

Understanding trust

Longitudinal studies on trust dynamics in
governance interactions

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Thesis

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*“Life is what happens to you,
while you’re busy making other plans”*
J. Lennon

“Two worlds, one family”
P. Collins

Voor onze Anouk, die we nog zo graag bij ons hadden gehad.

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Prologue

During the autumn of 2008, I travelled to the United Kingdom to carry out my MSc thesis research on public support for European Nature policies. A week later, on a windy afternoon, I took the ferry from Dover to Calais. Crossing the Channel, I stood on the upper deck with my supervisor discussing our findings so far. It was here where I realised that, despite my well-prepared interview questions, public support was not mentioned by the respondents. Instead, the constantly recurring factor in the interviews was trust. In all interviews, different aspects of trust were mentioned; trust between the government and citizens, trust between organisations and individuals, trust developing or declining over time as a result of various actions and discussions, and so on. Even though I did not know whether trust had already been studied widely in spatial planning, it was somewhere between the UK and France that I decided to stop studying public support and start focusing on trust.



1

Introduction



1.1 Introduction

Trust is generally perceived as an important concept. In a range of fields and contexts, various characteristics are attributed to trust. Trust is seen as an important coordination mechanism in decision-making processes (Bachmann, 2001). Trust facilitates and eases inter-organisational interactions (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). Trust influences the outcome of cooperation processes positively (Zaheer, McEvily, & Perrone, 1998), and trust is seen as a way to deal with uncertainties (O'Brien, 2001). In governance processes, trust is seen as a means to control interactions between actors and to reduce complexity (Sydow, 1998; Zaheer & Venkatraman, 1995; Lewicki & Bunker, 2012). The complexity of governance processes partly relates to the involvement of a wide range of interdependent actors. In the past decades the number of actors involved in governance processes has increased as the result of a shift from hierarchical and formal ways of working to more network forms of cooperation and interactive approaches (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Examples can be found in, for instance, participatory approaches and stakeholder platforms.

One of the fields struggling with changing ways of governing is spatial planning. Planners working on spatial organisation nowadays recognise local residents, interest groups, and other stakeholders as vital partners in planning processes. These stakeholders often hold strongly diverging perspectives on the issues at stake, the future, their own role, and the role of the other group or groups (James, 2000). Consequently, a multitude of interactions can be found between different actors, using different strategies to achieve their goals. In this context, coordination of policies and practices affecting spatial organisation becomes more complex, unpredictable, and uncertain (Van Assche & Verschraegen, 2008; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2004). Following these developments, a wide range of new collaborative, interactive, and participative planning approaches have been introduced (Van Woerkum, Aarts en Van Herzele, 2011; Höppner, Frick & Buchecker, 2007; Healey, 1997). In these approaches, trust is identified as an important concept to deal with the growing uncertainty and complexity in spatial planning (Innes, 2004; Albrechts, 2005; Healey, 1999).

Despite these attributed benefits of trust and the frequent claims of its importance in spatial planning and in governance in general, surprisingly little is known about the role of trust in governance contexts. Current studies on trust in governance processes focus on monitoring the amount of trust (Glaeser et al., 2000) or on trust as a constant variable in relation to other concepts like uncertainty or expectations (Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003; Rousseau et al., 1998; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). These scholars reveal, for instance, the importance of expectation management for building trust. However, these perspectives do not take into account the dynamics that come with governance interactions. There are few empirical studies focusing on trust dynamics, and there is limited knowledge about how trust emerges and develops in governance processes. This thesis addresses this gap by studying various empirical cases. Following Lewicki (see amongst others Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; Idrissou et al., 2011), it takes a dynamic perspective on trust. Such a perspective helps to elucidate the emergence and development of trust as it takes into account the dynamics that characterise governance processes. In this thesis, I particularly focus on the field of spatial planning.

This thesis aims to understand trust in governance processes in general and spatial planning in particular by focusing on how trust emerges and develops in various empirical contexts. The focus is on the meaning of trust in interactions that take place in these processes, and how trust in these interactions eventually influences the development and implementation of policies (Ford, 1999). Based on this aim, the research question is as follows:

How does trust emerge and develop in governance interactions for spatial planning?

1.2 Conceptual orientation

Trust dynamics

In this thesis, I hold a dynamic perspective on trust (see amongst others Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; Idrissou et al., 2011; Van Oortmerssen, 2013). Perceiving trust as a dynamic concept entails viewing trust as constantly constructed in interaction. Two dimensions and various related concepts can be distinguished. The first dimension is trust as an expectation about future developments based on the present-day understanding we have of the past and current situation (Eshuis, 2006; Luhmann, 1979; O'Brien, 2001). This perspective results in, amongst other things, experiences of uncertainties, vulnerability, and risks (Das & Teng, 1998; O'Brien, 2001). Such experiences influence trust-related expectations and therefore trust increases or declines. The second dimension of trust is the context (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman., 1995; Kadehors, 2004). Trust develops in relation to a specific social context. This context is interpreted by various people in various possible ways. On the basis of these interpretations, people give meaning to the context and respond to it. This may lead to experiences of risk, uncertainty, or vulnerability, influencing trust-related expectations and therefore trust dynamics.

Through these two dimensions, trust reveals itself as a concept constantly dealt with in interactions under the influence of perspectives on the past, present, and future (for a more comprehensive description see chapter 3).

Spatial planning

Spatial planning can broadly be characterised as the coordination of policies and practices affecting spatial organisation. Spatial planning has long been characterised by traditional ideas of centralist planning and societal steering (Van Assche & Verschraegen, 2008). However, in recent decades, planning has become more open to ideas about indirect steering and the various perspectives involved in planning contexts (Van Woerkum, Aarts, & Van Herzele, 2011; van Assche & Verschraegen, 2008). Like other fields of governance, spatial planning therefore includes various interdependent public and private actors, ranging from individuals and groups to organisations and governments (Watson, 2002). These actors have some kind of steering ambition, but also face steering problems in collectively working towards a common objective (Van Assche & Verschraegen, 2008). Consequently, spatial planning processes are characterised by a multitude of interactions between different groups and their members. In these interactions, groups and individuals use a combination of different strategies and planning instruments to achieve their goals (see amongst others Albrechts, 2005). These policy instruments include, amongst other things, policy documents, spatial plans, or contracts. To

support or discuss the strategies, to organise interactions, and to manage relations, feelings, thoughts, and ideas are expressed in these interactions – aspects that all influence the course of the planning process.

From my conceptualisation, four important elements in spatial planning processes emerge: 1) spatial planning projects are characterised by a series of interactions; 2) various policy instruments are used to govern the interactions; 3) these interactions take place between various groups and their members; 4) in these interactions, thoughts and ideas are expressed that influence the interactions.

Studying trust should thus include focusing on its dynamics in relation to the four important aspects of spatial planning and governance. Based upon these perspectives on trust and planning, the sub-questions are as follows:

- *How do trust dynamics develop in governance interactions?*
- *How do trust dynamics influence the use of planning instruments and vice versa?*
- *How do trust dynamics influence intergroup relations?*
- *How do expressions of trust and distrust influence trust dynamics?*

1.3 Research design

This study focuses on trust dynamics in empirical governance interactions. In this section, I discuss how I operationalised trust for research, my perspective on analysing and interpreting interactions, and how I selected and approached the empirical cases.

Operationalising trust

Trust is generally perceived as an elusive and multi-layered concept. Moreover, people have various understandings of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998; Newton & Zmerli, 2011), thus making trust hard to study empirically (Möllerling, 2001), where trust is not visible and direct questions about trust will hardly give insight into the working of trust. In operationalising my conceptualisation of trust dynamics for research, I therefore approach trust through related concepts like uncertainties, risks, expectations, and vulnerability. In contrast to trust, these concepts are much easier to discuss and operationalise for gathering empirical data. Constantly linking these concepts to trust by focusing on how these concepts influence trust dynamics over time enables me to gain insight into the underlying mechanisms. Second, I study trust empirically in various contexts in order to focus on trust dynamics in relation to the context. Comparing these findings, I focus on mechanisms common to the various contexts and reflect more critically on the various layers of trust.

Interpretative analysis

Trust dynamics are studied in this thesis through an interpretative policy analysis lens. Interpretative research is not the only type of research based on interpretation, as in all sciences data are interpreted. However, interpretative policy analysis focuses on the centrality of meaning-making in human life (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012) and presupposes that we live in a world in which realities are constructed in interaction and events and developments are

possibly multiply understood (Yanow, 2000). From an interpretative perspective, there are no 'brute data whose meaning is beyond dispute' (Yanow, 2000, p.5). An interpretative approach therefore takes into account the various interpretations, ways of seeing, and ways of doing based on prior experiences (Yanow, 2000). Moreover, it focuses on how these interpretations lead to ways of doing and how these ways of doing influence interpretations (Crotty, 1998). Interpretative approaches make use of various concepts in focusing on understanding phenomena, events, or conflicts. In doing so, they focus on identifying meanings that people assign to events and how these lead to actions. Consequently, by focusing on trust dynamics, this study contributes to studies that focus on how governance interactions influence choices made, and vice versa.

It is not only research participants that give meaning through interpretation. Researchers make interpretations as well, interpreting their data from behind their desk or in interaction with interviewees (Giddens, 1984). Yanow (2006) distinguishes at least three levels of interpretation. The first level is the interpretation of the respondents or interviewees, who bring in their interpretations built upon a series of events and interactions. The second level is the interpretation of the researcher, influenced by his/her social and scientific background. The third is the level of the reader, influenced also by his/her background or the context in which a study is read and interpreted. This chain can be extended when results are shared, discussed, re-told, and used in further research. Being aware of this triple hermeneutic, I used various perspectives (as discussed in the second next subsection) in order to verify my findings several times. Moreover, I worked through my data together with other researchers to subject it to various interpretations (see also section 1.4).

In interpretative approaches, the research's path develops in interactions between data gathered and questions posed (Neuman, 2003; Van Bommel, 2008). Interpretative studies take place in a circular, iterative way (Yanow, 2005). Research often starts with a surprise or an interest in studying an object, event, or process in depth. In interaction with the data and the literature, new questions arise and are posed, triggering the researcher to both theoretically and empirically continue and further explore questions in the process of understanding. This has consequences for the cases selected and the questions posed. It was decided to use empirical cases to generate context-dependent and in-depth understanding of social phenomena (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2006). As a result of a first surprise and the ability to learn (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), the cases were further explored in a constant iterative process with the literature, focusing on their usefulness for understanding trust dynamics. Therefore, what is regarded as case and what as context developed in interaction between the data and the researcher.

Case selection

Within this thesis, several cases have been studied to better understand trust dynamics in governance interactions. In every chapter, the case study selection is discussed, specific to that case and the research question. Here, I present several overarching criteria for selecting the cases.

The case selection for this thesis was based upon four criteria. First, the cases were selected as

cases from the field of spatial planning. Every case selected allowed me to focus on an issue, project, or process in this field. Second, the cases were selected because they all included an issue at stake between the actors involved. These issues related strongly to the topic of this thesis and allowed me to study the research question posed. Third, the cases were selected because they allowed me access to data, interviewees, and documents. Thus, the cases allowed me to reconstruct interactions over time. Fourth, the cases allowed me to look at the variety of places, contexts, events, and so forth within the local context to take into account the various perspectives on the topic (Swartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). In addition, the cases were selected on the basis of the differences between them, because, if the context in cases differs, it is possible to draw relevant conclusions from case comparisons – conclusions which are additional to the insights drawn from the individual cases studied.

Perspectives for approaching the cases

Taking a dynamic perspective on trust means studying trust over time. In addition, the introduction to trust dynamics showed that trust develops in relation to a specific trust context. In order to take these aspects into account, in the various empirical cases I follow Blok (1975) and I triangulate: 1) a historical perspective to focus on how things have come into being; 2) a contextual perspective to take into account how trust develops in relation to the context; and 3) a comparative perspective to learn from case comparisons. These perspectives are introduced successively.

Historical perspective. A historical perspective focuses on the question of how things have developed into what they are today. Quoting Geertz (1968), Blok writes: ‘*But of course what we are interested in is not the mere differences between the past and the present but the way in which the former grew into the latter, the social and cultural processes which connect them*’ (1978, p. 121). Applying a historical perspective helps to gain insight into the complex and confusing situations confronted in a new area, by focusing on a present-day situation that catches one’s attention and on how the situation emerged. Using this perspective, I aim to gain insight into how trust relations have come about, which processes, uses, and events played a role over time, how these are given meaning in relation to the local context, and how they build upon one another.

Contextual perspective. Blok (1975) states that the use of terms or concepts is not random, but bound to specific but not necessarily fixed contextual rules. How concepts relate to these rules or their context develops over time. The way this interrelation develops is circular, whereby the interpretation of the concept influences the perspective on the context, and vice versa (Elias & Scotson, 1994). With a focus on this interrelation, a contextual perspective helped to gain understanding about how trust is embedded in the social context and which underlying mechanisms and their interrelation play a role. It is important to note that what is regarded as context is determined by the interviewees in interaction with the researcher, and thus develops over the course of the study.

Comparative perspective. The comparative perspective helps to identify mechanisms that occur across the various unique cases. According to Blok (1975, p. 46), ‘*a precise and systematic comparison of an event or concept that is generally indicated by the same term sheds light on every individual case and contributes to a better insight into the structure and development of the cases together.*’ A comparative

perspective not only sheds light on the similarities in trust dynamics but also facilitates a more critical reflection on each specific case and the role of trust therein. In addition, as in the studies in this thesis, case comparisons give insight into the overlapping and cross-cutting issues and differences, sensitising the researcher to the interrelations between developments or concepts (Elias & Scotson, 1994).

1.4 The quality of interpretative research in this thesis

To ensure the quality of their research, interpretative researchers have to be explicit about how they conduct their research. In this context, traditional criteria for judging research such as reliability, objectivity, and validity are not very valuable (Yanow, 2006); it is more about credibility and truth (Shapin, 1999), whereby what is regarded as truth in one (scientific) context can be regarded as untruth in another (Yanow, 2005; Van Bommel, 2008). Truth can be described as *'what various people in various temporal and cultural settings have counted as natural knowledge – knowledge that corresponds, or coheres, or that is in some other way deemed the right stuff'* (Shapin, 1999, pp. 1–2). From a research perspective, what is regarded as truth can only be found by approximation, as explaining governance interactions is distinctively different from taking part in them (Shapin, 1999). For interpretative research to be credible, it has to conform to the accepted criteria of analyses. Therefore, I use Goudblom's (1983) four interrelated criteria – precision, systematics, range, and relevance – to account for the credibility and quality of my research.

Precision. Complex processes in society are not always clear and available to the researcher, and the meaning of research findings is not available a priori. In order to build trustworthiness, the researcher has to apply empirical precision in observing and analysing, and combine various sources to identify and verify crucial details (Goudsblom, 1983; Yanow, 2005). Through precision, it is possible to shed light on processes that can explain situations in other contexts as well (Goudblom, 1983). In order to be precise in my observations and analyses, I combine various data sources in my research, mainly in-depth interviews and document studies. All written data were documented, and all interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. These sets were saved for later checks and uses. The data were analysed through systematic labelling in iteration with existing literature. The labelled and categorised data were combined in a timeline to gain an overview of the process to which all the detailed information could be linked, whereby the detail of the material depended on the question posed and on my prior knowledge as researcher (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Interpretations based on these analyses were tested by discussing them with other researchers within and outside the university.

Systematics. Data found in research gain meaning through the terms and concepts to which they are linked (Goudsblom, 1983). Although a clear-cut distinction between terms and concepts is impossible, clarity is important. Therefore the terms and concepts used need to form a clear and solid frame. In such a frame, a certain theoretical systematic is important to clarify the linkages and relations between concepts, and to make analyses transparent (Goudsblom, 1983; Aarts, 1998). In this thesis, I use a dynamic perspective on trust as overall theoretical frame to study the empirical situations. Moreover, in every chapter, additional theories are

used to build the frame. During the analyses, the theoretical frame was used to interpret the data found. Here, the choice of theories used was strongly driven by the research questions. Eventually, it is for the reader to judge whether the theories used did provide valuable insights (Yanow, 2009).

Range. The development of humanity, and thus contemporary society, is typically characterised by the ongoing process of differentiation and specialisation. This holds for scientific disciplines as well, and thus also for spatial planning and governance. If these disciplines develop theories and arguments that only account for a minor field, the range of the research and its results come under pressure (Goudsblom, 1983). In order to ensure the range of my findings, I apply three strategies in this thesis. First, when I encountered findings in the cases, I did not limited myself to situations, processes, and events that could be clearly defined as planning- or governance-related aspects, but was open to all social and environmental processes that were regarded as important by me or the interviewees. Second, in developing theoretical frames for this thesis and the cases, I made use of insights from a wide range of scientific fields. Third, in this thesis and throughout the research process, I shared and discussed (preliminary) results and insights with scientists and practitioners from various fields.

Relevance. Closely related to the previous point is the broader relevance of this study. The relevance of social science is about the importance of the insights found for a better understanding of society, not only in order to make recommendations, but also to make it easier for people to deal with processes in society (Goudsblom, 1983). Relevance is a slippery concept and often used in a dualistic manner in which knowledge is either relevant or not. However, following Goudsblom, I would say that all knowledge is sooner or later relevant depending on the problems we face. These problems are interrelated, and result from the interdependence between people. By studying trust dynamics in contexts where interdependent people face various problems and issues relating to spatial planning and governance, I aim to contribute to this knowledge.

1.5 Outline of this thesis

This thesis is structured along the lines of the conceptual orientation and related research questions. In the following chapters, I present four studies that each focus on a specific aspect of governance processes in relation to trust. In the final chapter, the insights gleaned from each case are brought together. In **chapter 2**, I focus on how the organisation of governance interactions influences trust dynamics. I do this by presenting two cases from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom that show two distinct ways of organising governance interactions, resulting in diverging trust dynamics. In **chapter 3**, I present a theoretical exploration of the influence of the use of contracts on trust dynamics. This exploration is illustrated by three empirical cases from Dutch spatial planning, which show that the perspective on the contracts changes every time the contracts are used. **Chapter 4** deals with intergroup relations and trust dynamics in governance interactions. In this chapter, I present a case from South Africa in which two groups have been struggling over a conflict for more than 90 years. By analysing this case, I show how intergroup interactions were prepared and interpreted in in-group contexts and how this influenced trust dynamics. In **chapter 5**, I focus on the

influence of expressions of trust and distrust on trust dynamics. In this chapter, I discuss the Investment Fund for Rural Areas. Analysing this case, I show how expressions of distrust became dominant stories and negatively influenced the cooperation process. In my final chapter, **chapter 6**, I discuss several cross-cutting issues, answer the research question posed, and focus on the wider theoretical and practical implications of this thesis. This thesis ends with a summary in English and Dutch, acknowledgements, and my CV.

In contrast to this introduction and the synthesis chapter, chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 are written in the plural as they are based on research performed in collaboration with other authors. In this process, I took the lead and performed the greater share of the research and the writing. In addition, the chapters are written in such a way that they can also be read as individual papers. Consequently, there may be some overlap between chapters.





2

Organising the ordinary

The organisation of governance processes
and trust dynamics

Abstract:

Governments in different places and domains are developing participatory approaches in an attempt to increase the legitimacy and effectiveness of policies. One of the underlying assumptions is that these participatory approaches enhance trust between the stakeholders and therewith smoothen implementation of policies. This paper takes a dynamic perspective and analyses which factors influence the emergence and development of trust. It presents a framework for analysing the emergence and development of trust in relation to a specific governance approach. The study shows that trust dynamics are influenced by the frequency, mode, and character of interactions, the information shared therein, and related developments in other governance paths. In these processes, expectations might stabilize, trust might grow, but unexpected things might happen in the process and elsewhere that impact trust dynamics. This research thus underlines the importance of reflexive governance, acknowledging and addressing uncertainties and the space needed to deal with them.

Keywords: *United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Natura 2000, governance, trust, comparative study*

Based on:

De Vries, J.R., Beunen, R., Aarts, N. & Lokhorst, A.M. Organising the ordinary. The organisation of governance processes and trust dynamics.

2.1 Introduction

A wide range of governments is exploring more inclusive and participatory modes of governance in response to critiques about the effectiveness and legitimacy of public policies (see amongst others Hajer, 2003; Goetz, 2008; Van Woerkum, Aarts & Van Herzele, 2011; Pierre & Peters, 2000). These participatory ways of policy design and implementation focus on involving various stakeholders in less formalised, horizontal forms of cooperation, aiming to bring about collective binding decisions in relation to public services (North, 2005; Pierre and Peters, 2000; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). Related to the development and use of participatory approaches, trust has been widely mentioned as important (Van Woerkum, Aarts & Van Herzele, 2011; Healey et al., 1999; Vos & Van Tatenhove, 2011; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Jabareen & Carmon, 2010). Trust is for instance seen as a precondition for successful cooperation (Innes, 2004; Albrechts, 2005; Swain & Tait, 2007; Healey et al., 1999; Kumar & Paddison, 2000). Others mention trust as a concept that enhances the legitimacy and efficiency of governance processes (Rhodes, 2007). Moreover, it is argued that trust between actors smoothens cooperation and makes policy implementation easier (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; McAllister 1995). Despite the widely recognized importance of trust in governance, it remains unclear how trust between stakeholders emerges and develops in relation to a particular governance approaches. Most studies towards trust take a static perspective, while relations between stakeholders are likely to change over time and trust should therefore be studied as a dynamic concept. This article addresses this gap by developing a framework for understanding the interrelation between stakeholder interactions within a governance process and trust dynamics.

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In the next section we first present a dynamic perspective on trust. Then we explore how this perspective can be used to analyse the emergence and development of trust in relation to a specific governance approach using two empirical case studies. These case studies allows a more in-depth analyses of the way participatory approaches influence trust dynamics and how the organisation and development of participatory processes is influenced by trust. Such analysis is necessary, we argue, if we want to answer the question whether participatory approaches do indeed help to regain trust within governments and to assess if and how trust indeed smoothens the design and implementation of public policies as is often claimed. On a more practical level this knowledge can help to put forward recommendations about the possibilities to create trust.

2.2 Theoretical framework

A dynamic perspective on trust

Within the scientific literature on trust different perspectives have been developed and studied. In order to take into account developments over time and the dynamics that are an inevitable part of governance processes, we adopt a dynamic perspective on trust in this paper. In doing so, we largely follow Lewicki (see Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Lewicki et al., 2006) by focussing on the emergence and development of trust in interactions.

We conceptualise trust as an individual's dynamic expectation about the thoughts, behaviour, and decisions of other people (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Idrissou et al., 2011; Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014). These expectations are based on past experiences and a particular interpretation of the trust context (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; O'Brien, 2001). Past experiences should be seen as an active interpretation and re-interpretation of historical events, in which new events give rise to new experiences and interpretations that accumulate over time (De Vries et al., 2014). These experiences influence not only the re-interpretations of past events, but also expectations about future events, actions, and decisions. People involved in a decision-making process experience uncertainty, vulnerability, and risks. These experiences can either enhance or erode trust between stakeholders, that influences new decisions and actions. Once the process is unfolding, the interactions between stakeholders, particular events or outcomes result in new experiences. Drawing on these experiences, people reconstruct their image of the past and adjust trust-related expectations. After a number of positive experiences inhabitants might for example have more trust in the government representative who carried out a specific project. Trust thus emerges as a dynamic concept constantly dealt with under the influence of past, ongoing, and future events.

16 | In addition, trust dynamics are influenced by the particular situation in which trust is performed (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Kadefors, 2004; Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014; De Vries et al., 2014). Trust is always expressed in a context characterised by expectations based upon the presence of specific rules and roles. In interaction with other actors, people continuously interpret the developments in their environment and the consequences these might have. These interpretations and consequent actions can result in new information, new experiences, or new interpretations of past events that might lead to either enhancing or restricting opportunities to trust or not (Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014). Consequently, new experiences of trust lead to new or restricting opportunities, and so on. Thus, trust evolves over time, both influencing, and being influenced by, actors' specific interpretations of that context.

From this dynamic perspective on trust, three interrelated dimensions of trust can be identified: 1) trust is actively constructed in interactions, based on the perspective on accumulating past and present day events, 2) trust is constructed in relation to expectations about the future, and 3) trust is constructed in relation to the context (see Fig. 2.1).

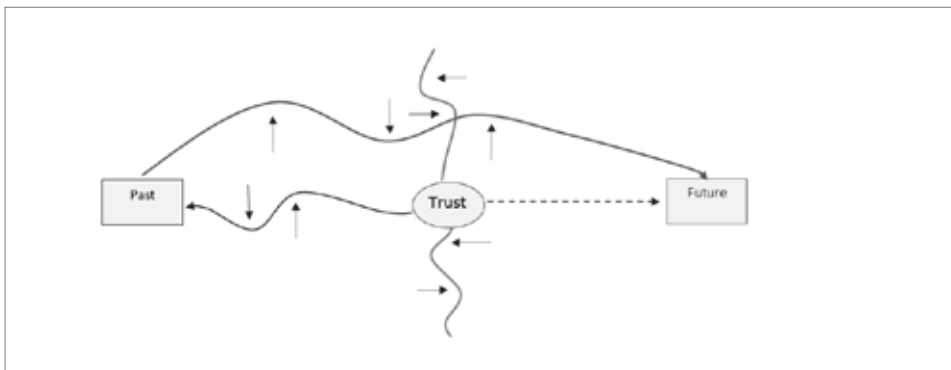


Figure 2.1. *Longitudinal trust dynamics in context*

Governance, institutions and trust

Governance concerns the ways in which interdependent actors interact in network settings to bring about collective binding decisions (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2014; Rhodes, 2007; Goetz, 2008). These interactions are structured through both formal and informal institutions. Institutions are generally regarded as the more stable frameworks of society and are defined as shared rules (North 2005; Woodhill, 2010). Institutions can be both formal, e.g. law, and informal, e.g. social norms. Over time, institutions continuously evolve under the influence of changes in society (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2014). The performance of a particular institution is always influenced by the wider configuration of institutions (Van Assche & Djanibekov, 2011). In interaction, new or altered rules are constructed that can become widely accepted. These rules can affect, alter, or be incorporated into existing institutions and change them. Participatory approaches and procedures are always introduced in an existing institutional context and the rules that are negotiated in and about the process are strongly related to the present configurations of actors and institutions (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2014; Pierre & Peters, 2000). In this perspective, the rules that coordinate and structure a specific governance process can be seen as a specification or alteration of existing institutions that fit the specific governance context (Ellickson, 1991).

Trust is regarded as crucial for the performance of institutions (Tyler, 1998; Woodhill, 2010). Trust in institutions is explained as confidence, being the unconscious expectation that institutions will work as they always did (Luhmann, 1979). If we did not trust institutions to work as we expect them to work, many things in contemporary society would become impossible. For instance, using money would become impossible if we did not trust the financial system, and travelling on the road would be impossible if we did not trust that the majority of people would stick to the traffic rules. However, we give hardly a thought to the relevant configuration of institutions when using money or travelling. Trust in institutions is thus often reflected in the feeling of taking things for granted without considering alternative options. Trust also refers to the expectation that other actors will act in line with these rules (Tyler, 1998). This expectation is based upon earlier experiences, in which alternatives are actively considered (Luhmann, 2000). Trust in governance rules is thus more dynamic and personal, and more vulnerable, as actions of other actors over time may alter the expectation, resulting in a rebalancing of trust.

In a changing governance settings, for example through the introduction of participatory approaches, trust between interdependent actors cannot be taken for granted (Nooteboom, 1996). Our perspective on trust dynamics shows that trust develops in interaction. These interactions are influenced by the characteristics of the governance process. As such, these interactions are strongly influenced by the various steps taken in the process, the decisions made, and the related institutional context (Ansell & Gash, 2007). Every step and decision results in: 1) different ways of actor involvement (Rhodes 2007), e.g. their role, input, and influence; 2) various forms in which interactions are organised or coordinated (Pierre & Peters, 2000; Dietz, Ostrom & Stern, 2003), e.g. frequency, modes and form of communication; and 3) various ways of sharing information (Dietz, Ostrom & Stern, 2003).

Using these insights we empirically studied trust dynamics in relation to steps taken and decisions made in governance approaches. We focused on how these decisions influenced actor involvement, interaction between actors, and various ways of dealing with information. In our analyses, we triangulate a historical, a contextual, and a comparative perspective, taking into account how things have become, what happened simultaneously, and what patterns emerge from longitudinal case comparisons (Blok, 1978).

