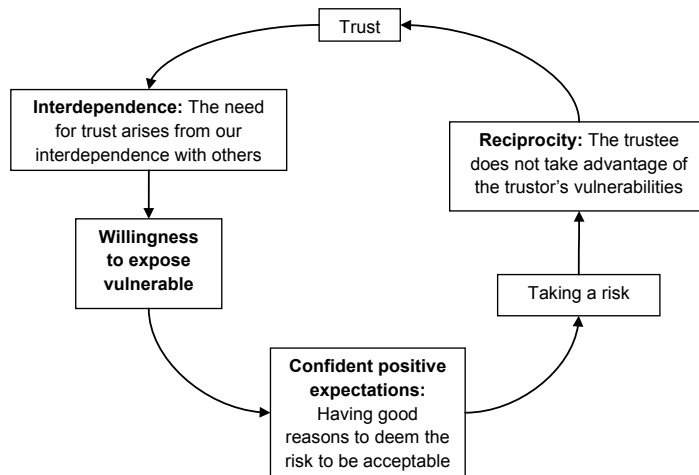


Figure 2.11: Types of trust existing in a relationship after long developmental time



2.14 Incentives for the development of the different types of trust

In the previous paragraphs of this chapter the concept of trust has broadly been explored. Trust has not only been characterised and defined, but the concept of trust is also theorized further between the cornerstones of existing research approaches. It has been reasoned that trust and distrust are to be studied as different mechanism in separate dimensions, because of its context-dependency. By using the transformational psychological approach on the act of trusting, the development of trust has been discussed as being the transformation of the nature of trust, which is grounded in the basis of confidence in the formation of expectations. As a result, four types of trust are delineated between a trustor and a trustee in a relationship. These types of trust are either calculus-based or identification-based and are created through cognitive and affective processes during interaction. Herein has calculus-based trust a 'thinner bandwidth' than identification-based trust (Lewicki et al., 2006). The level of trust is posited to change through repeated interactions, whereby 'thin' calculus-based trust proportionally decreases as 'thick' identification-based trust proportionally increases. Eventually, when trusting expectations keep being formed and fulfilled, identification-based trust can theoretically fully replace calculus-based trust. In that case it will appear as 'blind trust', which is not always appropriate though. In practical situations, for example processes with cooperation aims, however, such a high level of identification-based trust will never be reached. That is because these processes do not have eternal amounts of time for the development of high levels of trust on personal relations. The relationship itself does not often become considerably valuable. Besides, actors in such processes have personal reasons or represent stakes, including potential gains and losses, what makes that calculation will always be present and calculation-based trust remains a preferable, less risky form of trust. In this section I will focus on possible incentives for the development of calculus-based trust and identification-based trust, which are mentioned in the literature on trust. Some of these are theoretical, others have been scientifically verified. First it is important to notice that as repeated interactions between a trustor and a trustee occur, "trust develops from within the relationship itself, rather than from

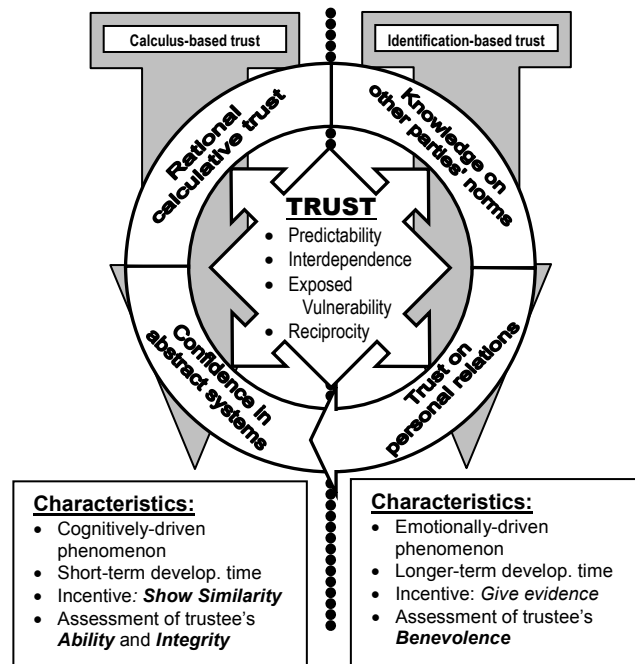
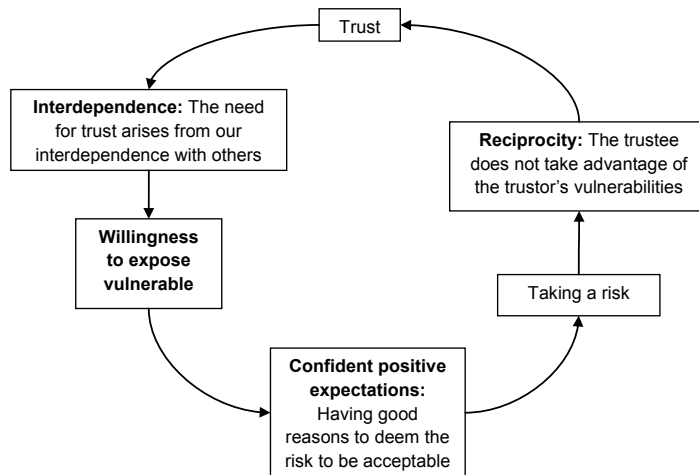
external validations of the risks of trusting the other” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1013). To understand the origin and development of trust, research should focus on possible incentives for trust within relationships. The development of the four types of trust contributes to the succession of the participative process and will lead obviously to more satisfaction about the outcomes. Especially the building of trust at the identification-based level – trust on personal relations and knowledge of other parties’ norms – is significant. By exploring and defining the incentives, one can get insight in how initial calculus-based trust is able to evolve into ‘thicker’ forms of trust. In the discussed transformational model, it has been stated that trust is able to develop through reliable and predictable behaviour by the participants within the process. This kind of behaviour will increase participants’ ability to predict outcomes. Participants can use their communicative skills to gain knowledge on other parties’ norms that increases their ability to predict outcomes in order to assess uncertainty and reduce fear of opportunistic behaviour (Vangen and Huxham, 2003). By using several scientific sources, this proactive behaviour can be specified into incentive actions, which can more or less be subdivided for calculus-based trust and identification-based trust.

2.14.1 Cognitively-driven processes: Calculus-based trust

When there is not enough time to gather evidence whether the other person is trustworthy, we need a short-term short cut to guess their trustworthiness by looking for similarities (Straker, 2008). Similarities in each others’ aims results in win-win situations and leads to calculus-based trust. According to some scholars (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Mayer et al., 1995), ability and integrity are likely to be most influential early in a relationship. “*Ability* refers to an assessment of the other’s knowledge, skill or competency. This dimension recognizes that trust requires some sense that the other is able to perform in a manner that meets our expectations” (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 1). It are the skills, competences and characteristics that enables a party to have influence in some sort of domain and increases trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995). “*Integrity* is the degree to which the trustee adheres to

principles that are acceptable to the trustor. This dimension leads to trust based on consistency of past actions, credibility of communication, commitment to standards of fairness, and the congruence of the other’s word and deed” (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 1). Here, one actor trusts another by making judgements of the trustee’s predictability and reliability. These judgements are based on the experienced rewards and punishments that form a rational control mechanism of behavioural consistency (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b). ‘Confidence in abstract systems’ can be increased by the selection of capable and trained facilitators who are able to set up a clear and transparent process. These factors incite positive expectations about the process. “A stable situation and clear design or approach of the process helps to set the frame of trust” (De Vries, 2008, p. 22). Acknowledgement, intelligibility and agreement on related relevant systems, for example the planning system, is a major factor as well that incites ‘confidence in abstract systems’ (system trust). Theoretical assumptions of practical actions derived from the literature that might catalyse (increase or decrease when misused) the existence of calculus-based trust, based on *ability* and *integrity* as factors of trustworthiness:

- *Perform competently* (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007)
- *Communicate accurately, openly and transparently* (Das and Teng, 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003)
- *Ensure that equity and fairness are mostly preserved* (Das and Teng, 1998)
- *Behave in a desired manner* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- *Identify your partners* (Vangen and Huxham, 2003)
- *Manage risks* (Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007)
- *Look for similarities* (Straker, 2008)
- *Show willingness to take risks* (Das and Teng, 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003)
- *Establish a common name and identity* (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b)
- *Agree on collaboration aims* (Vangen and Huxham, 2003)
- *Stabilize and manage interactions* (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007)
- *Exchange information proactively* (Das and Teng, 1998)
- *Meeting agreed-to deadlines and fulfilling promises* (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b)



2.14.2 Emotionally-driven processes: Identification-based trust

The main incentive for the development of identification-based trust is 'evidence'. "In our experiences with others and our quest to know if we can trust them, we seek to discover how reliable they are, what personal integrity they have and the degree to which they care about us. In this way, long-term trust is based on practical evidence that we gather about the trustworthiness of other persons" (Straker, 2008, p. 184). According to Lewicki and Tomlinson (2003b), information on one's benevolence is likely to be most influential later in a relationship, as information on one's benevolence needs more time to emerge. "*Benevolence* is our assessment that the trusted individual is concerned enough about our welfare to either advance our interests, or at least not impede them. The other's perceived intentions or motives of the trustee are most central. Honest and open communication, delegating decisions, and sharing control indicate evidence of benevolence" (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b, p. 2). Benevolence is thus the extend to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor, aside from an egocentric profit motive (Mayer et al., 1995).

Theoretical assumptions of practical actions derived from the literature that might catalyse (increase or decrease when misused) the existence of identification-based trust, based on *benevolence* as factor of trustworthiness:

- Promote shared values and emotional attraction (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b)
- Recognise, express and discuss feelings of vulnerability (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- Adapt partners by acting for mutual interests rather than self-interests (Das and Teng, 1998)
- Share and delegate control (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b)
- Ensure that shared power is maximised (Vangen and Huxham, 2003)
- Keep continuous attention to the dynamics of collaboration and group changes (Vangen and Huxham, 2003)

- *Create joint products and goals* (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Vangen and Huxham, 2003; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007)
- *Communicate open to sound off differences in order to avoid fatal conflicts* (Das and Teng, 1998)
- *Create a high density of repeated interaction* (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007)
- *Share values and validate them by actions* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- *Create a network of social exchange and delegation* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- *Share information full and frank* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- *Show concern for others* (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b)
- *Adapt to the needs of cooperation in partnerships* (Das and Teng, 1998)
- *Meet the expectations of all partners* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)
- *Protect one another's' interests* (Kumar and Paddison, 2000)

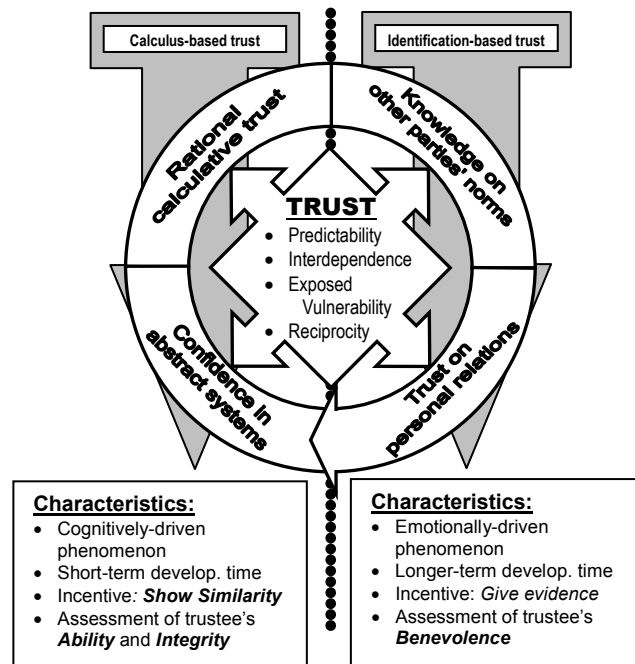
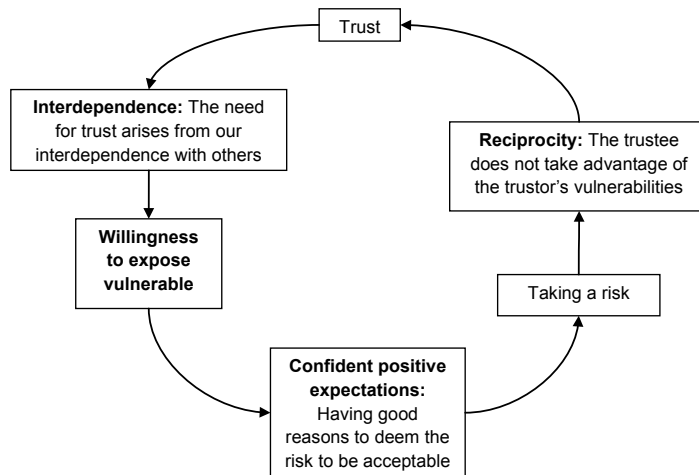
2.14.3 Time and Communication

A complete analysis of the proposed actions would be too extensive for the purpose of this study. Besides, they should be examined by more practical cases to gain validity. All proposed actions certainly contribute to trust building by strengthening the assessment factors of the trustee's trustworthiness, which are ability, integrity and benevolence (Lewicki and Tomlinson, 2003b; Mayer et al., 1995). These actions can be simplified further and brought together under the same denominator for trustful behaviour, which is 'acting proactive, reliable and predictable'. If every participant in a collaborative process behaves like that, trust can quite easily be generated, because a trustor will judge the other participants as trustworthy. Not only are you enabling other participants to form expectations about yourself as a reliable and predictable partner, but a proactive attitude also causes other participants to contribute more and accelerates decision-making. Proactive, reliable and predictable behaviour contains the willingness to take risks too. By taking (small) risks you expose yourself vulnerable and by doing that you indirectly ask trustworthiness of the other. Taking risks is essential for trust building and works as a trial and error

approach (Das and Teng, 1998). There is, nevertheless, another side of the coin. Your exposed vulnerabilities can be misused by actors who act unreliable and unpredictable. Therefore, participants will most of the times act aloof at an initial stage and use small-step risk-taking to calculate the trustees predictability and to decline a potential loss. If the participants do not misuse your vulnerabilities, it will serve as some kind of evidence and opens opportunities to trust others even more. The ability to form expectations, and thereby predict others' behaviour, is 'the key to success' (Vangen and Huxham, 2003). If all participants behave reliable and predictable and are proactive in exposing vulnerabilities and thus willingly to take risks, trust can quite easily be generated over time. This is, however, easier said than done.

Because most participants will act reserved at the initial stage of a process, it makes it difficult to judge each other's ability, integrity and benevolence at that stage. Therefore, two main factors, namely time and communication, are able to cause proactive, reliable and predictable behaviour on the one hand, and makes it possible to for actors make an assessment of each other's behaviour on the other hand. These two factors should be seen as preconditions for trust development in such processes.

The first precondition for generating trust is the dimension of time. The ability to form expectations is mainly based on a historical perspective, which means common past experiences. "Trust does not appear at the snap of a finger, but it must be built up in the interaction among actors" (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007, p. 33). Repeated interaction among the participants in a collaborative process thus is necessary to build trust. The second precondition for generating trust is communication. Communication in a pleasant way – proactive, open, accurate, and transparent – is the means to express yourself and determines whether the other participants indeed encounter your behaviour as reliable and predictable. It is also a means to look for similarities, which are essential for short-term decisions whether to trust another or not. Similarities in collaboration aims result in calculus-based trust. Moreover, open and proactive communication obviously seems to be an overall theme in trust building, as "it



provides the basis for continued interaction, from which partners further develop common values and norms” (Leifer and Mills in Das and Teng, 1998, p. 505). As the frequency of interactions increase, actors come to a deeper understanding of each other and become willingly to take greater risks. Most of the time the act of trusting happens instinctively or unconsciously (Waroquier, in press). Therefore, informal communication should rather be encouraged than avoided (De Vries, 2008) as it can create ‘thick’ trust on personal relations.

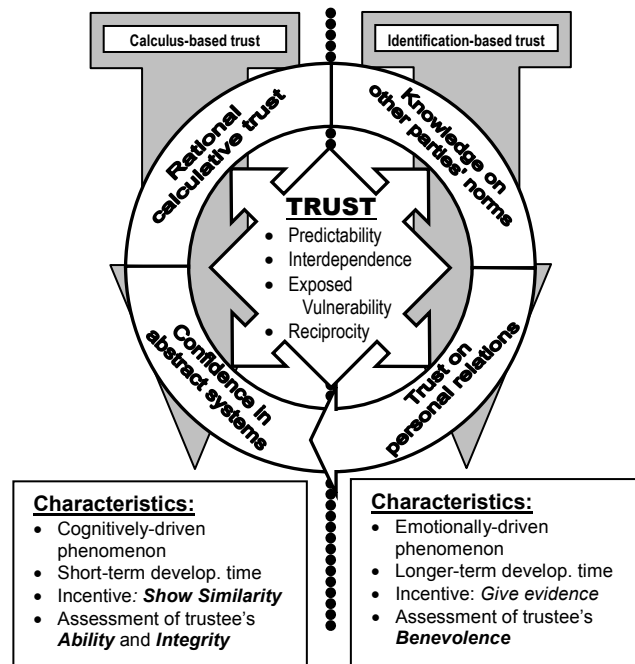
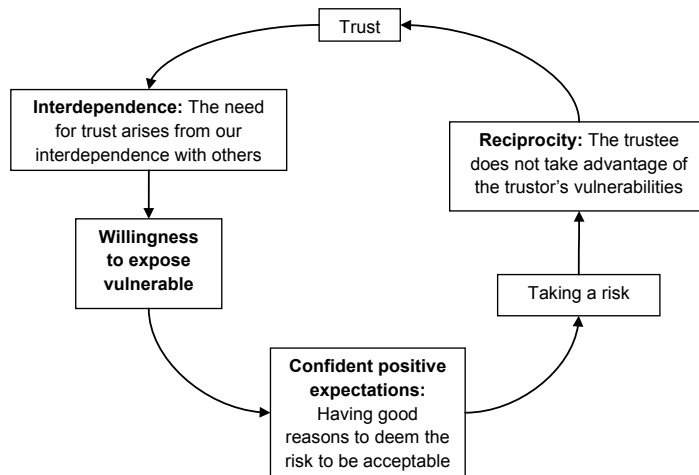
Building citizens’ trust in planning institutions is crucial too, in order to “take the tough decisions which may arise in the pursuit of collective goals” (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 244). This ‘confidence in abstract systems’, or ‘system trust’ when referring to Bachmann (2001) and Luhmann (1979), is very significant, because it determines the amount of initial trust participants have at the beginning of a process. The amount of initial trust dictates the rate and speed of personal trust development. If people do not understand and trust the system (for example planning laws and obligations), then they neither trust the people representing the system straightaway. If, for instance, a municipality wants to establish a new plan for the town centre, and its citizens are unaware of the purpose (advantages and disadvantages) of that plan, then it is likely that ‘confidence in abstract systems’ is lacking, and as a result citizens will become resistant, even before the plan has been made. Davidoff (1965) makes a similar statement about the inclusion of citizens in the planning process: “If the planning process is to encourage democratic urban government, then it must operate so to include rather than exclude citizens from participating in the process” (Davidoff, 1965, p. 212). It is questionable if the planner should really act as an advocate (according to Davidoff) rather than a mediator in such a process, but it is comprehensible that plural planning would improve planning practice as a mean “for stimulating consideration of future conditions by all groups in society” (Davidoff, 1965, p. 215).

2.15 Reflection on the hitherto theoretical assumptions of trust

The previous part of this study has mainly been focussed on exploring trust in order to understand the concept and to become acquainted with its basic principles and development structure. Trust has deliberately been defined, and the focus on the development of trust at the individual level in a relationship (from the perspective of the trustor) provided detailed insights, which are used as input for the model. It has been reasoned that time and communication are preconditions for generating trust. The frequency of interaction (time) on the one hand, and discussions during face-to-face contacts about values, expectations and motives based on principles of communicative rationality (communication) on the other hand, can cause a transformation of the basis of trust so that it is able to become thicker in bandwidth. Thicker forms of trust accelerate cooperation.

Unfortunately, frequent face-to-face contacts are uncommon in planning processes, because of reasons of cost abatement. Although, (thick) 'trust on personal relations' can originate between colleagues within companies or between civil servants within public authorities, for external relations it is rare. Generally because planning processes, with participants from different companies and authorities, do not feature a long term developmental time. Moreover, in contemporary liberal societies, for example the Netherlands, employees do not keep the same job for their whole life. This is something they used to do, but nowadays a lot of people change jobs frequently. As a result it will be harder to build thick forms of trust, because changing faces in collaborative relationships bring these identification-based types of trust back to zero. This does not mean, however, that thick forms of trust cannot be developed in collaborative planning processes. Especially 'knowledge on other parties' norms' is a type of identification-based trust that can be generated from the start of interaction. A detailed analysis of possible variables influencing cognitively-driven and emotionally-driven processes inside the brain, which triggers the level of trustworthiness, and thereby causes the transformation of types of trust, belongs more to research

within the field of psychology. Such a functional and rational analysis could be comprehensible for trust itself, but is too far off planning affairs. For the remaining part of this study, I shall, therefore, not go further into details about the trustor's personal considerations and motives to trust. The psychological approach has been useful in the previous part to answer the research questions 'what is trust?', 'where is trust based on?', and to discover preconditions and practical actions that incite the development of trust. For now, we leave the psychological approach behind and continue by zooming in on the social function of trust as a mechanism in collaborative planning processes. The aim with this approach is to come to an interpretative perspective on the mechanism of trust, instead of theoretically getting lost in an instrumental or rational perspective. The interpretative perspective will deal with the research question about the specific role of trust and will focus on the social function of trust as a mechanism. This will be outlined in the next section.



2.16 An interpretative perspective on the mechanism of trust

“Conceptualizing trust in only one form in a given relationship risks missing the rich diversity of trust in organizational settings” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 401). Trust can take various forms and in particular practical situations it is more often a mix of different types of trust. By using an interpretative perspective, trust is not seen as something (an instrument) a planner can apply, but more as a mechanism that exists at the core of social order (Egestad, 2002). To understand the social function of trust as a mechanism, a simplification of the current assumptions on the conceptualization of trust is required. It means ‘thinking outside the box’ of looking at a trustor’s motives or good reasons, which influence his decision to trust. “Trusting, whether it involves social or institutional constraints or sanctions or not, is more than a matter of individual psychology or personal ‘character’” (Solemon, 2000, p. 244).

In a situation of trust, cognitive and affective processes cause a behavioural content, which finds expression in the actions taken by people. “The behavioural content may be restricted to a narrowly circumscribed act or extend to an indefinitely large range of acts among those involved” (Lewis and Weigert, 1985, p. 972). Trusting behaviour is primarily motivated by a combination of a strong positive affect for the object of trust (identification-based trust) and good rational reasons (calculus-based trust). “To see an action as an expression of trust is to see it as involving a demand – a tacit demand – not to betray the expectations of those who trust us” (Lagerspetz cited in Egestad, 2002, p. 31). In every instance of trust, there are cognitive, affective and behavioural contents of trust present too some extend, only their ‘qualitative mix’ across instances of trust differ. Every instance of trust has its own ‘qualitative mix’, which is dependent on the context. Hence, there is a need to understand trust from within the context that contains it or is devoid of it, and the shared practices from which it emerges (Johnson, 1993). Trust thus develops from a complementary process of thinking and feeling, on the part of the trustor (see amongst others: Kumar and Paddison, 2000; McAllister, 1995). It is a complementation of ‘good reasons’

and 'good feelings' that causes the trustor to deem the risk of trust acceptable, and, as a consequence, increases confidence in expectations. As I mentioned earlier, these good reasons are generally based on:

- Knowledge of accepted technical norms, code of ethics and social standards in behaviour from systems and institutions

The social function of these systems is that they direct expectations and (re-)actions of social actors by providing patterns of social behaviour and reducing risks through deterrents, regulations and stimulations (for instance with financial penalties and subsidies) (Bachmann, 2001; Swain and Tait, 2007).

- Win-win situations

The social function is that these situations direct expectations through a calculation of potential gains (benefits) and losses (negative sanctions) that results in a strategic choice in which social actors take each other's stakes into account by looking for similarities (Straker, 2008; Swain and Tait, 2007).

- Knowledge of social actors' norms and motives

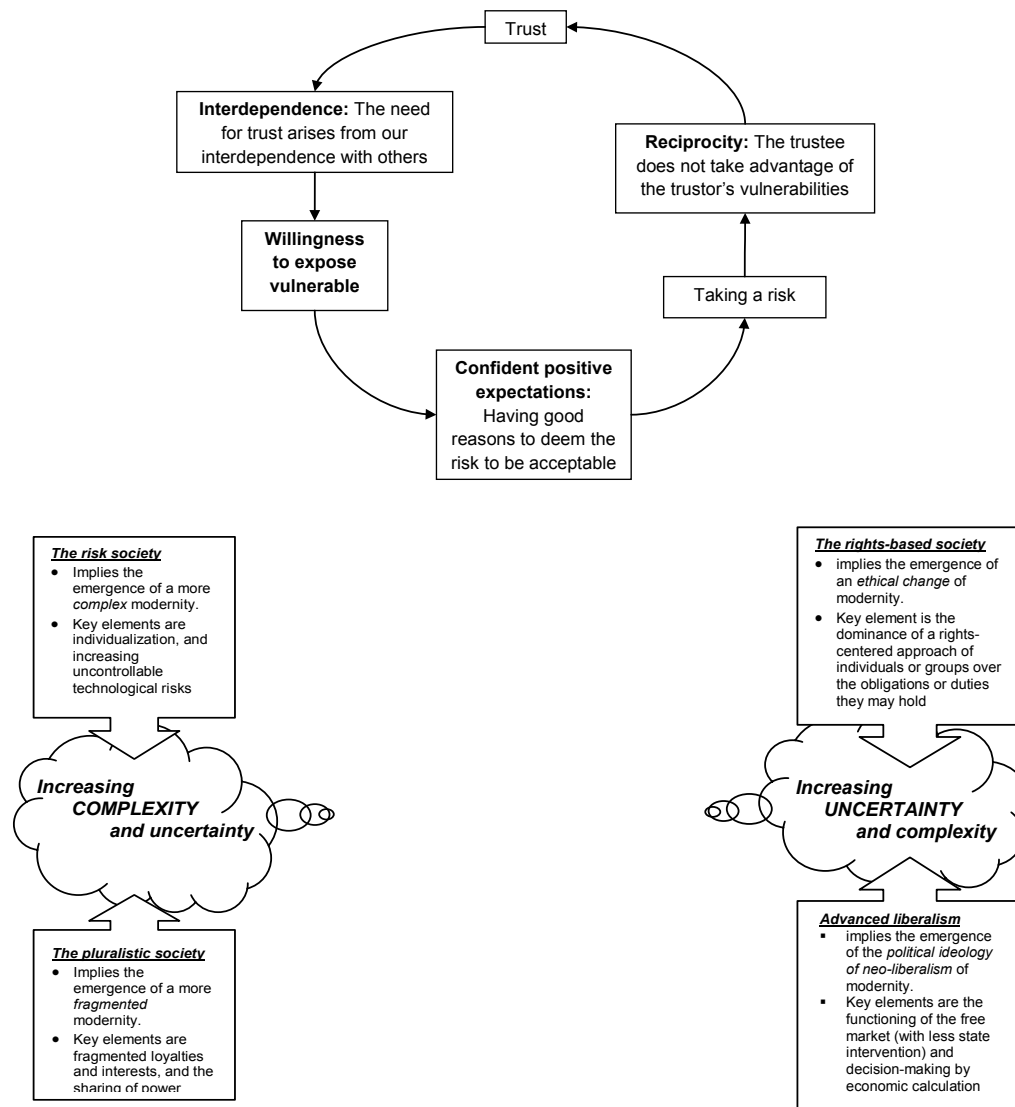
The social function is that this knowledge directs expectations through an assessment of social actors' altruism by looking at responsibility (capability to act with restraint), reliability (consistently act as expected by other participants) and dependability (less likelihood of major behavioural deviations) (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Swain and Tait, 2007).