2.3 Methods

A comparative case study design, embedding two cases, was chosen as it allows in-depth study of how a concept or subject unfolds in, and in relation to, its specific setting (Yin, 1994). Both cases consider the implementation of Natura 2000 in local governance, the first in the Wieden-Weerribben (the Netherlands), the second in the Thanet Coast (United Kingdom). The cases were chosen because they both dealt with the implementation of the same policy in different contexts, using participatory approaches. In addition, the fact that both projects were running for several years allowed us to reconstruct the interaction over time.

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The data in the cases were gathered through two series of interviews and a document study. The first round was used to gain a general insight into the Natura 2000 process. From this round it became clear that trust was a main issue. Therefore, the second round focused on trust and related aspects. In total, nine people were interviewed in both the Wieden-Weerribben and the Thanet Coast, some of whom were interviewed twice (see Table 2.1). The interviews were held in Dutch or English, took approximately 1.5 hours, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 2.5 hours. The interviews were accompanied by field visits. The interviews were semi-structured. This approach was chosen to give the interviewees the opportunity to share their perspectives on the development of the process, guided by questions. The topics discussed were based on our dynamic perspective on trust and were intended to gain insight into developments over time. In the first round, they were more general about the Natura 2000 policy and process organisation. In round two, the topics focused more on the events in, and related to, the project, interactions, and relations (see Table 1). Issues discussed did not deal with trust directly, as trust can be present implicitly and find its way in interaction through related concepts. If trust occurred, additional questions were asked relating to the emergence and development of trust, its relation with events and interactions, and the influence on the process over time, and vice versa. The interview information was supplemented by a round of e-mails to gain extra information about the current status of the project. In addition, the interviews were accompanied by a document study to get a better understanding of the institutional context.

The interview proceedings were written down as interview reports. The data from the reports were analysed by coding. Trust is regarded as an elusive concept; therefore we operationalised it by identifying related concepts from literature (see theoretical frame). The codes used were: approach and involvement, uncertainty, vulnerability, risk, expectations, and openness. During the coding process, several categories were specified further into sub-categories. The coded parts were then arranged from past to present in order to analyse how they relate and build upon one another. The longitudinal analysis was used to gain understanding of the present-

day situation in the light of the constant reconstruction of past events (Gray & Wondolleck, 2013). Using this analysis, we drew two timelines (Fig. 2.2 and Fig. 2.4).

Round 1

	Wieden- Weerribben	Thanet Coast	Topics
Government officials	2	2	<i>Process organisation; Major actors; Conflicts; Balancing nature and economic activities; Consultation and involvement of actors; public support</i>
Representatives	2	2	
Local inhabitants	1	1	

Round 2

	Wieden- Weerribben	Thanet Coast	Topics
Government officials	2	3	<i>Short history; Involvement in the project; Approach used and organisation of the project; relations between actors; Conflicts; Sharing information; Main events in the project or related to the project; Expectations and dependencies</i>
Representatives	1	2	
Politicians	1	0	
Local inhabitants	1	1	
Entrepreneurs	1	1	

Table 2.1. *Overview of interviewees*

2.4 Results

Natura 2000

The European Union introduced the Birds Directive (1979) and the Habitats Directive (1992) to stop the decline in biodiversity. These directives are the most important legal instruments concerning nature conservation at EU level (Weber & Christophersen, 2002). One of the key objectives of these directives is to establish a Europe-wide network of protected nature areas, called Natura 2000 (see amongst others Krott, 2000). The network should prevent the decline of biodiversity in Europe and keep the different species and habitats in a favourable state (EC, 2007). To establish this network, every country has to designate and manage Special Protection Areas (SPA) based on the Birds Directive, and Special Areas of Conservation (SAC) based on the Habitats Directive.

In the European Union, a total of 26,000 sites are designated as Natura 2000 sites. The network covers existing and new nature areas, including land owned and used by various governments, nature conservation organisations, and private parties. The Birds and Habitats Directives form a legal framework that allows Member States the freedom to implement Natura 2000 through arrangements that fit the national or local context (EU, 2002). This has resulted in various approaches and the involvement of a wide variety of actors in order to implement Natura 2000 successfully (Stoll-Kleeman, 2001; Jones & Burgess, 2005; Evans, 2012). However, many member states were confronted with distrust from the public and fierce critiques on the approaches used (Weber & Christophersen, 2002; Paavola, 2004; Bogaert, Cliquet & Maes, 2009). These critiques focused on the notion that the approaches had a technocratic character, focused too narrowly on ecological aspects, and were organised in a top-down manner, creating uncertainties and distrust amongst local inhabitants (Weber & Christophersen, 2002; Reed, 2008; Ferranti et al., 2013; Krott, 2000). As a result, various scholars argued for a stronger focus on the organisation of interaction between the various actors and on trust between them (Stoll-Kleemann, 2001; Jones & Burgess, 2005).

In the subsequent sections, we present the two local-level Natura 2000 projects that we studied: first, the British Thanet Coast project and then the Dutch Wieden-Weerribben project.

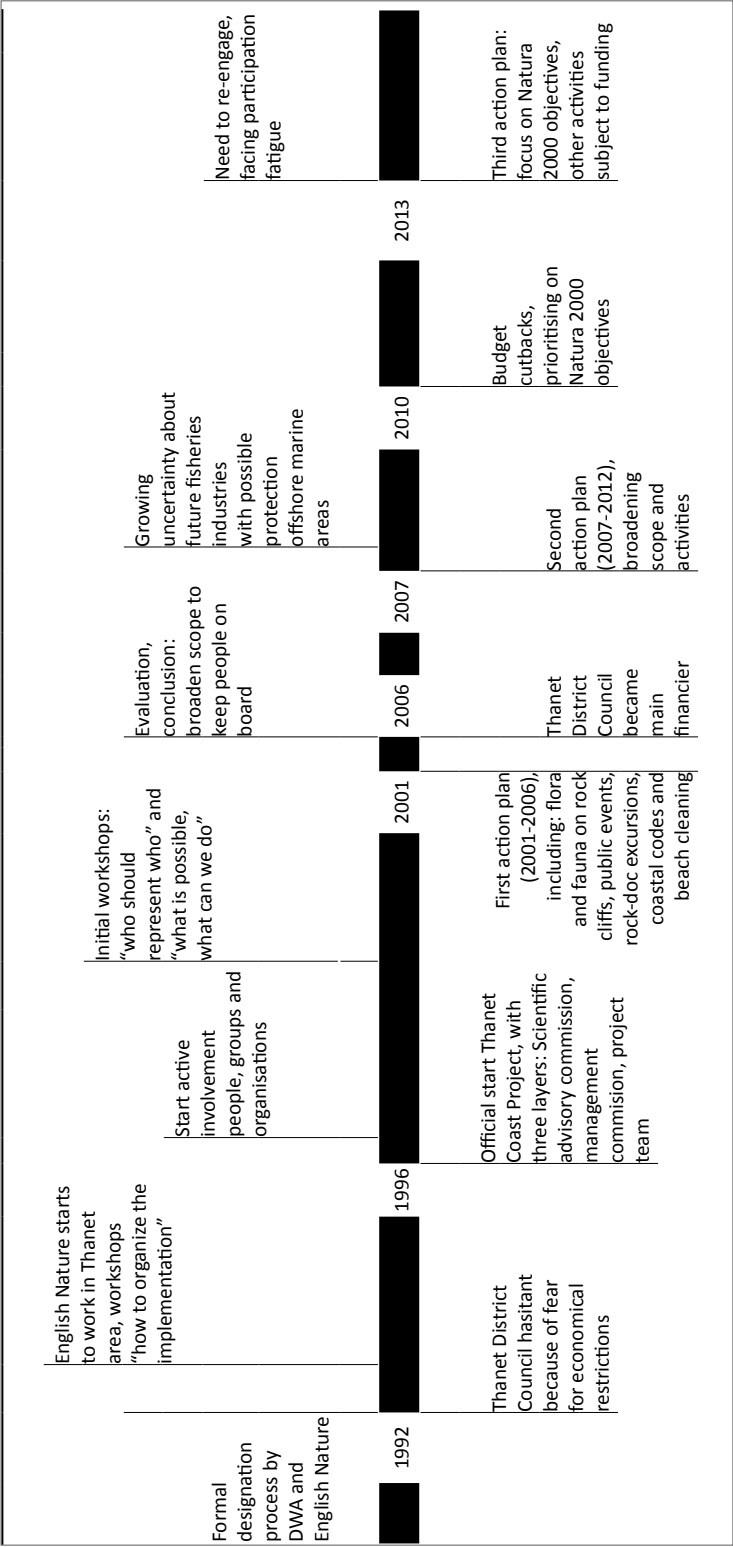


Figure 2.2. Timeline of the Thanet Coast case



Figure 2.3. Map and impression of the Thanet Coast

The Thanet Coast

The Thanet Coast is situated in Kent in the southeast of England (see Fig. 2.3). The area is characterised by chalk rocks, lagoons, cliffs, beaches, and mud flats. The site was designated because of its nature value with regard to its chalk reefs, submerged sea caves, and overwintering populations of turnstones and other birds (JNCC, 2008).

Various towns are situated near the coast, and about 127,000 people live in the area. The Thanet Coast was an important tourist destination for decades. Due to a change in the economics of tourism (cheap package holidays abroad), the number of tourists began to drop at the end of the 1970s. Currently, various investments and redevelopments along the coast are on their way in order to give tourism a new boost. About three million trips were made to the Thanet Coast in 2009 (Tourism South East Research Unit, 2009).

Following its designation as a Natura 2000 site, the Thanet Coast project was initiated by Natural England (NE) (then English Nature) in the 1990s. Interviewees said that, at that time, NE was uncertain about how the process should be organised. Workshops were organised with the local divisions of the organisations involved in Natura 2000, e.g. nature organisations, the relevant ministry, and governmental organisations with statutory responsibility in the area. In these workshops, the layout of the project was developed and agreed upon. This setup included the decision to organise a management part and a scientific part: the Management Group (MG) and the Scientific Coastal Advisory Group. NE decided to organise workshops to initiate and decide in more detail on the organisation of the project with actors in the area. The open approach, as NE called it, was chosen because it was a new situation and NE wanted to find out how best to organise the project. The approach itself was thus also open to discussion.

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In the beginning, the MG met once in the first two years to review progress, and the intention was to review the management scheme or action plan every six years. The MG was chaired by NE. NE representatives explained that they thought that the project would involve quite some scientific information about nature and environment. This was why they decided to establish the Scientific Coastal Advisory Group. Here, nature management and research issues were discussed. It was this committee's responsibility to keep the scientific information about species and habitats up to date. Together, the MG and the scientific committee decided to organise workshops for the people living in the area. According to NE and the project team, "*everyone*" from Thanet was invited to be part of the process, and nearly all user groups were involved. The project team and other actors stated in interviews that this open approach resulted in a good turnout. Moreover, they said that they developed a shared approach to the project that made them feel involved and created ownership. After the first meetings with these groups, NE decided to put a project team in place to deal with the day-to-day work on the ground. The main idea behind this manner of organising the project was to keep the discussion about the data and species away from the day-to-day practice of policy implementation.

From the interviews it became clear that the reasons for joining varied among the local inhabitants. Many people were uncertain about what the project would bring, but also

expected the area to benefit from it. They said that the Thanet Coast had been a popular holiday destination in the past, but at the start of the project Thanet was suffering from declining numbers in tourism, dilapidated buildings, and the like. In addition, the fisheries' association expected that in the future the project would deal with problems such as over-fishing. Most of the people thus had high expectations about the project. Another reason to join was the project team's open approach. Interviewees said that, in the past, people had experienced many top-down organised processes. One of these past processes resulted in the building of the – now deserted – hover port. A participant explained her involvement in the project based on these past experiences: *"the building of the hover port in front of my house in the past had such a big impact, from that moment I wanted to protect my coast?"* The open approach was a contrast compared to these.

During the first workshops, the project team started carefully: *"We had to be open about the fact that we didn't know everything. That was the only way the workshops could help us to know how to continue."* Or, it was *"A little bit like trial and error."* The project team thus depended upon other actors and therefore tempered expectations about the project. This created uncertainties about the possible outcomes of the project for those joining. One interviewee said that, for some of the participants, the uncertainties were a reason to stop, as they had no trust in a positive outcome. Others explained that the project team was open about this and created space to share uncertainties. The combination of their willingness to take care of their coast and the first results – such as incorporation of their ideas – built trust and encouraged local people to join. The project team thus tried to connect to what people thought was important.

Because of this beginning, the project team said that they decided to put a lot of effort into other activities for the broader public, e.g. school events, beach cleaning projects, coastal codes, rock expert excursions, and so forth. Interviewees said that these activities represented mainly existing aspirations and ideas from other organisations and schools, which were taken on board and could now be executed. For example, schools and lifeguards had already been looking for ways to organise school events together. With the start of the Thanet Coast project, these could now be executed. According to the interviewees, the broadening of the project and the support for existing ideas created trust in the project and the team, and for the project team these initiatives contributed to the project's broad objectives.

Interviewees said that, because of the large turnout and people's broad interest, the project team and MG decided to broaden the scope of the project from Natura 2000 objectives to *"taking care of our coast"* in the first action plan. The broadening of the project and taking on board local concerns made people join the project in all kinds of activities. This created positive expectations and initial trust in the outcome of the project and its team. However, at this point, Thanet District Council was hesitant about cooperating because they were afraid that the site designation would impose restrictions on the economic development of the area.

During the project, the composition of the group changed several times. New people joined by taking part in activities and workshops, while others left. Faced with these changes, the project team said that they had put much effort into keeping people on board. Therefore, they were in close contact with the actors to inform them about the status of the project and

its history. In addition, the project team organised various ways for actors to give their input. For instance, after the workshops, minutes were sent around enabling people to respond again. Through this double check, actors said that they had different opportunities to express their views. Moreover, various interviewees said that, besides official occasions, it was always possible to contact the project team – “*just by picking up the phone.*” This approach was helpful when questions or uncertainties arose, but also in cases of emergent discontent. At such times, the project team could help by answering questions, dealing with the uncertainties, or taking action to prevent conflicts. Another reason for more frequent contact was the fact that some people were hesitant about expressing an opinion. The project team said that, through various modes of communication, these people also had the opportunity to share their insights. The frequent contact also enabled the project team to steer the project in little steps. Steering in little steps meant that various other developments could be incorporated into the project, such as new walking activities or adjusting the warden scheme. Thus, participants soon saw what the team did with their input. This contributed to expectations being met and to developing trust.

The space that the project team created through workshops, minutes, informal phone calls, and so forth enabled actors to freely discuss project-related issues. Interviewees said that, in discussions, it was possible to form coalitions with others to empower one’s point, and it was also possible to form a coalition with others in another discussion. A representative stated: “*I like the possibility to stay autonomous, it makes discussions sometimes hard, but always fair.*” The openness, the honesty, and the opportunity to form coalitions without long-lasting restrictions resulted in trust between the actors involved – a feeling that became clear from an example given to us by one of the inhabitants about the involvement of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB). The project approach was to invite everybody, and the RSPB thus joined the project with a large number of representatives. In workshops, they formed a team and took up a lot of time and attention. This attitude was totally different from the project team’s open and flexible approach. In response, actors started to ignore the RSPB group, and the project team told them that they were welcome, but with just one or two people. This shows that openness was institutionalised within the process.

Around 2006, the project was evaluated. One conclusion in the evaluation report was that the project should broaden its scope further. Therefore, the project team organised a new round of workshops. As a result, the second action plan included various new activities. These activities, again, were proposed by local organisations and people and connected strongly to these parties’ existing ideas and plans. The second action plan showed the success of the project. As a result, the Thanet District Council came to trust that the project would not limit economic development but, rather, could enhance it.

It was clear from the various interviews that most people joined the project because they saw it as a chance to improve their coast. Moreover, the approach developed was in strong contrast to approaches used in the past. During the project, people kept joining, and the approach was developed and altered in various discussions and workshops. Through these frequent interactions, people created expectations which were often met, and the ideas of simultaneously developing initiatives were incorporated in the project. Indeed, the project was

especially strong in connecting the project to existing ideas and initiatives. The approach and the results not only created trust amongst the people, but also made it hard for the Thanet District Council to ignore its success. This success led to the situation whereby this council became one of the most important financiers around 2006.

Wieden and Weerribben

The Weerribben and Wieden are two large nature areas covering a total of 12,600 ha in the north-eastern part of the Netherlands (see Fig. 2.5). The sites consist of lowland peat, smaller and larger bodies of open water, reed lands, forest swamps, and grasslands. This landscape is the result of centuries of peat and reed harvesting. Both areas were designated as Natura 2000 sites because of their value for peat, moor and swamp landscapes, and the occurrence of several rare species of birds (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality, 2007).

The Wieden and Weerribben are situated in the Province of Overijssel. Approximately 40,000 people live in the vicinity of these two nature areas. Most of the surrounding land is used for agriculture, mainly dairy farms. The Wieden and Weerribben are very famous because of their natural beauty, making them popular among tourists. Each year, the area is visited by about one million people.

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The Natura 2000 process in the Wieden-Weerribben started in 1997 with the Provincial Development Perspective on Northwest Overijssel (Gebiedsperspectief Noordwest Overijssel). In this plan, the Wieden and Weerribben were to be connected by developing 1,500 ha of new nature. Between 80 and 100 farmers would have to leave to make room for these new nature areas. As compensation, the farms outside the new nature areas were to be allowed to develop and grow, and 350 jobs were to be created in the recreational sector (Metz, 1998). Immediately after the completion of the perspective, it became clear that both the Wieden and the Weerribben would be designated as Natura 2000 sites. From the interviews it became clear that the responses to this varied. First, Natura 2000 was not considered as a source of concern by the province (the project leader Natura 2000 in the Wieden-Weerribben). One of the interviewees stated: *“some farmers were worried and went to the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality. At the ministry, an officer told them not to worry.”* Second, various people and groups saw Natura 2000 as a good chance to re-engage in the development and management of the area. Last, various other groups were satisfied with the result of the development perspective after years of struggle and did not want “to do it all again.”

When the Natura 2000 project started in the Wieden-Weerribben, the site had not yet been definitively designated. However, the province said that they wanted to start to provide clarity about the consequences of Natura 2000. Therefore, the province formed a workgroup in March 2006. Because of the uncertainty, the province explained that they decided to invite only the main actors to the workgroup. The workgroup consisted of what can be considered as the classical representatives, e.g. the two nature conservation organisations that managed the sites, the local and regional authorities, the Land Allocation Committee, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality (now the Ministry of Economic Affairs). The people who lived, worked, and recreated in the area, i.e. the residents, farmers, and visitors, were

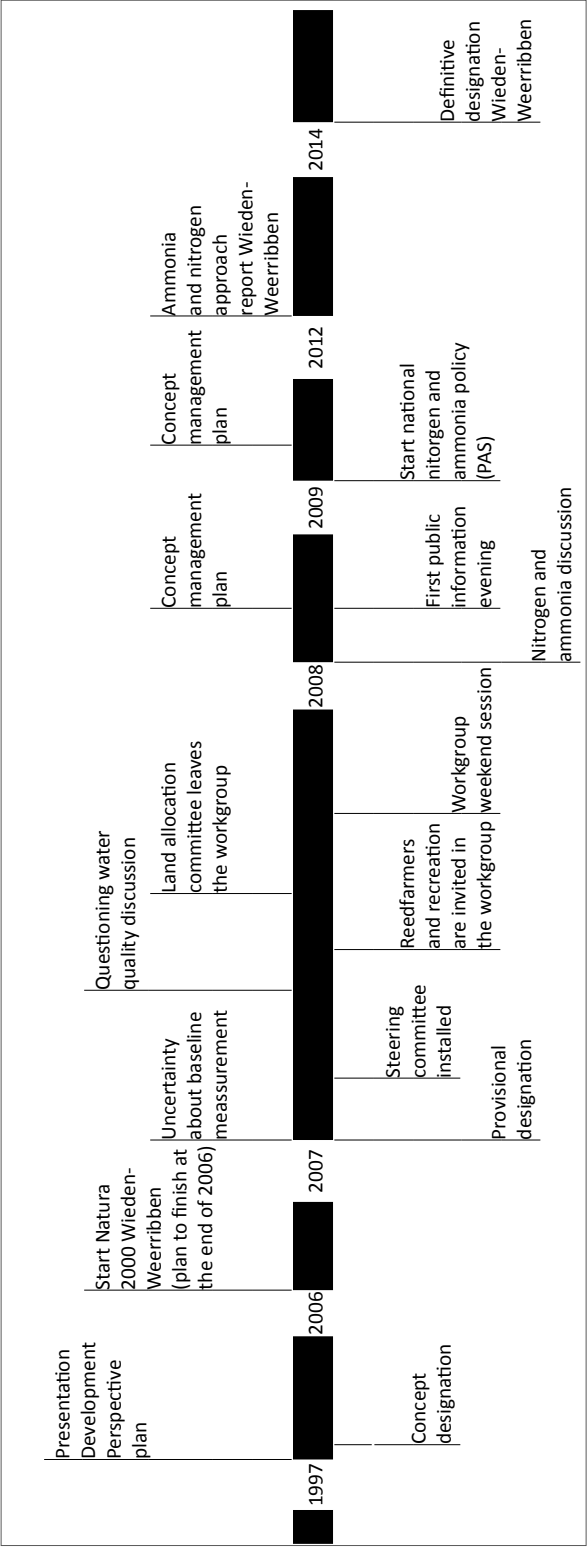


Figure 2.4. Timeline of the Wieden-Weerribben case



Figure 2.5. Map and impression of the Wieden-Weerribben

informed through information evenings. According to a workgroup member, this was done because the workgroup had not that much to communicate: *“we do not know the consequences, we have to wait, so we cannot say anything to the people in the area.”* Amongst local inhabitants, this created a feeling that they were being neglected: *“we are still waiting for the second information evening, we do not know what will happen, that is terrible.”*

The workgroup decided to begin by collecting information. Interviewees said that this proved to be problematic and very time consuming. In particular, information provided by the water board about the management of water tables and water quality was questioned. One of the interviewees said: *“everybody stood in the trenches.”* Some workgroup members felt that information collection was something that should not be the responsibility of the workgroup: *“information collection in the beginning should be done by experts, not by workgroup members. This would ensure that objective information could be provided.”* Actors said that these discussions took a long time as everybody was on his/her own. However, it did not lead to changes in the organisation of the project. What did happen was that people questioned the information found by other workgroup members as everybody wanted to show his/her power. This created a sphere of distrust between the actors. One of the interviewees even stated that it influenced his organisation’s political representatives: *“Information provided by us was questioned. This made us angry, and it caused disappointment amongst our council members.”* Such discussions delayed the project but also negatively influenced the political arena. Interviewees said that, over time, this contributed to a feeling of distrust towards the other parties and created negative expectations about future discussions.

Workgroup members said that, during the following months, it became clear that specific decisions were required concerning the borders of the sites, survey data, ammonia regulations, and the influence of water quality on peat growth. The workgroup members did not have the statutory power to make these decisions. Therefore, the workgroup, in cooperation with the organisations that the members represented, decided to change the organisation of the process. The province decided to install a steering committee comprised of representatives with the legal or democratic authority to take decisions. According to workgroup members, a few months later another change took place. In order to deal with the effects of implementation in the area, the workgroup decided to add representatives from the agricultural sector, reed growers, and the association of tourism entrepreneurs to the workgroup in August 2007. However, various actors told us that their involvement remained a subject of debate – especially as they worked as volunteers and wanted to meet outside office hours, whereas other actors thought that the municipality should represent these groups, as they were resident in the municipality. The decision to extend the group and subsequent decisions therefore resulted in troubled relations in the workgroup.

The uncertainties about national policies for ammonia, the designation of the site, the possible consequences for agricultural activities around Natura 2000 sites, and the formulation of management plans led to delays. Interviewees said that the workgroup felt that it could not work on without the various decisions that should follow from the national policies and other issues. Despite these delays, the workgroup members said that they did not communicate about the delays with local inhabitants. This resulted in growing uncertainties for people

living in the area. This was mentioned by all the interviewees, and they all admitted that these uncertainties were a risk for the success of the project as well. However, this did not lead to any decisions about informing local inhabitants or attempts to speed up the process. One of the workgroup members explained: *"We have to wait and see whether the management plan is found sufficient by the ministry, otherwise we have to start all over again."* Consequently, farmers started to feel distrust towards the ministry and the Natura 2000 project – something that was actively communicated in local and informal meetings.

Simultaneously, at national level, there was a great deal of discussion about generic policies for dealing with ammonia emissions caused by farms. The workgroup said that they were waiting for the national government to make a decision on this issue and felt that without this they could not make a definitive plan. Extensive newspaper coverage showed that this debate caused uncertainties among farmers everywhere in the Netherlands, also in the Wieden-Weerribben. As one of the interviewees stated: *"Farmers still live in uncertainty, this results in mistrust towards the project, Natura 2000, and us as government."* The workgroup waited a long time for the national government to formulate new policies for ammonia reduction. After some years, the first versions of these policies were rejected by the courts, and gradually everyone became aware that such problems should be dealt with at site level. This ammonia policy came in place in 2009 and for the Wieden-Weerribben in 2013.

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Another significant issue with which the workgroup dealt was the financing of the plan. At the time of interviewing, it was still not clear whether there was enough money from the ministry to finance the measures proposed in the management plan. Because of this vagueness, workgroup members said that they did not develop any further plans for a while. The waiting for decisions created distrust from the workgroup towards the ministry. According to one of the workgroup members: *"We are now developing a management plan with affordable measures, we have to wait and see whether the measures proposed in the management plan are found sufficient by the ministry, otherwise we can start all over again."* This uncertainty about the ministry's expectations in relation to the management plan and management measures was a big risk for the workgroup at the time of the interviews, making them distrustful of the project's positive outcome.

Although planned in 2006, the definitive management plan and budget took much longer. During these years of delay, interviewees said that there was no communication with local inhabitants. They stated in interviews that the delay and lack of communication created a feeling of growing distrust towards the project as they felt further neglected, especially because many of them had high expectations in the beginning. The lack of communication between the project team and the local inhabitants caused a great deal of speculation amongst the inhabitants, strengthening the shared distrust. As a consequence, the farmers and other inhabitants said that they started asking the province for more information. However, the workgroup did not want to provide any information. The municipality, on the other hand, said that at a certain juncture they decided to ignore this and provided information because they saw problems occurring with other projects – especially as, during the former process of the development perspective and the simultaneous establishment of a National Park, there had been regular contact with inhabitants, and inhabitants were used to that way of working.

In addition, the delays caused frictions in the workgroup, and members said that they interacted less actively. In between meetings, there was hardly any contact about the project except with the project leader. Moreover, there was hardly any open information exchange during the process. Most interviewees said that there was no reason to have contact in-between because everything was discussed in the meetings. One of the interviewees stated: *“the project is taking so long, it does not make sense anymore to meet in-between.”* In addition, the media were losing interest in the project, and local inhabitants were not at all active in relation to it, its possible consequences, and related uncertainties.

2.5 Comparing the cases

The two cases show very different results in relation to the approaches adopted to implement Natura 2000 policies, the course of the processes, and the trust dynamics. In this section, we compare the cases by focusing on actor involvement, the way interaction was organised, and information was shared.

Actor involvement. Both projects started from the notion that the consequences of Natura 2000 for the areas were uncertain. The Thanet Coast project encouraged the wide involvement of both organisations and local inhabitants, and this was not limited to the start of the project: throughout the project, various newcomers were welcomed. In order to deal with the great variety of actors, a clear division of tasks was agreed upon by installing a project team, a management group, and a scientific committee. The open approach resulted not only in various actors becoming part of the project, but also in the integration of existing ideas and initiatives into the project. This input resulted in concrete actions over time, and actors generally felt involved in the project. In the Wieden-Weerribben, the same uncertain situation resulted in the involvement of a group of well-known actor representatives, whereas the local inhabitants, entrepreneurs and farmers were only informed. In the beginning, the workgroup had various roles. Later on, with the steering committee, these roles were more clearly divided. However, some issues requiring national level determinations remained unclear and resulted in various junctures where the workgroup was waiting for decisions by the ministry. The waiting and consequent discussions resulted in delays. In addition, the local inhabitants did not feel really involved because of the limited interaction.

Organisation of interactions. In the Thanet Coast case, the interaction between the wide variety of actors was organised in different ways, varying from formal meetings to informal phone calls, and took place at various times. Moreover, these interactions and the results were actively used and discussed. This resulted in an open sphere that became the norm, and diverging actions of groups threatening this openness were not accepted. Over time, the openness contributed to positive expectations and trust in the project. In the Wieden-Weerribben case, there was mainly formal interaction between the workgroup members, and scant interaction with local inhabitants. As a result, the latter group felt neglected and discussed this among themselves. These local background noises over time resulted in distrust towards the project. In this way, interactions and ideas diverged strongly between the workgroup and the inhabitants.

Sharing of information In the Thanet Coast project, information was freely discussed and used, and it was also clear that the management team would deal with different issues than the scientific committee or the project team. In information sharing, the project team was the link between the various layers. They were very open about this role, and this contributed to transparency and trust. In the Wieden-Weerribben case, how to deal with information was the main subject of discussion in the workgroup. The absence of knowledge about how to continue was the reason for the workgroup not talking to local inhabitants. Within the workgroup, this resulted in information and transparency being questioned, whereas local inhabitants became frustrated as they could not share their insights, and the workgroup was not transparent at all towards them. Both developments contributed over time to distrust.

In the Thanet Coast project, the involvement of many actors, the various interactions, and information sharing over time on the one hand, and the nestling in the wider local society on the other, led to a feeling of ownership and trust amongst actors. Through discussions and sharing ideas, the project took on board the things that were already an issue in the area. This made the project a part of everyday life. People saw that their input led to actions, and this contributed to ownership over the project. Moreover, the ownership made people feel that they shared in the project's successes, and this contributed strongly to trust in the project. In the Wieden-Weerribben case, the lack of interaction, the difficulties with sharing information, the involvement of a limited number of actors, and delays resulted over time in a declining trust amongst the workgroup members; whereas local inhabitants were only bystanders who over time developed a growing feeling of distrust towards the project and the province as responsible organisation.

2.6 Discussion

Both cases display various ways of organising a process in response to the same initial uncertainties. The choices considering which actors to involve and in which way, made had a strong influence on the process and related expectations, openness, empathy, and vulnerability. The decisions taken strongly influenced trust dynamics between actors. Conversely these trust dynamics influenced the choices made. In relation to our research question, we conclude that trust is strongly influenced by the way interactions, and their frequency, mode, and content, are organised in relation to the wider context. Various studies have shown how in these interactions, legitimacy, knowledge, interests, and identities are constructed (Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2010; Connelly, 2011), but so also are trust and distrust.

Both cases show that uncertainties played a major role in the emergence and development of trust. Uncertainties in governance processes related to the process itself as well as to more external issues (Domingo & Beunen, 2013), changing in character and impact over time. Although trust is regularly mentioned as a way to deal with uncertainties (Van Ark, 2005; Edelenbos & Kleijn, 2007), this study has shown that it is not so much the reduction, but more the ability to accept the existence of these uncertainties and the way these were discussed in interaction, that strongly influences trust dynamics. Most actors feel uncertain about the consequences of particular decisions and therefore restrain from quickly moving on in a process. In the Thanet Coast project, the feelings of uncertainty were addressed by

taking small steps, organising various ways of interaction to discuss uncertainties and share information. Due to this approach actors got to know each other, understand each other's perspective and the possible consequences of particular decisions. Over time people got more positive expectations, and hence trust, in other actors and the overall process, which in return made it easier to carry on with the process, bring new issues to the table and take more severe decisions supported by most stakeholders. In the Wieden-Weerribben case however, the interactions with the local inhabitants were incidental and mainly used to present generic information about Natura 2000. The feeling of uncertainty was not addressed and over time most inhabitants developed negative expectations about the process and the role of responsible organisations. The lack of information gave space for discussions outside to process to emerge (Ford, Ford & McNamara, 2002). These background noises were fostered by uncertainties and gave rise to distrust. Due to this distrust, which affected the position taken by representatives involved in process, it became harder to take decisions. As a result, the decision-making postponed, leading to less and less clarity about the direction of the process.

The cases show that the development of a decision-making process and the trust dynamics in this process, are largely influenced by policy processes simultaneously going on in other arenas, e.g. debates at the national level or discussions about other developments in the area, and by how and to what extent these are taken on board. Organising interactions or participation in these processes is thus not only about organising direct involvement, speaking up, and developing a shared understanding of goals (Woltjer, 2002; Ansell & Gash 2007). More importantly, it is about taking into account and understanding the other actors' points of view, including where these are coming from, as well as how the project is embedded in a wider set of interactions that shape actors' expectations and trust dynamics

In both cases it was clear that it was not the participatory approach that influenced trust dynamics but the organisation of interactions. In the interactions, actors share and deal with uncertainties, risks, show openness and vulnerability that influence trust related expectations. The frequency, mode and character of these interactions result in more or less options to share and deal with these issues and thus in various trust dynamics. In which frequent interactions, in various formal and informal forms as in the Thanet Coast enables people to develop positive expectations and trust more easy.

People are looking for clarity in their attempts to deal with perceived uncertainties. Their expectations about the future largely depend on the wider configuration of institutions, consciously and subconsciously shaping their behaviour. In most situations people are unaware about this and basically take the working of these institutions for granted. This is what Luhmann (1979) has called system trust or confidence. If new governance approaches are introduced, for example by involving more stakeholders, some aspects of the decision-making contexts become more noticeable, for instance through the introduction of new or alternative institutions. At the same time new uncertainties emerge when actors start thinking about their possible role and influence on the process and about the consequences of particular decisions. If such uncertainties are not acknowledge and addressed, these are likely to lead to negative expectations. This is often the case with participatory approaches,

which suggest new ways of inclusion and influence, but often without any of the actors really knowing how the process and the role and position of particular actors is going to develop. Especially in those situations in which participation is *de facto* limited and does not meet prior expectations, actors are likely to become disappointed with a negative impact on trust dynamics.

2.7 Conclusion

In this study a framework for analysing the emergence and development of trust in relation to a specific governance approach was developed and applied in two case studies. Drawing on this study we can say more if and when participatory approaches can help to enhance trust and smoothen governance processes. This starts by acknowledging that participatory approaches are always introduced in a particular context in which past events and current options already shaped relations and ongoing trust dynamics between the actors involved. These relations between actors and their embedding in a wider set of institutions shape the trust and confidence levels. Once the decision is made to start a participative governance approach, new actors and new rules are introduced in the governance process. These changes are likely to influence the expectations the different actors have about the development of the process, their position within the process, and the possible outcomes. These expectations evolve in a series of interactions that shape trust dynamics, and can either lead to more or less trust between the actors. Trust dynamics are thus influenced by the way the interactions between the various actors are organised. More precisely, trust dynamics are influenced by the frequency, mode, and character of interactions, and the way information is shared in relation to the wider institutional context. The way in which related issues, processes, and initiatives are taken on board and the way in which the personal background of actors is dealt with and embedded in the process play an important role. Actors develop trust (or distrust) in other actors based upon information they have about the other players and the configurations of rules in which the game is embedded. Although the decision to trust or not to trust is largely a conscious one, it cannot be considered separately from a wider, subconscious, web of expectations about actors and institutions such as system confidence.

As regards the management of trust relations, the cases have shown that frequent interactions result in opportunities to share individuals' perceptions, take these along in the development of the process, and thus create a shared approach. Fewer interactions result in fewer opportunities to become acquainted with people's perceptions and the background to these perceptions. Moreover, less interaction can result in a widening gap between various simultaneous processes that shape the relations between involved actors. Ultimately, this may result in feelings of neglect and declining trust, as the project will remain a plan from "the others." More frequent interactions provide opportunities for linking up to simultaneous processes, through which the project can engage with other initiatives and issues.

The study shows that there is no simple answer to the questions whether participation enhances mutual trust between actors in a governance process and if this in return helps to smoothen the implementation of plans and policies. In conclusion we can say that it all depends. It largely depends on the existing situation, the way the process is organised and

the way in which is dealt with the expectations of the actors involved. The framework that was developed proved to be useful to provide insights in the factors that the emergence and development of trust. This knowledge can be used in the design and organisation of governance processes and particular participatory processes. Drawing on this knowledge we can say that the success of participatory processes is likely to depend on a good understanding of the specific context in which participation is introduced and by the ongoing reflections on trust dynamics and the possibilities to influence these through organising interactions and addressing the different expectations of stakeholders.





3

The pivot points in planning

How the use of contracts influences trust dynamics and vice versa

Abstract

To organize new governance arrangements and to restore trust in spatial planning, contracts are often seen as vital policy instruments. The relations between contracts and trust are regularly studied from various perspectives. In this article, we add to the existing knowledge by exploring a dynamic perspective on the use of contracts over time and the influence thereof on trust dynamics. We conclude that, longitudinally, the use of contracts can play a pivotal role in trust dynamics by influencing the construction of, and actors' perspective on, the common history of the parties involved and their future expectations in close relation to the changing context. This perspective might help planners to deal with the inevitable dynamics of planning processes and trust.

Keywords: *Contracts, communication, policy instruments, spatial planning, trust dynamics*

3.1 Introduction

Because of changes in social, economic, cultural and political contexts, traditional planning models have been increasingly criticized (Van Woerkum, Aarts & Van Herzele, 2011). These critiques focus on traditional planning approaches which have often failed to deliver required and requested services (Hajer, 2003; Van Dijk, Aarts & De Wit, 2011). This inability has resulted in a decreasing feeling of trust towards planning institutions among citizens and organizations (Swain & Tait, 2007; Tait, 2011). In response to this decrease in trust, new planning approaches have been developed and explored (Albrechts, 2005; Allmendinger, 2002). Examples of these approaches can be found in communicative planning (Healey, 1997), consensus building (Innes, 2004) and public-private partnerships (PPPs). At their core, these approaches search for new ways to deal with the growing complexity of planning processes (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2004). This complexity results from the growing number of participants involved in planning processes, and the unpredictability and uncertainty that are inherent in the future-oriented character of spatial planning. To deal with this new situation, the approaches share a search for new arrangements to facilitate collaboration between different parties. To organize or consolidate these new forms of collaboration, contracts are often seen as vital instruments (Albrechts, 2004).

Contracts have long been used in many ways and have played an important role in the organization of today's complex European society (Greif, 2007). In the last decades, contracts have attracted renewed attention in various fields and are often seen as instruments to coordinate negotiations between actors in complex situations (Das & Teng, 1998; Djanibekov, Van Assche & Boezeman, 2013; Salet & Woltjer, 2009). An essential concept – with relevance for the use of contracts – in these negotiations is mutual trust between the actors involved (Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005). In both planning practice and scientific debates, the introduction of contracts is explained as a way to build or restore the dwindling trust in planning institutions (Lorenz, 1999; O'Neill, 2002). These ideas are partly based upon normative theories supporting the use of contracts to create transparency and trust (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). However, not all planning processes in which contracts are used are considered successful or transparent.

Trust and contracts are strongly related to each other (Möllering, 2005; Talvitie, 2011; Van der Veen & Korthals Altes, 2009). One might expect a rather simple linear relation: when trust is low, contracts are used extensively; and when trust is high, there is no need to use contracts. However, a rich line of studies in this area has resulted in various perspectives on the trust-contract relation. These perspectives focus mainly on the form and content of the contract and the influence of these aspects on trust. However, by doing so, they fail to take into account the actual use of contracts over time and the influence thereof on trust (Klein Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nootenboom, 2005). Consequently, they omit the dynamics that characterize the interaction in planning processes. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the relation between trust and contracts, we therefore explore the longitudinal relation between the use of contracts and trust dynamics in planning practices. In doing so, we triangulate a historical, a contextual and a comparative perspective, taking into account how things have become, what happened simultaneously and what patterns emerge from case comparisons (Blok, 1978).

The outline of the article is as follows: we first give a theoretical overview of contracts and trust dynamics. Then, we analyze their interrelation and present our analytical focus. Using this focus, we analyze three examples of Dutch spatial planning. We conclude by discussing the core aspects of the interrelation between trust and the use of contracts over time.

3.2 Theoretical considerations

Contracts

In the last decades, the use of contracts has especially been advocated and discussed in economics (transaction cost economics, TCE, Williamson, 1985) and in relation to new arrangements for the implementation of public services, such as Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) (Edelenbos and Teisman, 2008) and new public management (NPM) (Lane, 1998). Within spatial planning, contracts are used in the coordination of practices and policies affecting spatial organization or to increase the efficiency of planning institutions (Van Ark, 2005; Van Assche & Verschraegen, 2008).

Contracts are used for numerous reasons, varying from arranging simple financial transactions to organizing new and complex intergovernmental forms of cooperation. However, an important reason for the use of contracts in general is the formalization of existing informal rules (Ellickson, 1991). Both informal and formal rules play an important organizing and regulating role in society (Van Assche & Djanibekov, 2011). Formal institutions such as laws influence informal networks, just as informal rules influence formal institutions (North, 2005; Van Assche & Djanibekov, 2011). Through the use of contracts, informal norms can be consolidated and therefore become formal rules within a certain institutional context (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010; North, 2005). In this situation, contracts can be seen as a specific set of rules that two or more parties have negotiated in order to establish variations or specializations for further cooperation within a wider web of rules (Ellickson, 1991).

To support various ways of cooperating, contracts exist in different forms. The majority of the literature focuses on the content and level of detail of contracts. NPM scholars, for instance, argue that contracts should be complete or as specific as possible in order to enforce them in court (Lane, 2000). In the NPM view, complete contracts are seen as a vital mechanism for high performance and efficient management (Bevir, Rhodes & Weller, 2003; Noordegraaf, 2000). Others, focusing on the transaction costs that come with the design, use and enforcement of contracts, argue that contracts are by definition incomplete. Consequently, contracts should be more general and take into account uncertainty and other social mechanisms in order to be truly useful (Williamson, 2000). This perspective is further developed by scholars of relational contracting and governance. This group argues for more general forms of contracts taking into account trust relations (MacNeil, 1985; Zaheer & Venkatraman, 1995). However, far from complete, this overview shows that contracts can vary from a set of strategic agreements consolidating common ideas about future development (Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005) to complex and detailed agreements arranging the implementation of policies (Lane, 2000).

Trust and trust dynamics

The focus on trust originates from organization studies and adjacent fields in the 1970s (Tyler and Kramer, 1996). Since then, trust has been conceptualized in different ways. Broadly, there are two dominant conceptualizations. The first is the behavioural tradition focusing on the relation between trust and choices or actions in cooperative settings. These studies focus, for example, on trust as the basis for choosing to cooperate (e.g. Hardin, 1993). The second tradition is more cognitive, focusing on interpersonal characteristics associated with trust such as expectations, intentions and uncertainties (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). The distinction between the two is highly analytic, and the two are interrelated. However, in trust studies, the behavioural tradition is often explained as ‘thin trust’ (Williams, 1988) or generalized trust (Uslaner, 2004; Uslaner & Conley, 2003), meaning the willingness to trust strangers for cooperation based on assumed common values (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). On the contrary, the cognitive tradition is often explained as ‘thick trust’ (Williams, 1988) or particularized trust (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). Particularized trust is then explained as trust between people based on common characteristics and identities (Uslaner & Conley, 2003).

Although these conceptualizations give interesting insights into the nature of trust, most of these studies take a static perspective on trust, paying limited attention to the evolution of trust through interaction (Idrissou, 2011, 2012; Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). Consequently, these studies fail to include the dynamics that come with interaction in planning practices. In order to gain a better understanding of trust in planning practices, we wish to adopt a dynamic perspective on trust in this article. Therefore, we follow Lewicki & Bunker (1996) and Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie (2006) who move away from these two traditions and define trust as a dynamic concept that develops in interaction. From their work, we distinguish two main aspects of trust.

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The first aspect concerns trust as individuals’ expectations about the others’ thoughts, behaviour and decisions (Idrissou, 2012; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). These expectations are often based on what we know of the other through patterns of cooperation (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; O’Brien, 2001). This knowledge is based on a set of accumulating events and the interpretation of these events. These interpretations provide information ranging from specific knowledge about the characteristics and identities to more general information about common values and norms (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). Under the influence of new events, behaviour and interaction, this interpretation is constantly constructed and reconstructed over time. This common history forms a dynamic basis for expectations and trust. In addition, on the basis of the interpretation of common history and present-day events, individuals experience uncertainty, risks, control and vulnerability. These experiences influence the construction of expectations over time as well. As such, these experiences influence trust. In this process, new interactions result in new experiences, a reconstruction of the past, adjusted expectations and a rebalancing of trust.

The second dimension of trust is the context in which it is performed (Kadefors, 2004; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). Trust is always expressed in a specific situation of interaction. In

such interaction, people give meaning to the context through interpretation and consequent actions. Thus, these interpretations result in new and terminating opportunities to trust or not. However, the interpretation can also result in feelings like risk, (un)certainty, vulnerability or flexibility. Experiencing such feelings influences trust dynamics as well.

When considered in these two dimensions, trust reveals itself as a concept that is constantly balanced in interaction. Figure 3.1 illustrates trust constantly balanced over time around the question of whether to trust or not, built upon the image of past and future expectations (horizontal lines) and influenced by feelings of uncertainty, vulnerability and risk (little arrows). It also shows the context (vertical line) creating new opportunities and terminating existing ones.

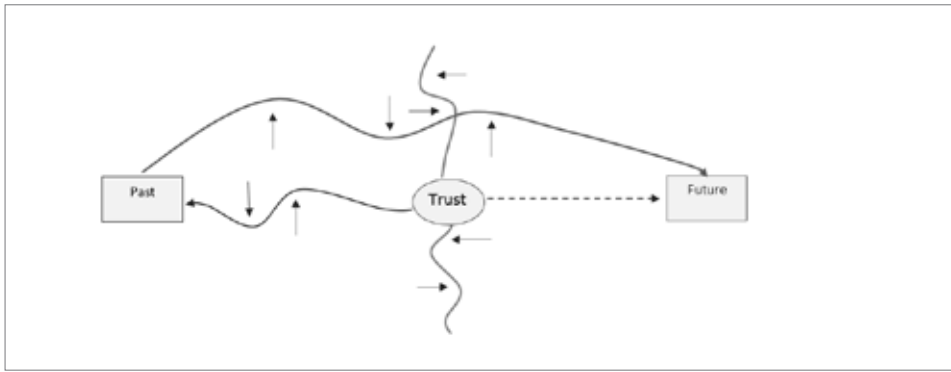


Figure 3.1: *Longitudinal trust dynamics in context*

Trust and contracts

The literature about the relation between trust and contracts is extensive, especially in the field of economics (Möllering, 2006). However, studies reveal diverging views (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012). A first group of scholars argues that contracts and trust are opposite to each other (Rousseau et al., 1998). They contend that contracts reduce effective exchange in relationships as a result of too much structure and control. According to them, detailed contracts rule out the flexibility that is needed to deal with trust and even reduce the development of positive expectations. Moreover, they argue that the level of control is seen as a sign of distrust. A second group argues that trust is a stronger and more preferred control mechanism. Trust makes contracts and control unnecessary (Poppo & Zenger, 2002). The last group sees contracts and trust as complementary to each other, arguing that a contract does not imply a lack of trust (Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005). They argue that contracts and trust are two different approaches which can be used alongside each other (Das & Teng, 1998; Eshuis, 2006; Mellewigt, Madhok & Weibel, 2007), or are a duality, such that they refer to each other (Möllering, 2005). In this perspective, contracts are the basis for trust and limit the chances and incentives for opportunism.

Closer examination of these different perspectives reveals that they all share a focus on the level of detail of contracts in relation to trust. Relating this to the dynamic nature of trust,

we conclude that the interplay between trust and contracts can thus have various forms and that the relation between trust and contracts is far from static (Das & Teng, 2001; Edelenbos & Eshuis, 2012). However, how trust and contracts relate over time has hardly been studied (Klein Woolthuis et al., 2005). Taking this dynamic relation as a starting point, in the current article, we focus on the longitudinal use of contracts and the influence thereof on trust dynamics. In doing so, we concentrate on the instances when contracts are discussed or used in interaction. We chose this focus because the meaning of policy instruments such as contracts is constructed in interaction, through interpretation and the actors' subsequent actions (Rap, 2006; Van Herzele & Aarts, 2013). We assume that contracts influence trust dynamics every time they are discussed, altered or broken. In order to understand how this occurs, we analyze the use of contracts and the consequences thereof over time in three Dutch cases of spatial planning practice.

For each case, we identified and analysed a series of events to explore longitudinally the dynamic perspective on trust and contracts. During these events, contracts were discussed, altered or adjusted. Following our theoretical discussion on two dimensions of trust dynamics and the use of contracts, we focus in these events on the following:

1. The role of the contracts;
2. The common history and the subsequent expectations, among the parties involved;
3. The role of the context.

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For our exploration, we draw upon three earlier studies on planning practice, namely, the Maurik Dijkzone case, the Teylingen Pact case (Van Ark, 2005) and the Investment Fund for Rural Areas case (De Vries et al., 2014). The secondary analysis aimed to explore the use of contracts and the influence thereof on trust dynamics. The data from the three case studies were suited to that purpose because the initial studies aimed to study trust in planning practice in which contracts played an important role (the Maurik Dijkzone case and the Investment Fund for Rural Areas case) and the use of contracts in planning practice in which trust played an important role (the Teylingen Pact case). The data for these studies were collected through semi-structured interviews in order to explore the various events in the processes and the perspectives on these events. For the Maurik Dijkzone case, eight landowners were interviewed. In the study of the Teylingen Pact case, data were collected through nine interviews with politicians, civil servants, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and interest groups. For the Investment Fund for Rural Areas case, 25 interviews were conducted with civil servants from the national government and the provinces. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. In addition, all studies contain a document study in which policy documents relating to the planning processes were collected.

Our secondary analysis concentrates on the longitudinal use of contracts and the influence thereof on trust dynamics in interactions. In doing so, we took a interpretative analyses perspective as this enabled us to focus on the interaction and the 'different ways of seeing, understanding, and doing, based on different prior experiences' (Yanow, 2000: 8). For this analysis, we draw upon the transcribed interview data and earlier publications of the three cases. Processing these data, we coded the parts about trust, distrust, contracts, agreements

and trust-related concepts, namely, uncertainty, control and risk. These coded elements were then used to construct the use of contracts and the influence thereof on trust dynamics over time. These findings were then combined in three timelines and case descriptions.

3.3 Three examples from Dutch spatial planning

The Maurik Dijkzone case

Our first example is from the municipality of Buren. The municipality signed a contract with a group of landowners in order to build several houses on their private land (for the timeline of this project, see Figure 3.2). This project was initiated when a group of five landowners in Maurik village (4000 inhabitants) had the idea of jointly building new houses on their land. They presented their ideas to the local municipality, who invited the landowners to come up with a concrete development plan. Together, the landowners negotiated over several months and eventually signed a contract. They signed the contract as a basis for commonly building houses on their land. This contract stated that they would hire a spatial consultant to draw up the plan, develop the houses together and share the basic costs of plan development. In this contract, the municipality was not yet involved. The development plan – the product of the contract – was, however, rejected by the municipality as it did not fit into the municipality's recently presented spatial strategy. The contract between the landowners was, therefore, rendered useless. A few years later, the municipality developed the land allocation plan for the village. In this process, the municipality invited the five landowners to draw up a new plan, called Dijkzone, together with their neighbours as part of the allocation plan. The project was now directed by the municipality, and the total area included 11 landowners and 7.5 ha of land (fig. 3.3).

As project leader, the municipality presented a time planning, with the various phases of the process such as initiation phase and design phase. On their initiative, the landowners and the municipality came together to discuss the wishes and demands of the landowners. Based on these discussions and a generalized feeling of trust, the new group (of 11) and the municipality signed a contract for the development of the Maurik Dijkzone. The contract included clauses about cost sharing, required studies and research, preconditions for development, legal requirements and detailed agreements about the process. If the process did not lead to the expected housing plan with the landowners' consent, the process would be terminated until further notice. Some of the landowners signed the contract as they had the intention of selling their land, whereas others intended to build houses in the Dijkzone. For the municipality, the main reason for joining the process was that this project would lead to relatively cost-efficient small-scale housing suited to the local situation. The contract was designed under the direction of the municipality. Because the various landowners had different reasons for signing it, the contract became very detailed. After signing the contract, the municipality was still in charge but delegated the project to two external planning professionals. They acted as project managers for the municipality. The contact between municipality and the landowners was mainly through public meetings and the project managers. During the process, the contract was used by the municipality for keeping to the time schedule and controlling the various steps in the planning procedure.

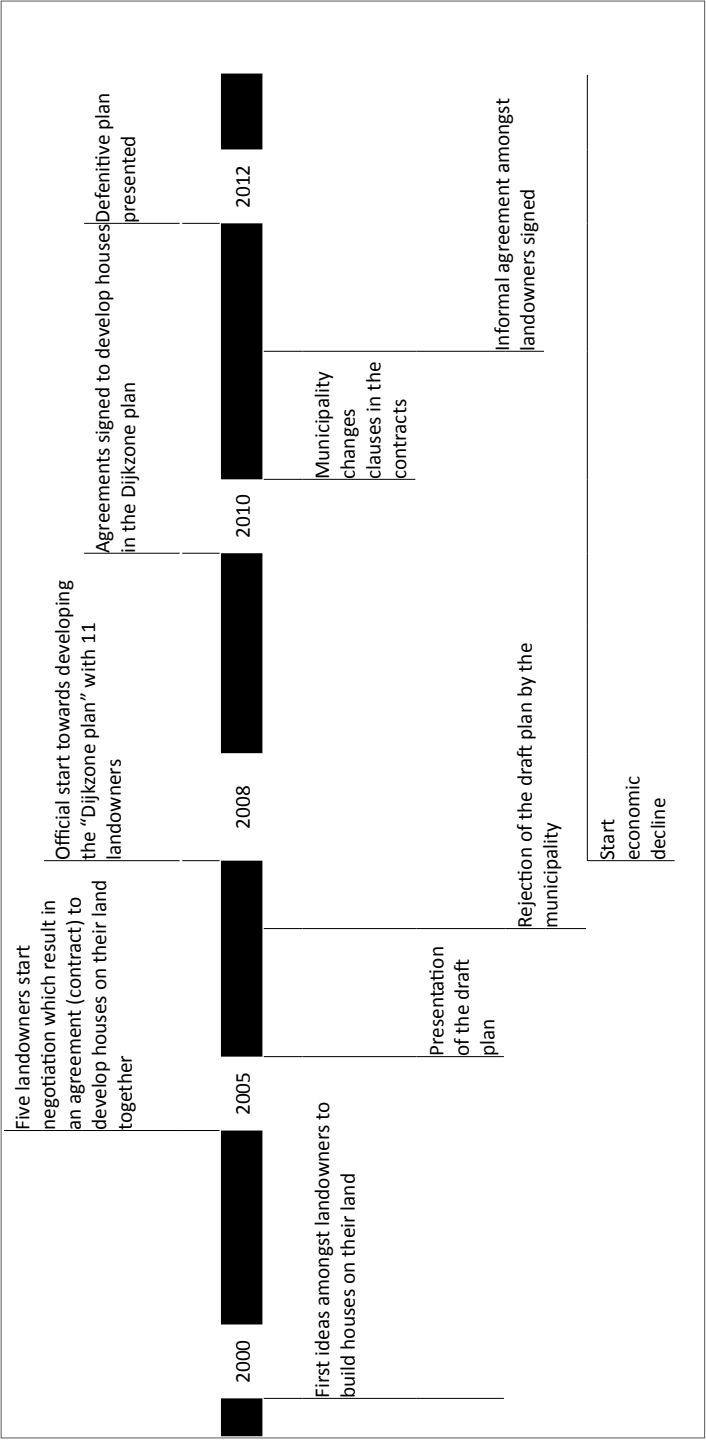


Figure 3.2. Timeline of the Maurik Dijkzone case



Figure 3.3. *The Maurik Dijkzone plan (picture: Buro SRO BV Utrecht)*

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After some time, the municipality changed the proposed financial clauses in the contract as they feared exposure to significant financial risk. The landowners were surprised about these changes. Subsequently, other actions taken by the municipality were not greatly appreciated either. For instance, some landowners raised the issues of the constant change of project leaders and of a confidential memo accidentally sent to all participants. Moreover, the changes resulted in higher financial risk for the landowners. This risk was perceived as stronger in the context of the ongoing economic decline. Consequently, initial expectations from the time the contract was signed regarding profit were sharply reduced. Discussing these issues with the municipality did not help, according to the landowners. In their view, the municipality turned a deaf ear to their questions. These lowered expectations resulted in landowners starting to lose trust in the municipality, thus making cooperation more difficult. The perception of risk increased as well, because it was felt that the contract limited the landowners' personal ability to deal with future developments; for instance, their ability to deal with the consequences of economic decline. However, as the municipality was not open for discussions, the contract was not discussed either. In other words, in the perspective of the landowners, the municipality did what they wanted after signing the contract while the risk was mostly experienced by the landowners. Consequently, the contract was perceived more and more as restrictive and a risk factor. These perceived limitations resulted in decreasing trust in the municipality and the project on the part of the landowners. In addition, landowners started to search for more information, and research delayed the process.