- Emotional bonds between social actors

The social function is that an emotional bond between social actors directs expectations by reducing the risk of betrayal through an substantial amount of emotional investments and experiences over time in a way that the relationship itself has become valuable (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Swain and Tait, 2007).

Apparently, the social function of trust as a mechanism is to influence the selection of actions in the face of other possibilities. It allows social actors to link their mutual expectations with each other and coordinate (re-)actions between them (Bachmann, 2001). Hence, trust functions as a coordination mechanism. It is significant that own expectations are not only formed, but that the expectations of other social actors can also be directed and oriented. A trusting act by a trustor demands for specific behavioural (re-)actions from the trustee. By making specific assumptions regarding expectations about other actors' future behaviour, the mechanism of trust is therefore able to reduce the complexity of all possible behaviour and actions by others and as a consequence of less remaining possibilities it will reduce uncertainty as well. Moreover, uncertainty is also reduced because the expectation alleviates the fear that the other actor will act opportunistically (Bradach and Eccles, 1989). Some scholars even argue, about the social function of the mechanism of trust, as being a 'mechanism of social control', because it creates a set of expectations shared by all actors involved in an exchange (Bradach and Eccles, 1989; Zucker 1986). It is, however, noteworthy that trust always produces risk, and if one actor bears the risk of trusting for whatever reason as not acceptable, he will switch over to another mechanism for coordinating social interactions efficiently in order to reduce complexity and uncertainty regarding another's conduct, which is the mechanism of distrust (effectively used by 'power') (Bachmann, 2001). In such a case, the actor has good reasons to prefer the risk of open conflict (competition), over the risk of misplaced trust (Bachmann, 2001). As I have already delineated in the previous part of this study, trust and distrust exist together as separate dimensions in relationships and their mixture gives rise to alternative social realities. Trust and distrust (distrust viewed as an expression of power) are "both mechanism of social control [...that] can be seen as alternative means – which do not exclude each other but occur in combination in many cases – of fulfilling the same social function" (Bachmann, 2001, p. 351).

In the next section I shall argue why trust should be considered as an increasingly important coordination mechanism in planning, in order to cope with more and more complexity and uncertainty, as a result of several aspects of the rise modernity.



2.17 The role of the mechanism of trust in planning: coping with (increasing) complexity and uncertainty

In the introduction of this study (chapter 1), I mentioned increasing amounts of complexity and uncertainty as problems for contemporary planning practices. Swain and Tait (2007) made an analysis, in which they alienated that some specific characteristics of the rise of modernity, which they link to temporal changes in the form of society, have caused an increasing amount of complexity and uncertainty. In their opinion this has even led to a crisis of trust. They base their analysis among others on ‘the consequences of modernity’ by Anthony Giddens. He argues that we are moving into a period “in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before” (Giddens, 1990, p. 3), instead of entering a period of post-modernity. It has been argued that four characteristics have become dominant in contemporary society, which are risk, pluralism, individual and collective rights, and economic liberalism and the state (Swain and Tait, 2007). These characteristics can be considered as having an influence on the perception of complexity and uncertainty directly, and on the changing complementary relation of trust and distrust as mechanisms in order to cope with these concepts indirectly. These characteristics of modernity and their influences on planning practice, retrieved from Swain and Tait (2007), are summarized below:

- **The risk society** implies the emergence of a more complex modernity – key elements are individualisation, and increasing uncontrollable technological risks – following that complexity in planning increased.
- **The pluralistic society** implies the emergence of a more fragmented modernity – key elements are fragmented loyalties and interests, and the sharing of power – following that like the risk society complexity in planning increased.
- **The rights-based society** implies the emergence of an ethical change of modernity – key element is the dominance of a rights-centred approach of

- individuals or groups over the obligations or duties they may hold – following that especially the amount of uncertainty in planning increased.
- **Advanced liberalism** implies the emergence of the political ideology of neo-liberalism of modernity – key elements are the functioning of the free market (with less state intervention) and decision-making by economic calculation – following that like the rights-based society the amount of uncertainty in planning increased.

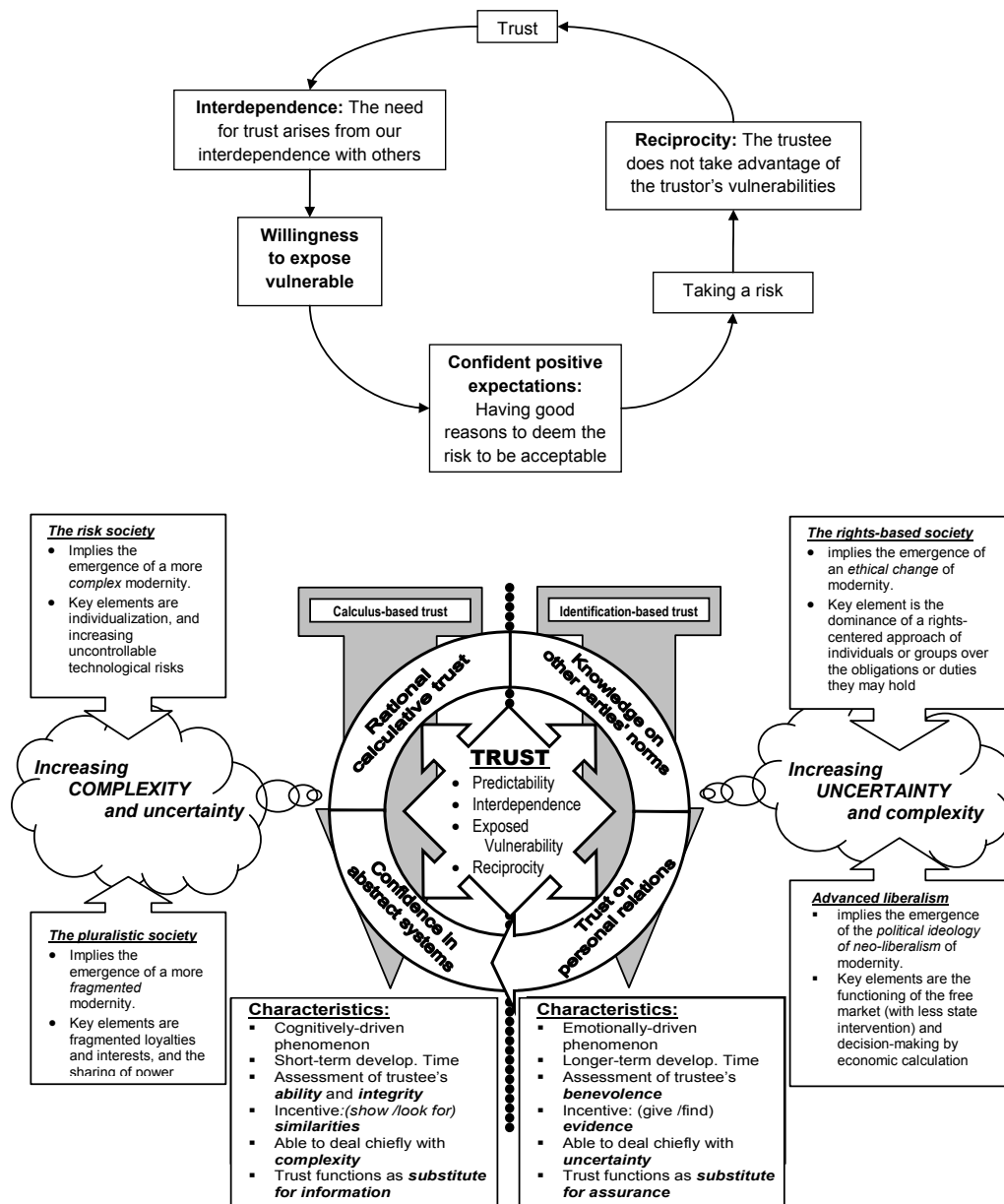
Especially decentralisation of decision-making in collaborative planning processes, with the inclusion of more stakeholders and citizens earlier in the process, has increased the complexity and uncertainty participants have to cope with. “The involvement of several actors leads to substantial complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity as a result of different goals, different (and sometimes contradictory) strategies and different perceptions by the particular actors” (Van Ark, 2005, p. 127). The large amount of possible actions by an increasing amount of participants involved in these processes make planning processes more complex (Laurian, 2009). This complexity consequently creates more uncertainty regarding whether these possible actions will harm or correspond to the other actors’ intentions. As a result, the task of planning institutions and planners, as being mediators or facilitators, which is to coordinate these interactions between the participants involved, has become more and more important. These interactions can be coordinated by allowing for expectations about other participants’ future behaviour, which will reduce the perception of complexity and uncertainty. This is necessary in order to avoid chaos (Luhmann, 1979). As Swain and Tait put it: “The work of planners is thus to foster collaboration, seek consensus and as a consequence build trust” (2007, p. 244). Regardless the mechanism of distrust, trust is the most significant mechanism that fosters cooperation and allows for the formation of expectations about other participants’ future behaviour and actions in interdependent processes. Trust reduces the analytical complexity of situations as it functions as a substitute for information, and reduces uncertainty by substituting for assurances (Laurian, 2009). “One could say that, drawing

Table 2.3: The role and function of trust in collaborative planning processes.

| Type of mental process | Nature of trust | Role of trust | Function of trust |
|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Cognitively-driven | Calculus-based | Substitute for information | Reduction of complexity |
| Emotionally-driven | Identification-based | Substitute for assurance | Reduction uncertainty |

on a universal disposition and the limitedness of social actor’s capacity to deal with complexity, a trustor *initially* offers a ‘*Vorleistung*’ as a way of reducing uncertainty, and then subsequently seeks reasons for why he could deem the risk involved in his decision to be acceptable. Only if these reasons are found is trust likely to become the dominant control mechanism within social relationships between individuals and organizations” (Bachmann, 2001, p. 343).

Hence, the mechanism of trust orientates the expectations and (re-)actions of social actors towards specific patterns of behaviour. The planning system is significant to put this mechanism of trust into operation, because ‘confidence in the planning system’ (system trust) forms the basis for initial (positive or negative) expectations. Generally decision-making in difficult and contested environments means that “planning related problems are not susceptible to resolution through face-to-face encounters alone and hence must be handled by some form of institution probably under the aegis of the state” (Campbell and Marshall, 2006, p. 246). If the institutional planning arrangements are not considered and deliberated well enough, for instance communicated and explained badly towards the participants involved in the process, then the aim to collaborate and to build trust in the process is likely to fail. Especially when participants have had negative experiences with similar processes before, it can create conditions of low trust and high distrust (Lewicki et al., 1998, 2006). In such a case, good reasons for trust, which are mainly grounded on a calculus-based level at an early stage in the process, are lacking, because the relationship presum-



ably starts with high distrust, which are good reasons to prefer the mechanism of distrust in becoming the dominant control mechanism. As a result of a lack of trustworthiness, uncertainty and complexity can cause participants to decide to finish off cooperation, even though it could have led to better results (Van Ark, 2005). Therefore, it is particularly important for planning that citizens keep trust in the institutions, as the values of institutions seem crucial for the eventual success of collaborative processes in planning practice (Laurian, 2009). According to Swain and Tait (2007, p. 244) "this implies a crucial role for the planning professional not only in attempting to secure trust amongst a plurality of groups, but also in building those trusted institutions needed to take the tough decisions which may arise in the pursuit of collective goals". It is thus important that these institutions are supported and promoted by the planner for the sake of trust. Regardless this significant understanding of the importance of planning institutions' task in accurately orientating and coordinating expectations and (re-)actions, with which they contribute to trust as 'confidence in the planning system', moreover, it is important for (future) planning professionals to understand their own major role in building trust among participants as mediator or facilitator. Trust in planning thus functions as a governance mechanism in coordinating expectations and interactions of and between participants in a collaborative planning process. It is, therefore, important for planners to understand how trust can be build and which aspects incite its development towards thicker forms of trust in order to seek consensus and foster collaboration. Trust building should be seen as an additional competence for planners, either in promoting the planning system as representatives as well as developing (personal) trust. It is hereby important to realize that (personal) trust not only matters between the participants in a collaborative planning process, but it also matters if the planner himself is able to build trust with participants involved. It is thus important for a planner to be perceived as trustworthy by the participants.

Figure 2.12: Figure X: This model represents the act of trusting as a mechanism for the reduction of complexity and uncertainty.

Characteristic of the rise of modernity

The risk society

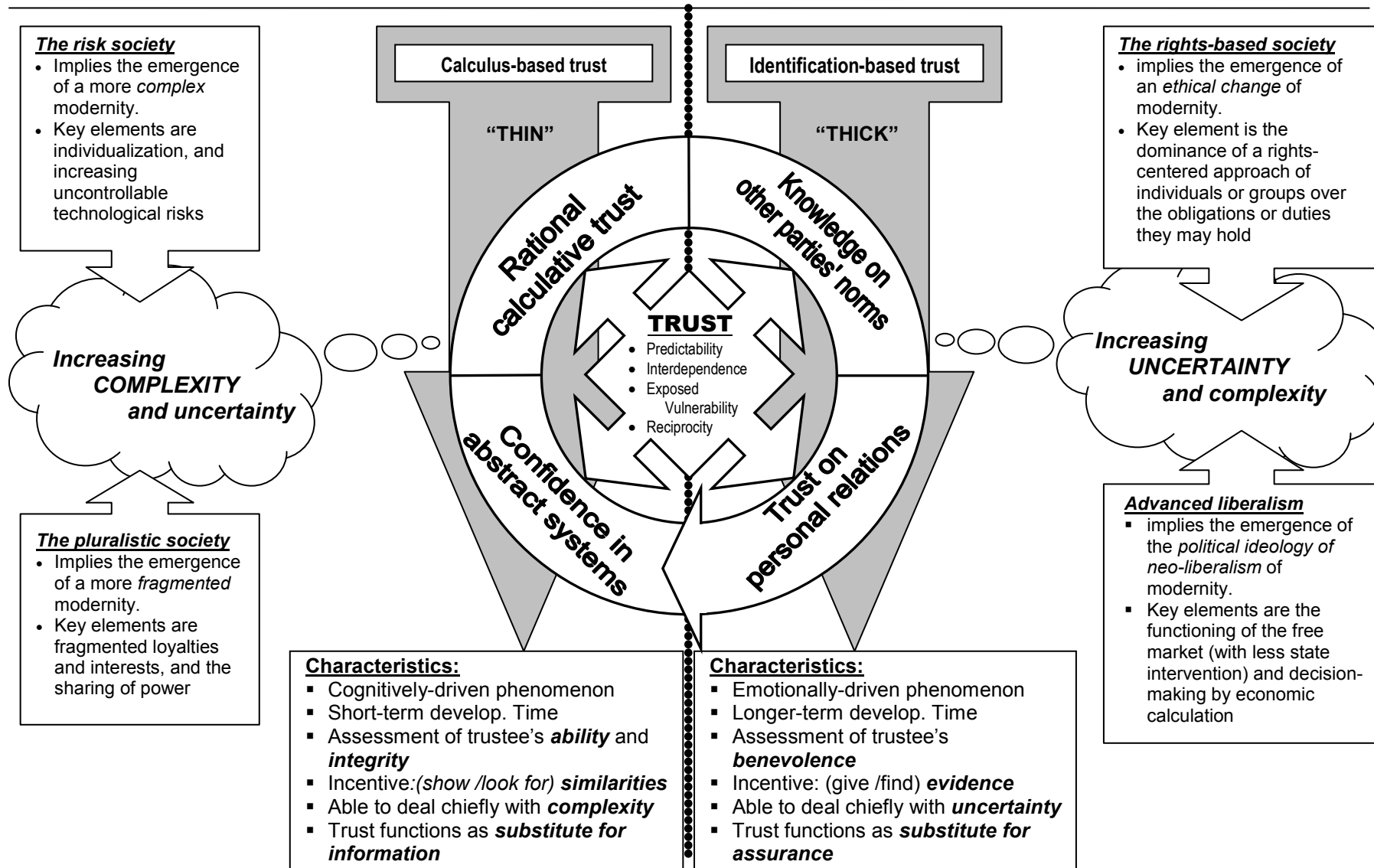
- Implies the emergence of a more *complex* modernity.
- Key elements are individualization, and increasing uncontrollable technological risks

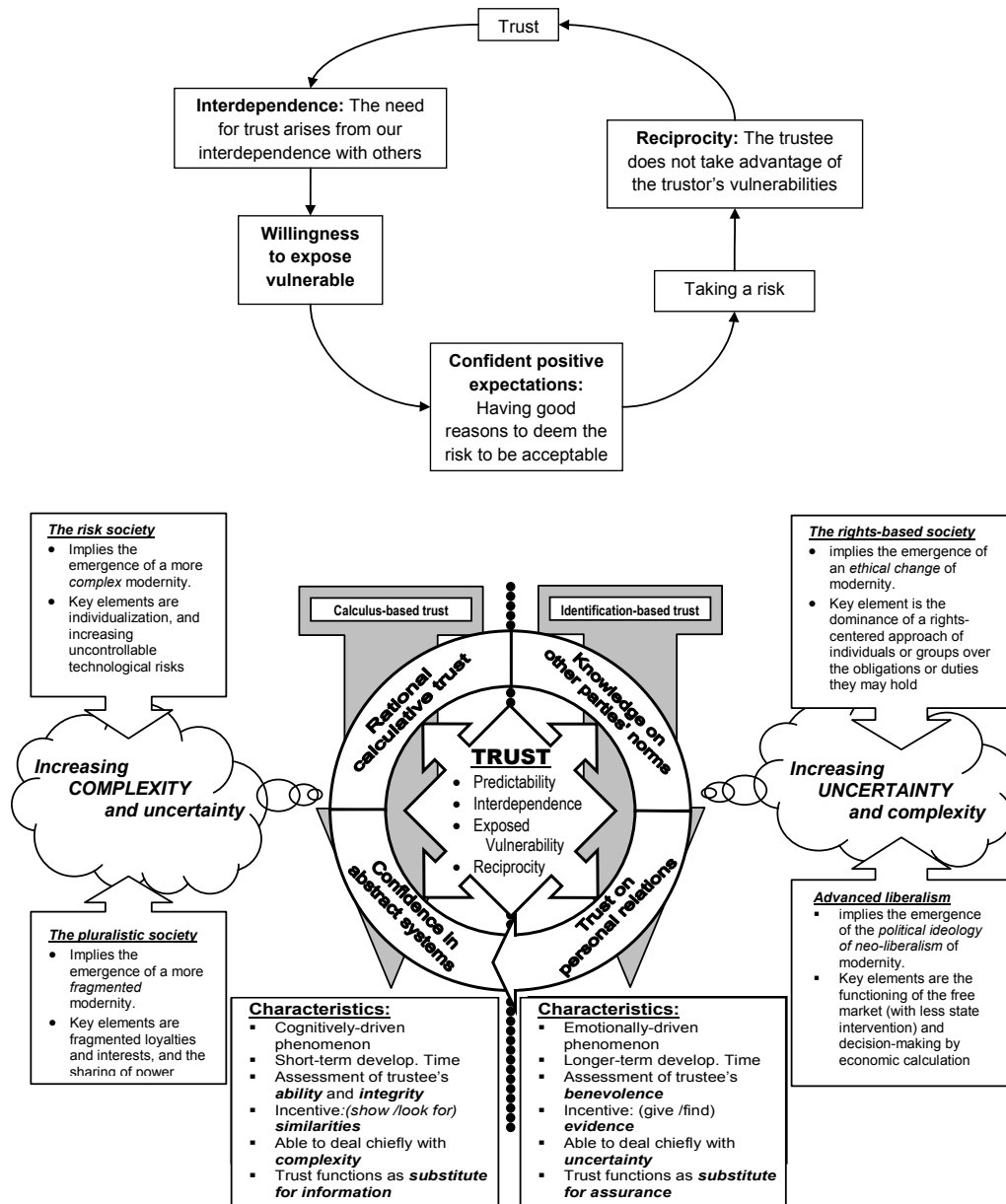
Increasing
COMPLEXITY
and uncertainty

The pluralistic society

- Implies the emergence of a more *fragmented* modernity.
- Key elements are fragmented loyalties and interests, and the sharing of power

Types of trust that are able to deal with complexity and uncertainty in planning processes





2.18 Focus for the case study

The exploration of the role of trust in this theoretical framework has led to a conceptualisation which is put down in a model presented at the previous page. It contains an abstract of the theoretical assumptions on the nature and development of trust. From an interpretative perspective on trust, the concept is considered as a mechanism that is able to reduce complexity and uncertainty through the orientation of expectations and the coordination of behaviour. In order to discuss the assumptions made about the concept of trust, I will study them by looking at a collaborative planning process in planning practice. This small case study must be perceived as an exercise to compare and reflect on the gained knowledge from the literature about the mechanism of trust onto practical agitating. The aim is to understand whether the function of trust as a mechanism can be identified as present and operational in a practical planning process, and to reflect on the nature of identified forms of trust. It is particularly interesting to examine the influence of both the planning system's attempt and its representatives' (planners) intentions to be perceived as trustworthy, while developing trust amongst the participants at the same time. Therefore, I will look at the matter from the angle of the participants' experiences in a collaborative planning process. My purpose with this small case study research is to answer the last research question, which is:

How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?



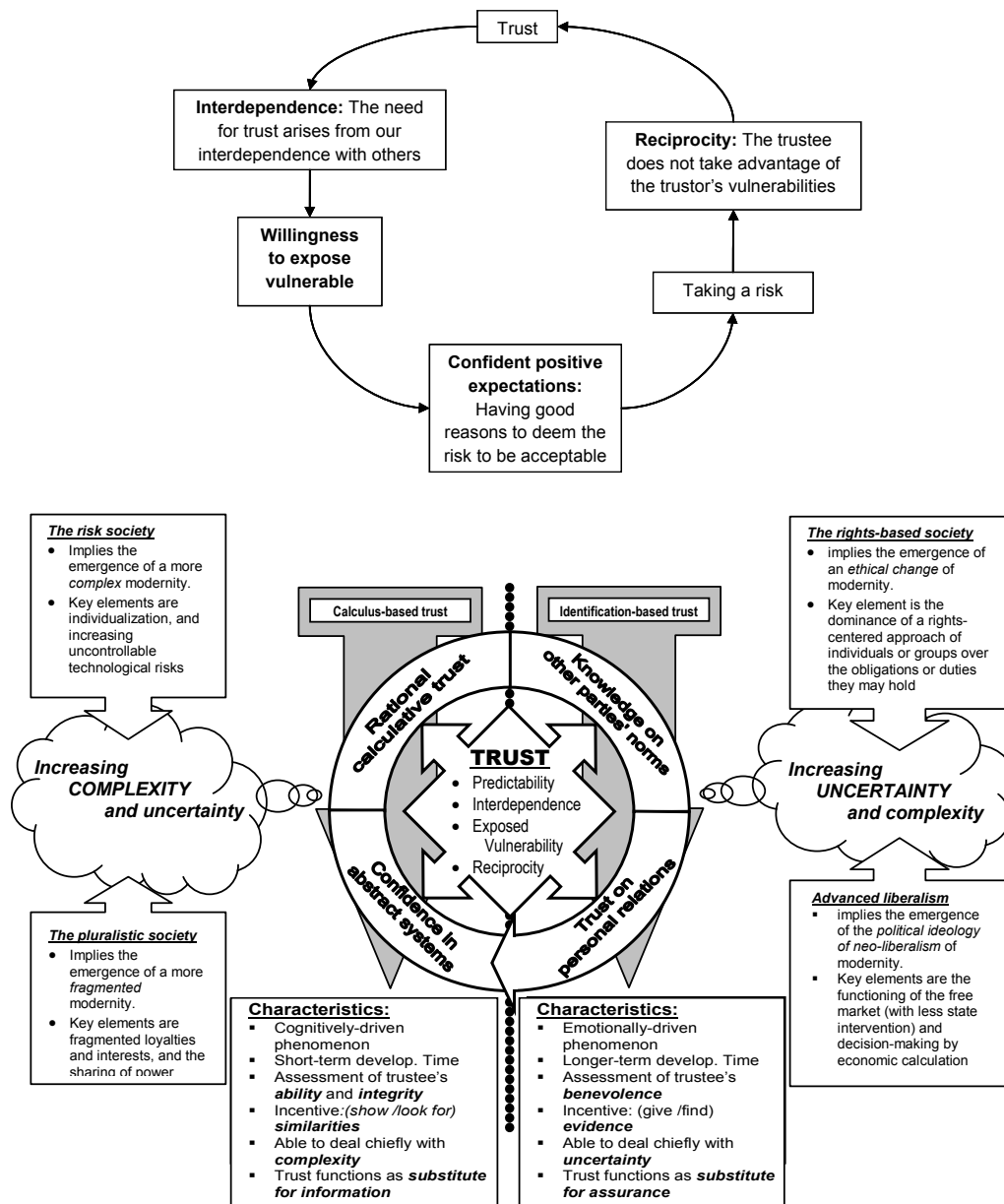
3 Case Study 'Maurik Dijkzone'

3.1 Introduction

Trust is considered as a necessary condition for any kind of communication, understanding, knowledge or learning (Stein and Harper, 2003), and as a consequence it is significant for the realization, maintenance and success of collaboration (Van Ark, 2005). By making inquiries of an collaborative planning process, the derived data from planning practice can be compared with the theoretical assumptions from the theoretical framework. Hence, this chapter will focus on the case 'Maurik Dijkzone', which comprehends a collaborative planning process in the municipality of Buren. The process is bottom-up typified, as 11 landowners with landed properties in an area called 'Dijkzone' have to cooperate in order to initiate a plan for developing houses within this area.

After this introduction, I will continue the chapter by briefly mentioning the changing context of planning theory and practice towards communicative processes. It adds

the motivation for the case selection, which is a collaborative planning process in the Netherlands. After that, the case 'Maurik Dijkzone' and its circumstances will be described and valued for its appropriateness regarding answering the final research question. Then, the used methods for inquiry are provided, whereupon in the last section the results of the inquiry can be presented. These results will not be used to criticize the process, but to reflect on the theoretical assumptions on trust. This small case study must, therefore, be perceived as an exercise to compare and reflect on the gained knowledge from the literature about the mechanism of trust onto practical agitating. After discussing this comparison and considering the usefulness of the mechanism of trust (see chapter 4), the final conclusions of this study will be presented in the last chapter (chapter 5), whereupon it should be possible to come to recommendations about the conceptualization of the mechanism of trust regarding collaborative planning processes.



3.2 Collaborative planning in the Netherlands

Collaborative planning in general is based on communicative planning theory, which has been building up since the 1970s. "It builds on the realisation that knowledge and value do not merely have objective existence in the external world, to be 'discovered' by scientific inquiry. They are, rather, actively constituted through social interactive processes" (Healy, 1997, p. 29). It is a recognition that planning comprises social processes in which knowledge, values and behaviour are actively constructed by its participants (e.g. Friedmann, 1993; Innes, 1995). This 'communicative turn' in planning theory was probably also a reaction to decreasing public trust in the autonomy of the planning system and profession, and a loss of trustworthiness in planning knowledge in general. First, the planning system is considered as a political activity in considering competing interests for serving the common good. It is, however, very hard (if not impossible) for planning institutions to define and measure the 'common good'. Because of that, critique did likewise occur on the notion of autonomy and independence of the planning profession and their interpersonal interactions. Second, planning as a professional activity, "one in which experts were to be trusted to use their specialist knowledge to make decisions about the development of cities and towns" (Swain and Tait, 2007, p. 231), has to cope with decreased trustworthiness in its professional knowledge, because planning (and the social sciences in general) has not been able to produce much empirical theory and universal laws compared with the natural sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Besides, if planners are truly experts then they should be able to use their technical knowledge to rationally define the common good. Because the boundary between technical knowledge and political action is not very tight, it is hard for the professional activity of planning to claim technical knowledge and apply it in practice.

So, a reaction towards the traditional notion of planning (logical positivism) was unavoidable, which did not exclusively remain theoretical, but had a practical impact as well. There was a demand to include stakeholders in decision-making processes and the opportunities for public involvement were extended over the last forty years. In

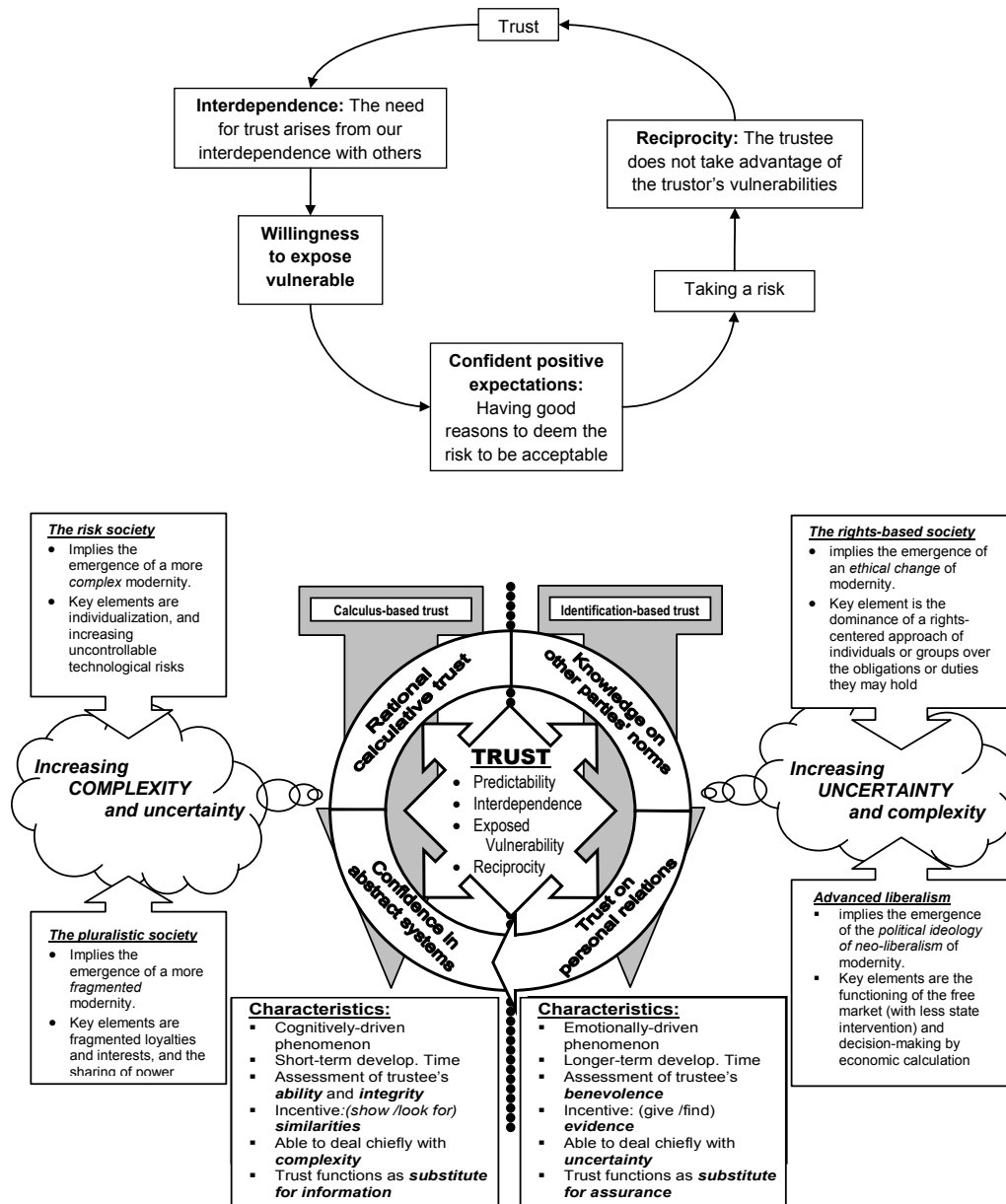
the Netherlands, the right to a say was developed in the 1970s and shifted in the following decades from an idealistic and normative solution for creating public support towards a formal instrument of participation (Coenen et al, 2001). I am not going to assess the advantages and disadvantages of this shift for the planning system here, but it is remarkable that social developments eventually did have an influence on institutional arrangements to organise processes bottom-up (Coenen et al., 2001). For instance, the most recent spatial planning policy document in the Netherlands, the 2006 'Nota Ruimte', contains the slogan: 'locally where possible, centrally where needed' [decentraal waar het kan, centraal waar het moet]. The Dutch planning system enjoys an image of a system that involves a significant amount of collaborative planning, although in practice that process is often limited to mere communicative planning directed at consensus (Wolsink, 2003). Its normative functions are related to demands for direct (or indirect) democracy and a good constitutional state, while its instrumental function is related to the use of participation to make effective and efficient planning products (Woltjer, 2002). Collaborative planning "contributes to efficiency and effectiveness because it yields information and ideas, and because it enlarges public support for the decision and thus averts implementation problems, objections and appeal" (Woltjer, 2002, p. 441). Moreover, during my internship at a professional planning consultancy company, I experienced that a lot of contemporary planning processes are indeed designed in a collaborative or deliberative way. More stakeholders or citizens are becoming included to create support for the eventual plan and trust in its implementation. For example, village development plans [dorpsontwikkelingsplannen] are becoming regular in a lot of provinces in the Netherlands, which enables citizens of a small village to create their own spatial and social plan to improve their village. These processes are facilitated by planners, who help the citizens by exploring the possibilities, prioritizing their wishes and advising them with the application of grants. In these practices planners are having more and more a mediating role, instead of a facilitating role.

In the foregoing theoretical framework it has been argued that trust is considered as an important coordination mechanism within collaborative planning processes.

In order to reflect on the theoretical insights of this trust mechanism, the selection criteria for a case from planning practice should address the condition of being a collaborative planning process. The project 'Maurik Dijkzone' meets this condition and is therefore picked for the case study. Besides, the planners involved operate as facilitators of the process, which makes this case even more appropriate.



Figure 3.1: Map of the Netherlands. 'A' indicates the location of the village Maurik. Source: Screenshot of Google Maps.



3.3 The project 'Maurik Dijkzone'

The project 'Maurik Dijkzone' is a project in the municipality of Buren in the middle of the Netherlands. 'Maurik Dijkzone' refers to an area called 'Dijkzone', which is a rural area situated at the north of the village 'Maurik'. The area is enclosed with the build-up area of Maurik in the south and a dike of the river 'Rhine' in the north. Several landowners with landed properties in this area have independently taken initiatives in order to launch a development on their land.

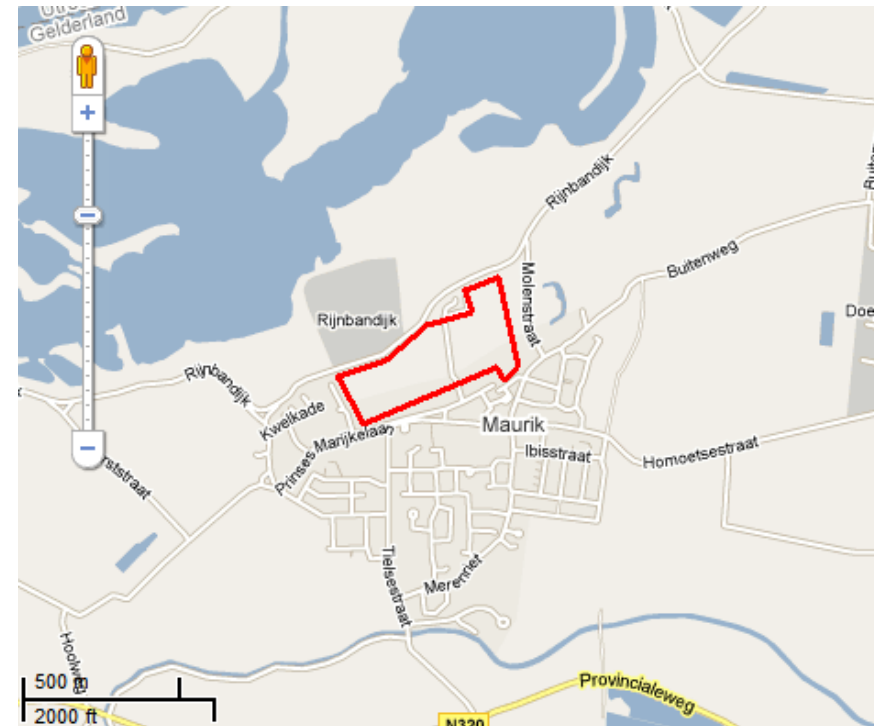


Figure 3.2: Map of the village 'Maurik'. The red line provides the contour of the plan area 'Dijkzone'. Source: Screenshot of Google Maps

3.3.1 The area

Maurik is a small village with approximately 4000 inhabitants and is situated between the towns of 'Tiel' and 'Wijk bij Duurstede' in a region called 'Betuwe'. The Betuwe consists of a variety of old stream channels with flow ridges on both sides and low-lying clay areas further away of the rivers. The Betuwe is known for its large-scale horticulture, including fruit cultivation (apples, pears, cherries). The village Maurik occurred approximately the seventh century on a narrow elongated levee that is disposed parallel to the river Rhine (Modderman, 1949).

The plan area, called 'Dijkzone', is located at the north side of Maurik between the 'Rijnbandijk' (a dike) and the 'Raadhuisstraat' (a street), which are important historical lines in an east-west direction. The site covers an area of roughly 75.000 m2 and



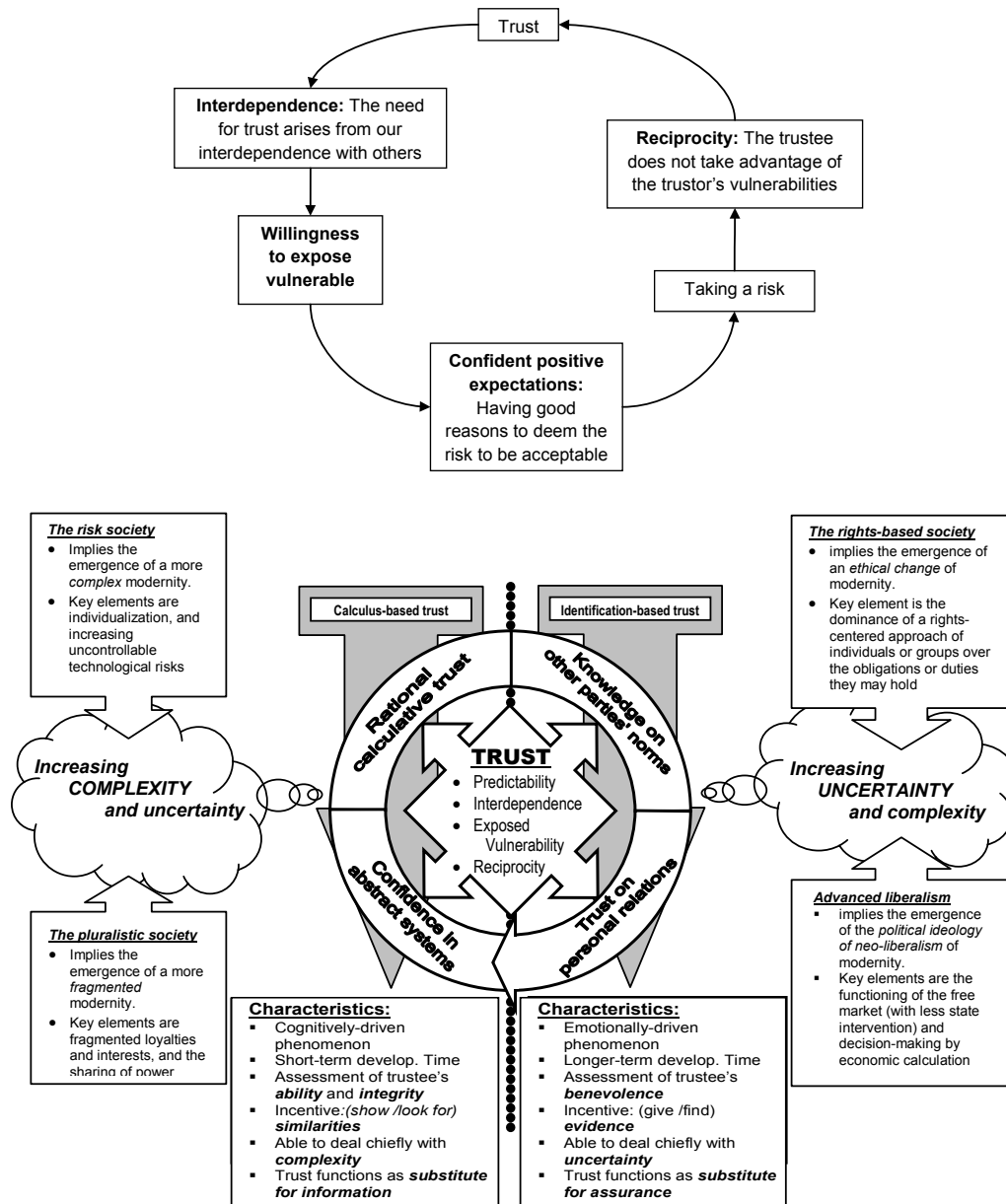
Figure 3.3: Map of the plan area 'Dijkzone'. The red line provides the contour of the planning zone. Source: Screenshot of Google Maps (satellite)

is still small in scale with a rural character. It is mainly used as pasture and orchard. Three of the existing orchards are characterized by the 'Province of Gelderland' as historically valuable orchards. The adjacent older built-up area of the Raadhuisstraat on the south side of the plan area is characterized by ribbon development and consists of detached buildings with each uniquely gardens. The buildings are in use as shop or as residence with small paths and roads in between them to make the area accessible. The plan area has a remarkably straight parallel allocation (north-south direction), which is perpendicular to the dike and the old ribbon development. The roads follow the allotment pattern and connect the dike with the village.

Near the dike at the north side of the plan area is a small hamlet called 'Dijkhof'. This neighborhood consists of residences with a lot of outbuildings along narrow paths. The allotment pattern of this hamlet is partly different from the surrounding area.

3.3.2 The project

The project 'Maurik Dijkzone' was formally initiated at the end of 2008 by the municipality of Buren as a reaction towards several initiatives by landowners to launch a development on their lands. Some of the landowners had already made inquiries about the possibilities for building houses at the beginning of 2000. These initiatives were only converted seriously into a project after the establishment of the 'Komplan Maurik 2005'. The 'Komplan Maurik 2005' [spatial plan] incorporated namely a spatial vision for the development of the area 'Dijkzone'. The initial concept of this plan contained the condition that existing landscape values and visual relationships between the dike and the village must remain and be strengthened where possible. After the introduction of this plan, more landowners expressed their interest in developing housing on their lands. Five landowners actively started to cooperate and eventually made an agreement among themselves, which took them approximately 15 meetings. That group gave the first impetus for this project too. Yet in order to avoid incoherence with other development initiatives in the 'Dijkzone' area, the municipality had subsequently declared that they wanted to develop the area integrally



as a project, adjusted with other spatial developments in Maurik. As a result, all the landowners in the 'Dijkzone' area were asked to cooperate. The initial five landowners basically declared that they were willing to cooperate with the other landowners if it would result in a reduction of costs, on condition that an agreement on cost sharing could be achieved. The cooperation, however, should not cause any delay in the procedure, because the group of five landowners had already signed an agreement and assigned an urban consultant company, 'Buro SRO', to make a draft plan for their lands. This initial draft for only a part of the total area of 'Dijkzone' was rejected, however, by the municipality council. The project 'Maurik Dijkzone' was launched afterwards.

The municipality directs the plan since and has drawn up a plan containing a progressive scheme with methods and a time schedule. Consequently, the following phases need to be completed:

1. Initiative phase
 2. Definition phase
 3. Design phase
 4. Preparation phase
 5. Implementation phase
 6. Management phase
- } Planning phase

The approach focuses on cooperation of all landowners, who together should pick an urban consultant company to promote their interests on the one hand, and to be the primary contact for the municipality acting on behalf of the landowners on the other hand. After several conversations with the landowners about their wishes, the municipality made a statement of requirement for the development of the area and a financial proposal for the distribution of costs, which was presented at an information meeting in February 2010. Besides, the selected urban consultant company, 'Buro SRO' as well on account of their involvement from the beginning of the process, made a provisional draft for the whole area, which was also presented at the

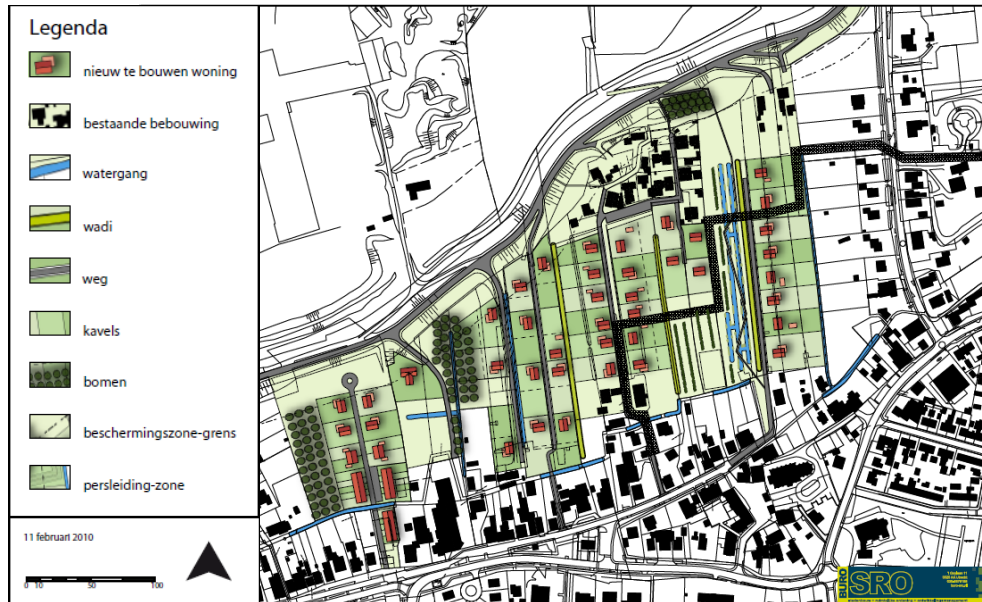


Figure 3.4: Provisional draft for the plan area 'Dijkzone', edited by Buro SRO. The legend on the map is in Dutch ['nieuw te bouwen woning' = new housing; 'bestaande bebouwing' = existing buildings; 'watergang' = waterway; 'wadi' = infiltration facility; 'weg' = road; 'kavels' = plots; 'bomen' = trees; 'beschermingszone-grens' = protection zone boundary; 'persleiding-zone' = discharge pipe zone]. Source: Municipality of Buren.

information meeting. This provisional draft, which is not yet accepted since it is not consistent with the wishes of all participants, is shown in figure 3.4.

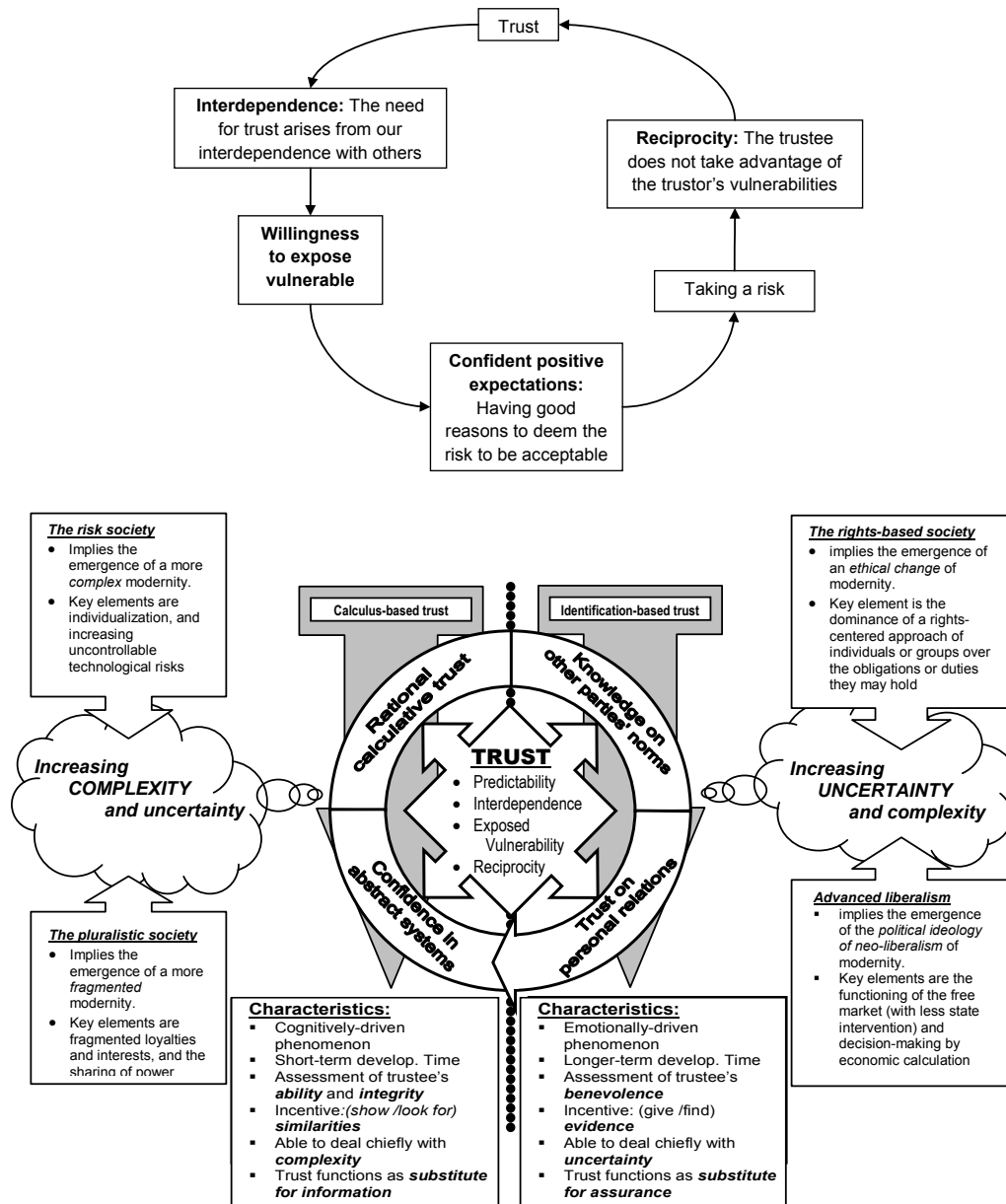
It is the municipality's aim now to come to one agreement with all the involved landowners. This agreement contains clear principles, preconditions, legal requirements and financial agreements. The agreement covers the process until the final land allocation plan [onherroepelijk bestemmingsplan]. If the collaboration does not take shape as intended, then the process will be terminated until further notice. Both internal (between the municipality and the landowners) and external communication (with local residents) are therefore important elements in the process to achieve an

integrated and broadly supported plan. The municipality hired two external planners for this project and appointed them as project managers.

At the time of my interrogation (September 2010), the process was still in the planning phase and not every landowner had signed the initial agreement. Until then, two official meetings with all the involved participants had been taken place and next to that also individual conversations with the participants were conducted by the project managers. After my interrogation another official meeting was organized in October 2010, where a new provisional draft was presented to the involved landowners (see figure 3.5). It is now up to the participants whether they will accept this provisional draft.



Figure 3.5: Latest version of provisional draft for the plan area 'Dijkzone', edited by Buro SRO. Source: Municipality of Buren.



3.3.3 Parties concerned

The collaborative planning process concerns eleven participating landowners with landed properties in the 'Dijkzone' area. Their landed properties are illustrated in figure 3.5. The landowners are not planning to build a proportionate number of houses; for instance, some only want to build a house for their children, and others want to build as much houses as possible. There are even landowners who do not want to develop any housing on their landed property at all. Their only intention is to sell their land. They participate, however, in the process until the 'design phase' when the land allocation plan will be approved. They thus have to agree with sharing the costs of the first three phases. Besides the participating landowners, two planners



Figure 3.5: Map of the participants' landed properties in the plan area 'Dijkzone'.
Source: Municipal plan 'Maurik – Dijkzone'.

are involved as project managers, who have a facilitating role in the process but they should also check whether the municipal statement of requirements are met. Furthermore, 'Buro SRO' is involved as an urban consultant company acting on behalf of the participants as well as the municipality in making the urban area development plan.

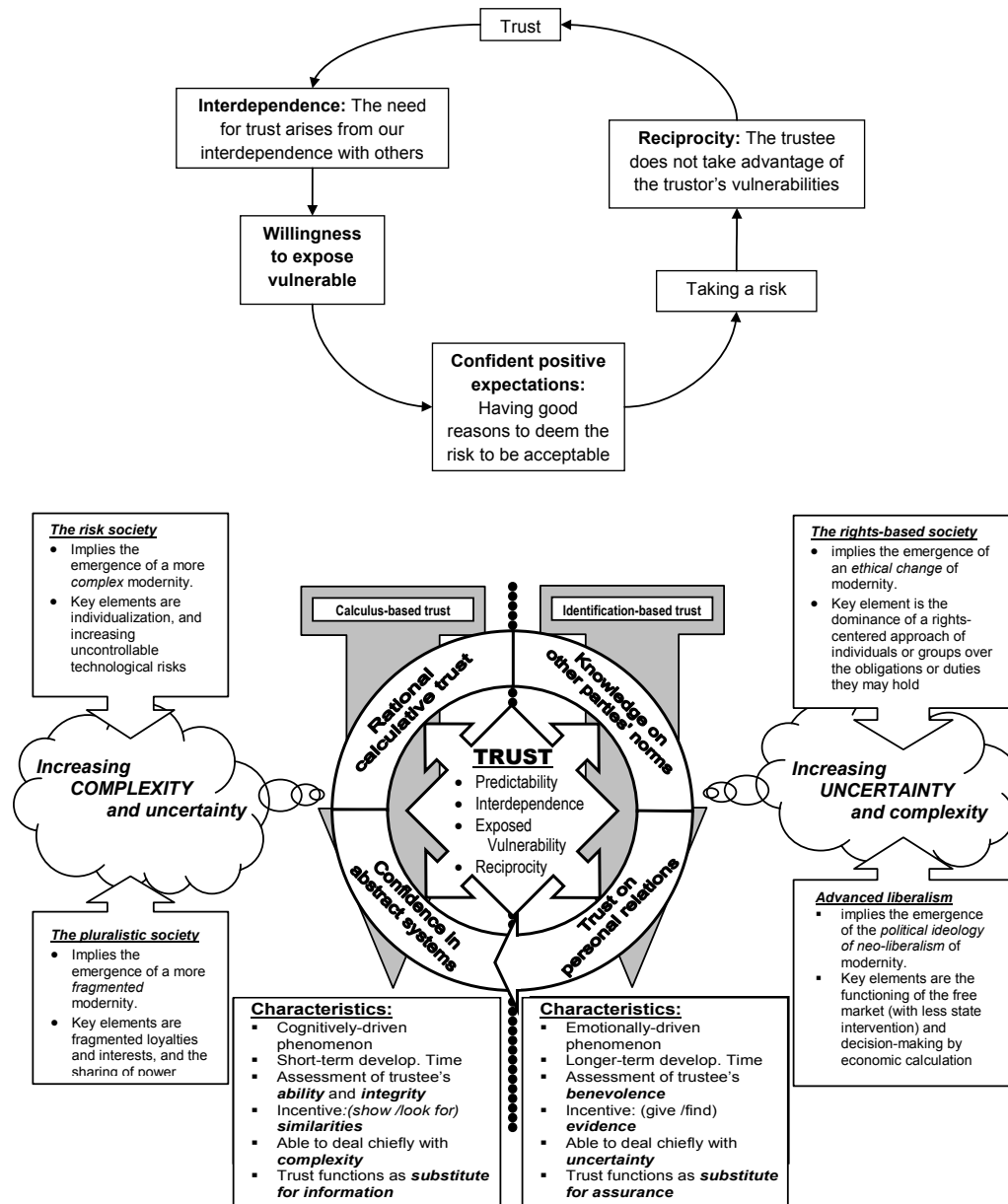
3.4 Method of inquiry

The inquiry in this case study has been done by open-ended questions during interviews. The aim of the inquiry was to explore the experiences of the participants involved regarding their perception of trust, complexity and uncertainty in order to reflect on the theoretical assumptions about the concept of trust as being a coordination mechanism. The qualitative information from the interviews is displayed in the next section 'results'. To provide insights into the studied variables, I will make use of tables in which the number of participants are shown and their perceived amount of confidence, uncertainty and complexity is quantified. The qualitative information from the interviews is analysed interpretatively but as objectively as possible and is arranged according to the four topics below. These topics all refer to the role of trust in planning practice and concerns data for answering the sub research question: *'How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?'*. This question will be answered in the next chapter (chapter 4), where the mechanism of trust is argued and discussed.