Especially in the group of five, the changes by the municipality were viewed negatively as the initial idea and subsequent expectation of building houses together came under pressure. However, as the municipality delegated the project management to the external planners,

the ministry was not involved directly. Consequently, the landowners started to develop depersonalized trust based on discussions with each other as there was hardly any personal contact with the municipality (Kramer, 1999). Although the participants started to lose their trust in the municipality, the general feeling was that the contract was signed and therefore most of them were still cooperating. In other words, they had trust in the working of the contract.

In the process of declining trust in the municipality, the first contract – between the landowners – started to play a role again. This first contract had become void because the municipality rejected the first development plan. At that juncture, it did not seem to play a very important role, but in the process of declining trust, this ‘historical event’ was reframed as an argument to underpin the feeling of distrust and uncertainty in relation to the municipality. This process of resemiotization shows that it is not only the way contracts are used in interaction that plays a role, but that in this interaction, mutual history also can be reframed over time (Iedema, 2003). As such, the use of contracts forms the basis for the argument of trust or distrust. A consequence of the declining trust was that some of the landowners signed a new contract, without terminating the other. This contract was signed by a small group of actors. In the new contract, they formulated agreements for the future development of the project in order to consolidate the feeling of trust among themselves, in the face of distrust towards the municipality. The contract consisted of agreements consolidating the trust relation between the landowners, and agreements about the way they would team up in future negotiations with the municipality. They felt this was necessary since so much had changed and happened in their mutual relation. Thus, the new context resulted in a new contract. This contract functioned as the specification of the context to foster further cooperation (Ellickson, 1991).

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The Maurik Dijkzone case shows how the use of contracts influences expectations although it was not regularly discussed among the various parties involved. The main contract between the municipality and the landowners was designed to specify and clarify the relation for future cooperation within the existing context. However, as the context changed over time, the contract became oppressive for the landowners. This resulted in two developments. First, over time, various negative events relating to the contract occurred and became part of the parties’ common history. Second, landowners started to reframe the rejection of the first plan and expressed this as an argument for distrust. On the basis of these various and accumulating events and on the agreements in the contract, landowners developed negative expectations and distrust towards the course of the project and the municipality. The last can mainly be characterized as depersonalized trust. In addition, a group of landowners signed a new contract to specify their mutual relation in order to consolidate their personal trust in the new context and in the face of unknown future developments. In a way, this can be viewed as the consolidation of a ‘gentlemen’s agreement’ and the consolidation of trust and goodwill.

The Teylingen Pact case

The second example deals with the use of an agreement made by a large number of public and private parties about spatial developments in the Bulb district (Province of Zuid-Holland, the Netherlands) (for the timeline of this project, see Figure 3.4, for an impression fig. 3.5). This agreement, called the Teylingen Pact, is the more or less spontaneous outcome of a joint

effort by local governmental organizations and NGOs to prevent further urbanization of the area (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011; Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012a). Prior to the cooperation in the Pact, the different parties (particularly the farmers on the one side and the nature conservationists on the other) clashed with one another for a long time over various issues in different projects and contexts. Consequently, large gaps existed in the relations between people, and great distrust was experienced among representatives.

Although plans for further urbanization of the district were launched before, the actual start of the Pact followed the province's presentation of the plan for 'Bulb city'. This would mean the expansion of the urban areas and was a threat for both the flower industry and the nature areas in the region. The local governments, NGOs and other actors came together in common resistance against this plan as they valued the flower industry and the dune nature areas greatly. The Teylingen Pact was initiated because of a strong feeling of distrust towards a common enemy, emanating from discussions in which opinions were shared. As a result of the discussions, people started to understand one another's perspectives, and mutual distrust started to decrease. The discussions resulted in an agreement on a set of strategic actions to keep the Bulb district open: the Teylingen Pact, an informal agreement and not part of formal policies. The Pact contains agreements about spatial development but also about strategic decision-making. The discussions, resulting in the Pact, led to a feeling of trust between the actors involved. Thus, the contracting process functioned as a consolidation of trust. This trust was based on the renegotiation of actors' common history and the consolidation of future interdependencies. These discussions included a great deal of reflexivity, a process in which actors and their interaction influences trust development and trust concurrently influences interaction between the actors (Möllering, 2006). According to several interviewees, the parties involved in the Teylingen Pact would not have reached an agreement without the intervention of a civil servant from the province. He inspired the parties to cooperate by translating the parties' specific problems in order to come to a joint perspective on the region and thus creating a moral binding between the parties involved.

From the time the Teylingen Pact came into being (1996), the agreements were incorporated in different spatial plans. This was seen as a sign of success and strengthened the trust in the Pact. Although the Pact was seen as very positive and as a sign of trust, it did not lead to blind trust. Representatives remained critical of one another and the implementation of the agreements in the Pact. For instance, when discussions about spatial developments or mutual cooperation became deadlocked, the representatives often referred back to the agreements. However, discussing the Pact and using it successfully made the agreement stronger over time. The Pact was seen as a framework giving the flexibility to develop relations and spatial plans within the context of the agreements made. In addition, to a certain extent, the agreements themselves could be questioned during preset evaluation periods. This then resulted in discussions in which spatial challenges, ambitions and ideas were balanced. Based on these discussions, new agreements could be made fitting the new context.

Because trust was the basis of the cooperation in the Pact, breaking the agreement could only happen at great personal expense, especially as the representatives committed to the Pact would meet and need one another in various future projects. This feeling grew as the

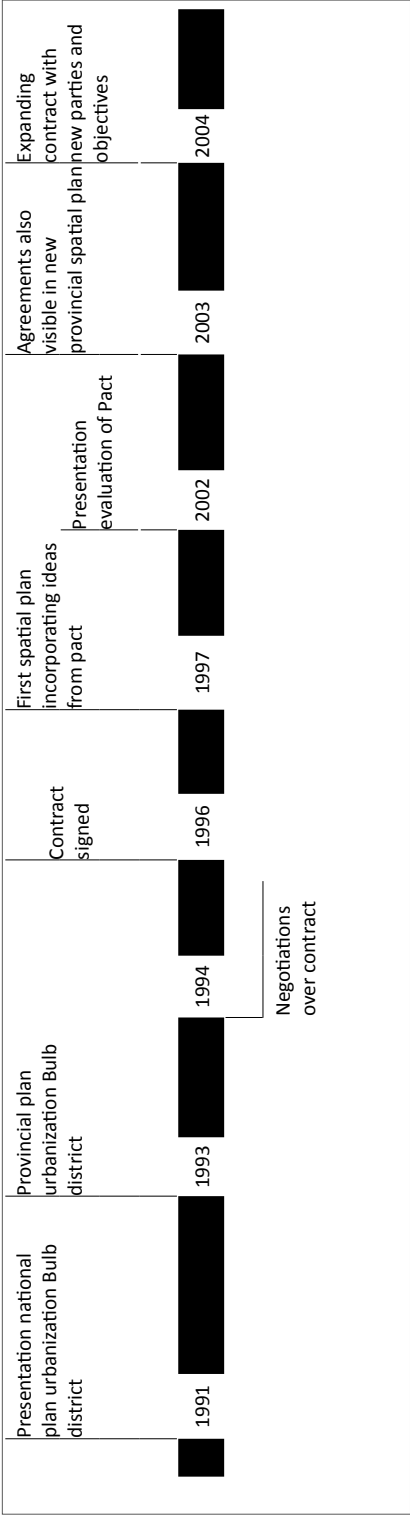
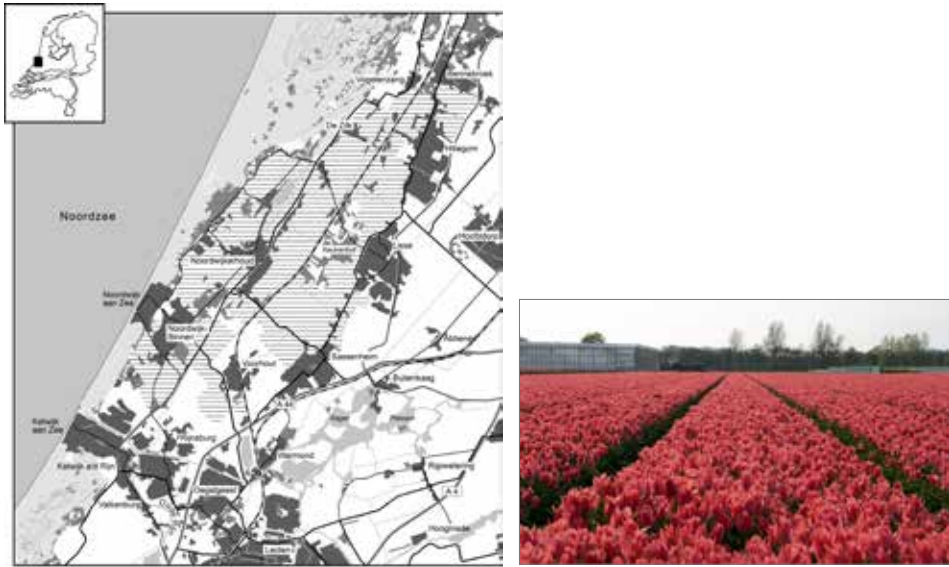


Figure 3.4. Timeline of the Pact van Teylingen



50 | **Figure 3.5.** Dune- and bulb area (hatched part = bulb area) (picture: World of Landscapes).

Pact was successful and became stronger every time it was referred to. As the Teylingen Pact was mainly based on personal commitment, it gradually became difficult to deviate from the Pact. Breaking the contract would mean great personal damage to one's reputations as the Pact became functional as a dominant tool in the network of organizations dealing with spatial development in the area (Ter Haar, Aarts & Verhoeven, 2010). Moreover, the personal commitment resulted from the fact that the Pact is not legally binding. Therefore, (new) representatives need to feel committed to carry out the agreements within their own organizations. This needs active contract management. An important manner to keep the Pact alive is to periodically evaluate the Pact and its outcome. The evaluations furthermore showed to serve another purpose: straightening out conflicts by naming and discussing them. The Teylingen Pact case shows how a common history is reconstructed between various parties. The outcome of this reconstruction was the basis for mutual trust. This trust was consolidated in an informal contract in which parties agreed upon future interdependencies for the development of the Bulb district. The 'successful' use of the Pact over time added to the positive perspective on the common history among the parties involved. Through this process, the common history became stronger, as also the expectations about future development and mutual trust. Over time, the parties developed more positive expectations about future development and mutual trust. In this process, these successes resulted in a form of groupthink in which the success of the group, for example, the contract, influenced individual decisions (Haslam, 2004). This is exemplified by the idea that the Pact itself was seen as a sign of trust by the group, from which people could only deviate without good reason with great damage to their reputation.

Furthermore, the Teylingen Pact shows the importance of contract management not only in the process of coming to a mutual agreement (the role of the civil servant) but also in the

process of cooperating in the context of a contract (the role of periodically evaluating the contract and its outcome).

Investment Fund for Rural Areas

The third example is the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (ILG), a series of contracts used by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality to make agreements with provincial authorities (for an impression see fig. 3.6; for the timeline of this project, see fig. 3.7).

To respond to the growing multi-functionality of the Dutch countryside, the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality initiated this investment fund in 2004. The aim of the ILG was to enable regional and local authorities to effectively realize national objectives for the development of rural areas as it was believed that the provinces were better informed about local and regional demands and wishes. Therefore, the national government and provinces signed contracts on initiative of the national government, in which they agreed which part of national policy would be implemented by the provinces. The contract did not explicitly contain agreements on how these objectives should be reached. Consequently, cooperation between the governments was based on trust (as stated in one of the first policy documents), and the focus in the contracts was to be on national objectives. The philosophy behind this approach, and the reason to sign, was that both governmental tiers would work together in a horizontal manner. In this structure, the central government would function as principal, and the provinces as directors of the implementation. All parties expected that this would lead to better context specific plans for the provinces.

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In the process of designing the contracts, discussions were held about the budgets, autonomy of the provinces, control by central government and monitoring. As a result, the design process took a very long time, and although not intended at the start of the ILG, it resulted in very detailed performance contracts. Moreover, it was intended that the contracts would be tailor-made. However, in the end, the contracts were standardized forms which could be filled out. These contracts were completely focused on output in order to ensure accountability to the national government and to make it easy to execute yearly monitoring rounds. In the first years of the ILG, it became clear that the national government perceived the contracts as a detailed way of consolidating cooperation. As initiator, the national government used the contract as a way to control the provinces in the various discussions about the progress of the ILG, in and outside national parliament. The provinces, on their turn, perceived the contracts as control mechanisms.

Until the midterm review (MTR), many discussions were held between the different governments. The discussions focused mainly on the correctness of the numbers reported and the accountability of the various provinces in relation to the agreements in the contracts. Although not agreed upon, the first annual reports were discussed in parliament. In these discussions, the content and form of the contracts were often mentioned. These discussions kept on going as both parties needed each other, and due to the horizontal organization structure of the ILG, there was not one leading actor who could make the decisions. As a result of these discussions, the relation between the governmental tiers worsened. More specific, the provinces saw the contracts as control mechanisms, limiting their flexibility to



Figure 3.6. The ILG projects in the province of Zuid-Holland and the island of Tiengemetten, one of the ILG projects for recreation and nature conservation (picture: Natuurmonumenten).

deal with future developments. However, the discussions themselves were also seen by the provinces as a sign of distrust. These feelings of control, lack of flexibility and distrust built upon one another. Consequently, these experiences became part of the common history of the cooperating governmental tiers. In addition, under the influence of these experiences, the provinces also reframed their mutual history (Iedema, 2003). This resulted in a growing negative feeling over time. Because of this perspective, combined with the detailed contracts, the provinces developed low expectations about the future of the ILG and lost trust in the central government and the ILG. Under these circumstances, both the provinces and the central government argued that the long duration of discussions in the process towards signing the contracts was already a sign of distrust. Moreover, intergovernmental cooperation regarding the ILG became harder by the day.

As the MTR came nearer, it could be observed that the discussions focused even more on numbers agreed upon in the contracts. Under the influence of these discussions, the control aspects of the contracts were more strongly felt, and trust between the parties declined further. The declining trust went hand in hand with debates about the future of the provinces. The future of the provinces was an important topic in the national elections, taking place at the time of writing the MTR. In election debates, many politicians wanted to cut back on the provincial budgets and the ILG. In heated debates, provinces felt that they were fighting for their future existence. Here, the provinces saw the ILG as an instrument to show their importance in the web of governments and governmental tasks. After the elections, a new government took office with new ideas about the rural areas. The new national government saw itself still as initiator or leader of the ILG. In their very first months, the national government started new negotiations because they wanted new agreements with the provinces and to stop most of the funds for the ILG projects. Consequently, the provinces judged the ministry as an unreliable partner in long-term policies.

The ILG case shows how the contracts were perceived differently over time. Under the influence of discussions about the contracts, and in relation to accountability, the provinces started to perceive the contracts more and more as a control mechanism. These perceptions

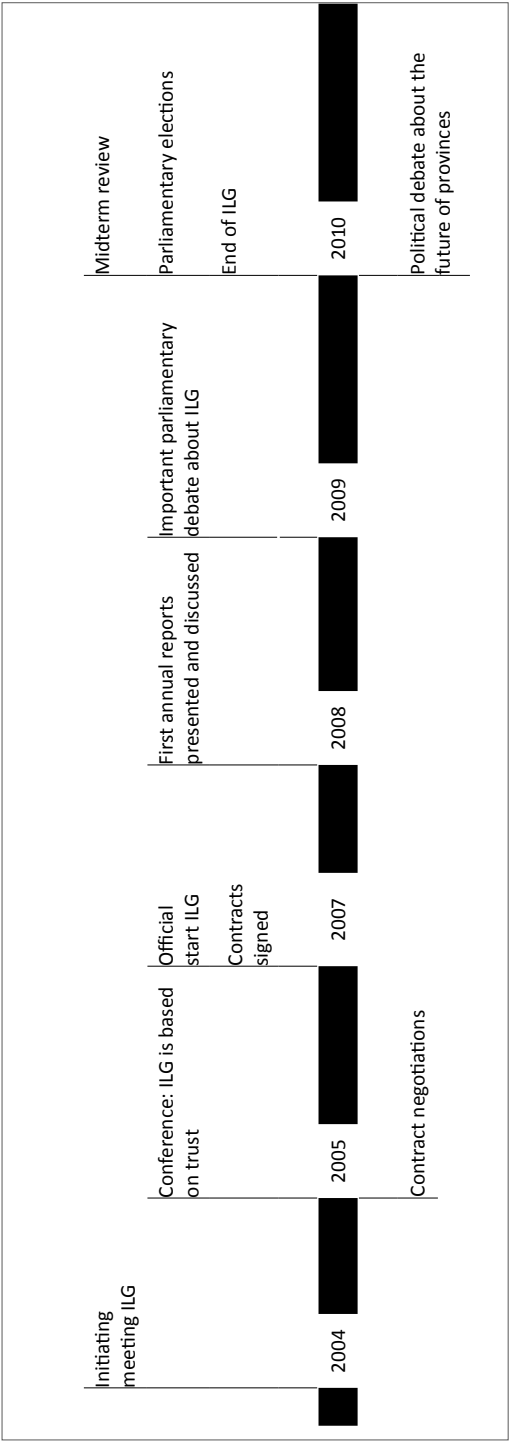


Figure 3.6. Timeline of the Investment Fund for Rural Areas

influenced their perspective on the common history. On the basis of this reconstructed perspective and the different accumulating discussions, distrust grew between the parties. In other words, the contracts which were mend as auditing mechanisms and to create openness resulted in growing distrust when they were used during the process (O'Neill, 2002). At election time, the ILG and consequently the contracts were seen as a last straw to vindicate the provinces' right to exist.

3.4 Comparing the cases

Our analysis of the three cases shows how contracts are used in various spatial planning contexts in the Netherlands. The cases vary greatly in relation to how the contracts were used, the context, the relation between the parties involved, the course of the projects and trust dynamics. However, comparing the cases, we found several patterns in how the use of contracts over time related to trust dynamics. In discussing these findings, we follow our analytical points and focus on how trust dynamics are influenced by, and influence, the role of the contract; the common history and subsequent expectations among the parties involved; and the role of the context.

54 | Building upon the dynamic relation between contracts and trust (Das & Teng, 2001; Edelenbos & Eshuis, 2012), the cases show that the role of the contracts is not fixed and was perceived differently over time, resulting in different consequences for trust dynamics. More specifically, the cases show how the perceptions about contracts changed over time under the influence of the use of the contracts. Despite the differences in the form of the contracts, the Maurik case and the ILG, for instance, show that every time the contracts were discussed or used, they were more and more perceived as control mechanisms. On the basis of their image of past interactions and influenced by the perceived role of contracts, actors expected that this control function would restrict their freedom to deal with future developments. This increased their feelings of risk and uncertainty, and consequently lowered their positive expectation about the outcome of the project. This lowered expectation negatively influenced the feeling of trust towards the municipality (Maurik) and the central government (ILG).

All three cases showed that, longitudinally, the use of contracts contributes to the common history among the parties involved, one of the dimensions of trust dynamics (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; O'Brien, 2001). Therewith, the use of contracts shaped the parties' image of history, the contract, the other parties and mutual relations. Every time the contract is used, discussed or altered, it became part of the common history as the planning process continues. In the Teylingen case, for instance, every time parts of the agreements were incorporated in spatial plans and policies, this contributed to the success of the contract. Over time, these successes accumulated and contributed to a positive image of the historical interactions and the contract that was signed. A negative loop is also possible as the ILG case shows. The repeating emphasis on contracts as a means for control strengthened the image of a difficult relation between the parties and therewith distrust between the parties involved.

A common history, and the image thereof, is not a fixed image consisting of a series of events. Every new event influences the image of that same history. Consequently, these images are

constantly constructed and reconstructed and can vary from person to person, therewith forming a dynamic basis for expectations and trust. In the Maurik case, for instance, the municipality's changes to the contract altered the landowners' perception of history. In their view, new light was shed upon earlier events, for example, the rejection of the first spatial plan. This perception was constructed in relation to the contract, resulted in lower expectations about the outcome of the project and the agreements in the contract and gave rise to distrust. In the ILG case, the contract negotiations were seen more and more as a sign of distrust under the influence of the ongoing new discussions about control and accountability. The reframed distrust and the accountability discussions in combination with the perceived control function of the contract resulted in lower expectations and distrust. In the Teylingen case, the contract was agreed upon after a renegotiation of the actors' images of history. In this renegotiation, trust was established and consolidated through reflexivity (Möllering, 2006). Subsequently, every time the contract was used successfully and expectations were met, the functioning of the contract was confirmed and so was trust. This strengthened the images of successful interactions between the parties, resulting in more positive expectations and a stronger bond of trust. In this case, the perspective on the contract also changed. Here, the contract became a sign of trust from which it was hard to deviate from.

In addition, focusing on the context as an important dimension of trust dynamics (Kadefors, 2004; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995), we see that perceptions on the role of the contract were influenced by the changing images about the context in which parties had to interact and deal with each other. In the Maurik case, we saw, for instance, that the landowners perceived economic decline as a risk factor affecting the amount of profit they would make from the project. Consequently, their perspective on the contract changed, and they perceived the contract as restrictive in dealing with future developments. In the ILG case, the interplay between the context and the contract was also evident. Here, the contracts were more and more perceived as controlling, thus negatively influencing the provinces' perception of the central government and resulting in distrust, whereas with the upcoming elections and the debates about the end of the provinces, the ILG and therewith the contracts were seen by the provinces as their ticket to future existence. Although this did not change the provinces' distrust of the central government, it resulted in a more positive perspective on the functioning of the contracts.

Comparing the cases shows that the images of history are an important dimension for trust dynamics (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; O'Brien, 2001). These images are continuously constructed and reconstructed in interrelation with the use of a contract and the specific circumstances in which a party has to deal with another party. These dynamic images influence expectations about future developments and trust dynamics. Here, contracts play a key role by the way they are used and consequently perceived as these shape the room, the expectations and consequent possibilities to deal with future developments, uncertainties and risks (cf. Domingo & Beunen, 2013).

3.5 Conclusion: pivotal points in planning

By analyzing the three cases, we explored our perspective on trust and contracts further by focusing on how, longitudinally, the use of contracts influences trust dynamics. From this analysis, we conclude that the use of contracts over time influences trust dynamics and vice versa every time contracts are used, discussed or altered, through different patterns relating to the construction of the common history, and the (re)interpretation thereof, expectations and the context. In doing so, we took the discussion about trust and contracts a step further and away from the often discussed dualism of trust and contracts (Klein Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005; Möllering, 2005).

The use of contracts, their role and the consequent influence on trust dynamics do not stand alone (Möllering, 2005). We conclude that contracts are a specification of the context at a certain juncture. However, planned and unplanned changes are inevitable parts of planning processes, resulting in a continuously changing context (Van Woerkum, Aarts & Van Herzele, 2011). People frame or reframe their perspective on the role of the contract every time they experience changes in their context (cf. Djanibekov, Van Assche & Boezeman, 2013). Therefore, new perceptions of the 'old' contract result in the terminating of existing opportunities, the development of new ones and altered expectations about the course of the project and mutual relationships. Thus, these changing perceptions lead to dynamic trust relations. Moreover, new perspectives on the role of the contract then also influence the way the specific circumstances of interaction and negotiation are perceived. Therefore, we conclude that the role of a contract has a dynamic interrelation with the context, under the influence of the use of the contract over time.

In addition, we conclude that the use of contracts at different junctures should be viewed as series of events. These series become part of the common history of the parties involved. These series of events, build upon one another, contradict or slightly change perspectives with every new event or use of the contract. The common history should thus not be viewed as a factual reality but as particular images constructed and reconstructed over time under the influence of the use of the contract itself. As such, we conclude that the common history, as a basis for trust dynamics, is not only constructed in interaction between actors as often advocated (O'Brien, 2001; Rousseau et al., 1998). More precisely the common history is constructed and constantly reframed under the influence of new events, interactions and the use of policy instruments. This dynamic perspective results in certainties/uncertainties, growing or declining risks and expectations about the course of the project and mutual relations. In addition, based on a dynamic image of the past, the perspective on the role of the contract is thus constantly (re-)constructed as well. The role then functions as a pivotal point on which expectations based on the image of the past are rebalanced in relation to the contract – especially as expectations about, and trust towards, persons or the project, based on the image of the past, will always be rebalanced in the face of the perceived future possibilities and restrictions of a contract.

Hence, our dynamic perspective on the use of contracts in relation to trust shows that the use of contracts over time plays a pivotal role in trust dynamics and the other way around,

reinforcing each other in positive or negative ways. As pivotal points, both contracts and trust dynamics are central mechanisms in the construction and reconstruction of common histories and in rebalancing specific expectations in interrelation with dynamic contexts by creating new and terminating opportunities.

By studying trust and contracts from a dynamic perspective, we have attempted to provide new input into the ongoing debate about the relation between these two highly interesting concepts. However, our exploration is only a first step in studying the use of contracts and policy instruments in general in relation to trust dynamics. This leaves us open to more explorative theories, taking into account the dynamics of everyday life and planning.

3.6 Implications for planners

A dynamic perspective on the interplay between trust and contracts has different implications. Under the reform towards governance and neo-liberal ideas, spatial planning practitioners and authorities regularly use contracts and other policy instruments to guide interaction or to (re-)establish trust (Bevir, Rhodes & Weller, 2003; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Lane, 1998; Noordegraaf, 2000). In these settings, planners and others should be aware that the meaning and role of contracts are constructed based upon their use at specific junctures. Consequently, contracts are neither value free nor unambiguous policy instruments and should therefore not be viewed as the final step in a planning process. Rather, contracts should be used with a certain degree of precaution as formalization of relations may deepen the distrust they seek to dissolve (O'Neill, 2002). Therefore, it is important to constantly take into account both the images of history that the different parties have and the way they perceive the specific context at hand while using a contract or while trying to understand its (potential) role.

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This precaution may start with the notion that contracts should include clauses which arrange junctures or events which give cause to change the contract in response to the state of the art or expected situations and ideas. This will enable planners, local people, governments and other groups to adapt to changing circumstances and unforeseen changes, as things will happen differently than planned anyway (Dörner, 1990). Changing the contract then constitutes a juncture at which the common history is discussed and reconstructed, expectations are managed and trust is influenced. Although this is by no means a new key to success, it may prevent situations in which contracts are outdated but still in place, leading to uncertainties and unrestrained development of distrust.

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4

The dynamics of trust in contested land use

A longitudinal study towards trust in
intergroup conflicts in the Baviaanskloof,
South Africa



Abstract

Using insights about in-group and intergroup dynamics from social identity theory and sociology, we studied the emergence and evolution of intergroup trust in the Baviaanskloof (South Africa) over time. We conclude that in-group interpretations of intergroup interactions contribute to the ongoing reconstruction of distrust towards the other group. Constructions of group identities and group history reinforce differences between groups, shaping expectations about behaviour of in-group and out-group members. In this process, seemingly unrelated past events and contextual changes were connected as uncontested arguments as to why the other group could not be trusted. The growing distrust stabilised group dynamics and thus distrust towards the other group. These inter- and in-group dynamics explain why adapting to major environmental changes, and future collaboration becomes more difficult in conflict situations.

Keywords: *trust, intergroup relations, social identity theory (SIT), nature conservation, conflict*

Prologue

Farmers: *'from the beginning there was not much trust [in] the project manager, the mafia, or whoever was involved ... they wanted to bulldozer us out [of the Baviaanskloof].'* And *'Maybe I am an old farmer, but ... I got the idea of the PMU [governmental conservation organisation], nature conservationists, and all that stuff on one side and 17 farmers on the other side, fighting against each other over the years.'*

Nature conservationists: *'There are always problems with farmers! You know, you are talking about agriculture versus conservation.'* *'There is always a mistrust barrier because of the conflicts that happened 20 years ago.'*

These quotes illustrate the relation between two groups in a conflict over nature restoration and the expansion of a nature reserve on privately owned agricultural land in the Baviaanskloof, South Africa. Such developments take place in various forms in South Africa and have a large influence on the countryside and its inhabitants (Brooks et al. 2011). The quotes show that in this case the relation was characterised by an enormous amount of mutual distrust that developed over a long period of time. Recent attempts at planning and policymaking were seriously hampered by this discordant trust relation between the most important groups in the area (Crane, 2006). Following these quotes, the question arises: How did this distrust emerge and develop between the two groups?