The inquiry of the case study addresses the existence and development of different types of trust in relation to the perception of complexity and uncertainty. The interview questions can be found in Annex B. The results will be displayed on the basis of the following four topics, which were used as a guideline during the interviews:

- *Inquiring the presence of confidence in the planning system. How do the participants experience the role of the planning system? [Do the participants feel confident with the planning institutions (the municipality and Buro SRO), do they agree with the existing institutional arrangements (planning procedure and regularity requirements), and are the planners (project leaders), who are representing the system, trusted?]*
- *Inquiring the existence and basis of trust in the relationships of the participants. What types of trust exist between the participants and by which type of trust are the relationships mainly typified?*
- *Inquiring the perceived amount of complexity and uncertainty of the participants regarding the project. What causes the presence of complexity and uncertainty?*
- *Inquiring the participants' expectations regarding the remaining part of the process and the possible completion of their own desired developments. Are expectations being formed and becoming coordinated towards one direction?*

Eventually, 8 of the 11 landowners were willing to be interviewed. 3 of them accrue to the initial group of five landowners. Some of the interviewees indicated that they were already trying to develop their lands from the 1990s on. Most of the respondents, however, started around 2005 by exploring the opportunities for development. For confidential reasons, the participants' names and landed properties (the numbers in figure 3.5) will not be displayed.



3.5 Results

3.5.1 Confidence in the planning system

Inquiring the presence of confidence in the planning system. How do the participants experience the role of the planning system? [Do the participants feel confident with the planning institutions (the municipality and Buro SRO), do they agree with the existing institutional arrangements (planning procedure and regularity requirements), and are the planners (project leaders), who are representing the system, trusted?]

The participants' main reasons to join the process is because they want to develop housing on their property or they want to sell their land with a building permit to another developer. It is noteworthy that the results, which are listed and described below, concern the experiences of the interviewed participants and do not necessarily comprise the truth.

During the interviews it stroke me that participants often reacted with suspicion towards most aspects of the planning system, which means that confidence in the planning system is generally lacking. Confidence in the planning system refers to passive forms of trust in systems and (abstract) knowledge. It includes inter alia institutions (e.g. the government or a consultant company), institutional arrangements (e.g. procedures and regulatory requirements) and the people representing these institutions and systems (e.g. civil servants and planners).

First, considering the (planning) institutions it is particularly the municipality that is less trusted in acting in the participants' interests. This can be explained by conceivable inconsistency in the municipality's policies. One participant declared: *"In the 1990s nothing was possible in this area. After the acceptance of 'Komplan Maurik' there were suddenly possibilities for development, and the municipality told us to make a plan on our own. This plan concerning a draft for only a subarea was*

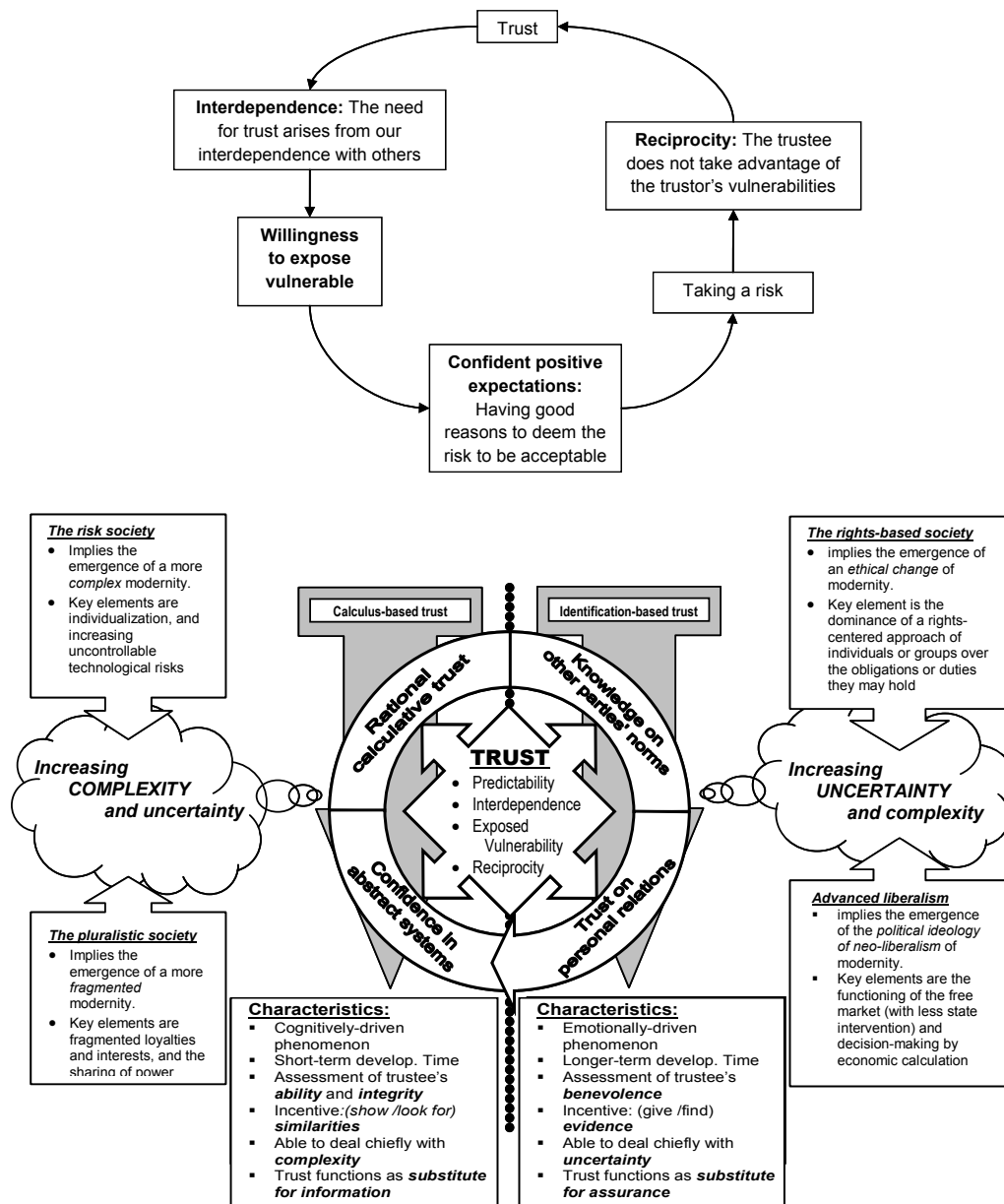
rejected afterwards by the municipality, and now all of a sudden the municipality wants to be actively involved in developing the whole area". Other participants point to (small) mistakes that the municipality made, like spelling errors in their minutes, linking landed properties to the wrong owners and sending a confidential memo, which was still conceptual, to other participants by e-mail. The latter mistake has had a substantial impact on two trusting relationships: *"This was a huge mistake and has worsened the relationship with my neighbours"*. As a result from that, one of the participants even decided to refrain from any further collaborative activities. Such mistakes have led to indecisiveness of the municipality's professionalism and some participants are becoming sceptical towards all municipality's actions. *"The municipality goes its own way and often sets new demands, which increases the costs for the participants and results in a never ending process"*. Another frustration for some owners is that the civil servants of the municipality are unable to answer questions based on arguments. For instance one participant said: *"The municipality must realize that they have to explain things in a basic way, because not everyone has this expert knowledge. Some people are not saying or asking anything during a meeting, although they do have questions. There are a lot of different characters in the group, which should be taken into account"*. Another participant said: *"They [representatives of the municipality and the planners] do listen to your wishes, but it seems that they do not hear you. Reasoned answers to my questions fail to materialize and no one dares or is allowed to take any decision"*. Another cause in minimizing confidence in the municipality as an institution can be explained by the distribution of risks: *"The municipality does not want to run any risk, while they do have benefits whenever the area is going to be developed. I do not mind taking any risks, but the municipality should give some guarantees in return. At this moment, I do not have any guarantee that I can actually start building soon, because there is still a political decision to make"*.

The participants seem to have more trust in Buro SRO, the involved urban consultant company that can also be recognized as a planning institution. Though, it

must be noticed that mainly the participants of the initial group of five landowners, who also assigned Buro SRO in the first place, constitute high trust. Some other participants are a little bit more skeptical: *"They have one single vision and they do not deviate from that"*. Or: *"I do not hope they represent all interests, because otherwise it could appear that the initial group is favored"*. But, most of the participants do have confidence in their professionalism: *"They should be able to do that successfully, although I still have to wait for the final results, because SRO has direct contact with the municipality as well"*.

Second, the participants express more confidence in the institutional arrangements than in the institutions. Most of the participants accept and support the regulatory requirements, which is the obligatory field research in this case, what the participants have to pay. Many participants consider these requirements as *"necessary"* or *"important"*, although two participants indicated that it took a long time before the municipality informed them about which examinations were required and for what reason. *"Why does the municipality not explain in more detail about the purpose and usefulness of for example Wadi's [infiltration facilities]? Why do I need them on my site?"*. Another participant, however, considers on the other hand the possible added value of the conducted research: *"A flora and fauna study may reassure local residents later that nothing will be affected"*.

The respondents were less positive in speaking about the planning procedure that has been put in motion by the municipality. For some part this has to do with the fact that the municipality controls the process. Other reasons result from inconvenience regarding the duration of the procedure (inefficiency), a sudden change in the proposed structure of costs-sharing and a lack of opportunities to discuss the participants' wishes and requirements of the plan. On the number of meeting exists a bit more inconsistency. The initial group of five landowners have met each other approximately 15 times, while others only went to the official meetings and/or had a few personal meetings at the town hall. Some participants argue: *"Two or three offi-*



cial meetings (hearings) is too less for such a complex project”, while another participant argues: “Two or three official meetings (hearings) is obviously enough. There is no need to meet more often when there is nothing to discuss. You don’t bring your personal wishes up for discussion in the presence of others anyway”. Little room for discussion regarding the proposed plan, and a shortage of information plus a lack of transparency from the municipality resulting in obscurity and uncertainty, provide generally considered the most dissatisfaction among the participants. Although one participant said: “I am surprised the process progresses quite easily and structured. Such processes used to be a lot harder”. However, about half of the respondents feel that up to now there has not been enough room for discussion with regard to the planning procedure. For that reason, some participants argue: “Someone who talks the most, seems to get the most”. One element of the planning procedure is that the participants have to sign a letter of intent, which contains agreements on the further planning procedure and time schedule. The interviewees were asked whether they get more trust in the realization of the project through this letter of intent or not. Three of the eight interviewees indicated that it indeed results in more trust. “If everybody signs, it ensures that I will get more trust”. The other five were not convinced of that: “I have signed the letter of intent, but subsequently several conditions changed again” or “The letter of intent is very specific and gives no certainties. It achieves exactly the opposite”. Overall, most of the respondents only have low or medium trust in the current planning procedure.

Third, the participants express more confidence in the externally hired planners than in the civil servants of the municipality or the institutional arrangements. According to some participants, it is the problem of the municipality that they do not have the right people. One participant explained: “Only since Project leader 1 joined us, improvements have been made”. Adjacent to that, most respondents were generally positive about the personal conversations that took place with the planners. “Project leader 1 and Project leader 2 were available to explain things and that worked well. You know these people more personal now, which helps us understand the process

better". However, another respondent expressed the feeling that the project leader is not in a hurry to finish this project. One interviewee commentated that *"there is an important task for the project leader to ensure that deadlines are met during this process, such as signing the letter of intent"*. Besides, some respondents consider it as a disadvantage that the project leaders are only available for a couple of days in the week.

Overall, the experiences of the participants showed that confidence in the planning system is generally lacking. Table 3.1 displays an interpretation of the above-mentioned experiences concerning the participants' confidence in the planning system as being a quantified reproduction.

Table 3.1: Quantified amount of perceived trust as being 'confidence in the planning system'. *N* = 8

| Confidence in the planning system | Low | Medium | High |
|---|-----|--------|------|
| Planning institutions | X | X | X |
| • Municipality of Buren | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| • Buro SRO | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Institutional arrangements | X | X | X |
| • Planning procedure | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| • Regulatory requirements (e.g. field research) | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Planners (project leaders) | 2 | 3 | 3 |

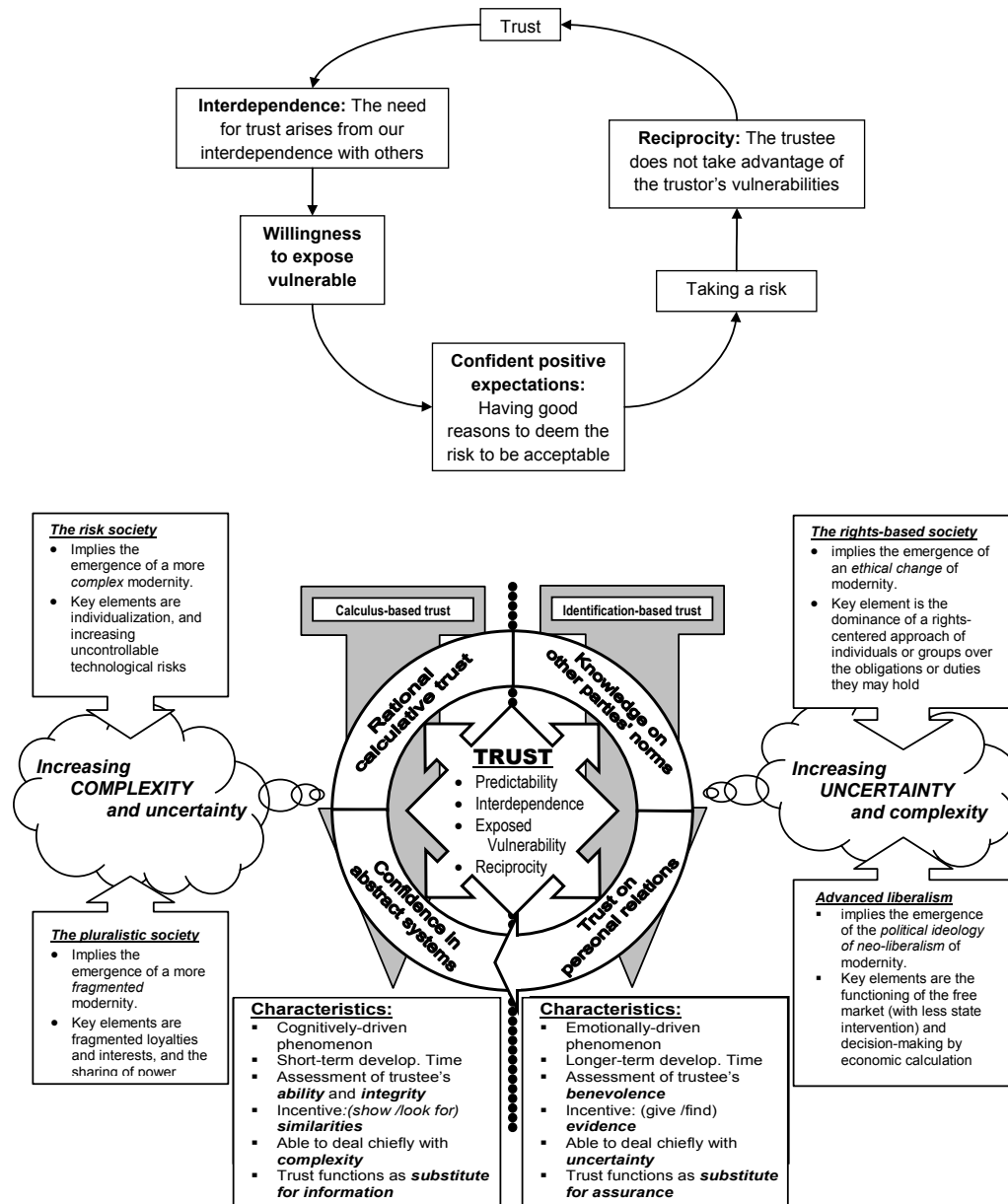
3.5.2 Trusting the other participants

Inquiring the existence and basis of trust in the relationships of the participants. What types of trust exist between the participants and by which type of trust are the relationships mainly typified?

In a collaborative planning process, participants ought to cooperate as a consequence of their interdependence. Determining the types of trust that constitute the relationships among the participants provides valuable information regarding the reflection on the theoretical assumption of the mechanism of trust. Trust in relationships refers to active forms of trust in other persons and includes chiefly 'rational-calculative trust', 'knowledge on other parties' norms' and 'trust on personal relations'. The former type should be considered as a basic type of trust, as it is based on a deliberation of gains and losses, while the latter two types need time to develop.

It is important to notice that not all the participants have followed the same route during the process. Five landowners, of whom three were willing to be interviewed, have organised several informal meetings already before the official start of this project in order to collaborate, while the other participants only have had direct contact with the municipality (civil servants and planners) or Buro SRO regarding this project. It is thus important to be attentive about this distinction.

First, 'rational-calculative trust' to some extent is the main type of trust that characterises most of the relationships among the participants. For many respondents it even appeared as the only type of trust they have in the other participants, irrespective of the conceivable presence of 'system trust'. Rational-calculative trust finds expression in the participants' common goal to develop the area. *"Everyone wants to build something on their own land. I support the plans of others and am glad that the area will be developed at once"*. Another respondent said: *"I support the development plans of the others, because I will be able to sell my land when building permits*



are being provided". As it is indicated above, rational-calculated trust is based on a deliberation of benefits and disadvantages. The participants mentioned respectively *costs-sharing*, *public support* and *spatial cohesion* as the benefits of cooperation, and *conflicting demands and interests*, *wasting time* and *a major impact on the environment* as disadvantages of implementing the initiatives altogether. Although, the participants' initiatives do not really contradict each other, because they only develop their own lands, there are for instance conflicting interests regarding the positioning of public spaces, such as greenbelts and wadi's [infiltration facilities], which are municipal requirements. No one wants these public spaces willingly on his land, but these issues are not being mutually discussed.

Furthermore, two participants only saw disadvantages of the cooperation. One of them argues: *"The municipality, acting upon instructions from my neighbour, has offered me a proposal to buy my land, but the price is ridiculous low that it is not profitable for me at all. I do not want to join the project anymore, because the risks involved are too high. Next year I am going to make a garden of my land"*. This respondent prefers to be left in peace as a result of lack of (rational-calculative) trust. Another participant argues: *"The cooperation is not needed by me. Actually, I only see disadvantages. It must still appear afterwards whether the cooperation will actually lead to a reduction of costs"*. Most participants consider this cooperation therefore purely as a necessity, although the shared benefits generally do constitute rational-calculative trust to some extent, which causes that some participants feel strengthened when acting towards the municipality.

Second, identification-based types of trust are only encountered by the three participants accruing to the initial group of five landowners. The other participants indicated that they are not exactly well informed about the plans and intentions of others. *"I think that I know what the plans and intentions of others are, but I realize that no one rashly shows the back of his tongue"*. Or: *"Some landowners have a hidden agenda, which puts the existence or improvement of a close relationship to a stop"*.

These comments signify the absence of 'knowledge on other parties' norms'. The relationships concerning the three participants of the initial group of five landowners, however, have been improved through a transformation of the basis of trust. Trust in these relationships is now partly based on knowledge on the other participants' norms, as a result of regular meetings. One of them said: *"I know what the plans and intentions are of the participants of our group, and I support these"*. Another member of that group argued: *"Within our group, we already made a number of small adjustments to our plans and came together to an agreement. This has strengthened our mutual trust"*. The latter could be an indication of the presence of (low) 'trust on personal relations'. That respondent confirmed that the companionship with the other landowners of that group has been reinforced during cooperation. One of the other respondents of that group, on the other hand, said that *"It generally remains a business relationship. We will not become true friends"*. That quote signifies that the respondent perceives the relationship itself, with the other participants of the group, not significantly as an added value, although that respondent does support the plans of the other members and is even willing to defend them.

Overall, the experiences of the participants showed that their perceived trust in the other participants is mainly typified as 'rational-calculative trust'. Identification-based types of trust are generally lacking, except for the participants concerning the initial group of five. Table 3.2 displays an interpretation and quantified reproduction of the above-mentioned experiences concerning the basis of perceived trust in their relationships among others.

Table 3.2: Quantified basis of perceived trust in the relationships among the participants. *N* = 8

| | None | Low | High |
|--|------|-----|------|
| Rational-calculative trust | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Knowledge of other parties' norms | 5 | 0 | 3* |
| Trust on personal relations | 7 | 1* | 0 |

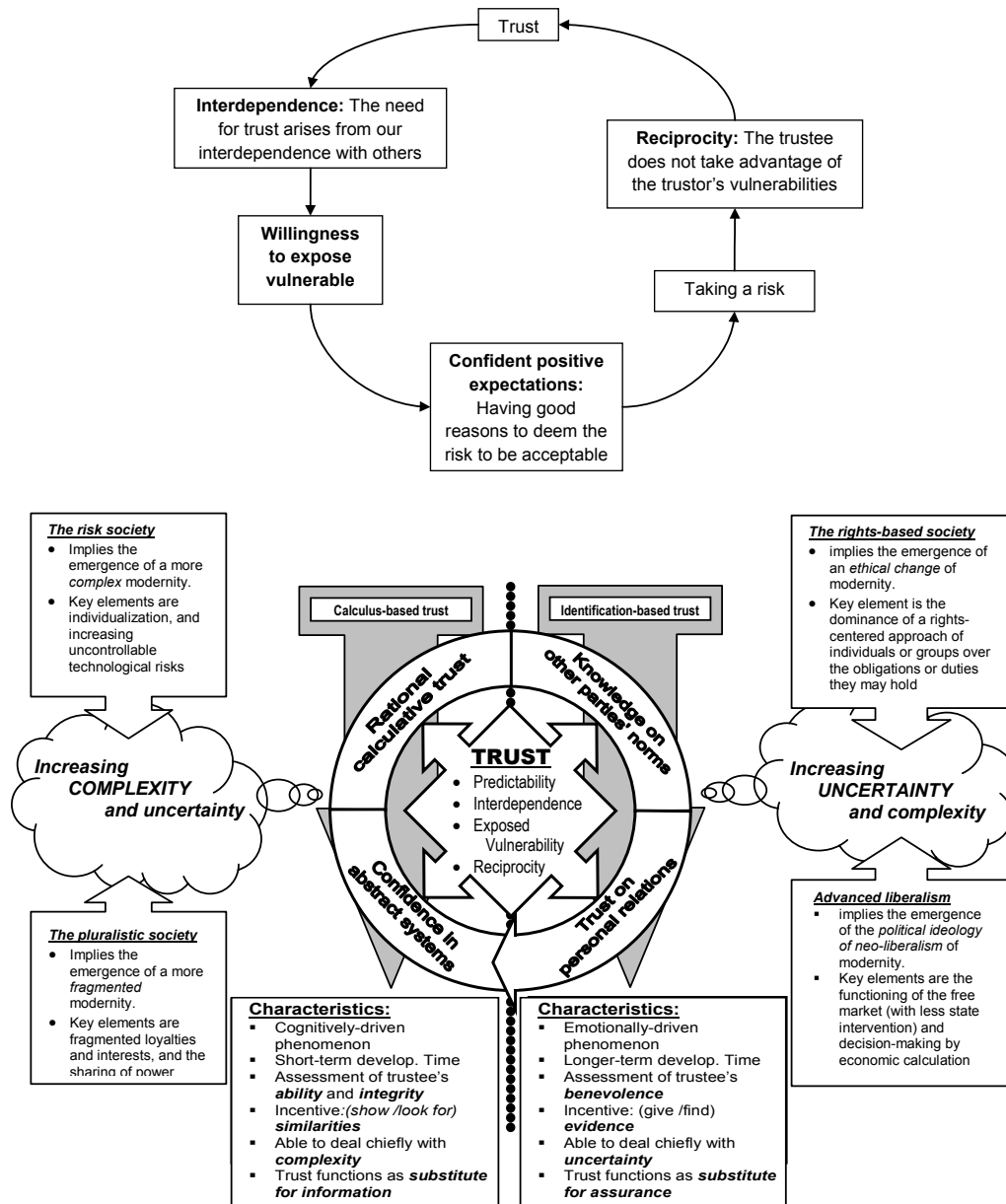
* Concerns the relationships of the participants of the initial group of five landowners

3.5.3 Experiencing complexity and uncertainty

Inquiring the perceived amount of complexity and uncertainty of the participants regarding the project. What causes the presence of complexity and uncertainty?

In a collaborative planning process, participants ought to cooperate as a consequence of their interdependence. The inclusion of a relatively large amount of participants plus the involvement of the municipality as well as Buro SRO, can constitute a complex amount of possible (behavioural) actions, with which the participants have to deal. Trust is herein considered as a mechanism that is able to cope with complexity and uncertainty. The aim of this part of the inquiry is to interpret the participants' experienced amounts of complexity and uncertainty.

Complexity in the context of this case is considered as the inability of any one to adequately capture all the possibilities. For instance, information regarding requirements for the development of the area may clarify ambiguities, but too much information can increase the participants' perception of complexity. One participant, therefore, argued: *"At this moment, I have already a stack of 20 centimetres of paper and as a result I have no idea what really matters anymore. In practice, it does often run differently anyhow"*. Most participants experience complexity to some extent, but especially the participants who are not actively involved in the process have to deal with a greater amount of complexity (and uncertainty). This can be caused due to a lack of information, which keeps all possible options open, or a lack of trust as being a substitute for information. These are for example participants who only want to sell their land or participants who only visited a limited number of meetings. Complexity does equally refer to the number of participants and their actions. One of the respondents, for instance, indicated: *"I would have preferred that one major project developer would develop the area, instead of many small individuals. Everyone has their own agenda, and those who are the most at the town hall probably get the best results"*. Another participant hired a project developer as a representative, because *"this project is too big and complex to do it independently"*. Someone else



declared to feel more vulnerable due to the inclusion of a relatively large number of landowners and wonders whether the municipality is able to survey everything. One landowner even questioned whether it is still one project or if it is going to be cut into small pieces. The link between complexity and uncertainty is shown by the following reaction: *"We know too little of each other and are therefore not in line with each other. As a result, I expect that the procedure will take longer than promised"*. According to half of the respondents, the inclusion of all the landowners of this area in the process has had a negative influence on the time planning of this project, which increased their perception of uncertainty regarding incremental costs, the sharing structure of costs and benefits, the allowed starting date for construction and design related aspects, such as the permitted number of houses and the location (and possible reshaping) of access roads. Consequently, six out of the eight interviewees still perceives a high amount of uncertainty concerning several aspects of the project or about the municipality's and other participants' intentions. The current economic situation (a decreasing market value of real estate), what should be seen as an external factor, is also considered as contributing to the perception of uncertainty. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that two landowners seemed to perceive less uncertainty; both of them belong to the initial group. The cause can be annotated on account of a conversation with the alderman and, as the other participant expounded: *"We are not in a rush. Our property is now allocated as agricultural land and in case the allocation changes, we will consider that as a bonus"*.