4.1 Introduction

The Baviaanskloof (Baboons gorge) is an isolated valley in Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. The mountains on both sides are part of the Baviaanskloof Nature Reserve (BNR), whereas the valley floor around the river and the surrounding hill slopes are used for agriculture. These areas are regarded as an important link in the Baviaanskloof ecosystem. In recent history, the BNR's managing nature conservation organisations made various attempts to incorporate the valley floor into the reserve, as this would allow species access to the river and adjacent grasslands. In these attempts, the nature conservation organisations deployed various strategies ranging from land acquisition to stewardship programmes. As most farmers wanted to continue farming in the valley, these attempts led to a wide range of negotiations, discussions, and persistent conflicts between farmers and nature conservationists.

Negotiations and conflicts between groups over land-use practices, nature restoration, and natural resources regularly occur (Vermeulen & Cotula, 2010, Idrissou et al. 2011, Peters, 2013). One of the characteristics of intergroup negotiations and conflicts is that the groups involved hold strong, diverging perspectives on the issue at stake, their own role, and the role of the other group or groups (James, 2000). In these perspectives, in-group ideas and members are strongly favoured over those of other groups (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Thus, in-group members are regarded as trustful partners in conflictive situations, whereas members from other groups are approached with distrust (Elias & Scotson, 1994, Kramer & Carnevale, 2001, Tam et al. 2009). Consequently, trust and distrust are at the heart of intergroup conflicts.

The importance of intergroup negotiation has gained attention in various fields relating to public services and administration (Kramer & Carnevale, 2001), partly influenced by a wider governmental reform often referred to as the shift towards governance (Van Ark &

Edelenbos, 2005). Governance aims to bring about collective, binding decisions in relation to public services, but this can be difficult because of diverging ideas, values, and norms (North, 2009). As a result of this reform, interest groups are increasingly recognised as important stakeholders in processes for environmental change. Both scholars and practitioners have developed and discussed various strategies and approaches in order to deal with diverging convictions of groups and their accompanying conflicts (Healey, 1997, Höppner, Frick & Buchecker, 2007, Van Woerkum, Aarts & Van Herzele, 2011). In these discussions and approaches, trust is often mentioned as an important concept for successful intergroup cooperation (see amongst others Höppner, Frick & Buchecker, 2007).

Despite the frequent claims about the importance of trust in relation to intergroup negotiations, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the emergence and evolution of trust and distrust in intergroup contexts over time. Studying trust over time is highly relevant, as trust is not a static concept but rather develops between people through a series of interactions (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006, Idrissou et al. 2013). Because the time aspect is overlooked, there is a lack of empirical studies giving insight into how trust emerges and evolves in intergroup relations. In the current paper, we aim to fill this gap and focus on the question: How does trust emerge and evolve over time in intergroup conflicts?

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To operationalise our research question, we combine insights from studies on trust and intergroup relations. We first explore trust and trust dynamics. To understand intergroup relations, we adopt theories from the fields of social psychology and sociology. In social psychology, we build upon social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) to clarify how people define themselves in in-group relations, whereas we largely follow ideas from the field of sociology to shed light on intergroup relations (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Using these theories, we examine the Baviaanskloof case to analyse longitudinally trust dynamics in intergroup relations.

4.2 Theoretical considerations

Trust and trust dynamics

Studies on trust date back to the nineteenth century (Möllering, 2001). However, the broader attention on trust in the last decades originates from organisation studies and adjacent fields (Tyler & Kramer, 1996). In these studies, two main traditions in trust research have emerged. The first is the behavioural tradition, focusing on trust as a willingly rational choice based on observable actions of the other in cooperative settings. These studies focus on the visible past actions of the other as the basis of trust (e.g. Hardin, 1993). In this perspective, trust is derived from cooperative behaviour of the interaction partner, whereas distrust follows from uncooperative behaviour. The second tradition is the cognitive tradition, focusing on personal characteristics associated with trust (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). In this perspective, scholars focus on underlying feelings such as uncertainties, expectations, or vulnerability as the basis for trust. These feelings result from interactions and experiences over time. In both traditions, trust develops in interactions between people over time.

Although theoretical studies regard trust as an interactional concept, empirical studies concerning trust often have a strongly static character. These studies often focus on measuring

trust, or on the object or form of trust, and do not include the various underlying mechanisms and processes that lead to trust (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). Consequently, these studies show that trust develops but fail to explain how and why trust develops, and thus fail to take into account the dynamics that come with interaction. In order to gain a better understanding of the development of trust in interaction, we adopt a dynamics perspective on trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996, Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006, Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014). In doing so, we build largely on the cognitive tradition.

From a dynamics perspective, trust can be conceptualised as individuals' dynamic expectation about the thoughts, behaviour, and decisions of other people (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996, Idrissou et al., 2011, Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014). These expectations are constantly balanced in terms of past experiences and what one person knows about another person (O'Brien 2001, Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). The image of the other is constructed out of accumulating events and the interpretations of these events, simultaneously influencing one another (De Vries et al., 2013). This image provides information ranging from specific knowledge about characteristics and identities to more general information about common values and norms (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). Given this image and its relation to present-day events, individuals may experience uncertainty, risks, control, and vulnerability. These experiences influence not only the perspective on the past, but also expectations about future events, actions, and decisions. Consequently, these experiences influence trust. In this process, new interactions result in new experiences, a reconstruction of the image of the past, adjusted trust-related expectations about the future, and thus a constant rebalancing of trust.

In addition, trust dynamics are influenced by the particular situation in which they are performed (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995, Kadefors, 2004, Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014). Trust is always expressed in a context characterised by specific choice options. Within interactions, people continuously interpret the developments in their social environment and the consequences these might have. These interpretations and consequent actions can result in new information, new experiences, or new interpretations of past events that might lead to either enhancing or restricting opportunities to trust or not (Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum & Aarts, 2014).

Social identity and group membership

Studies on trust focus largely on individual trust in, for instance, other individuals, organisations, and institutions (Kramer & Carnevale, 2001). It is, however, widely recognised that people's behaviour, thoughts, ideas, and decisions are largely influenced by their social environment. This also holds for trust. For instance, if everyone says not to trust a certain person, this is likely to influence people's trust in that person. This implies that understanding trust dynamics requires understanding the social environment in which trust develops and evolves.

In order to gain insight into trust in intergroup relations, we turn to social identity theory, as this theory focuses on how people define themselves in group contexts (Idrissou et al., 2011). Social identity theory (SIT) was introduced by Tajfel (1982) and Turner (1975). Their initial

theory refers to 'the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership' (Tajfel, 1982, 292). According to SIT, people behave differently in groups because they adhere to their group's norms and identity (Ashforth & Meal, 1989, Leary, Tchividjian & Kraxberger, 1994). In addition to an individual identity, people thus have a group identity (Ellemers, 2012). Group identity cannot be viewed separately from individual identity but exists, and is part of, individual identity (Schlenker, 1980, Baumeister, 1982, Ashforth & Meal, 1989, Hogg & Reid, 2006). To maintain and strengthen group identity, and thus a part of individual identity, roughly two strategies are followed: regulating in-group behaviour and derogating the out-group.

According to SIT, group members are expected to behave in accordance with the group's norms and rules in order to maintain their common identity (Tajfel & Billig, 1974, Elias, 1994). Consequently, in-group behaviour is regulated. Regulation of in-group behaviour entails the behaviour of individual group members being assessed in relation to the group norms and rules (Ellemers, 2012). In other words, opinions, ideas, and thoughts are constantly discussed in in-group contexts to establish their 'rightness' and 'wrongness' in relation to the group's norms. In these discussions, unwanted behaviour, or behaviour deviating from the group norm is labelled by the group as a social defect (Tajfel et al., 1971, Janis, 1982, Asforth & Meal, 1989, Haslam, 2004, Hogg & Reid, 2006). These discrepancies are then reduced through in-group comparisons of ideas and norms. In this way, members are forced to comply with group norms (Janis, 1982). If group members do not comply, individuals are no longer regarded as group members. Through these processes, the group regulates itself.

Self-regulation not only maintains but also strengthens group identity by building a common history through the constant usage and (re-)construction of group rules and norms (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Through these processes, group identities become more salient. Over time, this process can lead to groupthink, where there is a strong force of social conformity (Cairns, 1982, Janis 1982, Elias & Scotson, 1994). Consequently, people remain loyal to their group norms and identity, even though this might lead to less optimal outcomes for themselves.

The second strategy to maintain group identity is to make intergroup comparisons. In these comparisons, the in-group and its members are favoured above out-groups and their members (Tajfel et al., 1971, Tajfel & Billig, 1974, Elias & Scotson, 1994). The differences between groups are often emphasised by a group deliberately differentiating its characteristics from those of other groups. Another way to emphasise the differences is through praise gossip about the in-group and blame gossip about other groups (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Through blame gossip, bad habits of parts of a group are blown out of proportion and projected onto the whole group's behaviour and actions (Elias & Scotson, 1994). In blame gossip, stigmatisation and stereotyping play an important role (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Stereotyping and stigmatisation are 'the prejudice of a (un)favourable predisposition towards any member of the category' (Stallybrass in Tajfel, 1982, 3). Through stigmatisation and stereotyping, the in-group perspective on other groups' identity is discussed and (re-)emphasised. In these confirmations, it is stated what the other groups' identity is and therefore what the in-group's identity is not (Schlenker, 1980, Elias & Scotson, 1994). Thus, groups not only constantly

create group-specific norms and rules, but also provide their members with expectations about out-group members, amplifying differences in behaviour, identity, and decisions.

Relations between groups

Groups often differ from one another in many ways. These differences become apparent in intergroup interactions. Intergroup interactions can be defined as ‘whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members’ (Sherif, 1966, 62, in Tajfel, 1982). In this interaction, differences between the groups are constantly negotiated (Cairns, 1982). Through negotiation, the in-group’s identity is strengthened by reflecting it onto identities of other groups and emphasising the differences between them (Schlenker, 1980). Thus, group identities build upon their relative differences from other groups (Turner, 1982, Ashforth & Meal, 1989, Elias & Scotson, 1994, Haslam, 2004) – a distinction that needs to be constantly re-emphasised through new intergroup comparisons over time (Cairns, 1982).

Intergroup comparisons are made by members to ascertain whether their group is unique enough, to feel better, or to set goals with reference to others (Brewer, 1991, Doosje, Spears & Ellemers, 2002). This us versus them thinking is a way through which differences between groups are constantly maintained in order to safeguard group identity (Brewer, 1991). If this identity is not regarded as distinctive, a group may redefine its identity, or the cohesion may loosen and the group may fall apart in various splinter groups (Brewer, 1991). More often than not, these intergroup comparisons are made in the face of external events or developments that are seen as a threat to group identity (Turner & Pratkanis, 1998, Ellemers, 2012). In these dynamic situations, the hierarchy between groups is unstable; group identities may appear to be more stable or more fluid. Consequently, lower status groups will assert their group in order to challenge other groups, whereas higher status groups are likely to fight changes in order to maintain their position (Doosje, Spears & Ellemers, 2002). These actions require group actions that will strengthen and stabilise group identity. As a result, when a group is threatened, its identity will gain importance and is likely to become salient.

In summary, we see that intergroup processes are a constant negotiation with others over common values, norms, and differences. Moreover, differences between groups constantly need to be re-emphasised, whereby not only in-group discussions but also more contextual events and developments are taken into account.

Trust and intergroup relations

From our theoretical explorations of trust and intergroup relations, we have learned that both trust and group identities are dynamic and constantly (re-)constructed in interactions and comparisons. In these interactions, events, new and old, and perceived and expected actions and decisions of in-group and out-group members influence both trust dynamics and group identities.

Hence, in order to understand how trust dynamics develop in intergroup contexts and explain the present-day status of such relations, it is clear that we have to take into account the social dynamics in which identities are constructed and reconstructed. A historical perspective helps

to elucidate how present-day situations emerged, taking into account past events and how these mutually influence one another (Blok, 1978, Van Reybrouck, 2010). For this analysis, we return to the Baviaanskloof case. When we entered the Baviaanskloof, the relation between farmers and nature conservations was characterised by distrust as a result of a struggle over a land-use conflict. From our theoretical exploration, we expect that a series of events in the past and varying perspectives thereon contributed to the present-day conflict. Therefore, we reconstructed the emergence and evolution of the conflict and distrust relation. On the basis of our theoretical considerations, we focused our analysis on how people over time talk about:

- the in-group;
- the out-group;
- the changing intergroup relation;
- contextual events in these interactions such as land-use changes and policy changes.

4.3 Methods

A single case study design was used to investigate trust dynamics in intergroup contexts in the Baviaanskloof. The case study design was chosen as it allows in-depth study of how a concept or subject unfolds in, and in relation to, its specific setting (Yin, 1994). We selected the Baviaanskloof as it was a case in which two clearly distinct groups have been negotiating over a land-use conflict for decades. Contrary to many other situations in which various groups negotiate over a long-term conflict, the situation was not blurred by all kinds of other groups emerging and disappearing.

The data for this study were collected through a round of interviews and a document study. In total, 22 people were interviewed in 20 interviews with 13 landowners (of which nine livestock and/or cattle and crop farmers, one farmer depending on tourism, one game farmer, and two community farmers), six (former) government officials, of which four were representatives of the governmental nature organisations in the area, and two members of an NGO focusing on sustainable land use. The interviews were held in English or Afrikaans depending on the preference of the interviewee, took about one and a half to four hours, and were audiotaped. Finally, on the initiative of the interviewees, several interviews were accompanied by visits to the fields, local points of interest, and the nature area.

The interviews were semi-structured along a list of questions around topics. This approach was chosen to give the farmers the opportunity to share their perspective on the development of the conflict, guided by questions. The interview topics focused on various events and practices on the farmland and in the nature reserve over time, and the perspective of the interviewees thereon. The main topics discussed were: 1) land-use management and changes in the Baviaanskloof (farming practices, nature, other); 2) interactions (relation and main events) amongst farmers/amongst nature conservationists; 3) interactions (relation and main events) between farmers and nature conservationists; 4) the influence of these interactions and the relations between the groups on farming practices and management of the nature area; 5) the role of the in-group and the out-group in the developments in the Baviaanskloof. In the interviews, trust and distrust were often mentioned as important aspects in the mutual

relation between the landowners and the nature conservation organisations. Mostly, the topic was raised by the interviewees during the discussion on the evolving conflict over land use in the Baviaanskloof. If the topic of trust or distrust was brought up by the interviewees, additional questions were asked regarding trust and distrust. These questions focused on the emergence and development of trust and distrust, the reasons behind these, and the main related events. Last, the interview data were supplemented by a document study to gain more insight into the physical characteristics of the area. The document study was based upon a search in the scientific and professional literature. In this search, we looked for literature discussing the Baviaanskloof, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa (approx. 185 hits). Afterwards, we scanned the search results by looking for information about social and physical characteristics and developments in and related to the Baviaanskloof.

After the interviews, the audiotapes were transcribed and coded. In coding, the labels used per group were: in-group, out-group, the mutual relation, contextual issues, the conflict, trust, and distrust. These labels were based on framing analysis theories as that allowed us to analyse how people present themselves and construct images of others and their mutual relation regarding a conflict (issue) in intergroup interactions (DeWulf et al. 2009, Gray & Wondolleck, 2013). Afterwards, the coding results were discussed by the first and last author of this paper. During the coding process, some labels were specified further in sub-categories based on the material. The coded parts were then arranged from past to present in order to analyse how they relate to one another and build upon one another. This longitudinal analysis was used to gain understanding of the present-day situation in the light of the constant reconstruction of past events (Gray & Wondolleck, 2013). Additionally, we constructed a timeline in order to visualise the various subsequent and simultaneous events in and around the Baviaanskloof (Figure 4.1).

4.4 Results

The case study area

The Baviaanskloof is a valley between two mountain ridges running east to west, 200 km west of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Over millions of years, water has eroded the rocks, creating a narrow valley varying from just a few metres to 1.5 km wide. The mountains and parts of the valley are in the Baviaanskloof Nature Reserve (200,000 ha) and managed by Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA). The BNR was established to protect various rare plant species and animals such as the Cape Mountain zebra and leopard. As an enclave within the BNR, the valley floor and surrounding hills are used as farmland (50,000 ha). The valley floor lies about 400 metres lower, surrounded by steep cliffs and high rock formations. This area is the setting in which two groups have been living next to each other for decades – on the one hand, the nature conservationists who manage the nature reserve, on the other hand, about 15 farmers farming along the river in an agricultural enclave within the nature reserve (Figure 4.2).

68 | The farmland enclave (often referred to as Western Baviaanskloof) is very isolated. For communication, the people depend on satellite telephone and, recently, mobile internet. Surrounded by high mountains and steep rocks, the valley is only inhabited by a small group of farmers, pensioners, and farm workers and their families living scattered over the long valley. In this landscape, the few shops, schools, and churches are important meeting places. The only access to the valley is a winding dust road, following the course of the river to the nearest small town approximately three hours' journey away. The river overflows once in while during heavy rains, closing off parts of the valley. The river gets its water from side gorges and flows towards the Kouga Dam, which provides the Gamtoos valley and Port Elizabeth with (drinking) water. The water is also of major importance for the farmers as the area is semi-arid and subject to hot summers and long periods without rain. The farmers are all mixed farmers with a combination of agriculture, goats, and sheep. Recently, nearly all farmers have developed some small tourism activities, such as guesthouses, B&Bs, and campsites.

As the farms form an enclave, the nature reserve borders all the farmland. This situation has existed for at least 90 years. Although the fencing of nature reserves in South Africa is general practice, here there is no fence between the nature area and the farmland. Over the years, a conflict emerged between the two most important land users, the farmers and the conservationists.

A story from the Baviaanskloof

In the 1920s, the Baviaanskloof Forest Reserve was established. At that time, the valley was known for the production of high quality vegetable seeds. The isolated location of the Baviaanskloof was well suited to vulnerable seed production, and the hill slopes were used as a grazing area for angora goats. These goats were predominantly kept for their wool, especially because of the high world prices for wool at that time (Kingwell, 2000). Experiences from this time were passed on from father to son. As a result, current farmers recall this time when explaining why they like being farmers: *'it was good farming at that time.'* Also, when they

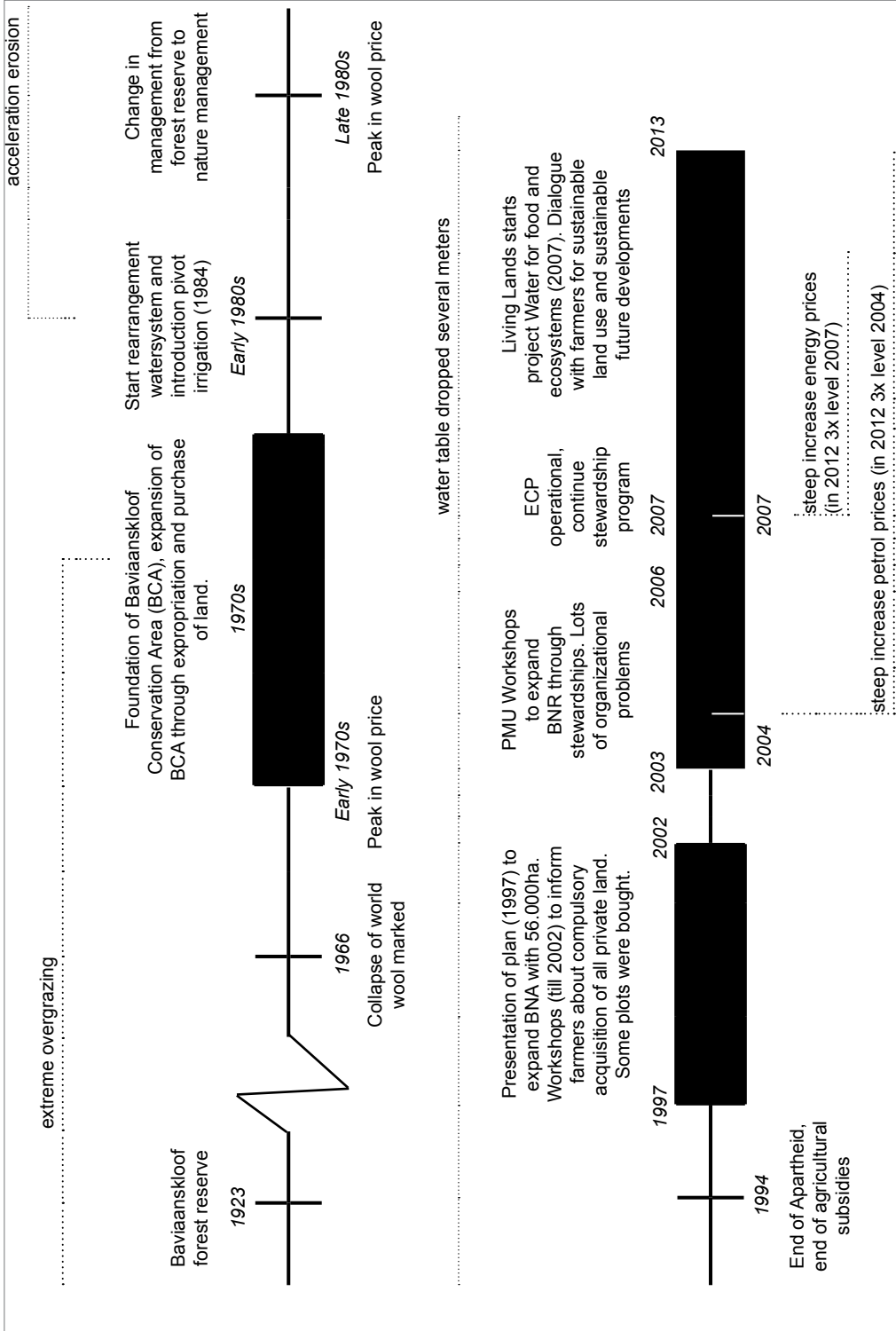


Figure 4.1. Timeline of a Baviaanskloof story



Figure 4.2. *The Baviaanskloof*

recall the management of the surrounding forest areas, they express satisfaction with the management at that time, which was aimed at maintaining ground cover. The management strategy was to limit erosion in the forest areas and to control fires: *'it was Bosbouv [Department of Forestry] they had fire strips, fire breaks ... it was controlled.'* According to the farmers, this meant that the Department of Forestry did not interfere with their farming practices and that practices were not hindered by the management practices in the surrounding hills.

In the 1970s, however, forest management shifted towards supporting natural processes in the Baviaanskloof Conservation Area (BCA), as the Forest Reserve was renamed. In the farmers' view, this was a direct threat to their farming practices. They explained that the management change led to uncontrolled fires, increased erosion, and consequently land degradation. This threat came on top of another threat to their farming life: the erosion on their own fields, caused by overgrazing. *'Overgrazing was ... a big problem, especially with the angora goats.'* The farmers saw these two developments as a threat to their way of living and their farmer identities. In particular, the management of fires by the BCA was blamed: *'we just try to farm for the next generation, while it isn't about bad farmer habits, it is about fire management [in the nature reserve].'* At the other end of the spectrum, the nature conservationists explained that they had changed the management in their area to a state-of-the-art way of ecological management. At that time, this meant less human interference and more room for ecological processes – a well-accepted management change amongst nature conservationists.

The divergence in ideas about land management started during the 1970s. In the following years, the two groups continued to disagree, emphasising the difference between them even more. The farmers made enormous changes in their land use during these years. Because of the collapse of world wool prices and stimulated by agricultural subsidies from the government, farmers increased production by using large-scale irrigation (1980s). On the other hand, the nature conservationists took a next step towards ecological management of the BCA. This meant giving more room to natural processes such as forest fires, regeneration, and endangered animal life.

The diverging ideas about land management gained importance when a new provincial government group (Chief Directorate Environmental Affairs) announced plans to expand the Baviaanskloof Nature Reserve in 1997. Their objective was to expand the reserve and include part of the valley floor. The valley floor was at that time completely owned by farmers. In order to include these lands, the government wanted to buy the farmers out. The underlying argument for this expansion lies in the growing international awareness amongst conservationists of the importance of incorporating complete ecosystems within nature reserves. In the Baviaanskloof, the areas along the river were an essential part of that, as they provided grasslands and water.

The expansion plans were presented in workshops and collective hearings with the farmers and communities. These workshops and hearings resulted in fierce resistance amongst the farmers, as they saw the plans as a threat to their farms: *'They [conservationists] said: we are going to bulldozer you out!'* and *'This was a crazy stupid idea, I mean for me it is still crazy! ... They said: you are going to live at George. Then we exploded!'* Thereafter, the expansion plans and these meetings were

often discussed within the group of farmers. In these discussions, the various events over time piled up. From the farmers' perspective, there was more to it than '*conservationists taking our land.*' The farmers argued that, because of the ecological management, the nature area was home to an increasing number of rooikatten (caracals) and leopards eating their sheep, and that this was '*... terrible, you lose more animals than are born every year. You cannot farm this way!*' In addition, the farmers saw the conservationists as the main cause of the erosion problems in the area. Through these in-group discussions, the conservationists were derogated, and a strong distrust towards conservationists grew amongst farmers, while at the same time the farmers praised their in-group and saw themselves as the ones taking good care of the land.

The conservationists on the other hand saw the farmers as the main cause of the problems. In relation to discussing solutions, the conservationists did not see how the farmers could offer helpful ideas and information as farmers were the creators of the problems. One of the conservationists explained their own role: '*They are working in our landscape, which we are mandated to sort up.*' Moreover, the nature conservationists looked at the conflict, and the solution of it, as an aspect of their work. Solving the problems in the area and managing the reserve was their job. They reflected on the issues at stake in the Baviaanskloof from this point of view. This resulted in a general, shared idea amongst conservationists in their communications with farmers: '*there are always conflicts with farmers, you know, you are talking agriculture versus nature.*' From their perspective, they thus had a full mandate in the Baviaanskloof.

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In 2002, a new government project commission started: the PMU (the Baviaanskloof Megareserve Project Management Unit). Their objective was to expand the nature area onto agricultural land through voluntary agreements (Crane, 2006). To do so, they organised various meetings and hearings. Although expropriation was not the PMU's objective, the farmers remembered differently: '*The PMU really wanted to get us out...*,' and another farmer said: '*It gives me a bad taste in the mouth if I think about the PMU!*' From the farmers' perspective, the PMU's work added to the ever-increasing number of negative experiences with nature conservationists. Talk about nature conservationists within the farmer group became therefore depersonalised and was rather negative and stigmatising. For example: '*the project manager [of the PMU], the mafia, or whoever was involved.*'

The farmers' distrust towards conservationists did not change when ECPTA came into the area as the new managing authority for the Baviaanskloof Nature Reserve (as the BCA was renamed). ECPTA managers, some of whom were former PMU members, experienced the growing distrust between the two groups when they started to work in the area: '*From the beginning there was not much trust.*' An ECPTA manager explained that this distrust worked both ways: '*There is always a mistrust barrier here because of what has happened 20 years ago.*' Another manager describes how they, as a result of this feeling of distrust, started to work with distrust: '*In 2006, we came here and put in a lot of control.*' Their way of implementing their controlling measures is explained by the next example recounted by an ECPTA employee: '*As much as they [the farmers] have their right to have their say, I have the equal right to state our point of view and you don't have to agree with us because at the end of the day our point of view is based on environmental legislation. End of story!*'

Well, it was not end of story. The communication between conservationists and farmers had never been intense. However, under the influence of the farmers' continuing in-group feeling of distrust towards conservationists, it became the group norm not to work with conservationists: *'I am not a fan of ECP, as long as I don't have to work with them the better.'* This strongly limited the options for resolving the conflict and for future developments in the Baviaanskloof. Initiatives for ecotourism, for example, which required cooperation between farmers and conservationists were difficult to start. One of the farmers saw this opportunity and talked with ECPTA about the possibilities. As a result, he was no longer welcome at the farmers' meetings and most of the farmers no longer talked to him or to his family.