Overall, the experiences of the participants showed that most of them perceive a high level of uncertainty and to a lesser extend complexity. Although not all the participants are aware of each others' intentions and plans, complexity is perceived generally lower. This is because the intentions of the other landowners are not that diverse and complex; almost everyone wants to develop the area by building a number of houses on their landed properties. Complexity in this case refers rather more to the procedural aspects and municipal requirements. Due to the absence of a definitive plan and a long duration of the process, uncertainty is perceived at a higher

Table 3.3: Quantified amount of perceived complexity and uncertainty. N = 8

| | Low | Medium | High |
|--------------------|-----|--------|------|
| Complexity | 1* | 5 | 2 |
| Uncertainty | 1* | 2 | 6 |

* Concerns one participant who decided to withdraw from the project.

level and concerns various aspects of the process. Table 3.3 displays an interpretation and quantified reproduction of the above-mentioned experiences concerning the amount of complexity and uncertainty.

3.5.4 The coordination of expectations

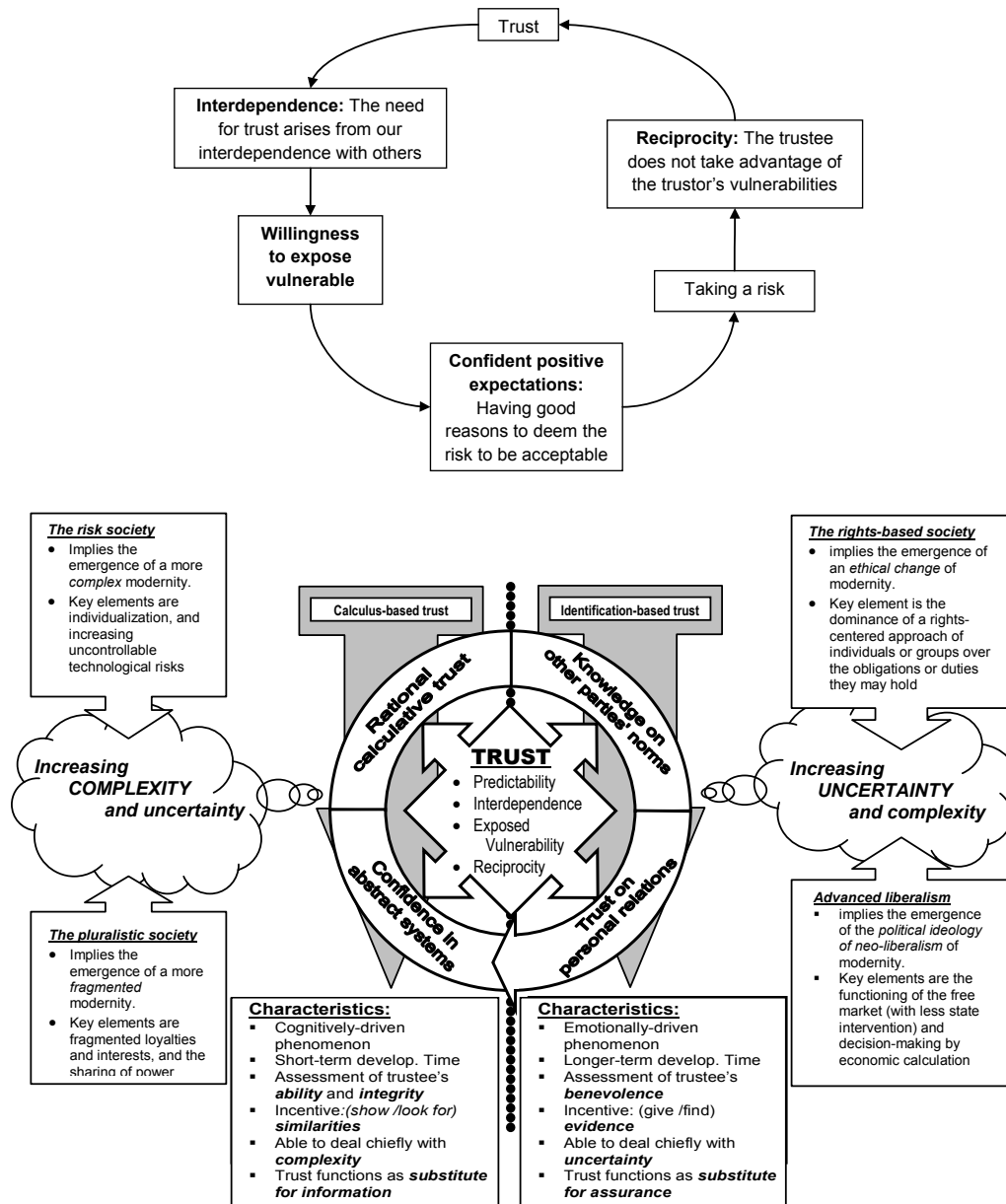
Inquiring the participants' expectations regarding the remaining part of the process and the possible completion of their own desired developments. Are expectations being formed and becoming coordinated towards one direction?

The function of the mechanism of trust is considered as coordinating expectations. Determining the expectations of the participants in this case, regarding the remaining part of the process and the completion of their own desired development, provides valuable information regarding the reflection on the theoretical assumption of the mechanism of trust. This reflection is outlined in the next chapter (chapter 4). It has been outlined in the theoretical framework that negative expectations suggest distrust and positive expectations suggest trust. These mechanisms often operate alternately to reduce complexity and uncertainty. In cases when it is not clear whether trust or distrust predominates, I will define these as 'mixed feelings'.

First, negative expectations regarding the remaining part of the process are expressed by participants who still doubt whether the area will eventually be developed at all. One respondent said: *"I am not that sure whether the plan will pass. The field studies may have unexpected results (for instance soil contamination), the costs can*

be worse than expected, and it remains to be seen whether the land allocation plan [bestemmingsplan] will be changed, because this municipality can be tough". The other participant has negative expectations, because he decided to withdraw from the project and has nothing to do with the project anymore. Most participants have mixed feeling regarding the remaining part of the process: *"I think the procedure will run longer than promised" or "I expect problems when the final signatures of all the participants are needed"*. Two participants, both members of the initial group, were more positive: *"I am confident that within the next two years the area will be developed" or "The alderman will join us next time, which gives me more confidence, though everything must still be signed"*.

Second, negative expectations regarding the completion of the participants' desired developments are expressed by participants who do not expect that all of their wishes will be translated into the final plan. One participant indicated: *"I would like to build apartments on the edge of the dike, but the municipality has indicated that it won't fit into landscape character of the area"*. Another participant mentions the current economic situation in his answer and says: *"My plan is to build several houses, but I am actually quite negative about whether I will truly realize them"*. The other participants have rather positive expectations than mixed feelings. One of the participants with positive expectations argues: *"I am confident that I can live there in my new house within two years"*. Another participant has a similar statement: *"My own house is definitely going to get there. I feel confident about that. Though, I think I am one of the few who thinks like that"*. The participants that are classified as having mixed feeling argue, for example: *"I do not know whether the area will eventually be fully developed. But for some part of the area I do expect this will happen"*. The other participant with mixed feeling had a similar response: *"For a greater or lesser degree, there will be building activities in the Dijkzone-area, but whether my wishes will come true is still very uncertain"*.



Overall, the experiences of the participants showed that their expectations, regarding the remaining part of the process and the completion of their own desired developments, are quite diverse. Table 3.4 displays an interpretation and quantified reproduction of the above-mentioned experiences.

Table 3.4: Participants' expectations regarding the remaining part of the process and the completion of their own desired development goals. N = 8

| | N |
|---|---|
| Remaining part of process | X |
| • Negative expectations | 2 |
| • Mixed feelings | 4 |
| • Positive expectations | 2 |
| Completion of own desired development goal | X |
| • Negative expectations | 3 |
| • Mixed feelings | 2 |
| • Positive expectations | 3 |



4 Discussing the mechanism of trust

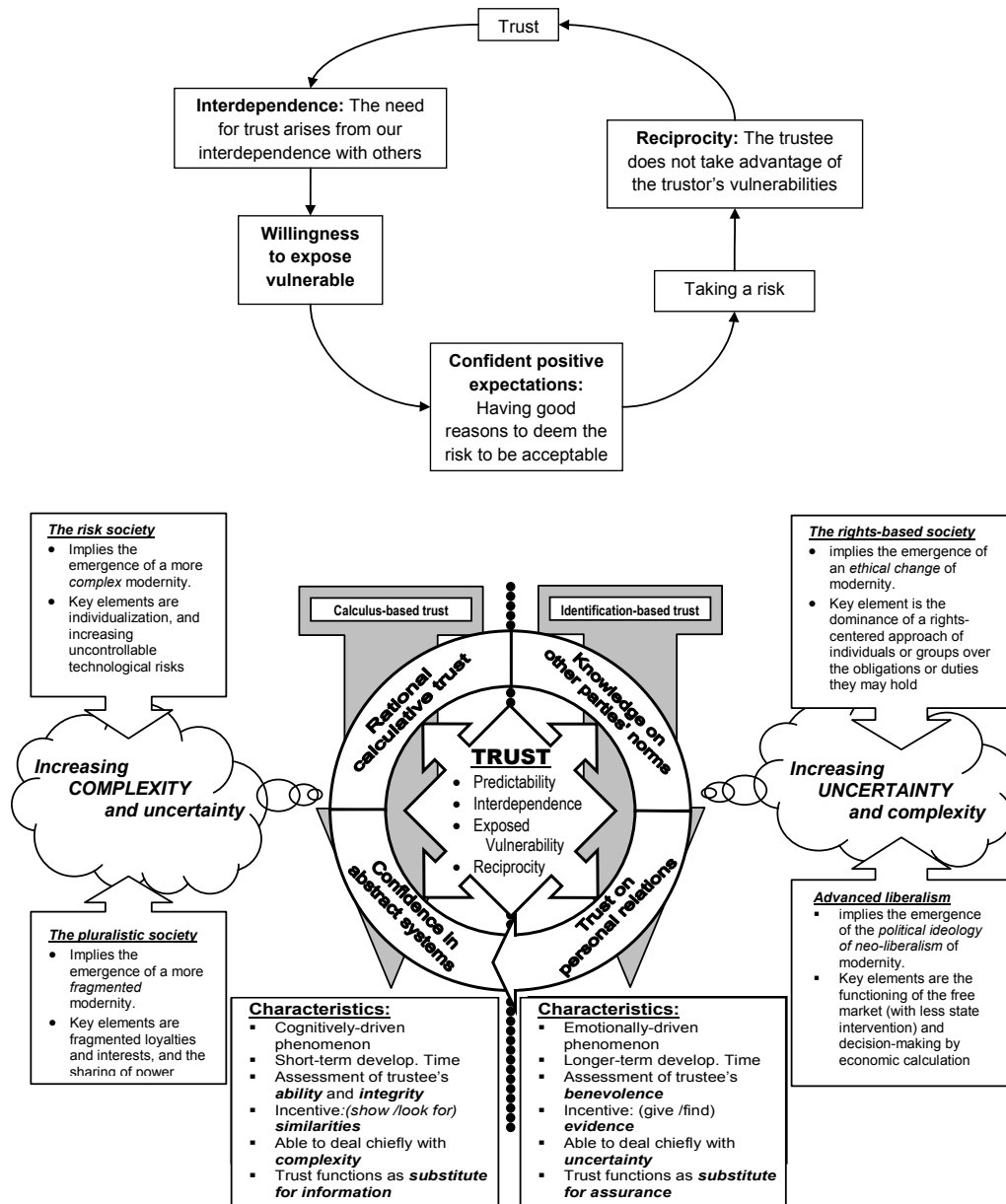
In this chapter the results of the case study will be used for an interpretative analysis to reflect on the conceptual model of the mechanism of trust. The discussion first focuses on the theoretical assumptions of the mechanism of trust. After a contemplation of these assumptions in the case study, a reflection will be provided in the background of the scientific objective in order to provide the cornerstones for answering the last research question: *'How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?'*

4.1 Contemplation of the theoretical assumptions

Through an analysis of the principal theoretical assumptions of the conceptual model of the mechanism of trust, contemplated on the results of the case study (planning practice), one should be able to discuss the causality of the presence of trust specific situations. It provides an understanding of the potential suitability and usability of

trust as a coordination mechanism in planning processes, which is discussed after the analysis of the assumptions. The theoretical assumptions that will be discussed consecutively, are:

- *Due to the influence and dependency of the context on the formation of either positive or negative expectations, trust and distrust are considered as coexisting mechanisms operating as dimensionally distinct constructs.*
- *Time and communication are preconditions for the development and transformation of the nature of (personal) trust towards other (thicker) types.*
- *Confidence in the planning system and its representatives is significant, because it forms the basis for the orientation of expectations and the coordination of behaviour.*
- *Calculus-based trust is able to deal with (reduce) complexity as being a substitute for information.*
- *Identification-based trust is able to deal with (reduce) uncertainty as being a substitute for assurance.*



4.1.1 Trust and distrust operate as dimensionally distinct constructs

Theoretical assumption

Due to the influence and dependency of the context on the formation of either positive or negative expectations, trust and distrust are considered as coexisting mechanisms operating as dimensionally distinct constructs.

Considering trust and distrust as dimensionally distinct constructs, means that a participant trusts a person 'to do something', or trusts an abstract system about the correctness of abstract knowledge regarding a specific case, while at the same time that same participant distrusts that same person 'to do something differently', or distrusts that same abstract system about the correctness of abstract knowledge regarding another case.

This assumption can be examined by the results of the case study. For instance, it can be derived from the case study that one participant trusts the another participants regarding their intentions in this project to jointly develop the area, while he distrusts those participants regarding the promotion of his own interests. The same passes for trust in abstract systems. For instance, one participant indicated that he trusts the planning system (and its representatives) in drawing up a plan for the area, while he distrusts the planning system in making a fair distribution of costs. As a result, the distinct dimensionality of trust and distrust give rise to alternative social realities, which has been illustrated by Lewicki et al. (1998)'s combined trust/distrust model (figure 2.5, p. 41). It is possible to discern one or more of those alternative realities in the case study according to the experiences of the participants involved, which characteristics typify the specific relationships within the project. Most of these inquired relationships between participants can be described as 'causal acquaintances', 'limited interdependence' and 'professional courtesy', and

corresponds to the characteristics of low trust and low distrust (cell 1 in figure 2.5). Though this is a generalized perspective and comprises the social reality of four participants. The social realities of the other four participants are characterized differently within the project. For instance, the participant who decided to withdraw has faced 'undesirable eventualities expected and feared', 'harmful motives assumed' and 'interdependence managed', which corresponds to the characteristics of low trust and high distrust (cell 3 in figure 2.5). As a result of the experienced features of this social reality, the participant decided to withdraw from the project. The last three participants, all belonging to the initial group of five landowners, experience another social reality concerning the relationships within that group. This reality can be described among others as 'interdependence promoted' and 'opportunities pursued', and corresponds accordingly to the characteristics of high trust and low distrust (cell 2 in figure 2.5). This social reality is the result of their assembling efforts and does only count for the relationships within that group. The relationships of these five participants with for example a representative from the municipality, or with a landowner from outside that group, give rise to other social realities.

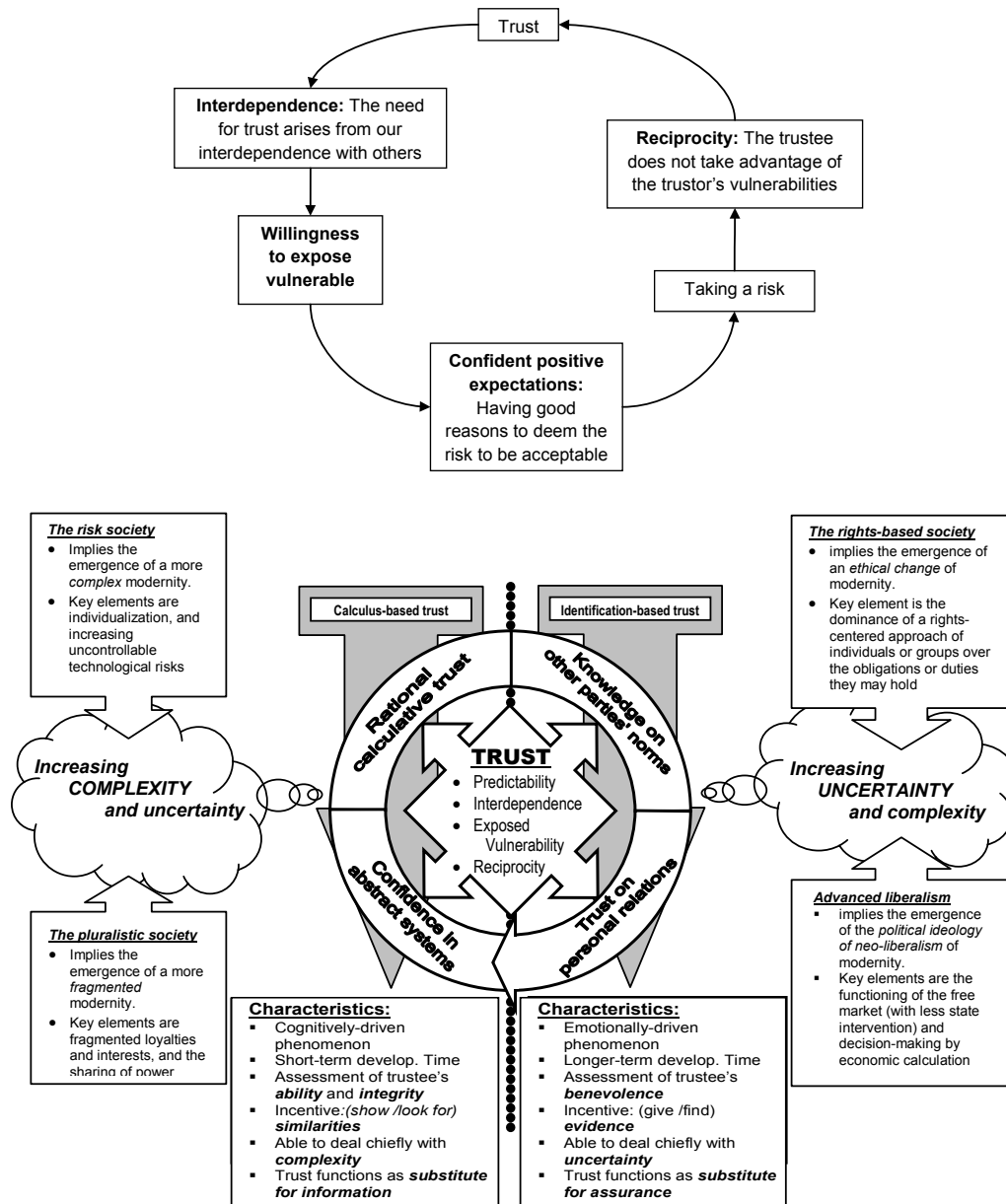
4.1.2 Time and communication are preconditions for trust development

Theoretical assumption

Time and communication are preconditions for the development and transformation of the nature of (personal) trust towards other (thicker) types.

The ability to form (positive or negative) expectations is mainly based on a historical perspective, which means common past experiences. Repeated interactions among the participants in a collaborative process over a longer period of time creates more 'common past experiences', which can eventually result in thicker types of identification-based trust (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). The dimension of 'time' is therefore considered as a precondition for the development of trust. It has been argued that communication forms a second precondition for generating trust. Communication is the means to express yourself and determines whether the other participants indeed encounter your behaviour as reliable and predictable. Communication implies having conversations with other participants in a process, in order to get information about conceivable similarities. This (direct) information is essential for calculating gains and losses of which win-win situations instantly lead to rational-calculative trust. Moreover, communication creates the opportunity to make an assessment of other participants' altruism by inquiring information about other parties' norms, which is essential for the development of identification-based types of trust (Kumar and Paddison, 2000; Swain and Tait, 2007). Especially informal communication can therefore be important (De Vries, 2008).

This theoretical assumption can be examined by the results of the case study. By looking at the determined relationships of the participants in which identification-based types of trust have been identified, the preconditions of these relationships can be verified. Hence, it can be derived from the case study that three of the in-



terviewed participants perceive identification-based types of trust concerning their relationships with the other participants of the initial group of five landowners. These participants expressed mutual trust in each other. Likewise, the following statement of one of those participants, *"I know what the plans and intentions are of the participants of our group, and I support these"*, indicates the existence of (thick) identification-based types of trust. It is significant that these relationships have been constructed due to approximately 15 organized (informal) meetings from 2007 onwards. Although these meetings have led to an agreement between those involved in that initial group, which could imply that the basis for trust is still on rational calculation, the fact that one of these participants has been appointed as contact person on behalf of the whole group, proves that this participant's norms must have been identified and agreed with by the other members. It is significant that 15 meetings that took place in approximately 3 to 4 years to create identification-based trust.

4.1.3 The presence of 'confidence in abstract systems' is significant for the development of trust

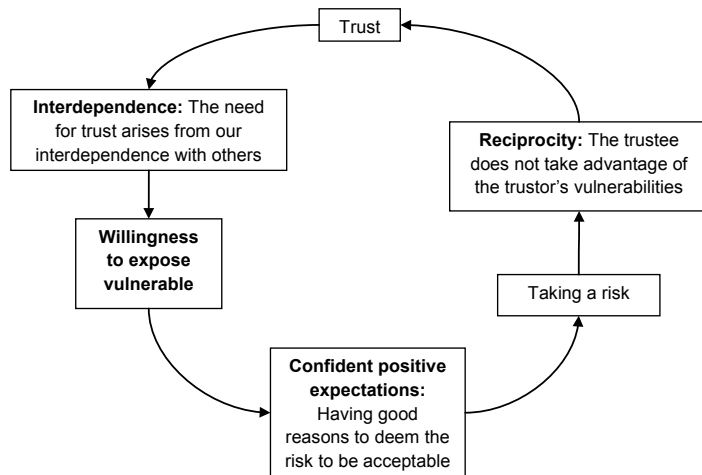
Theoretical assumption

Confidence in the planning system and its representatives is significant, because it forms the basis for the orientation of expectations and the coordination of behaviour.

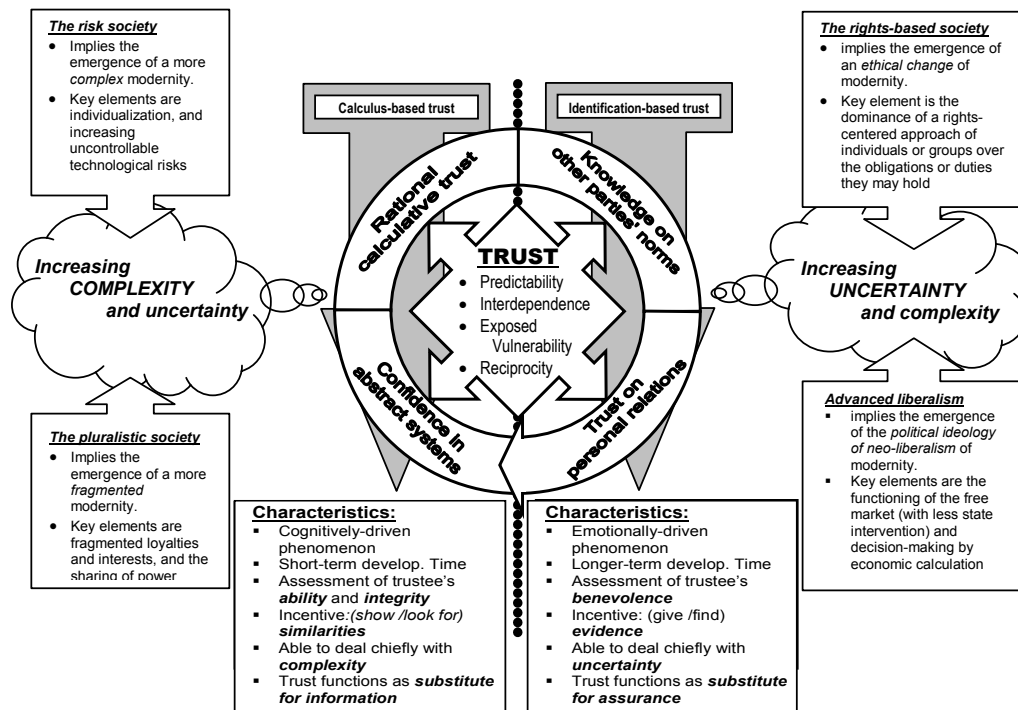
One of the characteristics, that allows us to separate confidence from trust, is that in situations of confidence others are blamed when expectations are not becoming fulfilled, instead of blaming yourself in situations of trust (e.g. Bradach and Eccles, 1989). In situations of confidence, alternatives are not considered or recognized as realistic, which makes the nature of expectations passive. Systems are usually either perceived as too abstract (what is for example the value of money?), or they are too powerful (for example the legal system) to consider any realistic alternatives. Nonetheless, it is considered that these systems do have an significant influence in the coordination of expectations by introducing deterrents for specific actions. Although these deterrents are not always wanted or liked by all people, they are in essence meant for the support or protection of the common good. In that sense are they coordinating behaviour and nurturing discourses and in doing so they provide the framework for trust development.

When looking at the case study, the participants are at the mercy of the municipality. As, for example, the municipality encourages the landowners of the Dijkzone-area to bring in their own plan in the first instance, and later on the municipality decides to develop the whole area integrally, then the landowners feel being handed down. As a result, they blame the municipality rather than themselves that their (initial) expectations are not being fulfilled. Inconsistency in systems as well as failures of systems should therefore be avoided as much as possible, because repeated failures result in a lack of confidence in these systems and leads subsequently towards

suspicion (distrust). Regarding my experiences during the inquiry of the case study, it stroke me that participants often reacted with suspicion towards the municipality, its civil servants and the proposed planning procedure. With this lack of confidence in abstract systems, considered as a basic type of trust that is missing, it is hard for the municipality to orientate the expectations of the participants and coordinate their behaviour. A lack of trust or confidence means according to the trust mechanism that participants face problems in reducing uncertainty and complexity. Consequently, large perceptions of uncertainty cause the participants not to sign the letter of intent. Especially negative experiences with abstract systems during the project or before (e.g. failing actions of the municipality or a similar planning procedure), creates conditions of low trust and high distrust (Lewicki et al., 1998, 2006) regarding the municipality's actions. In such a social reality, participants expect and fear undesirable eventualities, which cause them to apply control mechanisms (distrust) as a result of these negative expectations. This lack of confidence has a negative influence on the aim to collaborate successfully and to build trust among the participants in the process. The lack of confidence can be deduced from the results of the case study, which are illustrated in table 3.1, as well from particular statements of the respondents, like: *"The municipality made a calculation about the expected costs for their supervision, but you do not know what these civil servants truly do. These costs must be justified afterwards"*. Because confidence in (abstract systems) is also applied for the institutional arrangements, i.e. the planning procedure, it is not surprising that the greater number of interviewees have 'mixed feelings' concerning the course of the remaining part of the process (see table 3.4). The determination of less confidence in the planning system results in uncoordinated divergent expectations. The two respondents (both members of the initial group), who perceive positive expectations regarding the remaining part of the process, and who thus have confidence in the eventual development of the Dijkzone-area, do not specifically receive that confidence form the planning systems' potential of orientating expectations though, but rather from other types of trust. One of these participants grounds his positive expectations in rational-calculative trust: *"The municipality itself has no*



costs in developing this area, but it does cause them a profit. So, the municipality has its own interest to develop the area". Nevertheless, while the municipality has the power to control the actions of the participants, it are the participants who want to control the actions of the municipality. Due to a lack of confidence in the planning system it has been hard for the representatives of the system (i.e. planners and civil servants) to orientate the expectations of the different participants towards one direction. Yet, the planners are perceived as trustworthy, particularly for their professionalism, by most of the participants, which creates opportunities for the reduction of uncertainties in the remaining part of the planning process.



4.1.4 The social function of trust is reducing complexity

Theoretical assumption

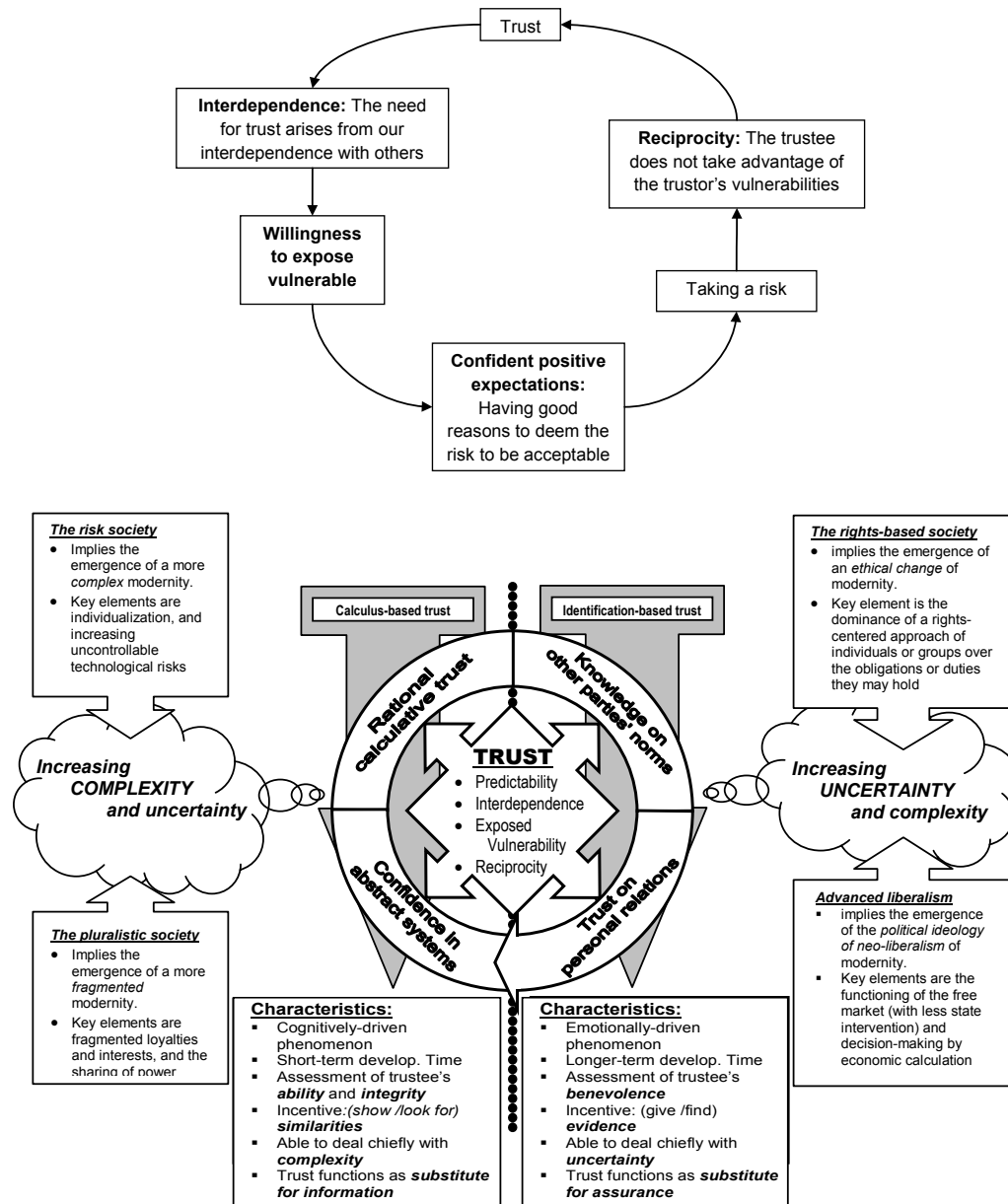
Calculus-based trust is able to deal with (reduce) complexity as being a substitute for information.

It has been argued in the theoretical framework that the social function of trust can be considered from an interpretative perspective as a governance mechanism that is able to reduce complexity and uncertainty by the coordination of expectations (Bachmann, 2001). Trust is able to reduce the analytical complexity of situations by substituting for information and reduces uncertainty by substituting for assurances (Laurian, 2009).

The theoretical assumption states that calculus-based types of trust are considered as being a substitute for information. When taking a look at the results of the case study it can be derived from table 3.2 that most participants perceive rational-calculative trust to some extent. Due to the presence of this type of trust, it can be argued that the participants do not need more specific information regarding the intentions and probable future actions of the other participants involved. This is because the participants do not rationally assess any direct threats from the other participants. Through a calculation of gains and losses they deduce that every participant wants to build something on his land, which should eventually result in lower costs (due to cost-sharing). Moreover, the desired developments of all these landowners are not directly threatening the desired developments of other participants. This deliberation constitutes rational-calculative trust, which ensures that a participant does not exactly need (or want) to know what the plans of the other landowners are. (Calculative) trust works thus as a substitute for information. This is also signified by the following statement of a participant: *“Everyone wants to build something on their own*

land. I support the plans of others and am glad that the area will be developed at once”. Hence, trust substitutes information reduces (analytical) complexity as a result. Although perceived complexity is not easy to measure, the quantified amounts, which are illustrated in table 3.3, can be useful. The participants perceive in general a medium amount of complexity, which can be dedicated to a lack of confidence in planning system. It is mainly related to the procedural aspects and municipal requirements and not to other participants' conduct. Because the participants want to control the planning system, they try to understand the abstract knowledge (e.g. municipal requirements). Their incompetency in doing so results in a perception of (medium) complexity.

In sum, the participants experience rational-calculative trust regarding the other participants' conduct. Extra information about that participant is as consequence redundant, which subsequently results in a low(er) perception of complexity. Through a lack of 'confidence in abstract systems' (which is another type of calculus-based trust), participants need and want more information regarding these systems (e.g. information about the planning procedure, municipal requirements, legal arrangements, collective goals, cost allocation etc.) in order to control them, which subsequently increases their perception of complexity.



4.1.5 The social function of trust is reducing uncertainty

Theoretical assumption

Identification-based trust is able to deal with (reduce) uncertainty as being a substitute for assurance.

It has been argued in the theoretical framework that the social function of trust can be considered from an interpretative perspective as a governance mechanism that is able to reduce complexity and uncertainty by the coordination of expectations (Bachmann, 2001). Trust is able to reduce the analytical complexity of situations by substituting for information and reduces uncertainty by substituting for assurances (Laurian, 2009).

The theoretical assumption states that identification-based types of trust are considered as being substitutes for assurances. Assurances should be seen as a form of certainty, which reduces uncertainty as a result. When taking a look at the results of the case study, it can be derived from table 3.2 that only three participants perceive trust as being 'knowledge on other parties' norms', and one respondent perceives 'trust on personal relations' as a corollary to the former type of identification-based trust. These three participants perceive identification-based trust as a result of approximately 15 meetings they organized. Due to presence of these (thicker) types of trust, it can be argued that the participants do not need more specific assurances regarding the intentions and probable future actions of the other participants involved. It is noteworthy that it only addresses the conduct of the participants who were involved in the initial group of five landowners, and does not address the conduct of the municipality's representatives or the participants from outside that group. These findings correspond to Straker (2008)'s trust boundaries: "A group or society is defined by its boundary and how people think, look and behave either side of that

line. A key element of this boundary effect is trust. If I am a member of the group I will trust other members more and non-members less” (Straker, 2008, p. 180). Indeed, it can be derived from the results of the case study that the interviewees from that initial group perceive lower amounts of uncertainty than the other participants do (see table 3.3). Moreover, by organizing discussions, they did inquire knowledge about the norms, values and intentions of the members of that group, which eventually even resulted in an agreement and the appointment of a contact person to represent their group. One of these group members considers his relationship with the other member as an additional value to a small degree. It is hard to describe the actual deducted assurances, because they are being guided with emotions. Nevertheless, these participants feel themselves supported by the other group members. These three participants also have positive expectations regarding the eventual completion of their own desired development goals (see table 3.4). It can, therefore, be argued that these participants feel strengthened through that trust, which creates a feeling of positivity and a stronger believe in the implementation of own defined goals, which enables this type of trust to replace ‘real’ assurances. It could be for that reason that two of these three participants also have positive expectations regarding the remaining part of the process (see table 3.4).

There are, however, also external uncertainties, which cannot be reduced by the participants nor the planners because these uncertainties are out of direct influence. These external uncertainties emerge, for instance, through the current economic situation (are the participants able to sell their houses when finished) or the fact that the municipal council has to validate the final plan after the completion of the planning phase. A complete absence of uncertainty is therefore not possible, but a reduction of uncertainty does indeed foster the cooperation through the merging of expectations (of the concerned group members).

In sum, through the existence of identification-based trust a landowner is able to comprehensively assess the ‘identity’ (benevolence) of other participants. Conse-

quently, that particular landowner forms positive expectations about the other participants’ conduct. As a result, he determines other conduct (negative expectations; i.e. actions that will harm him) as improbable. Because of the specific selection of expectations that will not harm him, it substitutes assurances, and reduces uncertainty as a result.

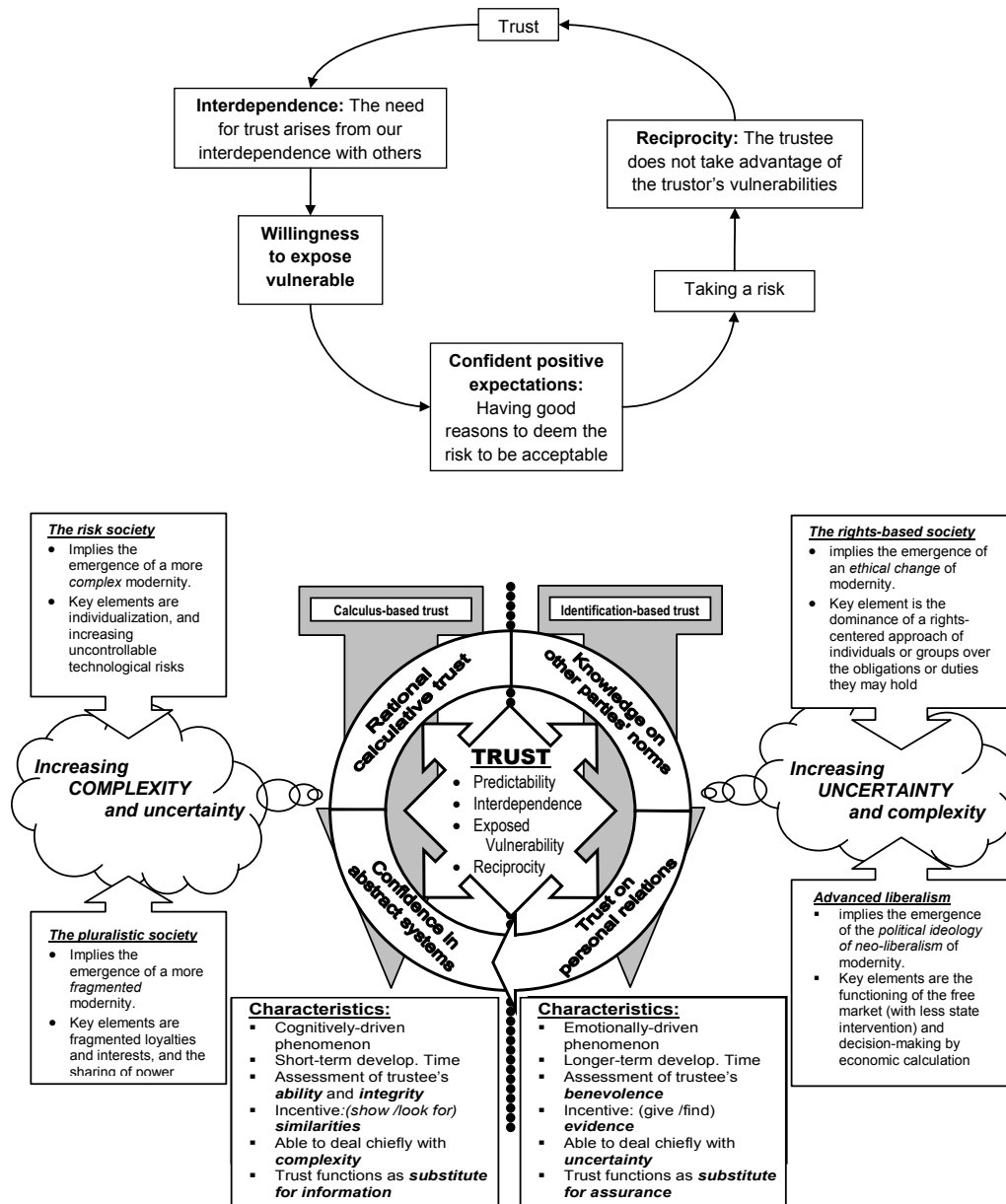
4.2 Reflecting on the usability and suitability of the insights of the mechanism of trust in planning practice

The qualitative results of the case study and the previous discussion on the theoretical assumptions of trust have provided insights, which enable a reflection on the usability and suitability of the mechanism of trust in planning practice. In order to do so, two questions are answered in this section:

1. *What kind of (new) insights did the case study provide?*
2. *To what extent can the trust model be used to analyze a case?*

The mechanism of trust is used as a lens for looking at planning practice and should be seen as a method for interpreting planning practice. In doing so, the case study produced new insights regarding power, uncertainties and trust in relation to the design of the process.

First, the distribution of power resources can be analysed. The municipality has authoritative power, which is expressed through municipal requirements for the development of the area. The landowners, on the other hand, also have power resources, because they own the land. Both the municipality and the landowners have the power to influence the process and the eventual implementation of the project plan. For instance, the landowners are able to withdraw from the project and the municipality is able to terminate the project. One participant has actually withdrawn from the project.



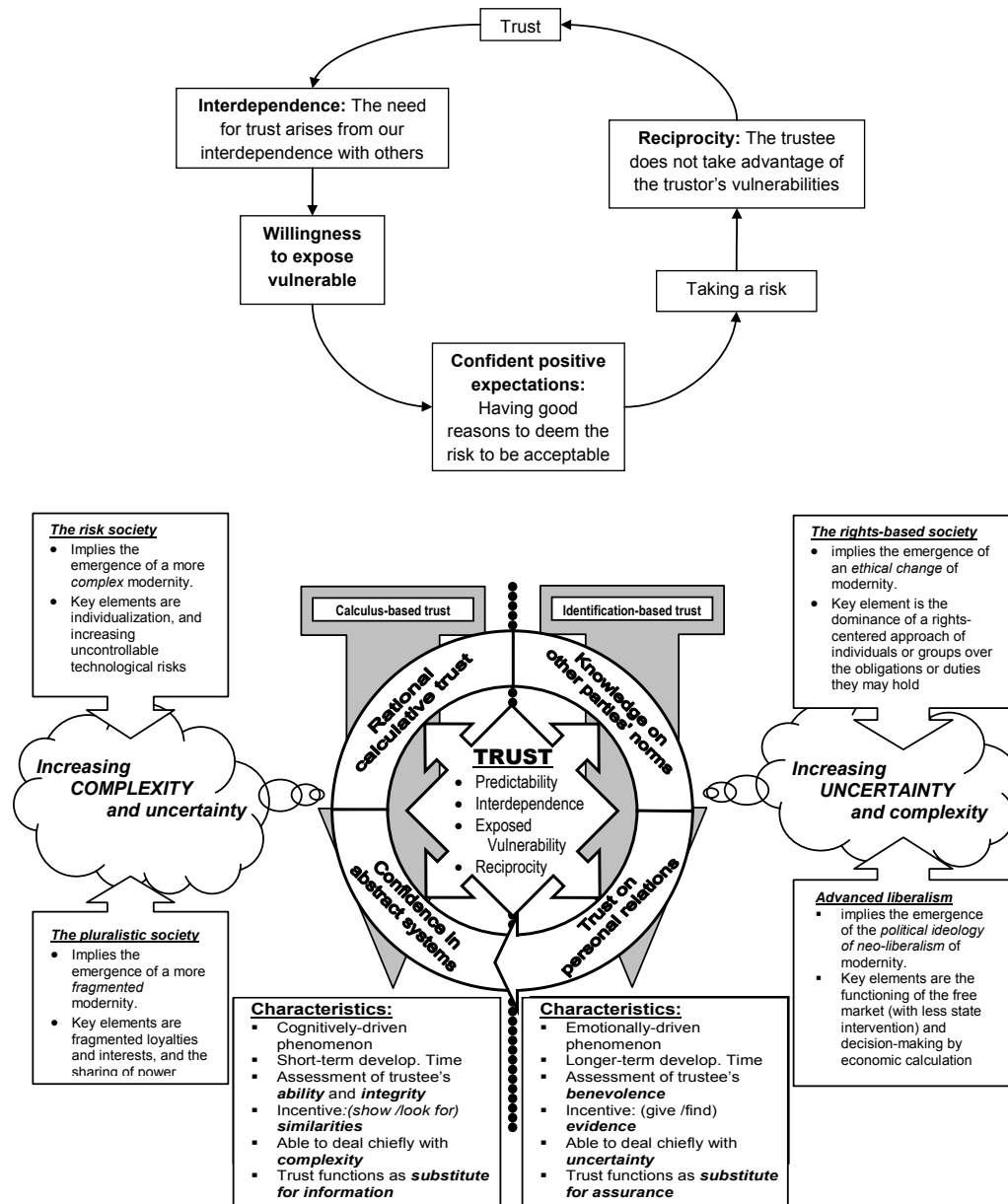
Second, there are still large uncertainties that are having a negative impact on the progress of cooperation and decision-making. The participants are facing uncertainties concerning three aspects, namely 'external factors', 'the municipal requirements', and 'the intentions of the other participants'. External factors of uncertainty are amongst others the current economic situation, which gives rise to a perception of uncertainty whether a landowner is able to sell the new houses for a reasonable price (landowners want to make a profit) after realization. Another external uncertainty factor is whether the municipal council will accept the eventual plan. The planners nor the civil servants can guarantee that a consensus-based plan will eventually be accepted. The total costs of this plan are estimated around 175.000 euro, which are the costs for the first three phases only. The landowners have to pay these costs together beforehand, without having the guarantee that the plan is going to be accepted. These uncertainties regarding external factors cannot be easily reduced. Then, uncertainties regarding the municipal requirements concern mainly uncertainties about the participants' own desired development goals. The municipality for instance requires that the area maintains a rural character, that water can easily infiltrate (through the implementation of infiltration facilities) and that some existing visual lines are remained. These requirements shape the solid framework in which developments are allowed. This framework has an influence on the perception of uncertainties of which the participants have to deal with. It must be said that these requirements mainly effect the landowners who want to build as much houses as possible (who thus want to maximise their profits), and has only a small effect on the landowners who just want to build one or two houses. The latter group of participants feel pretty confident that their desired development goal fits within the framework of municipal requirements (and perceive less uncertainty because of that), while the former group does not feel confident about that. It are particularly these participants, who have negative expectations about the eventual completion of their own desired development goals as well (see table 3.4). These kind of uncertainties are, however, always present at any planning process, because not everyone can get their wishes fulfilled. Although authoritative requirements can cause uncertainties for some land-

owners, they also offer support for other landowners and provide certainties for the municipality and its inhabitants (for example for residents who want to preserve nature values etc.). The framework of municipal requirements is chiefly based on abstract or expert knowledge with a result that not everyone understands its usefulness. The inquired lack of confidence in the planning system, which is predominantly the result of distrust in the municipality itself, has created a higher perception of uncertainty regarding these municipal requirements, which cannot be easily reduced. The last source of uncertainties concern the intentions of the other participants. Because every landowner has the ability to use power resources (i.e. withdrawing from the project), it results in large uncertainties. When a participant decides to withdraw, it has an impact on the whole project, because the area becomes smaller, a new plan must be made and the costs must be recalculated and redistributed. Identification-based trust is able to reduce the latter uncertainty aspects, because knowledge on other parties' norms can provide substituting assurances that the other parties are not going to withdraw. Identification-based trust, however, is merely lacking. All the above-mentioned uncertainties prevent people from taking any decisions and thus results in a process that takes longer than intended. The municipality attempts to reduce the uncertainties (particularly uncertainties regarding the intentions of the participants) by demanding the participants to sign a letter of intent. By signing the letter of intent, the participants agree that they are continuing to participate in the project and that they are committed to pay their part of the costs. In that sense, the municipality wants to restrain that the participant are using any power resources in the remaining part of the process. The letter of intent, therefore, reduces uncertainties regarding the intentions of all the participants. Because these uncertainties still exist in the perception of the participants before the letter of intent is actually signed, it lasts already for half a year to get the participants to sign this agreement. At the time of my interrogation not everyone had signed yet. From the perspective of the mechanism of trust, this is because there is only a weak foundation for trust present.

Third, for the entire group of landowners in general applies that trust has a weak

foundation. Although you would probably not expect that, because the landowners are each other's neighbours. It appears that the landowners speak each other very little and they do not visit each other for a cup of coffee or something similar. They consider their relationship chiefly as a business relationship. Trust is consequently mainly based on calculation and it is reasonable to say that a lack of identification-based trust is connected with the large amounts of perceptible uncertainties. It has a delaying effect on the process and has had a negative effect on the success of the cooperation until now. Moreover, landowners have the feeling that not everyone shows back of their tongue and they act therefore aloof themselves. An exception should be made, however, for the participants who belong to the initial group of five landowners. They did built identification-based trust among themselves and face only uncertainties regarding the intentions of the participants from outside their group. In their opinion, these people provide a delaying effect on the process.

It can be concluded in this case that trust has not sufficiently developed in a way that it could generally transform into thicker (identification-based) types of trust, while these types of trust are required to reduce uncertainties. The municipality attempts to reduce these uncertainties for the participants (and for municipality itself as well), by introducing the letter of intent. This letter of intent is in essence a control mechanism (distrust) and will eventually result in calculus-based trust when it is actually signed by all the participants. Although this letter of intent, which should be considered as a contract, reduces the perception of uncertainty and complexity (also for the participants) by creating calculus-based trust, only three interviewees indicated that it actually gives them more confidence. Five of the interviewees, on the contrary, indicated that the letter of intent does not result in more confidence. For instance, one of them indicated: *"It does not create more confidence. It is only a guarantee for the municipality that you will not quit"*. Another participant goes even further by stating: *"The letter of intent does not create more confidence, but precisely the opposite because it is very specific"*. It is thus questionable, whether this letter of intent is the best way to reduces uncertainties. Especially, because it does not result in more



trust among the participants, who still have to cooperate during the remaining part of the planning process. Trust is not only required to cooperate successfully and reach consensus about the plan, but it also increases the likelihood that the plan is accepted and effectively implemented. If all participants trust each other and support each other's intentions, it increases the support and strength of the final (full) plan. This is moreover significant to create enough public support (and probably decreases appeals), which is essential for the municipal council to approve the plan eventually.

To analyze why trust has not been able to develop further in this project, one can make use of the insights of the act of trusting. The act of trusting is the actual execution of trust from the perspective of the trustor. By analysing the consecutive steps of the act of trusting, which are connected with the four characteristics of trust, one can get an insight in why trust did not develop further. The first step comprises the characteristic of interdependence: 'the need for trust arises from our interdependence with others'. Although the process of the project in the case study is meant as being a collaborative process, in which the participants should cooperate to reach consensus about a development plan, in practice it worked out differently. While the participants are indeed interdependent in reaching consensus about a development plan and the sharing of costs, they do not feel themselves interdependent. Most of the participants (except the landowners of the initial group) do not discuss the plan with other participants. They have only spoken about their intentions, wishes and goals regarding the project during personal conversations with the planners or civil servants of the municipality. Some participants indicated that they have met each other even for the first time during the two official meetings that were organized in the town hall. According to the participants, these meetings were not really appropriate to exchange views with each other. The planners expected that the participants would organize such informal discussion meetings by themselves. This did not happen, except for the participants of the initial group who already reached an agreement. All in all, no real collaboration activities took place with an inclusion of all the landowners. The awareness of interdependence was therefore lacking and as a

result the participants did not experience a need for trust or to get to know each other better. A lack of interdependence affects the second consecutive step of the act of trusting, namely the willingness to expose vulnerable. The willingness to expose vulnerable comprises the trustor's propensity to trust, and has been low because of a lack of interdependence. Besides, the interviewees experienced a feeling that other participants were neither willing to show the back of their tongue, which restrains them in exposing vulnerable themselves. Reasons for trust are not found through an assessment of other participants' benevolence, which precluded thicker forms of trust (that are able to deal better with uncertainties) to arise. The final steps of the act of trusting, i.e. risk taking and subsequently reciprocity have not really been addressed, which means that the positive feedback loop was inactive.

In conclusion, one can argue that the mechanism of trust can be used as a method for interpreting planning practice. Through analysing a case by focusing on the aspects of the mechanism of trust, one can also reflect on the role of the planners at stake and argue which role (and thus which actions) is most appropriate for the concerned process. By exploring the uncertainties and complexities that are at play in a particular collaborative process, and the way participants in that process are dealing with these uncertainties, one can reflect on the design of that particular planning process and the methods, instruments or practical actions that can be best applied. Though, some nuances must be made. A recognition of the amounts of complexity and uncertainty that participants experience in a particular process in relation to the existing types of trust is only possible when a planner himself does participate in that process. Such qualitative information can only be derived through direct contact with the participants and by mixing yourself among these people. If planners merely act as facilitators from a distance in such processes, it is hard to be well informed about any inconsistencies (e.g. a lack of a deliberative atmosphere, high perceptions of uncertainties or the presence of distrust). The applicability of the mechanism of trust is thus particularly relevant when the planner operates as a mediator. In these situations, a planner can influence the development of trust in order to reduce

uncertainty, promote cooperation and reach consensus more efficiently. There are, however, several meetings needed to come to this insight of proportions. This poses immediately a problem, because of the existence of performance management in a lot of planning practices, there is often not enough time or money available for multiple meetings. After one or two meetings with the involved participants it is not possible yet to have gained the necessary insights into the trusting relationships between people. It is also difficult when the group of people involved is too large (more than 10 people). Besides, it can also be problematic when a project concerns professional stakeholders or representatives who are obliged to act as rational as possible or who are not allowed to make any concessions from their organizations or superiors. Therefore, opportunities for the application of the insights of this mechanism in the planning practice, and thus a focus on the presence and development of trust, is mainly relevant for collaborative planning and less for regular planning practices. Especially when a (local) project includes independent individuals or citizens, a focus on trust development in a collaborative planning process could be an answer for dealing with complexity and uncertainty, and in doing so the process can probably proceed more efficiently (faster and cheaper) as well. A precondition is that a planner (in the role of mediator) is involved and visually present during the process, and tries to create awareness of the various specific experiences and interpretations that the participants have about reality. When a planner is put in touch with such a (local) project where several people are involved and ought to cooperate, it is advisable to design and structure the process concerning the planning of several joint meetings.