Although there was hardly any communication between the two groups, both groups created a strong image of the other group based on past events and in-group discussions. In addition, in the narrow valley, it was impossible to *'not see each other.'* The farmers, for example, used the conservationists' actions to stigmatise and downplay them. One farmer said that nature conservationists' knowledge only came from books, and as soon as they got into the field they did not know what they were doing and needed the help of the farmers, *'the ranger only drives up and down the Kloof and when he runs out of petrol we can come and help him.'* Thus, he re-emphasised the existing image of the nature conservationists amongst farmers, downplayed them, and praised the in-group as helpers. On the other side, the conservationists had similar in-group processes. From experience of working in the Baviaanskloof for several years, an ECPTA manager explained the way conservationists see farmers: *'you are talking agriculture versus conservation.'* In their argument, they downplayed the farmers as short-term thinkers and thus unreliable partners for long-term projects: *'farmers don't think long term, like we do, they think about the short term, they think seasonally.'* Moreover, the manager explained that it is never certain that the farmer will continue working with nature conservation: *'If you take his farm away, what is he still going to call himself? A boer! He is a boer! He is losing his identity!'* In other words, conservationists argued that farmers were unreliable and could not be trusted in long-term processes of conservation.

Simultaneously with the discussions and conflicts about nature conservation, farming in the Baviaanskloof changed a great deal over the years. On the one hand, water shortage became more and more pressing, just as the loss of fertile soil through overgrazing and erosion. On the other hand, after 1994, the end of Apartheid, South Africa was allowed to export again, and farmers had to compete on the world market. This resulted in falling product prices affecting the farmers in the Baviaanskloof severely. As a result, the farmers' financial situation worsened. Options unfolding in the last two decades include linking up with the nature reserve, earning money through tourism activities, or developing private game reserves. It is general practice for many farmers in South Africa to broaden their activities into tourism and link up to nature conservation areas, but, although farmers in the Baviaanskloof did develop tourism facilities, cooperation with conservationists did not take place, as it was not considered an option amongst farmers.

In 2008, the NGO Living Lands entered the area. The objective of Living Lands was to work on sustainable land use in the Baviaanskloof together with the farmers. Just like ECPTA, Living Lands was concerned with nature conservation, and consequently met with great

suspicion: *'the farmers were very uncertain, they did not trust anything because of things that happened in the past.'* Working on sustainable land use and nature conservation did not fit into the group norms. However, after some time, Living Lands was regarded by the farmers and nature conservationists as an independent organisation: *'they really listened and talked to us,'* as the farmers said. Also, because Living Lands was working to options for development, mainly through focussing on Ecosystem Services and Paying for Ecosystem Services. Increasingly, the farmers discussed alternative land-use options and options for alternative sources of income, and shifted towards ideas in favour of sustainable land use and nature conservation as this could also mean ecotourism. A farmer explained how he felt: *'I am for that kind of change ... it is for the better, everybody will join.'* After several years, this resulted in the start of a private nature conservancy on large parts of the farmers' land. According to people from Living Lands and ECPTA, it would have been impossible to hear a farmer saying and doing this a few years ago. However, the shift towards more sustainable farming and conservation was achieved without nature conservationists.

4.5 Discussion

74 | The study in the Baviaanskloof shows how distrust between two groups evolves and deepens a conflict over land-use practices. Over time, both groups developed strongly diverging ideas about land management practices and the future of the Baviaanskloof, and a strong distrust towards the other group. In this section, we discuss how in-group and intergroup interactions influenced the perspective on the groups' common history, trust dynamics, and related expectations, and subsequently reduced the possibilities for cooperation and agreements between the groups.

In the Baviaanskloof, the situation of intergroup distrust became apparent over the years. In explaining the distrust relation, both groups referred strongly to a series of intergroup interactions in the past. In this, both groups selectively forgot and remembered their past, and thus continuously reconstructed their own history. By constructing their history, groups maintain their unity and establish boundaries (Van Assche et al., 2009, Van Reybroeck, 2010). In the Baviaanskloof case, the conflict with the other group and distrust towards them was included within these in-group boundaries, thereby strengthening the unity of the group, and the other way around. In this process, various intergroup interactions and seemingly unrelated events were incorporated. The unity of the group was thus constantly reinforced by maintaining the conflict and distrust towards the other group, and consequently this conflict and distrust became part of the group identity. Resolving a conflict and building trust for collaboration, as often advocated in conflict situations (Kumar & Paddison, 2000, Idrissou et al., 2013), can thus mean a threat to group identity, a strong and constant group-binding factor. Solving a conflict can thus mean changing the identity of a group. This shows a persistent underlying reason why resolving intergroup distrust can be rather difficult, as changing the identity of a group from the outside proves rather difficult – especially when the group perceives external threat, as is the case here.

The constant reconstruction of the group history strongly influenced responses to current-day events and future expectations. Through this token mobility, groups who feel

disadvantaged fail to seize opportunities, whereas successful groups see new opportunities as chances for success, and as reinforcing the existing discourse (Barreto, Ellemers & Palacios, 2004). In addition, our results show that, over time, intergroup interactions are influenced by, and contribute to, the existing in-group discourse. The interactions between the two groups or their representatives were often discussed in in-group contexts. Thus, group members entered the interactions from the perspective of their own group, and the interaction was afterwards discussed, explained, and aligned to in-group rules and norms. Therefore, the in-group discussions and interactions mutually enforced and reinforced the existing discourse; this shows how token systems of distrust emerge and gain strength.

Often, in-group relations are associated with trust, whereas intergroup relations are often characterised by mutual distrust (Elias & Scotson, 1994, Kramer & Carnevale, 2001, Tam et al., 2009). By studying this relation in more detail, our study contributes to the knowledge on how interactions contribute to these relations of trust and distrust. Because the interactions between the two groups were interpreted and explained within in-group contexts, the in-group communications built upon one another, leading to a shared understanding of ideas and trust over time. In contrast, the interactions between the two groups remained disparate events, in a way that did not lead to a shared understanding, a shared set of ideas about future negotiations, or the development of possible future options. As a result, the intergroup interactions did not result in a shared common history and a basis for expectations. Nevertheless, these interactions were discussed in in-group contexts. Consequently, they were discussed to fit the group norm, strengthening the existing ideas of in-group trust and out-group distrust.

Although both the in-group and the intergroup can be viewed as having a common history, only the in-group history led to trust. This sheds a more nuanced light on the role of common history as one of the main aspects of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998, O'Brien, 2001). Common history is often presented as the basis of trust-related expectations in relations between groups and individuals (O'Brien, 2001, Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). However, the two types of common history in the case show that it is not the constant construction and reconstruction of common history that forms the basis for trust dynamics, but more precisely the shared or mutual perspective on common history that functions as a basis for trust-related expectations. In addition, it also shows that diverging perspectives on these histories lead to diverging expectations – expectations that collide in interactions, leading to conflict and distrust towards others.

Over time, the conflicts and events from the past gained more and more weight as an argument for distrust. As a result, the distrust towards the other was seen as a given. The seemingly certain situation led to the reduction of options and possibilities for cooperation. Although trust dynamics are often referred to as constantly changing over time influenced by experiences such as uncertainties (Das & Teng, 1998, Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006), the case shows a gradually developing stable distrust relation with the other group. Under the influence of a common reduction of uncertainties and complexity, less uncertainty was experienced, leading to a reduction in dynamics and a stable situation of distrust. Thus, by strong in-group processes, people can ignore uncertainties, reduce certain dynamics that are

part of dealing with uncertainties, and thus stabilise trust dynamics. Consequently, trust or distrust between groups can exist in a more or less stable form over a long time, as aspects that help construct it reinforce one another, resulting in a more or less salient situation. And studying trust from a dynamics perspective also displays stable relations characterised by a lack of dynamics. In these contexts, trust and distrust can be seen as naturally reinforcing the existing state of the relationship and making it harder for change to happen.

Both groups' identities, which were strengthened by the conflict and of which the conflict became part, unfold as a path from which it is hard to deviate. Thus, the developments in the Baviaanskloof can be seen as a path dependency in which the past continuously influences interaction in and between the groups (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2014). The path dependency of a process is seen as having great influence on cooperation and the relation between subsequent steps in that. However, the Living Lands situation shows very concrete examples of how people can influence the course of the path. Their approach is strongly embedded in, amongst other things, the U theory. This theory sees listening to one another as the basis for mutual understanding and cooperation (Scharmer, 2007). In this, there is a differentiation between types of listening. In particular, empathic listening, in which the listener understands and can explain the conflict from the perspective of the other party, is a powerful tool in this situation. Through empathic listening and taking the broader picture of the other group into account, e.g. the context in which the other group works or lives and the way the potential land-use change would affect this, groups can develop a common understanding of one another's situation. Moreover, by retelling the history of the in-group, more details and subtleties became apparent, providing a more nuanced perspective on group history with more room for individual differences, creating room for dealing with uncertainties and the dynamics of trust.

4.6 Conclusion

The Baviaanskloof case shows that, within intergroup conflicts and growing distrust, the construction and reconstruction of identities, past events, and future expectations are strongly interwoven through ongoing interactions. Returning to our initial question, we conclude that, in the Baviaanskloof, various intergroup interactions were interpreted and explained in in-group discussions. In these discussions, seemingly unrelated past events and contextual changes were frequently brought up as arguments as to why the other group could not be trusted. Such in-group processes and intergroup interactions lead to a shared image of the other group, forming the basis for trust-related expectations and therefore for the actions and decisions taken by group members. In this case, distrust proved to be a self-enforcing mechanism. The strong distrust towards the out-group stabilised in in-group discussions, resulted in stronger distrust, and reduced the possible options for interactions and cooperation with the other group.

In this situation, where two clearly distinctive groups interact, the social mechanisms underlying trust dynamics in intergroup relations become particularly visible. Here we found that all events, past, current, and future, were framed in terms of the dualistic perspective of trusting in-group members and distrusting the other group's members. Over time, individual

group members' trust-related expectations were strongly influenced by in-group rules and identity, and intergroup interactions. In this, trust benefited from the construction of shared expectations within the group, while at the same time differences from the other group, and the conflict, were strengthened. Consequently, the conflict became part of both groups' identities and largely influenced trust dynamics between the groups.

Our focus on intergroup trust reveals a relevant insight for trust research. Much trust-related research focuses on trust between individuals, and thus there is a lack of attention on in-group and intergroup processes and the influence thereof on the dynamics of trust. However, this study shows how in-group processes influence intergroup trust, and thus individual trust relations between members of different groups. Taking these processes into account is thus highly relevant for understanding trust dynamics in various situations of conflict and cooperation.

In addition, this study shows how groups in a deepening conflict situation preserve different ideas and expectations about the future of an area by developing a certain path dependency. Influencing the course of the path by listening to one another, and reconstructing a more nuanced in-group and intergroup history, could be an interesting way forward in many conflict situations. Particularly for situations such as that in South Africa, this is highly relevant, as here various land reform programmes are being undertaken and farms are changing to lifestyle farms or private game reserves (Brooks et al., 2011). These major changes involve various landowners and nature conservationists with varying perspectives and ideas that are often rooted in groups' identities (James, 2000, Brooks et al., 2011). Moreover, conflicts around land-use change in South Africa affect not only landowners, but also broader groups such as local communities and farm dwellers. These groups have a historical bond with the farms and depend heavily on them for housing, work, and livelihoods (Fairhead, Leach & Scoones, 2012, Snijders, 2012). Dealing with conflicts and distrust by reconstructing a more nuanced group history is thus relevant not only for the groups involved but also for groups directly or indirectly affected by them.



5

Faking and forcing trust

The performance of trust and distrust in
public policy



Abstract

We focus on expressions of trust and distrust in various sites of interaction in public policy. We analyse interactions between government officials of the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (ILG) in the Netherlands. We found that both trust and distrust were performed in different settings. The distrust performances developed into stories. Through telling and retelling, these stories became dominant in the more non-public settings. As performative stories, they became the basis for further actions. The performances of trust took place in more public settings, but were interpreted as signs of distrust when linked up to stories of distrust. On these sites trust was faked and forced in an attempt to uphold a story of successful policy implantation. We found that the performances of both trust and distrust negatively influenced the course of the ILG. We conclude that expressions of trust, which generally have positive associations, can contribute to distrust and troubled relations within inter-governmental cooperation.

Keywords: *trust, rural development, policy implementation, , governance, Investment Fund for Rural Areas, cooperation*

5.1 Introduction

In response to questions from the Dutch parliament regarding the progress of the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (Investeringsbudget Landelijk Gebied: ILG), the Minister of Agriculture, Nature, and Food quality answered: *'...I trust that both the provinces and the municipalities will comply with earlier agreements in bordering and protecting the nature areas.'* Not long after, a government official from the ministry, also working on the ILG, stated in an interview: *'Well, according to me, trust between the ministry and the provinces is gone.'* And later, in a meeting with other officials: *'The ILG is congealed distrust.'*

These expressions of trust and distrust caught our attention during a study on the implementation of the ILG in the Netherlands. The ILG was a seven-year project in which the national government delegated the realization of rural spatial policies to the 12 provinces. The delegation was arranged and consolidated through a set of contracts. The contracts were output based, and progress was to be evaluated every year, and more extensively in a mid-term review and a final review. In total, the fund had 3.4 billion euros at its disposal for the seven-year period.

Starting from these apparently contradictory quotes, we dug deeper into the ILG process. We found that these quotes did not stand alone; rather, they were part of a series of expressions of trust and distrust. From the expressions it became clear that trust and distrust were important themes in discussions on the ILG. Trust and the lack thereof were often used to explain the success or failure of the ILG. The frequent use of the concepts of trust and distrust throughout the process, the apparent contradiction between them, and the importance attributed to them made us curious. How could both trust and distrust be present alongside each other so strongly? From where did these expressions originate? How did these concepts become so important? And how did these expressions influence the implementation and working of the ILG?

The importance of trust in understanding interactions and relationships has been part of scientific studies and debates for decades, and originates from organization studies and adjacent fields (Tyler & Kramer, 1996). In these fields, various characteristics are imputed to trust. Trust is seen as a lubricant for cooperation, as an important mechanism for the course of decision-making processes (Bachmann, 2001), as a way to cope with uncertainty (O'Brien 2001), and as a means of reducing complexity (Luhmann, 1979). Related to these characteristics, many definitions of trust have emerged in various studies. Broadly, these studies on trust can be categorized into two traditions. The first is the behavioural tradition focussing on the relation between trust and choices or actions in cooperative settings. These studies focus for example on trust as the basis for decisions made (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). The second tradition has a more cognitive approach, focussing on interpersonal characteristics associated with trust, such as expectations, intentions, and uncertainties (Lewicki & Brinsfield, 2012; Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006). If these two traditions are combined, trust can generally be seen as a positive expectation regarding another's thoughts, words, and actions (Idrissou et al., 2013).

Studies dealing with the various aspects of trust focus mainly on a better theoretical understanding of the concept of trust. Consequently, only a few scholars have touched upon the role and meaning of expressions of trust (Idrissou et al., 2013; Lewicki & Brinsfield, 2012). In these studies, the expressions of trust and distrust are viewed as strategic acts. In cooperation processes, these expressions influenced choices and decisions made (Idrissou et al., 2013). However, these studies do not extensively elaborate on how the expressions of trust and distrust influence actions and decisions. Starting from our initial curiosity and the questions that spontaneously arose, we focus on the question of how expressions of trust and distrust influence choices made and actions taken by various actors in cooperative processes. We do this by analysing the ILG case in the Netherlands.

To analyse how expressions of trust and distrust sort effect, we view expressions of trust and distrust as performances (Hajer, 2005). This focus allows us to distinguish between 1) expressions of trust, 2) the way these are interpreted, and 3) how these interpretations can lead to actions. We introduce the theoretical concepts of performance and performativity in the next section. Afterwards, we present the expressions of trust and distrust in the ILG. These expressions are then analysed and discussed using our initial theoretical notions. On the basis of this discussion, we offer our conclusions on the influence of the expressions of trust and distrust on actions taken and decisions made.

5.2 Methods

This paper is based on an interpretative study of performances of trust and distrust. Such a study starts with the recognition that people actively make meaning, making sense of the reality they experience (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2013). Consequently, we focus on how various perspectives gain meaning over time and lead to actions and observable outcomes (Bevir & Kedar, 2008). The data for this study were collected in two rounds of interviews. In the first round, we conducted seven interviews on the progress of the ILG. These interviews were held with officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality (*Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Voedselkwaliteit*: LNV) (three), provinces (three), and the Government Service of Land and Water Management (DLG) (one). In the first round, we aimed to get a general overview of the ILG and the issues at stake. Therefore, we used open interviews. The second part of the study consisted of a new round of interviews and a document study.

The second round of interviews included 20 interviews conducted with government officials, two from the Ministry of LNV, 14 from the provinces, and four from governmental management authorities such as DLG. The interviews were semi-structured, with a checklist of topics. The interviews contained questions on the organization and progress of the ILG, the evaluation process, the explanatory factors for success or failure, the cooperation between the two government tiers, and the developments in the relation between them. In addition, interviewees were invited to raise other topics. In these interviews, trust and distrust were often mentioned as important aspects in the ILG. Most of the time, the topic was raised by the interviewees during the discussion of the evaluation process and the ILG success or failure factors. If the topic of trust or distrust was brought up by the interviewees, additional questions were asked regarding trust and distrust. These interviews were conducted and

recorded between 2009 and 2011 and lasted about one to two hours. All interviews were audio-taped and transcribed with the participants' consent.

The data from these interviews were supplemented by a document study in order to gain a more complete overview of communications within the ILG. We made an inventory of the official written communication and newspaper articles about the ILG from the period 2004 to 2012. To gather the material, we made an inventory of all documents concerning the ILG in public databases from parliament, the ministry, and the Association of Provinces of the Netherlands (IPO). We looked for documents with ILG as a topic or in which the ILG was mentioned.

The documents found comprised:

- 1) Policy documents and formal communications from the Ministry of LNV, provincial governments, and other governmental organizations involved.
- 2) Transcriptions of parliamentary debates (in both the upper and the lower house),
- 3) Written media, like newspapers and magazines.

The documents were analysed using the words *vertrouwen* (trust), *wantrouwen* (distrust), and related words such as *vertrouwelijk* (confidential). In total, 45 documents including one of these words were found.

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Both the documents and the transcriptions of the interviews (from the first and second round) were coded. We used trust and distrust as codes, after which we categorized the coded parts in relation to the setting. This information was combined with the most important events in the ILG and integrated into a timeline (Figure 5.1). On the basis of our perspective of performances, settings, and stories, we used this timeline to reconstruct the way in which the performances of trust and distrust and events built upon one another, became a story, and led to actions.

5.3 Theory: performing stories of trust and distrust

In this paper, we focus on the performance of trust and distrust on various policy sites and the effects of these performances. The analysed policy process is considered as multi-interpretative and dynamic (Arts & Babili, 2013). It is an environment in which statements are expressed and shared and in which realities are constructed through a process of mutual interpretation in interaction (Ford, Ford & McNamara, 2001). Particular attention is given to the embedding of notions of trust and distrust in the stories that the involved actors put forward. Storytelling plays an important role in collaborations, managing relations, and keeping track of one another (Dunbar, 2004). Stories exist in many forms and contain various elements. For instance, stories often contain good and bad characters, and develop over time with a dramatic tension. Moreover, stories have the possibility for generalization, for introducing information of personal interest, and for recognizing universal elements in the day-to-day telling (Sandercock, 2003). These elements make it worthwhile to tell, listen to, and retell stories to others.

By telling stories, people can position themselves in relation to others, their ideas, and their thoughts (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012b; Sandercock, 2003). Stories can take form in, and cover, a wide range of communications, ranging from informal talk, such as anecdotes and gossip, to formal stories, such as policy statements and presentations (Sandercock, 2003; Gabriel, 1991). Storytelling, therefore, plays an important part in daily life, and an almost non-stop role in receiving, taking over, and retelling information, while at the same time influencing existing stories and giving rise to new stories (Elias & Scotson, 1994; Gabriel, 1991;).

The effect a story sorts depends on its performance, that is the way stories are brought to life, interpreted and embedded in existing discursive structures (Beunen, Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013a). This requires a selection among alternative interpretations and, possibly, the creation of new interpretations (Bal, 2002). In this process, occasion, audience, genre and location are all important factors influencing interpretations and thus the effect of the performance (Lloyd, 1999). These effects can largely differ between sites of performance. Here, site refers to a particular occasion, e.g. place, setting, and time of interaction (Beunen, Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013a; Bialasiewicz et al., 2007). These sites range from parliamentary debates, official meetings, and statements in the media to phone calls between actors and informal conversations between colleagues. These various sites all have different strategic assets, expectations and rules and different audiences and therewith a different potential for a certain performance (Munro, 1999). More precise, the composition of a site shapes the potential for performances or parts of these performances to spread, while it also represents the potential of transformation, as partial performances can be linked up to other elements and reconstructed in new performances (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012a). As such performances do mostly not stand on their own, but co-evolve at various sites in which utterances of the past are constantly reproduced (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012a; Ford, 1999). Consequently, stories, can become widely accepted and seen as 'true' (Rap, 2006; Mercer, 2003; Elias & Scotson, 1994; Gabriel, 1991). They can influence people's understanding of the world and concurrently their actions and decisions. Therewith the performances do have reality effects and as a self-fulfilling prophecy, the performances become performative (Arts & Babili, 2013; Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2010; Hajer, 2005). This implies that performances of trust and distrust are not just descriptions of a certain state of affairs, but active contributions to the construction of these affairs.

Performance and performativity are distinctly different. Where performance is an act, the constant reproduction of meaning, performativity is the enactment based on that act (Beunen, Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013a; Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman, 2009; Butler, 1993). Although performance and performativity do not necessarily imply each other, performance can become performative. Performativity can develop through strategic interactions. In these situations the performer aims to persuade others of his ideas. The performer will construct and perform the message in a way that fits the lines of the setting, and the ideas and thoughts of the audience (Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2010; Munro, 1999). The performer will then build upon his knowledge about earlier performances (Ford, 1999).

The concepts of performance and performativity enable an analysis of the relation between

expressions (performances), how these expressions influence stories and vice versa, and the effects of these expressions (performativity). Using this perspective, we analyse the expressions of trust and distrust within the ILG as performances and show how these expressions were interpreted, influenced stories, and consequently affected mutual relations and actions taken by the actors.

5.4 Results: The Investment Fund for Rural Areas

The worsening of relations

The Netherlands has a long history in developing and implementing rural policies. Much of the contemporary practices relate to the policies and organisations that have been developed after World War II. The primary focus of these policies was on agricultural development. However, through time the government gradually started to address more and more issues, this resulted in a wide range of sector-based policies for the rural areas. These included policies for the development of nature areas, water management, the protection of landscape and heritage, and dealing with urban sprawl. Each policy field was characterised by its own documents, procedures, concepts, discourses and spatial claims. The different policy fields were strongly top-down oriented with a national government that sets goals and provides funding for plans and policies that need to be integrated and implemented by provincial and local governments (Rientjes, 2002; Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). This approach was grounded in a strong technocratic tradition. In this tradition, it was believed that the government knew what was right way forward based on expertise. However, the coordination of spatial policies proved to be difficult and governments were continuously searching for the most effective and efficient instruments to implement the different policies. In an attempt to tackle these difficulties the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (ILG) was developed. With the ILG, the governments would move away from the traditional top-down steering model and cooperated more on a basis of equality. As such, the ILG should allow provincial and local governments to realise national objectives for the rural areas on local level in a more effective way. In designing the ILG policy the process was strongly influenced by new ideas about cooperation between public and private parties and using markets mechanisms to enhance the efficiency (Van Ark, 2005). As a result contracts arranging the intergovernmental cooperation played an important role.

The ILG was introduced in 2007 by the Dutch national government in order to delegate the implementation of national rural spatial policies to the 12 provinces. The provinces implemented these national policies through a regional planning process, involving regional and local stakeholders, and combining national, regional, and local policies and interests. In this way, they aimed to make the implementation more integrated and effective. The projects within the ILG focussed mainly on nature conservation, recreation around urban centres, and rural development (see also fig. 5.2).

The basis of the ILG was a set of administrative agreements between the provinces and the Ministry of LNV. The agreements were output based and contained detailed descriptions of the investments of the national government and the various goals to be met by the provinces. These goals had to be executed and reached within a set budget and a seven-year time period

(2007–2013). It was explicitly stipulated that the provinces were free to decide how to organize the implementation of these goals. The involvement of LNV in the implementation phase was limited to a yearly round of talks on progress and a more extensive mid-term review (MTR). After the set period of seven years, a final review was to be held, simultaneously with a new round of negotiations for another seven-year period. The ILG was an explicit attempt to alter the relations between the national and provincial governments from rather hierarchical towards a more horizontal relationship.

The introduction of the ILG was a long process which started in the 1990s. In 2004, the first policy document about the ILG was published, followed by the first official ILG conference. At this time, the general idea amongst the initiators of the ILG was that the ILG was built on mutual trust, and the relations between the ministry and the provinces would be arranged through a set of agreements on rather broadly formulated goals. However, in the negotiations, both the provinces and the national government tried to minimize uncertainties by stipulating every investment and every goal in great detail. For instance, the number of hectares of a specific type of nature was specified, just as the amount of black-tailed godwit (a bird species) pairs that should be breeding in a specific area within seven years. The result was a set of highly detailed agreements.

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In the following years, the discussions between the ministry and the provinces focussed on monitoring and control. The first annual reports were one of the major points of discussion. According to the ministry, the provinces presented incomplete figures about the progress of the ILG. The first progress report, originally only meant as a first insight into the working and progress of the ILG, turned the ILG into a volatile subject of political debate. As a result, many discussions were held, varying from meetings and informal talks between civil servants to public debates in parliament, and a wave of official documents and letters. At this time, the parliament added pressure to the process by asking for better insight into the progress of the ILG. Eventually, they asked the National Court of Audit (*Rekenkamer*) to investigate the ILG.

These discussions put pressure also on the already troubled relations between the ministry and the provinces. In the following years, parliament would insist on more monitoring and control measures, and thereby increase pressure on both the ministry and the provinces to show they were making good progress. This led to an increased focus on ‘numbers,’ for example on the amount of money spent, or the number of hectares of nature development realized. Dissatisfaction with the ILG grew among both the provinces and the ministry, frustrating the relationship between the two. This was partly because of the difficulty of finding out the ‘right’ numbers and ‘real’ progress made. In addition, relations were frustrated because the regional rural planning process that the ILG was intended to be, had become merely an accounting affair. These discussions were intensified in the months prior to the MidTerm Review, as the MTR also focussed mainly on numbers.

After nearly four years, a new government took office in October 2010 announcing the abandonment of the ILG and heavy budget cuts on nature conservation and rural development. In 2012, after nearly two years of negotiation, a new agreement was reached between the provinces and the national government. This included a decentralization of

Events

1990s				
2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Discussion about the ILG started			Official start ILG	First annual report
1e policy document: 'Build ILG on trust'			More detailed agreements made	Debate on 'correct' numbers
ILG conference			Proposed budget cuts	'Numbers in annual reports are leading'
		Start contract negotiations		Lack of finances for new tasks
2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	'ILG is based on trust'		'Trust is the basis of the ILG'	Minister trusts the provinces
				SER trusts the provinces
				Annual report: trust is important
		Contracts are seen as sign of distrust		Lack of finances harm trust relation
			New agreements, sign of distrust	Provinces: focus on numbers is sign of distrust
			'Budget cuts harm trust relation'	

Events

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Parliament debate on ILG projects	Report court of audit			
Parliament requires more numbers	MTR discussion on numbers and presentation report			
Letter form minister about the provinces	New government and stop ILG			
			New agreements	Planned end of ILG
2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Committee: trust is important	MTR: trust is important			
Annual report: trust is important	Provinces: no trust in ideas new minister			
Letter explained a source of distrust	Involvement court of audit seen as sign of distrust			
Minister asks provinces to help create trust				
Presentation of successes by provinces				
			Whole ILG is associated with distrust	

Figure 5.1. Expressions of trust and distrust in the ILG



Figure 5.3. Nature, and recreation areas part of the ILG in 2012 (upper left); the river Waal and Ooijpolder area (upper right); the island Tiengemetten (picture: Natuurmonumenten).

the rural development agenda in combination with heavy budget cuts. With these new agreements, the ILG officially ended.

Expressions of trust and distrust in the ILG

Trust and distrust were expressed in various sites over time. These include various sites that could be regarded as rather non-public, such as conversations and closed meetings. While others were regarded as more public such as parliament, letters, and policy documents. In this section we will discuss the expressions of trust and distrust in the various sites, and how expressions on the various sites related and influenced each other.

At the initiating conference in 2005, trust was introduced as an important concept by one of the initiators of the ILG, the then Minister of LNV, Cees Veerman. He stated: *'When you trust one another, you can cooperate with a small number of rules and agreements. If there is distrust, then you need a wheelbarrow full of paper.'* In this vision, trust should go both ways: *'The basic element for flexibility is mutual trust ... Trust from the national government that the provinces are able to do their jobs, and trust from the provinces that the national government will fulfil its obligations.'* This site, the starting conference, was the first official public gathering of the ILG. The emphasis on trust was regularly recalled by civil servants from the ministry and the provinces, and was also repeated in official documents.

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In January 2007, the ILG officially took off. Just after the start, critical questions were raised in parliament about the instruments the ministry had for monitoring and control, and how to hold the provinces accountable. In response to these questions, the ministers kept underlining the importance of trust. Here, the Minister of LNV underlined that trust was especially important in relation to ecological objectives as a lot of work still had to be done in which the organizations needed one another. These statements of trust were regularly repeated in various discussions in parliament in the following years and affirmed by official letters from the minister to parliament. For instance, in one of these letters (2008), the minister expressed it as follows: *'I trust that the provinces and the municipalities will work according to earlier agreements.'* The statements about trust were also supported by other governmental agencies and authorities. The Social and Economic Council (*Sociaal Economische Raad*: SER) for instance stated (2008) that they trusted that the provinces could perform their agreed tasks. These statements were taken over and shared by the civil servants working on the ILG. One of our interviewees from the ministry stated, *'the ILG cannot work without mutual trust.'*

In reports published about the progress of the ILG, this statement was underlined. However, in these progress reports trust was also mentioned as a prerequisite for overcoming the hiccups and problems that the ILG was facing. In the MTR (2010), the importance of trust was again emphasized. It was stated for instance: *'Mutual trust [between the ministry and the provinces] is crucial and requires continuity.'* Over the years, several other documents were published with suggestions about how to improve trust – for instance, the visitation reports which suggested that trust building was important and needed input. A speech by the Minister of LNV, delivered at a meeting with the provinces halfway through the ILG (2009), was one of the examples referred to by officials: *'you should help me to create trust, to show the people in parliament that the ILG is doing well, show successes, create trust.'*

Civil servants from both the ministry and the provinces worked together to fine-tune the realization of the national objectives at regional level. In the interviews, most civil servants indicated that from the beginning the day-to-day working relationship between the ministry and the provinces was characterized by distrust. They refer to two large points of contention between the provinces and the ministry that were present from the start and persisted in the years that followed.

The first was the process of writing the agreements, in which the descriptions of the goals became much more detailed than initially intended. An official from the ministry explained in an interview the process of how the detailed contracts came into place: *'The top officials of the ministry were very much focussed on accountability, they fought very hard to tie up all loose ends. They wanted to be able to have strict control. They did not want flexibility in the contracts.'* This official also stated: *'The provinces were very much on the same line. They themselves made the agreements more detailed.'* Another official from the ministry explained his opinion about this development, he stated: *'... it is all about numbers, this is partly because, according to me... there was no trust between the national government and the provinces.'* This focus on numbers continued over the years. The strong quantitative focus of the annual reports, the Midterm Review, and the reports of the evaluation committee enhanced the idea of numbers being the most important part of the ILG. However, because of the complexity and long lifespan of the regional planning processes that had to produce the ILG results, showing unambiguous numbers about the progress proved nearly impossible. This resulted in long discussions between the ministry and the provinces on the 'right' numbers. According to the ministry, it was only after questions were raised in parliament and by the national Court of Audit (2010) that the provinces produced reliable numbers. An official of the ministry said about the annual reports: *'If, after such a time of discussion you [provinces in general] come up with half numbers then, of course, you build distrust.'* Consequently, the discussions about the numbers recurred time after time – in meetings about the annual reports, in parliament, and in the Midterm Review.

The second issue mentioned as worsening the distrust was the discussion on the amount of money available for provinces taking over national obligations and projects. This began right after the start of the ILG in 2007. At this time, the ministry had already presented budget cuts for the ILG which would affect the ability of the provinces to stick to the measures agreed upon. These cuts were cancelled after protest from the provinces. However, the discussion about the finances kept coming up time after time. First, there was disagreement on the baseline situation of the projects the provinces took over (and thus on what still needed to be done and the amount of money needed for that). Secondly, there was disagreement about financial compensation for additional objectives and tasks assigned to the provinces after the agreements were signed. A provincial official explained: *'If I take over national obligations, I have to trust that enough money comes with it, if it turns out that they [the ministry] have given me tens of millions short, then I just don't have trust anymore.'*

In addition to these large issues, which were mentioned by many of the interviewees, many smaller incidents and circumstances were mentioned as negative experiences. An example told and retold many times to illustrate the situation of distrust in the ILG was a letter which the minister sent to parliament without notifying the provinces. In this letter, she stated that

she was not satisfied with the provincial efforts made within the ILG. A provincial official explained: *'well, when you are talking about trust then of course such a letter is not clever from her side.'* It was the accumulation of incidents in their daily work with other officials that, according to them, showed, created, or worsened the distrust.

The story unfolding

On the various sites, there were two very different performances of trust and distrust. The performances at different sites are strongly connected. What happened in on one site influenced other interactions, and the other way round. This connection becomes visible in the results of the attempts to improve trust.

As mentioned, there were several reports that suggested how to improve trust without saying there was a lack of trust. These expressions were met with scepticism by officials from both the ministry and the provinces as they regarded building trust as a 'mission impossible.' This resulted in various ideas on how trust should be created. One of the provinces decided to invite members of parliament for a tour around successful ILG projects; he argued: *'You have to share the successes, and allow others their part in these successes'* and *'you should write that down, this creates trust!'* Still, mentioning it seemed easier than working on trust. A provincial official felt that, after different annual reports, the focus on numbers was hindering them from creating trust: *'We are not able to tell the story behind the numbers, to show the successes and thus build trust.'* Other provinces had opposite ideas on how to create trust, as a provincial official tells us: *'You should underpin your story with numbers, that creates trust.'* Parliament and the ministry at the same time seemed to go along with this focus on numbers. By enlarging the monitoring and control system, they clearly signalled that numbers were the principal way for the provinces to create trust. Here, sites which were more regarded as public, such as parliament and letters from the ministry (we need to create trust), and sites which were regarded more as non-public (detailed numbers are a sign of distrust) clashed. On various sites such as meetings of government officials, the focus on numbers was interpreted from a sphere of distrust, and as a sign of distrust. These stories of distrust then started to take on a life of their own. This was contrary to the idea in other sites such as parliament that the numbers would lead to trust development.

Over the years, distrust became the dominant story of the ILG. Many civil servants described how the ILG became a synonym for distrust. As mentioned in the introduction, one of the interviewees stated: *'The ILG is congealed distrust!'* The story of distrust was very strong. Interviewees stressed that their growing feeling of distrust based on many experiences and stories was focussed on the organizations (e.g. the ministry and the provinces) and not on individuals working in these organizations, with whom they worked closely. At the same time, the distrust did have an effect on personal communication between officials from the two tiers and consequently on cooperation in the ILG. An official from the ministry explained the situation near the end of the ILG (2011), with an example: *'You sense that there is some hesitance in speaking about certain strategic issues'*; this is acknowledged by a provincial official in 2011, who said: *'before, we discussed things with the national officials in confidence, but in this atmosphere that is no longer possible, that would put my colleagues at the national level into a difficult situation, when I tell them things that are confidential.'* This shows that, because of the general feeling of distrust, personal relations changed and not everything was discussed as openly as before.

The discrepancy between the continued expression of trust and the experienced distrust was thus clearly felt by the officials working with the ILG. A provincial official suggested that the large amount of trust-related talk and writing in itself points to its absence: *'If we need to talk about trust so much, then maybe that is a sign that there is no trust.'* In discussions about the relationship between the ministry and the provinces, the topic was regularly raised by them. The word trust itself or expressions of trust in relation to the ILG were seldom uttered by officials in public without a sigh, a sarcastic grin, or even a light growl.

5.5 Discussion

The many expressions of trust and distrust influenced the cooperation between the ministry and the provinces within the ILG. In this section, we analyse and discuss the effects of these expressions by using the theories about stories, performance, and performativity as presented at the beginning of this paper. In our discussion, we focus on what happened on the various sites of the ILG and relation between them.

Throughout the whole ILG process, trust was considered important, heavily discussed, and performed on various sites. From the beginning of the ILG process and in the following years, distrust was constantly performed on various sites. These performances were not merely repetitions but built upon one another. The distrust started with the discussions about the detailed agreements before the official start of the ILG. During these discussions, the first feelings of distrust were expressed by officials both from the ministry and from the provinces. These initial discussions were followed by the debates about the correctness of the numbers in the annual reports. These reports then resulted in questions about accountability and control by the ministry over the provinces. This in turn resulted in the involvement of the National Court of Audit, after which the discussions continued on the path towards the MTR. Under the influence of these constant discussions, new light was shed on the initial process of contract design. The then performed distrust was now felt more strongly as it became part of a larger story of distrust.

Over time, the various performances of distrust started to form a story of distrust. In this story, the distrust became stronger and stronger under the influence of new events, creating a tension, as it was unclear what could be expected next. Moreover, in the story, the other party was the bad-guy character against whom one could team up. This story spread through the ILG as it was recognizable for other civil servants. While the story was being told, new experiences, large and small, were added to the general story of distrust. Thus, the general story of distrust diverged more and more from the original performer and situation. Although this created a set of stories with a certain degree of variation, they all had distrust at their core. Consequently, the distrust story became the general story within the ILG, becoming stronger with every retelling, and gradually being accepted as 'true.'

In addition to the performance of distrust, we distinguished regular performances of trust on other sites. However, the nature of these performances of trust seemed to differ from the distrust performances. In contrast to the performances of distrust, the performances of trust were merely repetitive. They did not build on earlier stories or experiences of trust, but were expressed because of the existing distrust. Thus, these performances built upon performances

of distrust. These performances of trust could be seen as performances that were not taken over by the audience (Lloyd, 1999). It was a process of constantly re-emphasizing trust instead of re-significations building upon one another. Despite the emphasis on trust, on other sites these performances became part of stories which suggested that the expressions were fake or a way to force trust, and thus anyway implied the absence of trust. Through the interpretation and retelling of the story, the meaning of trust performances shifted through various sites (Ford, 1999). As a result, the performance of trust were explained as faking and forcing, and became part of the dominant story of distrust.

The stories of distrust were thus strengthened by the interpretation of trust performances as expressions of distrust on other sites. The feeling of distrust became the dominant story of the ILG on which people based their actions; the distrust performances became performative. These actions included the design of detailed agreements, the complex monitoring and control system, and the termination to the sharing of sensitive information. Although these actions were not portrayed as the result of distrust, from the perspective of the dominant distrust story, these actions were interpreted as signs of distrust. In this way, the actions taken as a result of the performativity of distrust further strengthened the dominant distrust story.

Despite the dominant story of distrust, and the fact that performances of trust were interpreted as signs of distrust, the performance of trust continued on other sites. There are various possible explanations for this apparent contradiction. First, the constant performance of trust in public situations can be regarded as performing according to a script or ritual, in line with what is the norm in this setting (Hajer, 2005; Czarniawska, 1997) and which must be adhered to. On these sites, certain rules, strategic assets and expectations were held in relation to, for instance, the audience and the potential for performativity. The minister was, for example, expected not to criticize a lower tier of government or civil servants publicly, by expressing distrust. Simultaneously in other sites, there were other rules, assets and expectations in which distrust was accepted and actively performed. In this case, parliament acted upon the dominant story of distrust by enforcing more monitoring and control, while not expressing this distrust publicly. Thus, various sites should not only be viewed as separate entities with their own rules, assets, expectations and audience, but rather as mutually influencing and shaping one another and their performances (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012b).

A second explanation is of the contradiction is that the performance of trust can be seen as a way to safeguard the future of the project (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2012b; Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman, 2009). The ILG was seen as an experiment to redesign relations between the national government and the provinces. Trust was a precondition for success. In the ILG case, there was a high interdependence between the ministry and the provinces. Both the provinces and the ministry faced a critical discussion regarding their role, tasks, and authority in future governmental structures. The provinces faced abolishment, and the ministry faced a merger. A successful ILG was perceived as a strong argument against these threats. As trust was portrayed as a precondition for the success of the ILG, openly expressing distrust would mean admitting the failure of the ILG policy experiment. This was simply too risky for both sides and therefore unaccepted.

5.6 Conclusion

This study shows that trust should not be considered as ‘given’ in interaction, inter-governmental cooperation, and policy processes. On the contrary, both trust and distrust are actively performed on various sites of interaction. In our search to understand the influence of expressions of trust and distrust on cooperation processes, we distinguished and studied various sites of a policy process. In these places, trust and distrust towards the other governmental organization were performed. These performances were given meaning and gained substance in interaction through interpretation. In this, the performances were retold and spread as stories, reshaped, and explained as faking and forcing. In this spreading process, performances of distrust became the dominant and performative story, widely accepted as ‘true’ and thus leading to action in the ILG. The performances of trust remained a repetition in this case, not leading to a feeling of trust as it gained another meaning in the interaction in backstage settings. Here, a strong and often positively associated concept like trust was interpreted differently on other sites, thus strengthening the distrust discourse. Consequently, the function of the performance of trust and distrust was determined by the meaning it was given through subsequent action of others.

94 | In relation to the ILG policy process, we can also conclude that the performances of trust and distrust negatively influenced the cooperation between the governmental organizations. Many people involved in the intergovernmental cooperation played a role on more than one site of interaction, and this made the performances of trust at different stages strongly interrelated in shaping the evolution of the ILG. The effect of performing trust and distrust in ‘faking and forcing’ was that issues like honesty and openness, concepts strongly related to trust, become questionable (Eshuis, 2006). Questioning openness and honesty, and thus trust, makes cooperation less easy and slows down the process, as many extra checks and balances have to be put in place. From this perspective, the constant emphasis on trust was not interpreted as a sign of trust. The expressions of trust were looked at through a magnifying glass from other sites in the ILG. This resulted in stories roaming around. These stories suggested that these expressions were there as a result of distrust.

This study shows that trust is often performed strategically and is not always the hoped-for cooperation-enhancing concept or social lubricant. It also shows that performing trust does not have to lead to trust – paradoxically, the expression of trust can also imply that it is absent. Moreover, it shows that, and how, (strategic) communication on various sites, e.g. written sources, interviews, public debates, all contribute to the way public policy is carried out and interpreted. These sites should all be taken into account in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms in a policy processes. This opens the door for new studies on trust in public administration and governance. It shows that studying trust as a performance is a promising way forward to study trust-related phenomena.

Despite the growing emphasis on trust in public policy and governance, actual practices do not show that trust within administrative organizations and institutions is growing. The ILG ran into various problems and delays because of overoptimistic expectation about using trust and output steering, as well as a lack of critical reflection on the state of affairs. Our analyses shows that it was precisely the quest for control in terms of what to realise that created

tensions between the actors, simultaneously undermining trust relations. This engineering type of planning, focussed on output steering and control, largely ignores the uncertainties experienced by people involved in regional planning. In a failed attempt to uphold this planning myth, trust was faked and forced. Moreover, it shows the importance of the constant managing of expectations through for instance reflection, in dealing with uncertainties and the dynamics of trust relations over a longer time. This is especially important for planning due to the long time span of most planning processes and the consequent and inevitable uncertainties that characterise planning.

Studies like this help to differentiate between various expressions of trust and its functions, by the way in which meaning is given to it in interaction, and subsequently through the actions based on this meaning. This perspective helps us to understand the complexities, limitations, possibilities, and effects that come with public reform. This is becoming increasingly important, as traditional strongholds of government are being abandoned and parties are together exploring new paths of governance. The success of this endeavour largely depends on the way these parties can develop and maintain mutual trust.



6

General discussion

Trust dynamics and their role in governance



In the previous chapters of this thesis, I presented four studies on trust dynamics. Each study focused on the emergence and development of trust and distrust from a different angle. In this synthesis and final chapter, I allude to these studies to draw the main conclusions by answering the research questions (6.1). Then, I discuss several cross-cutting issues that come from comparing the studies and related conclusions (6.2). These discussions are followed by reflections on the research process (6.3) and recommendations for further research (6.4) and practice (6.5).

6.1 Conclusions

The previous four chapters of this thesis present empirical case studies that give insight into different aspects of the emergence and development of trust dynamics. From a longitudinal and comparative perspective, it has become clear that, over time, trust dynamics are influenced by the various aspects of governance processes and related contexts. In this section, I focus on these various aspects by answering the research questions, after answering the main question.

How does trust emerge and develop in governance interactions for spatial planning?

Starting from a dynamic perspective and viewing trust as a specific expectation, this thesis shows that, in governance processes, trust is a dynamic concept because it is constantly dealt with and constructed in interactions between interdependent actors over time. Trust dynamics emerge and evolve in governance processes as specific and dynamic expectations. These expectations are based upon the perspective on collective history. This perspective is constantly (re-)constructed under the influence of aspects of governance processes and dynamics in related governance processes, and the social and environmental context. These aspects include the organisation and character of interactions, the use of policy instruments, intergroup relations and identity, and expressions of trust and distrust.

As a result of the interdependence between actors, the various aspects of governance processes and dynamics in the related context lead to changing uncertainties and risks, whereby actors display increasingly or decreasingly open and vulnerable attitudes towards others. These experiences and consequent attitudes relate to and influence the perspective on the past and result in dynamic trust-related expectations. These trust dynamics affect subsequent interactions, decisions taken, and behaviour. Longitudinally, these experiences and actions become part of the collective past, change the perspective thereon, and result in new trust dynamics.

Central in this conclusion is how the various aspects of governance processes result in a changed perspective on the past, alter expectations, and influence trust dynamics.

How do trust dynamics develop in governance interactions?

From the analysis of two cases in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, it is concluded that trust dynamics are influenced by the frequency, mode, and character of interactions between actors in the process, and the way they built upon one another. In these interactions, the information that is shared by the actors involved and related developments in other (governance) contexts influence actors' perceptions of the past and present situation. These

perceptions result in expectations influencing trust dynamics that, in their turn, influence new interactions, decisions taken, the organisation of the governance process, and new trust dynamics. These conclusions show that it is not so much the introduction of governance approaches that influence trust (see for a review: Kramer & Lewicki, 2010), but rather the way interactions are organised.

How do trust dynamics influence the use of planning instruments and vice versa?

Studies focusing on trust and planning instruments, such as contracts, show incompatible views that have been dominating the debate about the relation between trust and contracts over the last decades (Klein Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005). In these views, trust and contracts are either considered to be complementary to each other or to rule each other out. By exploring the relation between trust and the use of contracts, I have attempted to overcome this dichotomy by showing how the role of the same contracts can change over time, influencing the planning process and trust dynamics. On the basis of this exploration, I conclude that the use of policy instruments can play a pivotal role in trust dynamics. Policy instruments are specifications of existing institutions in a specific context. As specifications, policy instruments guide future cooperation and actors' roles. Under the influence of contextual changes, a series of interactions, and the use of policy instruments, the perspective on the instruments might change, and give rise to changed expectations towards the process and other actors. Longitudinally, these expectations strongly influence trust, and altered trust dynamics influence the perspective on the contract and related institutions as well.

How do trust dynamics influence intergroup relations?

Using insights from social identity theory, I analysed the Baviaanskloof case (South Africa) in which two groups developed a persistent distrust towards each other. Unravelling the process towards this distrust, I conclude that the constant constructions of group identities and group history reinforce differences between groups. These differences, as discursive constructs, influence the perspective on in-group and out-group members, and therewith intergroup trust relations. In this process, their common history is selectively remembered and forgotten, and seemingly unrelated past events and contextual changes are connected as uncontested arguments as to why the other group could or could not be trusted. These processes shape trust-related expectations about the behaviour of in-group and out-group members, and this may result in declining or growing trust. The constant re-confirmation of trust or distrust towards the other group may make this part of the group's identity: an identity that embraces a salient trust or distrust towards the other group. These findings contribute to the rather unexplored role of trust dynamics in intergroup contexts (Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006; Idrissou et al., 2013) and show that trust dynamics between individuals are strongly rooted in, and influenced by, the social identity of the group to which they adhere.

How do expressions of trust and distrust influence trust dynamics?

Studies dealing with trust in governance contexts focus largely on the theoretical understanding of trust, and only a few have touched upon the importance of expressions of trust and distrust in cooperation settings (Idrissou et al., 2013; Lewicki & Brinsfield, 2012). By analysing the public policy case of the Investment Fund for Rural Areas in the Netherlands, I started from the observation that civil servants in this project were frequently talking about trust

and distrust, and discussing strategies about how to improve it. Analysing these expressions, I conclude that expressions of trust and distrust come to the fore as performed stories told. When stories are shared, trust or distrust can become dominant in various settings and become performative. Via stories, opinions and 'facts' are constructed that form the basis for further actions (Ford, 1999). Depending on the interpretation of the story, on prior performances, and on ways of doing, these actions can influence the cooperative process positively or negatively.

The conclusions show that trust in governance processes is dynamic and influenced by specific aspects of governance processes and related contexts. These conclusions have important implications for understanding contemporary governance processes and the role of trust. In addition, they show that approaching trust by focusing on certain aspects helps to gain more detailed insights into trust dynamics. In relation to these aspects, I discuss trust in governance processes and the broader implications in the next section.

6.2 Discussion

In this section, the conclusions are discussed in relation to the broader scientific debate by focusing on several cross-cutting issues. These issues relate on the one hand to the search for new forms of governance that should enhance trust in government, and on the other hand to various perspectives on trust research.

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The continuous meaning of formal governance for trust dynamics

The way of governing and the role of the government has changed fundamentally over the last decades. This change is often indicated as the shift from government to governance (Rhodes, 1996; Robins, Bates & Pattison, 2011). In this shift and further development of governance approaches much more attention is given to network forms of cooperation with a multitude of actors and less-formalised ways of working based on mutual interdependence (Van Gunsteren, 1998; Cars et al., 2002; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; De Vos & Van Tatenhove, 2011). As a result, these processes have become much more complex and unpredictable (Scharpf, 1997). To deal with this complexity and unpredictability, trust is seen as an important concept (Sydow, 1998). Indeed, this thesis has shown that governance approaches influence trust dynamics to a large extent. However, this is only one side of the story. Traditional and more hierarchical approaches are only partly replaced by new forms of governance and remain important for trust dynamics as well (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009).

Analysing the implementation of Natura 2000, chapter 2 showed how hierarchical forms of governance continue to play a role. In the Wieden-Weerribben case, the project leaned heavily on the existing and well-known forms of governance despite the initial point of departure, which aimed to organise the process in a more interactive way. This led to over optimistic expectations about the influence of different stakeholders on the process and its outcomes. These expectations were not met and this led to disappointment amongst most actors involved. These experiences have seriously influenced trust dynamics over time. In the Thanet Coast case, traditional, top-down approaches were experienced as negative, and the way the project was organised as the better alternative. This resulted in a positive perspective

on the new approach, and on trust. In chapter 3, it became clear how contracts, as context specific rules that two or more parties have negotiated are embedded in a web of existing rules. Over time, the use of contracts can change the way these rules are perceived, therewith influencing trust dynamics, and in turn leading to altered perspectives on the existing rules. Chapter 4 showed how changes in the formal context, such as new policies, influenced the perspective on common history and led to the stabilisation of distrust, whereas in chapter 5 formal agreements were used to formalise cooperation between governments. The use of these agreements became subject to expressions of trust and distrust, influencing the perspective on the collective past, on trust, and on the process. In settings of interactive and informal approaches, existing and past approaches thus continue to play a role as part of collective history.

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Introducing governance approaches and diverging from existing ways creates new expectations, opportunities, and room for new possibilities and initiatives (Van Gunsteren, 2006; Frissen, 1998). The expectations are about possible future influences and ways to organise the process. However, introducing new approaches may also result in uncertainties about the way the process will be organised, and about how this will potentially affect and influence the actors' current and future situation (Abbott, 2005; Beunen & Domingo, 2013). Both expectations and uncertainties result from the perception of the past in relation to the current situation. More precisely, the results of this thesis reveal that uncertainties and expectations result from a perception of the past in which the role of existing and more formal modes of governance are selectively remembered or forgotten (see also Frissen, 2007; Van Assche et al., 2009).

On the basis of this perception, actors can organise resistance, develop new initiatives, see opportunities or constraints, and develop subsequent expectations and trust. These uncertainties and expectations influence decisions taken, interactions, and the course of the process. From a historical perspective, these interactions accumulate and become part of, and influence, the perspective on common history as well. Thus, a series of interactions and experiences results in the constant reconstruction of expectations and trust in the decisions taken, in the process developed, and in the actors involved. Consequently, the existing modes of governance remain indirectly present as part of common history for a long time. In addition, the cases in chapter 3 show how governance approaches and their rules and norms are always developed in relation to the existing approaches and their institutions (see also Ellickson, 2008). These institutions can be explained as shared expectations that structure society (Greiff, 2007) and are therefore largely taken for granted. Consequently, existing institutions are often overlooked in governance interactions focusing on the organisation of new arrangements. Nevertheless, because of their continuous presence, these institutions, consciously or subconsciously, structure governance processes and expectations, and thus trust dynamics.

Despite the widespread will to organise governance processes differently and the focus on trust in relation to governance approaches, this thesis gives insight into how formal and more hierarchical approaches and related institutions still play a major role in trust dynamics. More specifically, they are part of collective history, and governance approaches are developed in the context formed by these institutions. This makes managing trust in governance approaches

complex, especially as the distinction and relation between existing, new, formal, and informal is far from clear and is subject to various interpretations (North, 2005). Consequently, the way new governance approaches influence existing ones is not always known and entails a process of which the outcome is far from certain (Van Assche, Beunen & Duineveld, 2014).

Do governments trust their citizens?

The various chapters in this thesis show different examples of alternative governance processes for spatial planning. For example, the Natura 2000 case from the Netherlands in chapter 2 was about a new approach developed in interaction with local actors for the implementation of European Nature policies. This case is an example of how governments and governmental organisations work with alternative approaches (Beunen & de Vries, 2011). It is argued that these approaches are implemented to enhance citizens' trust in governments. However, the local and provincial governments in the Dutch case experienced too many uncertainties in working together with local actors in this process and feared that the process would be uncontrolled. As a result, they decided to follow a more traditional and hierarchical path of policy implementation and pay very limited attention to the involvement of local actors. Amongst local actors, this choice was experienced as a sign of distrust towards them. This example invites the turning around of question to ask: how much do governments trust their citizens?

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In addition to the results from chapter 2, chapter 3 shows examples of how the contracts that were used to enable local landowners to develop housing were gradually experienced as a means to control the process and the landowners, and a sign of the government's distrust in the local actors. Lastly, chapter 4 shows how various approaches used to extend conservation areas with the involvement of local actors were also experienced as a sign of distrust. These experienced signs of distrust in the various cases resulted in a negative perspective on the common past, negative expectations about the future, and citizens' distrust of the government.

Discussing these issues shows that governance approaches can also be experienced as signs of government's distrust of citizens. Relating these results to the literature shows that choosing interactive approaches and giving more room to local influences is part of a broader trend. In this trend, higher governments decentralise tasks to lower governments. The rationale behind this decentralisation is that local governments are better equipped to execute these tasks (Van Ark, 2005; Roodbol-Mekkes, Van der Valk, Korthals-Altes, 2012). In addition, lower governments look for ways to share responsibilities with citizens and civic organisations by working in more network forms based on mutual dependencies (Cars et al., 2002). However, as amongst others Scott (2001) argues, these decentralisations often come with increased mechanisms for control, checks, and balances (Scott, 2001; Ellickson, 2008). In addition to these findings, this thesis adds that these checks and balances of governance approaches can be experienced as a sign of distrust. The distrust displayed makes cooperation difficult, consensus hard to reach, and may increase citizens' distrust of the government. This insight is highly relevant as these checks and balances are widespread. In the Netherlands in particular, they can be found in a wide range of public services, such as taxes, healthcare, and rural subsidies, in which they are discussed as formalised distrust (Van der Lans, 2008). This distrust and the omnipresence of the control mechanisms in daily life might eventually harm

the general operation of governments and undermine the rules and institutions upon which they rely.

Significance of everyday life for trust dynamics

In planning-related research, there is the tendency to focus on the process of large-scale projects, well-known conflicts, outstanding situations, and innovative solutions. Examples are widespread, and range from rail-infrastructure projects to national and international policy implementation (see amongst others: Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius & Rothengatter, 2003; Weber & Christophersen, 2002; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). Amongst other things, these studies build upon empirical cases and reflect on the way uncertainties and expectations influence the course of the process. In doing so, they focus largely on the project itself.