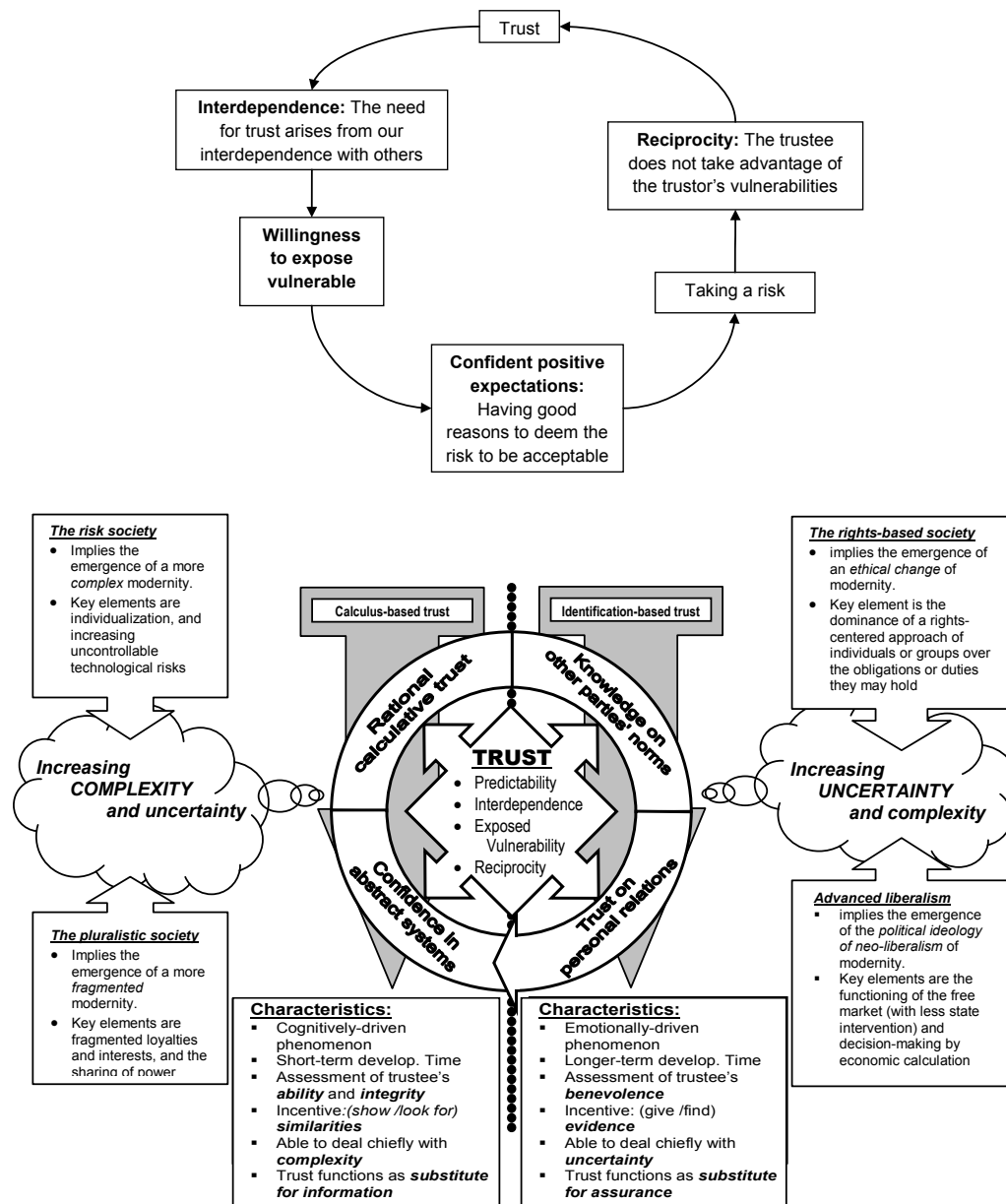
5 Conclusions and recommendations

The purpose of this final chapter is to answer the various research questions and to give recommendations regarding the usability and applicability of the mechanism of trust in planning practice. As a result, this section will bring the most important consequences of this study together in the background of the scientific objective, which was *to study and understand how trust works, whether and how it is able to deal with complexity and uncertainty, and if it can be developed, used or influenced in a certain context, in order to obtain insights for the design of planning arrangements for collaborative planning*. Besides, these concluding remarks can be socially relevant as well, as it offers pragmatic cornerstones for using or creating trust in order to anticipate in various practical situations.

Knowledge about the development of trust provides an understanding of its social function as a coordination mechanism, which has been illustrated by the conceptual model at the end of the theoretical framework. An exhaustive literature study and a case study have been conducted to answer the following four research questions:

1. *What is trust and where is it based on?*
2. *How does trust develop over time and what factors or practical actions may incite this?*
3. *What is the function of trust in relation to the concepts complexity and uncertainty?*
4. *How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?*

The answers to the first three questions give an overview of the theoretical assumptions about the operation and effects of trust, which have subsequently been contemplated in the light of the qualitative results of the case study. The reflection on the conceptual model through planning practice and the discussion about the suitability of the mechanism of trust for planning practice has accordingly provided insights for answering the fourth research question.



5.1 Answering the research questions

5.1.1 What is trust and where is it based on?

Trust is in its essence relational and operates as a mechanism for the coordination of expectations. Trusting situations presume a trustor (someone who does the trusting) connected with either a trustee (an individual who is trusted) or abstract systems (regarding the correctness of technical knowledge). In that way trust can be separated from confidence, because trust largely concerns other individuals, and confidence largely concerns abstract or expert systems. The difference between these two concepts lies in the awareness of recognizing alternatives regardless the existing expectation. In a situations of confidence, the actor expects something to happen with certainty, and does not consider the possibility of anything going wrong. For instance, you can trust someone that he will be in time for a meeting, while considering the possibility that he will not be in time, and you can be confident that the sun rises next morning, while not considering the possibility that this is not going happen. From this view follows that the nature of confidence is passive and the nature of trust is active. This active nature in orientating expectations can be defined by reasoning the consecutive steps of the actual act of trusting, which is considered as a positive feedback-loop. The consecutive steps of the act of trusting are related to four characteristics of trust, of which a trustor has to deal with when executing trust. The four characteristics of trust are:

- Predictability:** Confident positive expectations about something or some body, which relates to the probability of expected positive behaviour.
- (Inter)dependence:** Reliance upon an individual or abstract principles about something in a certain context.
- Willingness to expose vulnerable:** The willingness to take a risk implies considering the possibility that someone can take advantage of your expense.

- **Reciprocity:** Giving something now, while expecting that it will be repaid in some form at some unspecified time in the future.

These characteristics need to be thoroughly embarked when defining trust. Therefore, the definition of trust has been constructed as follows: *“Trust in a context of interdependence is having confident positive expectations that another party’s intentions and actions will not exploit one’s vulnerabilities resulting from a willingness to accept risk, and that the other party therefore performs reciprocally towards a potential trusting act”*.

Trust manifests itself thus in confident positive expectations, which are the result of an interaction of cognitively-driven and emotionally-driven processes in the human brains. These processes can be seen as coping with the calculation of gains and losses, grounded in judgements of a trustee’s predictability and reliability, as well as the identification of another’s benevolence, grounded in affection and perceptions of interpersonal care and concern, and mutual need satisfaction. The actual basis of trust, thus the basis for having confident positive expectations regarding another’s conduct, can be further specified, resulting in four different bases (types) for trust:

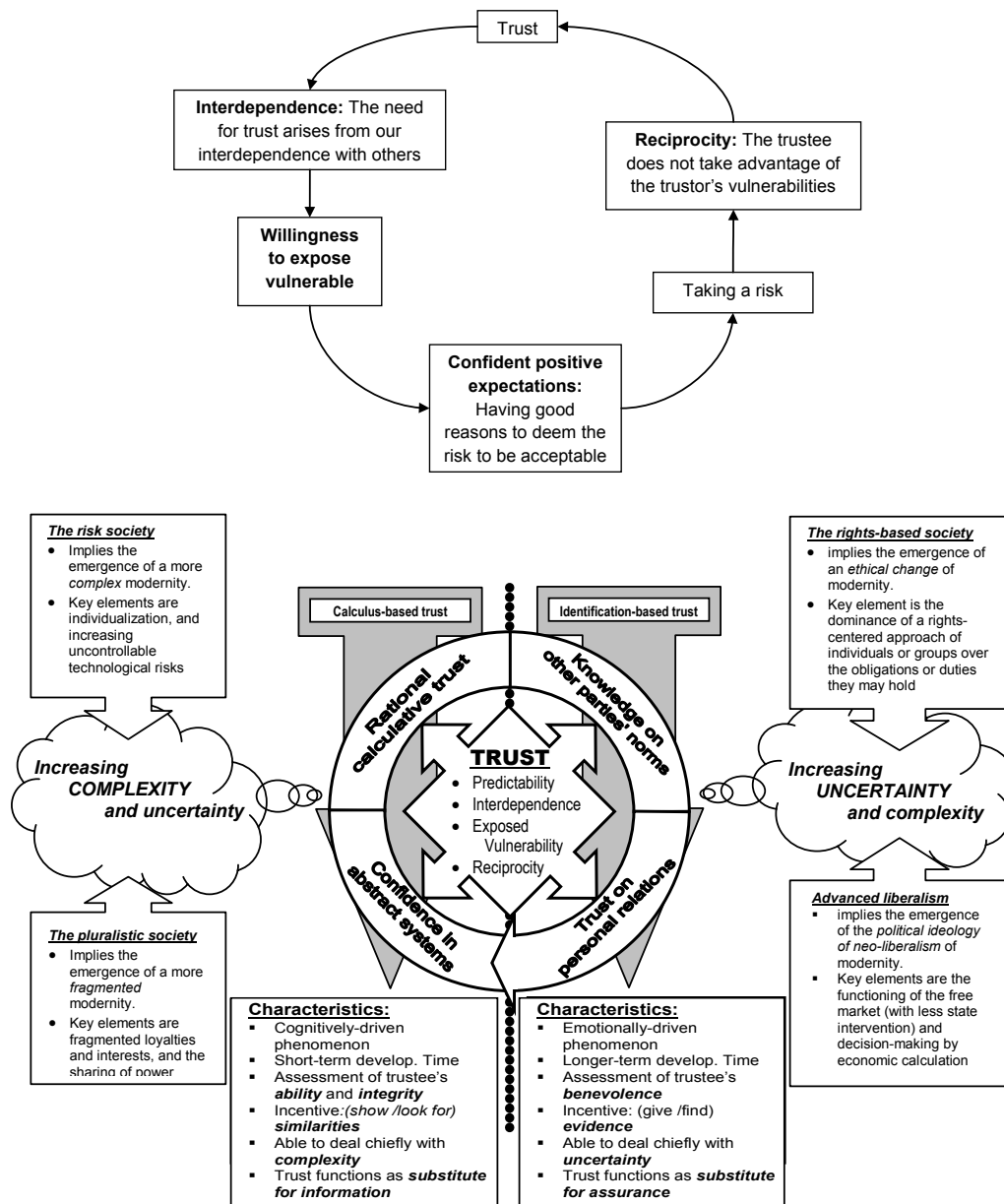
1. **Confidence in abstract systems:** Y is confident that X will not exploit her, and thus trusts X, because X is ‘linked’ to accepted technical norms, code of ethics and social standards in behaviour.
2. **Rational calculative trust:** X has positive benefits when he acts in Y’s interest. Y will trust X because she knows that X will get benefits for acting in Y’s interest.
3. **Knowledge of other parties’ norms:** Trust is a function of the tendency of others to act in an ‘appropriate’ manner. Here Y is confident that X will not exploit her because Y has some sort of knowledge about the norms and motives of X.
4. **Trust on personal relations:** The relationship between parties (or between X and Y), and the personal bonds between parties constitutes trust.

Overall, through the formation of specific expectations in the perspective of all possibilities, trust is considered as a coordination mechanism that functions as support for certainty.

5.1.2 How does trust develop over time and what factors or practical actions may incite this?

While trust has been defined as having confident positive expectation regarding another’s conduct, distrust is defined as having negative expectations regarding another’s conduct. In that sense, trust and distrust are not only considered as each others’ opposite, but they are functionally equivalent as well. Both mechanisms are used to coordinate each others’ expectations in order to increase certainty about one’s own future perspective, but the actual selection of expectations is different. The choice for one of these two coordination mechanisms depends on the context. The involvement of this context is very significant because it pays attention to the complexity of relationships, which implies that we do not simply trust or distrust another person, but always relate that choice to its context. It means that we trust or distrust someone ‘to do something’ within a specific situation. For that reason are these constructs treated as coexisting mechanisms in different dimensions. “Trust and distrust increase in strength (depth) and breadth (bandwidth) as a function of the frequency, duration and diversity of experiences that either affirm confidence in positive expectations (trust) or confidence in negative expectations (distrust)” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1005). The context determines, therefore, whether trust or distrust will become the primary coordination mechanism within relationships. In situations with a highly convertible context, it may hence appear that both coordination mechanisms become dominant, which results in a social reality that can be typified by conditions of high trust as well as high distrust.

Consequently, studying the development of trust can be dissociated from the development of distrust. By acknowledging the bandwidth of trust consisting out of (four)



types of trust with a different bases for the formation of expectations, the development of trust is suggested as being a transformation of one type of trust to another type. It implies that some types of trust are thicker than other types. Thick types of trust are harder to create, but they are stronger and more resilient. Calculus-based trust, which addresses 'confidence in abstract systems' and 'rational calculative trust', is often present or soon available at initial stages of the relationship and is considered as 'thin' trust. Identification-based trust, which addresses 'knowledge on other parties' norms' and 'trust on personal relations' needs more time to develop and is considered as 'thick' trust. The development of trust is therefore intended as the transformation of the basis of trust from 'confidence in abstract systems' followed by 'rational calculative trust' (both calculus-based trust), towards 'knowledge on other parties' norms' and 'trust on personal relations' (both identification-based trust). Trust thus develops from a complementary process of thinking (cognitively-driven processes) and feeling (emotionally-driven processes).

Two preconditions can be determined, namely time and communication, which are essential for the formation (and eventual fulfilment) of expectations. "Trust does not appear at the snap of a finger, but it must be built up in the interaction among actors" (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007, p. 33). Repeated interactions among the participants is thus necessary to build trust in a (collaborative) process. The factors that incite trust to transform into thicker types contemplate behavioural issues regarding the trustee as well as the trustor. It comprises reliable and predictable behaviour, which influences the assessment of each others' ability, integrity and benevolence. As a result, practical actions that probably incite the development of trust must address this assessment of ability, integrity or benevolence. Ability and integrity are likely to be most influential early in a relationship. Because evidence is often lacking at an initial stage, actors look for similarities (win-win situations) that may catalyse the existence of calculus-based trust. Benevolence is likely to be most influential later in a relationship as it needs more time to emerge and to fulfil the expectations. Actors gather evidence to assess the other's benevolence, which increases the existence

of identification-based trust. The above-mentioned characteristics of calculus-based trust and identification-based trust and some practical actions, derived from the literature, that might catalyse its development, are summarized in table 5.1.

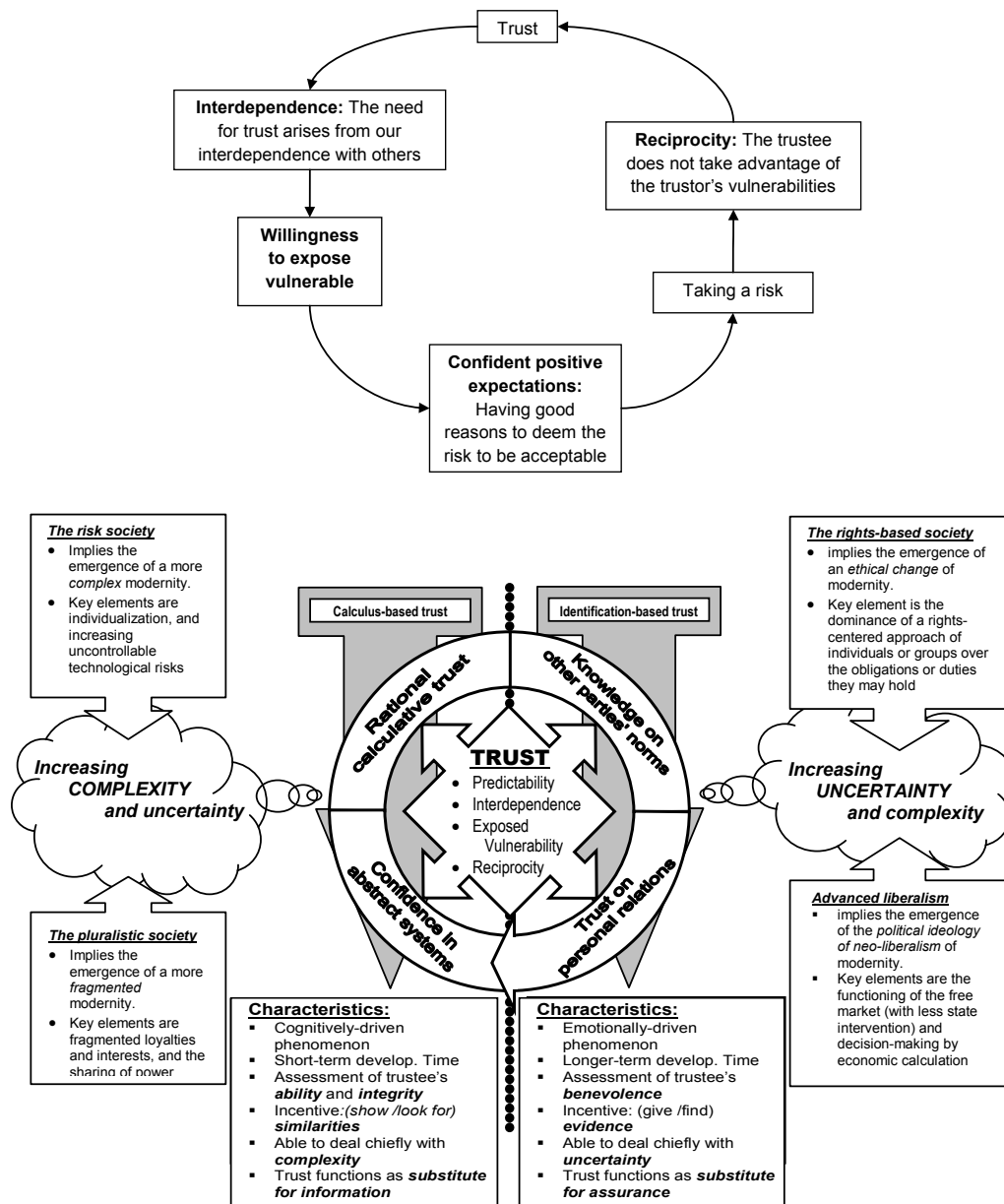
5.1.3 What is the function of trust in relation to the concepts complexity and uncertainty?

Awareness of large amounts of complexity and uncertainty are considered to cause problems in contemporary planning practices. It has been argued that due to four dominant characteristics of modernity, i.e. risk, pluralism, individual and collective rights, and economic liberalism and the state (Swain and Tait, 2007), complexity and uncertainty have substantially increased. This had an influence in the field of planning too. Particularly decentralisation of decision-making, the inclusion of more stakeholders and citizens earlier in planning processes and the possibilities to appeal have increased the amounts of complexity and uncertainty in the field of planning, where planning professionals, planning institutions and actors have to deal with. "The involvement of several actors leads to substantial complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity as a result of different goals, different (and sometimes contradictory) strategies and different perceptions by the particular actors" (Van Ark, 2005, p. 127). The large amount of possible actions by an increasing amount of participants involved in these processes make planning processes more complex (Laurian, 2009). This complexity consequently creates more uncertainty regarding whether these possible actions will harm or correspond to other actors' intentions. It is for that reason that the creation and eventual implementation of a plan often takes a long time, with dissatisfaction as a result. Moreover, a perception of too much complexity and uncertainty will even lead to chaos (Luhmann, 1979).

The role of trust regarding the concepts complexity and uncertainty is that trust is able to reduce complexity and uncertainty. Trust, but also distrust, are therefore considered as mechanisms from an interpretative perspective, that operate as some kind of equilibrium with confident (positive or negative) expectations about the future

Table 5.1: Summary of both the distinguishing characteristics of calculus-based trust and identification-based trust, and the practical actions that may incite their development.

| Basis of trust: | Calculation | Identification |
|---|--|--|
| Mental processes: | Cognitively-driven | Emotionally-driven |
| Thickness of trust: | 'Thin' | 'Thick' |
| Trustee's assessment basis: | Ability and Integrity | Benevolence |
| Incentive: | Look for similarities | Find evidence |
| Practical actions that might catalyse trust: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perform competently; - Communicate accurately, openly and transparently; - Ensure that equity and fairness are mostly preserved; - Behave in a desired manner; - Identify your partners; - Manage risks; - Look for similarities; - Show willingness to take risks; - Establish a common name and identity; - Agree on collaboration aims; - Stabilize and manage interactions; - Exchange information proactively; - Meeting agreed-to deadlines and fulfilling promises. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote shared values and emotional attraction; - Recognise, express and discuss feelings of vulnerability; - Adapt partners by acting for mutual interests rather than self-interests; - Share and delegate control; - Keep continuous attention to the dynamics of collaboration and group changes; - Create joint products and goals; - Communicate open to sound off differences in order to avoid fatal conflicts; - Create a high density of repeated interaction; - Share values and validate them by actions; - Share information full and frank; - Show concern for others; - Adapt to the needs of cooperation in partnerships; - Meet the expectations of all partners; - Protect one another's interests; |



on the one hand, and complexities and uncertainties about the future on the other hand. Trust reduces the analytical complexity of situations as it functions as a substitute for information, and reduces uncertainty by substituting for assurances. First, it is chiefly calculus-based trust, grounded on an assessment of the other's ability and integrity, that substitutes for information and because of that it reduces complexity. For instance, when two parties share a same goal in a planning process regarding zoning elements for the development of an area, these similarities constitute calculus-based trust. These similarities in goals ensure that these parties know that they get positive benefits when they act in each other's interest. Therefore, party A will trust the other party B, because party A knows that party B will get positive benefits when acting in A's interest. In this situation the same goes for the opposite (party B trusts party A as well based on rational calculation). The effect of this calculus-based trust is that these two parties do not need more specific information about each other, which reduces the analytical complexity in particular situations. If calculus-based trust occurs between more other parties, then the perceived complexity will be further reduced. Second, it is chiefly identification-based trust, grounded on an assessment of the other's benevolence, that substitutes for assurances and because of that it reduces uncertainty. For instance, when parties collaborate in a planning process over a longer period of time, they will gather evidence about the other parties' benevolence, which enables them to identify the norms and motives of these parties. By identifying the willingness of another party to cooperate, their norms of commitment and obligation, and especially the possibility whether someone behaves opportunistically or not, constitutes identification-based trust (even if they hold different goals). The identifiable knowledge or evidence about the norms and values of party A, creates confident positive expectations kept by party B that party A's actions will not harm or exploit party B. The effect of this identification-based trust is that party B does not need more assurances regarding party A's behaviour, which reduces his perception of uncertainty. If identification-based trust occurs between more other parties, then the perceived uncertainty will be further reduced. Besides, identification-based trust also ensures that people act more open and honest to

each other and that they are more willingly to make concessions.

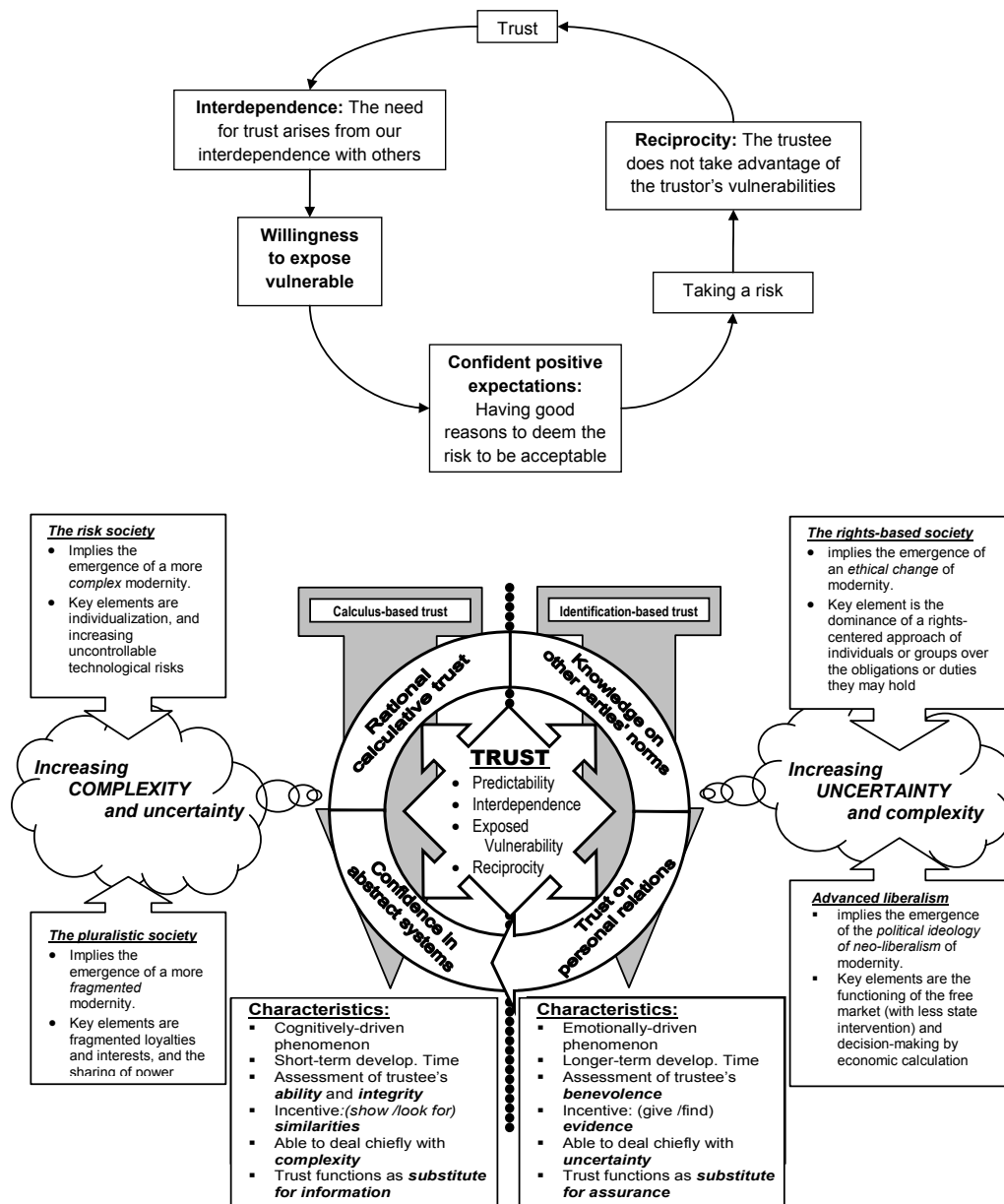
Trust thus allows for specific expectations about other participants' future behaviour, which reduces the perception of complexity and uncertainty. Hence, the mechanism of trust orientates the expectations and (re-)actions of participants towards specific patterns of behaviour. The orientation of expectations can be an important task for the planner in having a facilitating or mediating role in a collaborative process, because "when participants trust each other (even if they hold different values or goals) and trust the fairness of the process, they are more likely to communicate actively, listen empathically, and work toward consensual solutions" (Laurian, 2009, p. 382).

5.1.4 How can the insights of the mechanism of trust be used and applied in collaborative planning practices in order to anticipate in relationships and to foster cooperation?

Although trust is considered in this study as having only four different bases, each ground for the formation of expectations regarding someone's trustworthiness depends on many factors shaped by the trustor's character (propensity) and the context. 'The frequency of interactions' (repeated communicative actions), 'cooperation' and 'trust' are three concepts that are mutually reinforcing. Frequent interactions are necessary to cooperate, which incites the development of trust. But initial trust is also required to engage in repeated communicative actions, which consequently promotes cooperation. The mechanism of trust, illustrated by the conceptual model, provides insights in the (social) function of trust and displays how trust is able to develop, changes in character and becomes more resilient. Trust works as a positive feedback loop when positive expectations are being formed and becoming fulfilled. Understanding the mechanism of trust, i.e. its function, emergence and maintenance of trust among citizens, stakeholders and public agencies, is therefore significant for planners, especially for planners who are managing collaborative processes. Adjacent to that, it is also important to understand how the mechanism of

distrust works and that this mechanism coexists as a distinct construct in complex processes. Planners must realize that while they are interacting with either citizens or stakeholders, the mechanisms of trust and distrust are operating simultaneously in the background by an execution of the act of trusting (positive feedback-loop) and the act of distrusting (negative feedback-loop). It depends on the input participants get that determines which mechanism becomes dominant and thus what kind of expectations will be formed.

The main effort of this study is not to describe the exact preconditions, features or design of a planning process. Some practical conditions and actions that might catalyze the existence of trust in a process have already been described in table 5.1, but it must be noticed that they are always context-dependent. Much depends on the type of the planning process, because the role of trust must be considered differently in for instance representative top-down decision-making processes than in collaborative or deliberative processes. The type of the process asks for a specific management role of the planner in dealing with risk, trust and power. Especially when a process is organized as a collaborative process, according to the design principles of communicative rationality (Habermas), the more important is the role of trust. The mechanism of trust does not contribute to these processes by telling how these processes should exactly be designed, but it does through the reflection of the insights of this mechanism in the light of the existing characteristics of the process. By exploring the uncertainties and complexities that are at play in a particular collaborative process, and the way participants in that process are dealing with these uncertainties, one can reflect on the appropriate design of that particular planning process and the methods, instruments or practical actions that can be best applied. Though, some nuances must be made. A recognition of the amounts of complexity and uncertainty that participants experience in a particular process in relation to the existing types of trust is only possible when a planner himself does participate in that process. Such qualitative information can only be derived through direct contact with the participants and by mixing yourself among these people. If planners merely act



as facilitators from a distance in such processes, it is hard to be well informed about any inconsistencies (e.g. a lack of a deliberative atmosphere, high perceptions of uncertainties or the presence of distrust). The applicability of the mechanism of trust is thus particularly relevant when the planner operates as a mediator and attempts to get to know the other people. In these situations, a planner can influence the development of trust in order to reduce uncertainty, promote cooperation and reach consensus more efficiently. There are, however, several meetings needed to come to this insight of proportions. This poses immediately a problem, because of the existence of performance management in a lot of planning practices, there is often not enough time or money available for multiple meetings. After one or two meetings with the involved participants it is not possible yet to have gained the necessary insights into the trusting relationships between people. It takes approximately 5-20 meetings to realize a transformation to thicker types of trust on the condition that participants are willing to act reliable and predictable. It becomes difficult when the group of people involved is too large (more than 10 people), but splitting up the group (with varying compositions) could be a solution then. Besides, it can also be problematic when a project concerns professional stakeholders or representatives who are obliged to act as rational as possible or who are not allowed to make any concessions from their organizations or superiors. Therefore, opportunities for the application of the insights of this mechanism in the planning practice, and thus a focus on the presence and development of trust, is mainly relevant for collaborative planning and less for regular planning practices.

5.2 Recommendations

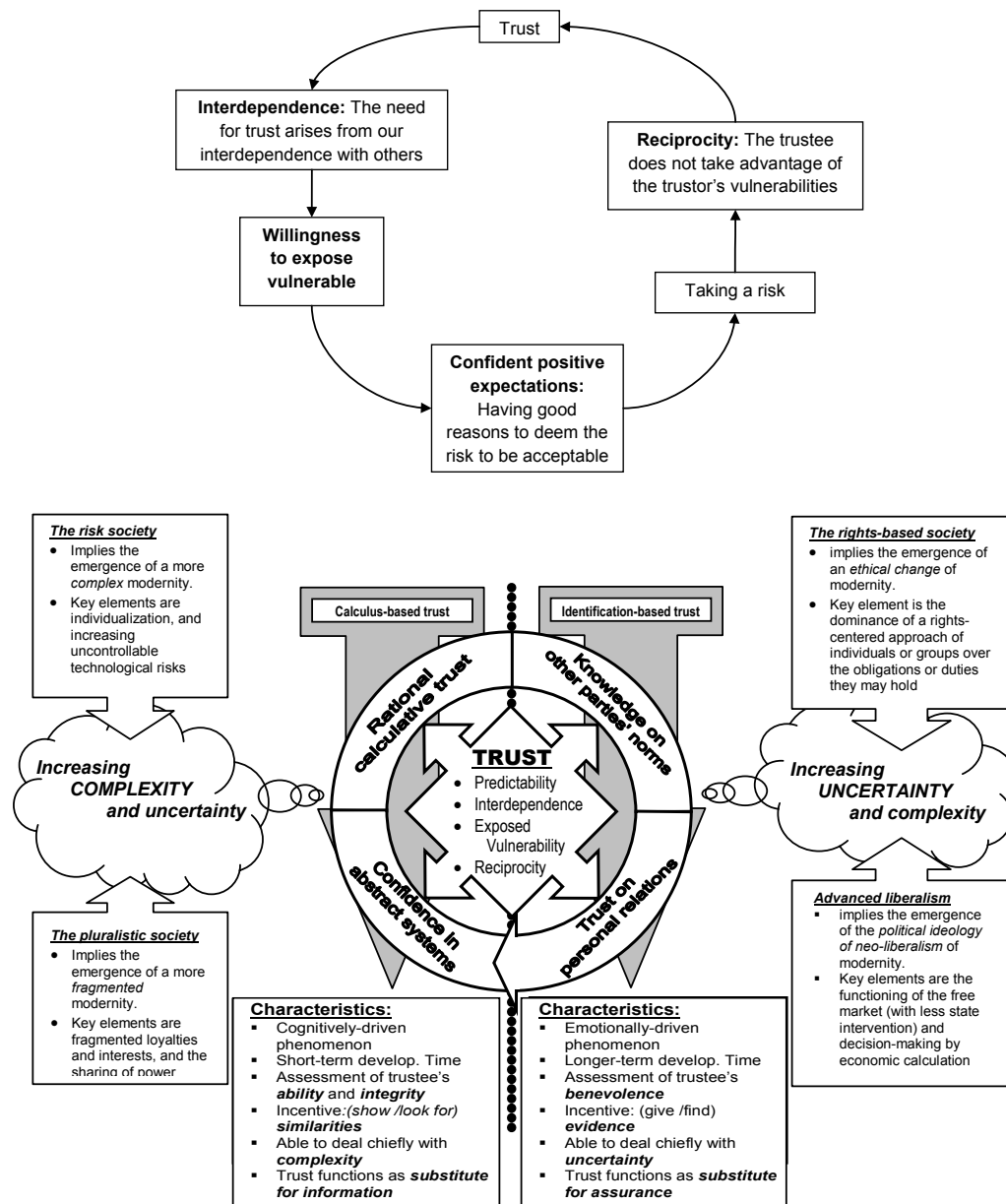
The knowledge and insights about the operation of the mechanism of trust contributes to basic research in the social sciences. This understanding can be used to give recommendations for collaborative planning and for planners working as facilitators or mediators. It is argued that the application of the mechanism of trust in planning practice should rather be considered as an assessment methodology, instead of a practical instrument. Planners should be aware that they encounter trust in their everyday work whether in being trustworthy to citizens while advocating the public interest, or by aiming at consensus in (collaborative) planning processes.

5.2.1 Recommendations for collaborative planning

Collaborative planning comprises a type of planning process that includes direct democracy in decision-making. It is therefore important that actors participate actively by discussing their intentions, motives and goals. The personal reasoning behind their interests should be made explicit in order to enable them to understand each other's thinking. Collaborative planning processes should be arranged in a way that there is enough space available for discussion. This means frequent face-to-face contacts led by the planner. When there are many participants, then the group should be split into several smaller groups with changing compositions. The planner has a mediating or facilitating role in these processes which can be significant for the eventual success. The planner should clearly indicate the framework within which spatial developments are allowed, and must ensure that everyone gets the opportunity to have a say. In addition, the planner should try to achieve the conditions for consensus building that are formulated by Judith Innes (1995, 2004). It is debatable, however, whether all the conditions can be met due to large amounts of complexity and uncertainty in planning practice. In order to reduce these large amounts of complexity and uncertainty, participants make use of coordination mechanisms as

a support for certainty. These mechanisms are able to influence the selection of actions in the face of other possibilities. Trust is considered in having a significant function by influencing the selection of expectations and actions in these collaborative processes. Trust is namely able to merge expectations, and supports cooperation as a result. Furthermore, cooperation is the means in a collaborative planning process to reach consensus in the end. Another coordination mechanism, distrust, is also able to influence the selection of expectations and actions in the face of other possibilities, but is less appropriate, because it results in competition. It is thus important that within these collaborative planning processes trust becomes the dominant mechanism. Some small amount of distrust is always healthy though, because it protects against the risk of exploitation through control. The balance between trust and distrust determines eventually the social reality in which the participants are acting, and how long the process will take. It is therefore important to be aware of the presence of these mechanisms, and especially the mechanism of trust, as high or thick trust is desirable.

The trust mechanism should rather be seen as a competence or skill, instead of a strategic instrument. Information regarding the existence and perception of either trust or distrust can only be perceived directly from the experiences of the involved participants. By means of face-to-face contacts, which do occur when planners are mediating in processes with repeated interactions, a planner can assess the development of trust by using the insights of the model, and is subsequently able to anticipate, for instance by providing extra information, making additional (personal) appointments, explaining legal requirements or institutional arrangements, organizing extra group meetings etc. The required information to assess the presence of trust and distrust can be gathered through personal conversations with the participants, in a similar way done as in the case study through detecting principles of trust and distrust. When planners learn from the research on trust and understand how the mechanism of trust works, they will be able to "provide practical guidance for best planning practices, to detect trust and distrust, to foster and maintain trust, and



to manage or respond to distrust effectively and ethically” (Laurian, 2009, p. 386).

Collaborative planning processes should be arranged in order to develop trust, even when interests are conflicting, because it provides insights into each other’s positions, which results in predictability and a reduction of uncertainty as a consequence. Though, one must be aware that trust always contains the risk of opportunistic behaviour. Therefore, it is advisable to organize frequent interactions with the participants that allows small-step risk taking to take place. By taking these small risks, participants gain knowledge about each other’s norms and values through the assessment of the other’s benevolence. Based on the outcomes of the conducted case study, it can be argued that it could be more efficient (cheaper and faster) to focus on the development of trust among the participants in a collaborative process rather than managing the process on a traditional or more passive way. This is particularly true when the participants have also access to power resources.

5.2.2 Recommendations for planners

Because trust is in essence relational and context-dependent, recommendations about trust especially address the specific role and skills of professional planners acting within collaborative planning processes. The results of this case study have shown that there are citizens who have little confidence in the planning system. Other scholars (e.g. Swain and Tait, 2007) mention a trust deficit, which indicates the same lack of confidence in the planning system. It is principally a failure of planning institutions (chiefly the government) to provide the foundations of trust, with the result that planners need to pay extra attention in being trustworthy, and that they must be alert in gathering substantive knowledge. “Paying constant attention to trust and distrust between all relevant actors and institutions is thus necessary a task that requires deep local knowledge, self-reflection, humility and acute interpersonal and communication skills” (Laurian, 2009, p. 385). This substantive knowledge is thus important in order to know the terms and to be perceived as trustworthy. Next

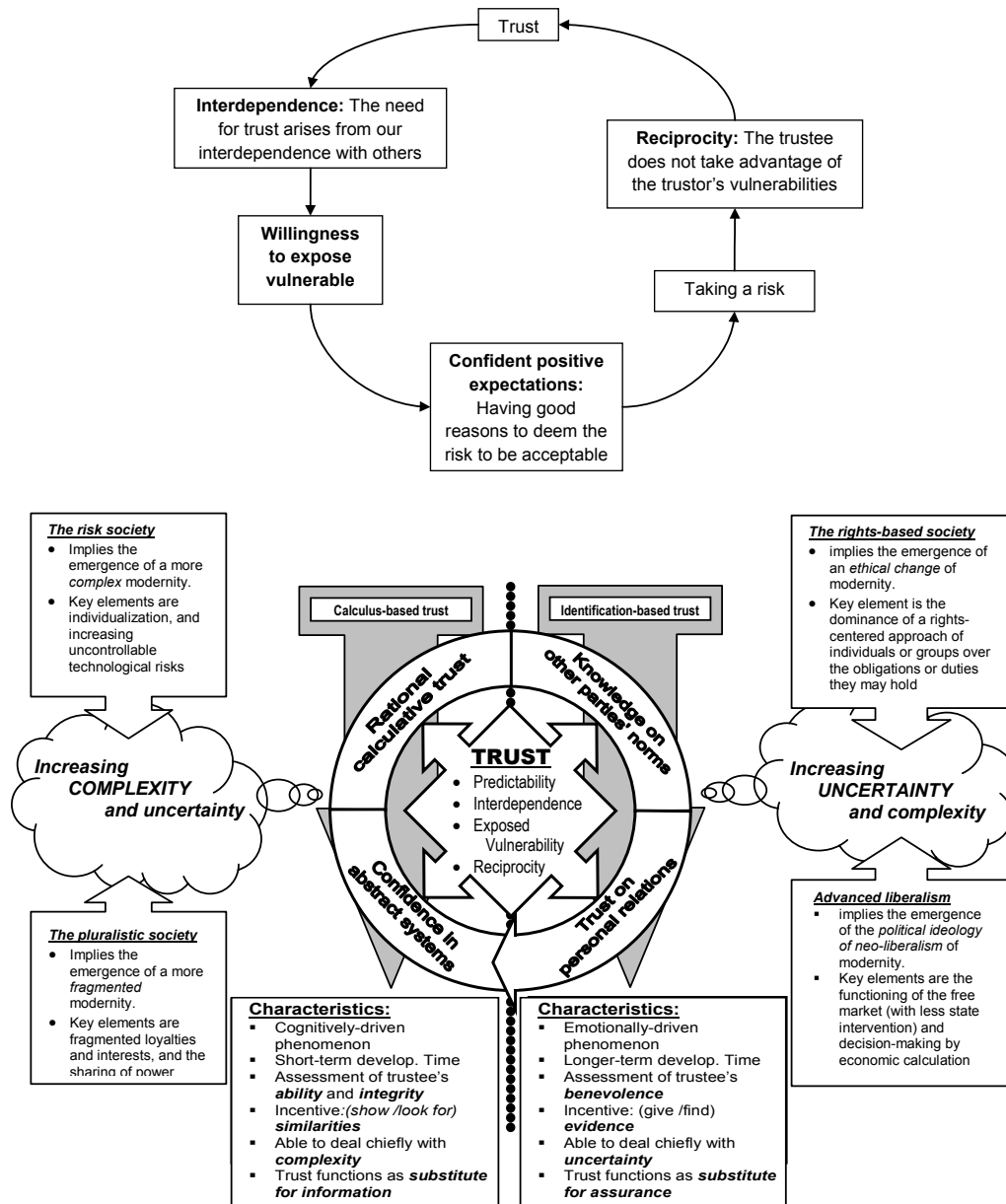
to the point that planners should be reliable and trustworthy, they should also have knowledge about the mechanism of trust, such as where trust is based on and how it develops. With these insights, planners can have influence on general trust in the planning process by orienting and merging the expectations of participants towards consensus. In that sense, planners in these collaborative processes should rather act as mediators than as facilitators. Compared with a facilitator who has no stake and helps people by exposing ideas from a neutral point of view, a mediator does take a stake in finding solutions to create consensus. Mediators make things explicit and create a position where parties can agree with each other. Even when planners seem to act as facilitators, they always have some kind of stake depending on their employer. Whether they are advocating municipal requirements or planning laws, or building consensus during collaborative processes, all actions withhold stakes. Therefore, planners who are frequently managing those complex processes should focus on the above-mentioned aspects regarding the functioning and influence of the mechanism of trust, and particularly on the practical actions and skills for their role as mediator.

Especially when a (local) project includes independent individuals or citizens, a focus on trust development in a collaborative planning process could be an answer for dealing with complexity and uncertainty, and in doing so the process can probably proceed more efficiently (faster and cheaper). A precondition for this is that a planner (in the role of mediator) is involved and visually present during the process, and tries to create awareness of the various specific experiences and interpretations that the participants have about reality. When a planner is put in touch with such a (local) project where several people are involved and ought to cooperate, it is advisable to design and structure the process concerning the planning of several joint meetings. It is, however, the context of a process that determines the most appropriate approach, for example how open and transparent the process should be designed. The planner is thus only able to understand the development of trust in these processes when he determines and actually understands the context. As a consequence is

the planner, as being a representative of the planning system, able to anticipate in the formation of expectations of the participants. In order to ensure that planning remains trustworthy and legitimate, a planner should behave reliable and predictable in order to promote confidence in the planning system and planning institutions. With the planner as a representative of the planning system, participants can offer the planner trust to facilitate the process thoroughly and competently, which enables him to influence the orientation of expectations of the participants, build trust and foster cooperation.

5.2.3 Recommendations for further research

In order to reduce complexity and uncertainty, participants make use of coordination mechanisms as a support for certainty. These mechanisms are able to influence the selection of actions in the face of other possibilities. Some mechanisms are consciously applied, while others play more a role in the background or are unconsciously applied. In this thesis particularly the mechanism of trust has been studied and its characteristics as well as consequences have been explored. Besides trust, there are more coordination mechanisms present. Strategic choice, for instance, is a mechanism that can be consciously applied but has its shortcomings in quantifying the extend of potential gains and losses, and it is questionable whether the actors, in the case of citizens, involved are in a position to assess the consequences of their decisions. The strategic choice approach does, however, contribute largely to the development of calculus-based trust. Power is another mechanism, but is often very undesirable in a cooperative process which aims for the sharing of power. Power is able to coordinate expectations by introducing incentive structures (benefits) or regulative structures (sanctions). The use of power is in essence an application of the mechanism of distrust, because by introducing incentives or regulations you are actually expecting that people will normally not execute their actions according to the patterns of these structures, which are negative expectations. On the other hand, it has been argued, while these control mechanisms are in essence based



on negative (distrusting) expectations, they are as a result supporting for positive (trust) expectations. It would be interesting to study this relation between trust and distrust further, as well as the functioning and consequences of other mechanisms that are able to reduce complexity and uncertainty by influencing the selection of expectations.

Another topic for further research is to explore the opportunities for trust building in collaborative planning processes on the one hand, while planners and actors are dealing with performance management on the other hand. There is often not enough money or time available to organize several meetings with all the participants. It would be interesting to study this relationship and conduct a comparative case study to inquire whether a specific focus on trust building makes collaborative processes indeed more efficient. Moreover, the role of the planner as mediator should be further explored. Is it a necessity that a planner operates as a mediator in collaborative processes or can these meetings be organized by the participants themselves in order to save costs? Thus, what are the opportunities for participants to organize these meetings by themselves and how can this be done?

5.2.4 Recommendations for planning education

Considering my own recent experiences with planning education, I recommend that planning education should focus more on the specific skills and competences regarding the role of planners as being facilitators and mediators. It is advisable to include for example more management-oriented courses and practical communication lessons in the education programme. Moreover, I would recommend students to first accomplish their internship before starting at their thesis, as the internship provides the practical insights which make it possible to better assemble planning theory with planning practice.

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Annex A

The act of distrusting

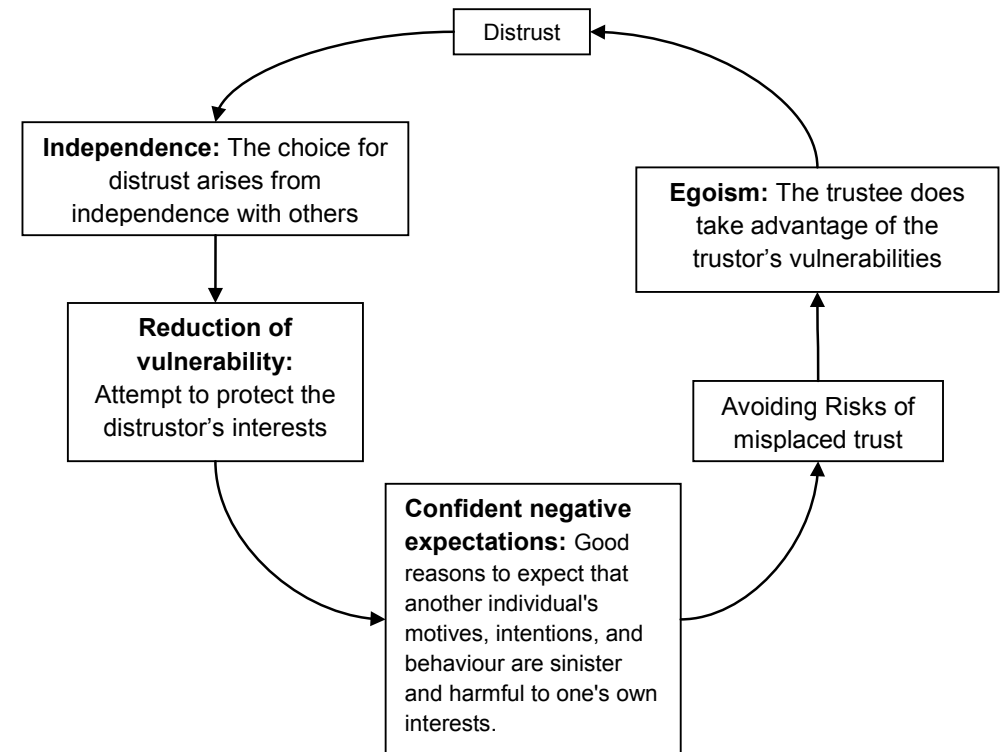


Figure A.1: Cyclical distrust loop

Annex B

Interview questions (in Dutch)

Algemene vragen

1. Vanaf wanneer bent u, als grondeigenaar, betrokken geraakt bij het project 'Maurik Dijkzone'?
2. Hoe bent u bij het project betrokken geraakt? Heeft u zelf het initiatief genomen om op uw grond een ontwikkeling op gang te brengen of bent u door iemand benaderd?
3. Waarom heeft u besloten om aan dit project mee te doen? Wat is uw doel met dit project? Hoeveel woningen wilt u gaan realiseren?

Onderzoeksvragen

4. Wat vindt u van de bijdrage van de gemeente Buren aan dit project? Welke acties heeft de gemeente ondernomen en wat is uw waardering daarvan?
5. Wist u bij aanvang van het project precies wat u te wachten stond qua planningsprocedure (werkwijze en tijdsplanning)? Waarom wel of waarom niet?
6. Indien u niet precies wist wat u te wachten stond, hoe bent u dan achter de nodige informatie gekomen (van wie)? En bent u voor uw gevoel nu wel goed op de hoogte van de procedure voor dit project? Weet u nu dus goed wat u kunt verwachten?
7. Hoe vaak heeft u sinds de aanvang van het project met alle betrokkenen overleg gehad? Is dat naar uw mening vaak genoeg? Waarom wel of waarom niet? En werd dit overleg geïnitieerd door de gemeente, Buro SRO of door één van de grondeigenaren?

8. Wat is uw mening over de door de gemeente voorgestelde werkwijze en de te doorlopen stappen? (initiatiefase – definitiefase – ontwerpfasen – voorbereidingsfase – uitvoeringsfase – beheersfase)
Ziet u het nut en de noodzaak in van alle te doorlopen stappen? Kunt u toelichten waarom wel of niet?
9. Wat vindt u van de (wettelijke) eisen die worden gesteld bij het ontwikkelen van een gebied, zoals het opstellen van een inrichtingsplan voor de openbare ruimte en onderzoeken t.b.v. het bestemmingsplan (watertoets, bodem, archeologie, natuur, geluid, lucht, EV, enz)? Ziet u het nut en de noodzaak in van deze wettelijke eisen en onderzoeken? Kunt u toelichten waarom wel of niet?
10. Bent u op de hoogte van de kostenstructuur van dit project? Zo ja, wat is uw mening over de verdeling van de kosten? En bent u het eens dat de plankosten, zoals kosten t.b.v. de verschillende onderzoeken en begeleiding door de gemeente, door de gezamenlijke eigenaren betaald dienen te worden?
11. Zorgen 'contracten' (zoals een intentieovereenkomst of beslisdokument) ervoor dat u meer vertrouwen krijgt in de realisatie van het project? Heb ben deze 'contracten' volgens u ook een uitwerking op het vertrouwen tussen u en de andere partijen? Kunt u uitleggen waarom?
12. Weet u wat de intenties en plannen van de andere betrokkenen binnen het project zijn? Staat u ook achter deze plannen? In hoeverre heeft u uw eigen ontwikkelingsplan hierop afgestemd?
13. Kent u de andere grondeigenaren goed? Zo ja, kende u hen ook al voor aanvang van het project? (wie wel en wie niet?)
14. Ziet of spreekt u de andere grondeigenaren ook buiten de officiële project bijeenkomsten? Met hoeveel grondeigenaren heeft u een goede band? En wat zijn de redenen dat u met de één een betere band heeft dan met de ander?

15. Is de vriendschappelijke band met de andere grondeigenaren verstevigd door de samenwerking gedurende dit project? Zo ja, kunt u hier een voorbeeld van geven?
16. Zijn er ook grondeigenaren met wie u niet goed door één deur kan? Zo ja, waar komt dit door?
17. Weet u wie de projectleiders/contactpersonen voor dit project vanuit de Gemeente Buren zijn? Zo ja, wie zijn dat en spreekt u hen ook buiten dit project om?
18. Buro SRO is als stedenbouwkundig adviesbureau bij dit project betrokken. Heeft u vertrouwen in Buro SRO in het opstellen van het plan? En heeft u daarbij het gevoel dat Buro SRO uw wensen en eisen serieus neemt en die op een juiste manier vertaalt in de plannen?
19. Beschouwt u dit ontwikkelingsproject als een gezamenlijk project of ziet u de samenwerking als een noodzaak om uw eigen plan te kunnen realiseren? Kunt u uitleggen wat de voor- en nadelen zijn van het gezamenlijk tot uitvoering brengen van de verschillende initiatieven?
20. Is er voor uw gevoel genoeg ruimte geweest voor discussie ten aanzien van het op te stellen plan? Hoe is er met meningsverschillen omgegaan? En heeft u het gevoel dat uw inbreng serieus is genomen en adequaat is verwerkt?
21. Heeft u het gevoel dat de intentie, betrokkenheid en slagvaardigheid van de andere grondeigenaren bij dit project goed is? Wat is volgens u goed en wat kan beter? Waar blijkt dit uit?
22. Vindt u het een risico dat er met dit project relatief veel particulieren (meer dan 10 grondeigenaren) betrokken zijn? Voelt u zichzelf hierdoor kwetsbaarder of juist gesterkt? Kunt u uitleggen waarom?
23. Denkt u dat de betrokkenheid van meerdere particulieren een uitwerking op de (tijds)planning van het project heeft (of heeft gehad)? Kunt u dit toelichten?

24. Heeft u weleens overwogen om niet deel te nemen aan dit project of om ermee te stoppen? Waarom wel of niet? Zo ja, wat waren dan uw beweegredenen om te stoppen of toch door te gaan?
25. Zijn er tot op dit moment nog vragen aan uw zijde onbeantwoord gebleven? Zo ja, welke zijn dat en waarom zijn deze vragen onbeantwoord gebleven? En hoe gaat u om met onzekerheden over vragen die niet zijn beantwoord?
26. Ziet of ervaart u nog risico's ten aanzien van het verdere verloop van dit samenwerkingsproces of ten aanzien van uw eigen ontwikkelingsplan hierin? Zo ja, welke zijn dat en waarom ervaart u dit als een risico?
27. Heeft u er vertrouwen in dat de ontwikkeling en realisatie van uw eigen initiatief naar verwachting (binnen de geschatte kosten en volgens de gemaakte tijdsplanning) zal verlopen? Kunt u toelichten waarom?