However, the results from chapter 2 show that the Thanet Coast project was gaining trust as the project was embedded in processes outside the direct context of the project and took into account existing local initiatives, concerns, and ideas. This created expectations that positively influenced trust dynamics. Moreover, the farmers and nature conservationists in chapter 4 interpreted and gave meaning to the proposed changes not only in the organised interactions but also in the interactions of everyday farm life. From this perspective, the proposed plans were a threat to the farmers' identity, resulting in uncertainties and negatively influencing trust dynamics, whereas, in the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (ILG) case in chapter 5, the expressions of trust and distrust took place in the everyday routine of interactions and ways of working of civil servants. These expressions gained meaning in this same context, contributing to the construction of uncertainties and distrust that influenced cooperation in organised interactions and in the ILG in general. By focusing on trust dynamics, this thesis has shown that the construction of uncertainties, expectations, and trust dynamics in governance contexts is also strongly related to everyday life, or situations outside the direct context of the planning project or governance process.

Everyday life is the context in which actors live and work in planning projects and in which the projects take place. This context is what Kim and Kim (2008) call the fundamental backbone of planning projects, decision making, and governance processes. This everyday life consists of a series of everyday talk, in which ways of doing in governments and organisations, such as meetings, raising taxes, applying and controlling permits, are intensively discussed. These activities resemble typically the things we take for granted (Kim & Kim, 2008). As a result, existing studies of governance processes focus largely on the process itself and consequently ignore the influence of everyday interaction. This thesis adds to this knowledge by discussing the importance of everyday interactions for trust dynamics. More specifically, it is in these interactions that the potential impact and possibilities of planning projects are discussed and interpreted. Moreover, changes in everyday life influence the perspective on the planning project also. These changed perspectives may give rise to uncertainties and expectations, and influence trust dynamics. Thus, they contribute to the way decisions are taken and influence the course of the project – processes which cannot, or can only partly, be explained if the context of governance interactions is not taken into account (Aarts, Steuten & Van Woerkum, 2014).

Reflection on monitoring studies as the basis for policy change

In this thesis, I took a dynamic perspective on trust in relation to various aspects of governance processes. However, trust can be studied in various ways. A frequently used approach consists of monitoring the level of trust in governments and institutions over time (SCP, 2014; Gidman, Ward & McGregor, 2012; Hetherington & Husser, 2012). In these studies, trust is measured by asking respondents at various junctures the extent (e.g. scale 0 to 10) to which they trust the government, law system, or other institutions (Glaeser et al., 2000; SCP, 2014). These studies are often used to follow trends in society and as input for assessing and adjusting policies and government interventions.

In recent decades, various studies monitoring trust have shown that people are expressing a declining trust in society, governments, and politics in the Western world (Putnam, 1995; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Swain & Tait, 2007; Talvitie, 2011). Despite the decline reported in those studies, people still rely on the government in their everyday life. For instance, people still pay taxes, go to court, and vote. In other words, people mostly comply to the law, showing that they do recognise governments as trustworthy actors in many ways, and that actors have a basic trust in governmental institutions. This behaviour indicates that there is some kind of basic trust, or confidence, in these institutions (Luhmann, 1979). Looking at this discrepancy between expressions of trust and trust-related behaviour from the multi-perspective analyses of trust as used in this thesis, I argue that this discrepancy raises some fundamental questions about trust as an object of research. In particular, if we consider the importance attached to monitoring studies for government interventions, we should have a much better understanding of what we are empirically studying when we use a certain approach to study trust. Closer examination of this discrepancy in the context of the results of this thesis brings three interrelated issues to the fore.

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First, expressions of trust may diverge from trust-related behaviour because particular answers in these studies are more socially desirable than others. Chapter 4 shows how distrust towards the other group became the norm amongst the members of two groups as a result of the constant re-emphasising of distrust experiences. In this case, diverging behaviour could mean exclusion from group membership. Expressing distrust can thus be the consequence of the broader social convention that one has to be critical about the trustworthiness of governments, while at the same time relying on governmental services is still the norm, both shaping our thinking and future actions (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). Such a divergence might be influenced by the publication of reports, especially when these reveal a decline in trust. This confirmation may result in strengthening the argument of distrust, whereas, on the other hand, positive experiences with governmental services maintain the norm of availing of these.

Second, studies monitoring trust might diverge from trust-related behaviour as there is no other reasonable alternative to be considered. The Thanet Coast case in chapter 2 shows that abandoning the well-known paths of governance processes provides various options, but also uncertainties. These uncertainties made some people leave the project. Such consequences of uncertainties might explain why people still rely on governments and their institutions despite the studies reporting declining trust. For instance, abandoning the existing tax and

legal institutions would mean relying on other complex and unknown networks of people. The potential consequences of such a change are far from clear.

Third, the results of this thesis reveal that trust in governance interactions is often expressed towards a specific person, skill, or aspect (see also Kramer & Tyler, 1996; Jones & George, 1998) and strongly influenced by the trust context. However, when expressions of trust are addressed in monitoring studies, the general attitude towards the government or institutions is monitored, as the questions in monitoring studies focus mostly on politics in general or the government in general (see for instance SCP, 2014). As a result, the studies follow the general trend and do not explain the complex background of the trust expressed.

These three points show that the relation between expressions of trust and trust-related behaviour is complex and requires further understanding. Additionally, the results from chapter 5 reveal that expressions of trust do influence trust dynamics, and consequently they cannot be viewed separately. Despite the complex relation, various examples from the literature show how specific experiences of distrust are used to explain trends of trust decline in the government as a whole. For instance, negative experiences with the MMR vaccine are brought up as a reason to question trust in broader governmental institutions (Swain & Tait, 2007). In other cases, declining trust in the government is brought up as an uncontested argument for the use of specific public participation methods to restore trust between actors in governance processes (Tsang et al., 2009). In these discussions, the multiple understandings of trust are neglected (Blomqvist, 1997), and relations are assumed without an in-depth understanding of the specific trust situation. As a result, notions about trust decline lead to the development and implementation of new governance approaches. These approaches aim, amongst other things, to restore and build trust in the government (Swain & Tait, 2007; Tsang et al., 2009; Bradbury et al., 1994; Earle & Cvethovick, 1995; Wang & Wart, 2007). In doing so, the consequences of changing ways of governing are often overlooked. As this thesis has shown, the implementation of governance approaches results in uncertainties, as they abandon well-known ways of working and existing institutions that guide interactions. These uncertainties may influence trust dynamics negatively. As a result, new interventions that are based on studies reporting general trust decline in the government might strengthen this decline instead of improving trust relations. This shows the importance of taking into account not only the multiple understandings of trust (see also McKnight & Chervany, 2001; Blomqvist, 1997). One could therefore wonder whether studies that monitor trust do form a well-informed basis for policy intervention. Especially as these studies focus on the general trends and not on the specific dynamics and processes of trust, needed for policy intervention.

6.4 Paths for future research

The discussion of trust dynamics in the previous section has shown that trust is a multi-level concept influenced by various aspects of governance processes. In this section, I present four paths that each focus on an aspect of governance related to trust research.

Trust and everyday interactions. To elucidate trust and broader governance processes, I make a plea for more focus on how everyday life plays a role in governance and spatial planning. As discussed, trust dynamics are influenced by uncertainties and expectations. These uncertainties and expectations are often strongly related to everyday interactions and ways of doing by people, governments, and organisations. When possible future changes are discussed, it is, amongst other things, the possible impact that these changes could have on everyday interactions that shape the feelings of uncertainty and expectation. My research has shown that everyday life has a significant influence on trust and distrust dynamics within planning processes, but more insights focusing on this specific aspect are needed. This would mean focusing on the question: how is trust in governance interactions influenced by the dynamics of everyday life?

Trust in institutions and expressions of trust. In this thesis, I have shown that understanding a multi-layered concept like trust requires an approach that integrates various perspectives. In order to gain further insight into trust dynamics, but also into other social concepts like power, I argue for a more in-depth focus on the relation between expressions of trust and trust or confidence in institutions and governments. Following the discussion, research should focus on how expressions relate to confidence in institutions by identifying and studying various types of relations between the two aspects and the broader social context.

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Governments' trust in citizens. In relation to the interface between trust in government and institutions and expressions of trust, I signal a strong tendency in governance studies to take the decline of citizens' trust in governments as their starting point. However, this thesis is based upon the assumption that trust is a dynamic concept that develops in interaction. Assuming that trust is an interactive concept, I believe that, to understand citizens' trust in governments thoroughly, one cannot ignore governments' trust in their citizens. This would result in the question: Is there a relation between governments' displayed trust in citizens and citizens' trust in the government?

Deliberate expressions of trust. Chapter 5 of this thesis focuses on how performances of trust and distrust gain meaning, influence interaction, and thus influence public policy processes. As we are not able to take a look into the minds of the actors in a process, we were not able to distinguish between deliberate expressions and subconscious expressions of trust and distrust. Nonetheless, people do deliberately express trust or distrust in interactions. I suggest that this can be studied by monitoring interactions between actors and afterwards reconstructing with these actors individually the extent to which expressions of trust and distrust were deliberate strategies used and for what reason. I therefore suggest a further focus on this difference in expressions. Such an approach could focus on the question: to what extent are distrust and trust used as rhetorical strategies in interactions? And to what effect?

From an overview of the thesis and the experiences with applying a historical perspective, I plead for empirical, longitudinal, and evolutionary studies of these four topics. In such studies, interactions and processes should be seen as series that build upon one another and are connected through history – a history that is constantly reconstructed under the influence of new events and interactions. This focus is relevant because this thesis has shown that governance and the context in which it takes place are far from static.

6.5 Recommendations for planning practice and education

Embedded planning

Spatial planning projects are about future developments, solutions, and changes. In planning practice, the emphasis is therefore often on this collective future image or end result towards which groups of people, organisations, and governments are working. However, to build trust in planning projects, it is important to realise that the actors involved interpret the collective future differently. The different interpretations result in various perspectives on historical relations, the present-day situation, and the path towards the end objective. Regarding trust building, this thesis has shown the importance of the constant (re-)construction of the past, present, and future. To build trust in planning practice, we therefore recommend a trust-sensitive approach, in which planners are sensitive towards the changing perspectives on the past and on the future by focusing on what is happening today. More precisely, we recommend not only talking about the future towards which the project is heading, but also focusing more on the issues that people experience today through various forms of formal and informal interactions. In these interactions the project, nearby changes, and how these will be dealt with in the short and long run should be discussed openly, because it is especially the experiences of today that influence people's perspective on the future, their expectations, uncertainties, and trust development.

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Such a trust-sensitive planning approach means connecting with the people directly or indirectly affected by the process. Irrespective of the organiser of the project, this includes working with people who know the local context and its people, who speak the local language. This is important, as these people share insights into the local circumstances, identities, and issues. This shared knowledge in particular can be the first step towards trust building. Moreover, trust building means direct contact with, and openness to, all actors involved, even in situations of expected difficulties or when things go wrong. Such an approach enables projects to tap into the local context and sources of new insights and knowledge (Scharmer, 2007). This means an approach that is not only about responding to questions, but also about communicating ahead, being open about uncertainties, developments, insights, or hiccups. Such openness, honesty, and flexibility contribute not only to trust development between various parties involved, but also to trust between the team members organising the planning project, as working along these principles in difficult times underlines shared core values, and this contributes to the collective identity of the team and its members. This collective identity creates a thick 'mattress' enabling planners to be flexible, deal with the impact of changes, and bounce back after hiccups and conflicts.

Focusing on today does not necessarily mean that spatial planners should give up the objective towards which they are working. However, planners should let go of the idea that they are working towards unambiguous end objectives that should be mentioned or brought up as counter arguments in every discussion. In order to deal with people's expectations and uncertainties, the focus should be more on the imaginable future situations, results, or objectives in relation to today's situation. A planning process then will shift from focusing on a faraway future to be achieved in big leaps towards working in small steps with an end objective on the horizon. This enables people to get used to the project and to deal with uncertainties

and expectations at their own pace; whereas, for planning professionals, working in small steps will make it easier for them to respond to changing uncertainties and expectations of the actors involved. Moreover, working in small steps enables planners to deal with new developments and situations that may alter the course of the project and communicate about them in a way that connects better to the daily lives of the people involved. In doing so, the objectives and future perspectives that are often sketched by planners will connect better to the context of the people to whom they are presented.

In order to do this, planners need to reflect constantly and act flexibly in an open and consistent way to changing situations. Such a focus requires a different level in planning education as well. During the last decades, planning education has changed enormously (Beunen, Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013b). Coming from a strong technocratic focus, it has developed via various paths to a profession broadening its scope, including social aspects of planning processes and reflecting on planning practices. However, teaching students about reflexive forms of planning goes beyond that. It entails reflecting from a distance on what did and does happen in planning processes. More importantly, it involves a strong focus on participant observation and on learning how to organise planning processes. This means organising (parts) of planning processes and stakeholder interactions in various well-known (one's own living area) and new (abroad) contexts, and subsequently reflecting on the processes and on one's own role as planner. These reflections should take place in close iteration with a wide range of literature relevant for planning research and practice. In this way, unhindered by any predetermined barriers of scientific fields, planning can make use of insights from various fields, including communication, sociology (how are people organised), and psychology (people's motivations).

Well-considered policy change

As discussed earlier in this chapter, studies monitoring trust indicate a declining trust in governments and institutions. On the basis of these studies, governments often design new policies, approaches, and interventions. In addition, not every spatial planning project or policy is regarded as successful. Therefore, these policies are subject to evaluation. On the basis of these evaluations, governments and organisations often change or renew these policies. However, despite the changes in the field of spatial planning, certain key actors like farmers' unions, nature conservation organisations, and ministries are still present in most planning processes. From prior experience, these actors hold collective or diverging perspectives on the past – perspectives that might influence expectations and trust relations in new governance settings. As a result, changing the policy might not change the interactions and thus the implementation process in the desired way.

Therefore, I recommend that policy evaluation should be integrated throughout the governance process. Evaluations should not be ex-post, but rather a reflexive mode of working that focuses on how policies gain meaning, how past, present, and future events influence the cooperation between actors. One such approach, which Kouevi, Van Mierlo & Leeuwis (2013) call responsive evaluation, acknowledges differences between actors and focuses on dealing with various perspectives on the past, interpretations, and expectations. The application of such an approach should focus on how insights from these evaluations

can contribute to adapting ways of working and decision making during the process in a transparent way. Such an approach means being sensitive to trust and allows the course of the process to be adjusted while working. More important, it makes it easier for actors to understand, and adjust to, changes in the process – experiences that are likely to enhance the cooperation between the actors in planning projects.



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Summary



Chapter 1. Trust is generally perceived as an important concept in governance processes where people cooperate, as it enables people to take risks and deal with uncertainties, and it facilitates cooperation. These characteristics are seen as important in new and alternative ways of implementing public policies. These governance approaches focus more and more on network governance and on organising more horizontal interactions. In these contexts, trust is seen as a means to control and manage relations. It is therefore surprising that empirical studies on trust are lacking. Consequently, little is known about how trust emerges and develops in governance processes. This thesis addresses this gap and focuses on the question: *How does trust emerge and develop in governance interactions?*

In answering this question, I take a dynamic perspective on trust. Here, trust is seen as a positive expectation about an actor's ways of doing. This perspective in particular takes into account the dynamics of governance interactions. In this thesis, I focus on the field of spatial planning, as one of the fields of governance. In planning processes, four aspects are important. First, planning processes consist of a series of interactions that are organised in a certain way and have specific characteristics. Second, in these interactions, various policy instruments are used to guide the process and work towards a collective objective. Third, these interactions take place between groups and their members. These groups have their own identity and related roles and rules that influence the planning process. Fourth, in these interactions, people express trust and distrust to support their ideas, collaboration, or preferred choice. In studying trust dynamics, I focus in the subsequent chapters on these four aspects and how they influence and are influenced by trust dynamics.

The research is conducted in the interpretative tradition. This means that I build upon the assumption that people construct meaning through interpretations of actions and behaviour of others or events. On the basis of these interpretations, people make choices and take actions, and this behaviour influences new interpretations. Thus, this thesis focuses on actors' various interpretations and on how these influence and are influenced by trust. In this tradition, I conducted several studies based on empirical cases. In these studies, I triangulated a historical, contextual, and comparative perspective in order to gain insight into how trust emerged and developed over time in relation to the context, and to learn from case comparisons.

Chapter 2 focuses on the emergence and development of trust in relation to specific participatory governance approaches. We do this by reflecting on two Natura 2000 cases, one in the Netherlands and one in the United Kingdom. Both cases show diverging ways of organising the process, with diverging consequences of trust dynamics. We analyse the factors that influence the emergence and development of trust in interactive planning processes. It develops a framework for analysing the emergence and development of trust in relation to a specific governance approach. The cases show that trust develops through the way people are actively involved in working towards a plan. It is about the way the organisation of interactions influences the emergence and development of trust. More specifically, it is about the mode, frequency, and character of the interactions that influence trust dynamics. Through the way interactions are organised, actors experience increased or decreased uncertainties, risks, and vulnerability. These experiences give rise to changing trust dynamics influencing the interactions. Over time, these interactions contribute to actors' collective history, and

perspectives thereon, influencing new expectations and trust dynamics. This chapter shows that it is not so much through the implementation of new governance processes, but rather through frequent interactions and various modes of communications that expectations stabilise and trust develops. However, unexpected things may happen in the process and elsewhere that impact trust dynamics. This shows that studying trust requires a frame that views trust as a context- and time-bound concept, influenced by and influencing concepts like uncertainties, risks, vulnerability, and expectations.

In **chapter 3** the focus lies on the relation between trust dynamics and the use of contracts. Contracts are often seen as vital policy instruments that can be used to organise new governance arrangements and restore trust in spatial planning. We discuss the literature on the relation between trust and contracts. These studies have diverging points of view, and see contracts and trust as mutually exclusive opposites, or trust as a substitute for contracts, or trust and contracts as complementary to each other. Building upon this discussion, and aiming to overcome the contrasting perspectives, we studied the use of contracts in planning processes and the influence this had on trust dynamics between the actors involved. To do so, we examined three cases from Dutch spatial planning. The results from the cases show that contracts are used as specifications of existing rules and institutions, and that they are used in various ways and forms. Under the influence of their use, contracts can be interpreted differently over time. This influences the perspective on the institutions to which they relate and results in changing uncertainties and expectations. Moreover, the use of contracts influences the perspective on the other actors, past interactions, and uses of the contract itself. This perspective is reflected in actors' future expectations and influences trust dynamics, whereby changing trust dynamics may influence the perspective, the contract, and the future as well. Viewing trust and contracts as having a dynamic relation influenced by the use of contracts regarding the wider institutional context helps planners to deal with the inevitable dynamics of planning processes and trust.

Chapter 4 focuses on trust dynamics in intergroup contexts. Studies focusing on trust and trust dynamics deal mainly with trust between individuals. It is clear, however, that individuals are always influenced by their social environment. This cannot be ignored in any attempt to understand trust. Therefore, it is necessary to study trust dynamics in intergroup contexts. Using theories about in-group and intergroup dynamics from social identity theory and sociology, we studied the emergence and evolution of intergroup trust over time. Using these theories, we focus on the question: how does trust emerge and develop in intergroup contexts over time? In this chapter, we examine the Baviaanskloof (South Africa) case. This case deals with an isolated valley surrounded by nature areas. In this valley, farmers and nature conservationists have been struggling for a long time over the expansion of the nature area onto farmland, and this has resulted in a persistent distrust relation between the two groups. We conclude that this distrust developed over the years through the way intergroup interactions were explained in in-group contexts. More precisely, in-group interpretations of intergroup interactions have contributed to the ongoing reconstruction of distrust towards the other group. Constructions of group identities and group history reinforced differences between groups, shaping expectations about behaviour of in-group and out-group members. In this process, seemingly unrelated past events and contextual changes were connected as

uncontested arguments as to why the other group could not be trusted. The growing distrust stabilised group dynamics and thus distrust towards the other group. This case shows that inter- and in-group dynamics have a strong influence on collaboration possibilities. It shows that conflicts and distrust relations are hard to resolve as they are rooted in identity. Moreover, it shows that trust dynamics are strongly influenced by group membership and related rules and norms.

The last dimension of trust, addressed in **Chapter 5**, relates to expressions of trust and distrust. Although trust relates to people's feelings and expectations, these feelings and expectations cannot be considered in isolation from the expressions of trust and distrust in communications between people. Trust is expressed in various settings, and this study shows that these expressions have consequences and implications for trust dynamics. However, these expressions can strongly influence cooperation processes. Therefore, the focus lies on trust and distrust as expressions, and the influence that these expressions have on intergovernmental cooperation and public policy. In this context, we view expressions of trust and distrust as performed stories. Performances that are considered as true or valid shape people's thoughts and behaviour and so become performative, and consequently have reality effects. In this chapter, we focus on expressions of trust and distrust in various sites of interaction in public policy. We analyse interactions between government officials of the Investment Fund for Rural Areas (ILG) in the Netherlands. The ILG was a national policy of the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature, and Food Quality. Through this policy, the ministry aimed to delegate its tasks to lower-level governments. The intergovernmental cooperation was arranged through contracts. In the beginning, much emphasis was placed on trust as a basis for future collaboration in the project. However, the process of designing the contracts resulted in detailed contracts, feelings of control, and distrust. Over time, other incidents were explained as signs of distrust and in that form told and retold. We found that both trust and distrust were performed in different settings in the ILG. In various settings, the distrust performances developed into stories. Through telling and retelling, these stories became dominant in more non-public settings. As performative stories, they became the basis for further actions. The performances of trust took place in more public settings, but were interpreted as signs of distrust and linked up to stories of distrust. At these sites, trust was faked and forced in an attempt to uphold a story of successful policy implantation. We found that the performances of both trust and distrust negatively influenced the course of the ILG. We conclude that expressions of trust, which generally have positive associations, can contribute to distrust when they are interpreted, told, and retold in various contexts as faking or forcing.

In **Chapter 6**, the overall conclusions are drawn and cross-cutting issues are discussed. This thesis started from the notion that trust is dynamic and can be regarded as an expectation about the behaviour and actions of others. Studying trust in governance contexts, the thesis reports how. This chapter concludes that these expectations are based upon actors' perspective on the collective history. This perspective is constantly reconstructed under the influences of present-day events and interactions, resulting in experiences such as uncertainties, risks, and vulnerability. Over time, these interactions become part of the collective history, influencing new expectations and trust dynamics. In these interactions, trust dynamics are influenced

not solely by the interactive forms of governance, but also by various aspects of governance processes. More specifically, this thesis shows that trust dynamics are influenced by various aspects of governance processes over time: the way governance processes are organised, the use of policy instruments, the identity of groups and their members, and expressions of trust.

- The organisation of governance processes influences trust dynamics through the frequency, mode, and character of interactions between actors in the process. In these interactions, the information that is shared, actors' everyday interactions, and related developments in other (governance) contexts influence actors' perspectives on the past and present situation. These perspectives result in expectations influencing trust dynamics, which contribute to new interactions and trust.
- Policy instruments influence trust dynamics through the way they are used. Policy instruments are a specification of existing institutions in a certain context. Under the influence of the use of policy instruments, the role and perspective on these instruments and related institutions change, resulting in new options to cooperate or to terminate such options. These result in uncertainties and expectations that influence the trust between actors and in the governance process. Over time, these experiences contribute to the collective past and the perspective on the relation between policy instruments and trust.
- Group identity influences trust dynamics through the way intergroup interactions are interpreted and given meaning in in-group contexts. In groups, collective history is selectively remembered and forgotten, and seemingly unrelated changes are used as arguments to why the other group could or could not be trusted. These processes shape trust-related expectations about the behaviour of in-group and out-group members, and this may result in declining or growing trust. The constant re-confirmation of trust or distrust towards the other group may make this part of the group's identity: an identity that embraces a salient trust or distrust towards the other group.
- Expressions of trust and distrust are distinctively different from trust itself, but do influence it. Expressions of trust and distrust influence trust dynamics through the way they are performed, interpreted, and retold as stories in other contexts. As stories told, expressions of trust can be regarded as true and shape future actions and behaviour. These actions influence uncertainties and expectations, and contribute to new stories and expressions of trust and distrust.

Drawing on the results of this study, I discuss four cross-cutting issues: 1) the continuous importance of formal governance for trust dynamics; 2) governments' trust in citizens; 3) the importance of everyday life for trust dynamics; 4) critical reflection on studies monitoring trust in governments.

I first focus on the continuous importance of formal and existing forms of governance for trust dynamics. When the objective is to develop citizens' trust in government, this aspect is regularly overlooked, as discussions around governance approaches focus on new and alternative ways of governing. However, this thesis shows why and how they are important. New governance approaches create expectations and trust, but also uncertainties about the unknown future and distrust. These are all based upon experiences of the past and what is expected in the future, whereby the existing approaches are remembered as good or bad. As part of collective memory, these approaches thus continue to play a role and can come to the

fore unexpectedly in discussions influencing trust.

Studies about trust largely originate from the notion that trust in government is declining. This invites us to turn this notion around and ask: do governments trust their citizens? This question is broadly overlooked. However, I have shown that, with interactive approaches and the decentralisation of tasks, governments give more room to local initiatives. In addition, these approaches include extra means of control. These forms of control are often interpreted as a sign of distrust of citizens and other local actors. These experiences result in a changed perspective and can result in stronger distrust of government. This relation is generally overlooked in ways of working between governments and citizens.

The third cross-cutting issue focuses on the importance of everyday life for trust dynamics. Everyday life is generally taken for granted and therefore broadly absent from governance studies. The various studies in this thesis show that it is exactly this context where changes, interactions, and events are interpreted and given meaning. However, studies in the field of spatial planning and governance focus largely on projects and their internal processes. As a result, they do not take into account how these are embedded in everyday interactions. Consequently, most studies overlook various interpretations, events, and developments that may have a large influence on trust dynamics within these projects and on the course of the project as well.

The last issue discussed focuses on monitoring studies and the complexity of trust. This thesis has shown that trust is a complex concept that should be understood by studying various perspectives and contexts. Another approach often used to study trust is to monitor trust. Trust is often monitored by asking people to what extent they trust the government. The results of these studies reveal a decline in trust in government and institutions. However, in daily life, people still rely on governmental organisations and institutions. This discrepancy gives some food for thought. First, the difference can be explained in terms of expressions of distrust being more desirable than expressions of trust, but it is still acceptable to make use of governmental services. Second, trust-related behaviour might still be visible as there is no reasonable alternative. For instance, relying on other unknown groups of people to collect and handle taxes entails many uncertainties. Third, trust is very specific; this means that specific experiences might influence the answers given in monitoring studies. Discussing this issue raises the questions: what exactly is measured by studies monitoring trust? Moreover, it shows that interpreting these studies is rather difficult and calls for caution when they are used for policy change and evaluation.

On the basis of the results of this thesis and the cross-cutting issues, I recommend focusing more in future research on: 1) the importance of everyday life in trust dynamics; 2) the relation between expressions of trust and trust in the government and related institutions; 3) government's trust in its citizens; and 4) the different ways in which trust and distrust are expressed and the effect this has on trust dynamics.

In the last part of this chapter, I formulated two recommendations for planning practice. 1) In order to build trust in planning projects, more attention should be given to the here and

now, as it is the impact that the planning project has on actors' current situation that results in uncertainties and expectations and influences willingness to cooperate. This can be better managed by focusing on the impact the project has on people's daily lives, and, through frequent interactions, working in small steps so people can adjust to the new situation, give their input, and share their feelings. 2) In policy development and implementation, there should be more focus on reflexive ways of working in which the evaluation is not done afterwards, but along the way, especially as reflexive ways of working allow the process to be changed while working. Adjusting the process along the way, through collective decisions, contributes to a collective history, and a positive perspective thereon. This gives rise to new or adjusted expectations and thus contributes to trust.



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Samenvatting



Hoofdstuk 1. Vertrouwen speelt een belangrijke rol in ons dagelijks leven. De meeste afspraken die we direct of indirect maken worden niet vastgelegd en zijn gebaseerd op vertrouwen. Maar ook in het nieuws wordt vertrouwen vaak genoemd, met name gerelateerd aan politieke ontwikkelingen. In situaties waar mensen samenwerken, samen beslissingen nemen en afhankelijk zijn van elkaar, speelt vertrouwen ook een belangrijke rol. In deze zogenaamde governance processen stelt vertrouwen mensen in staat om o.a. risico's te nemen, onzekerheden te accepteren of zich kwetsbaar op te stellen. Deze eigenschappen van vertrouwen worden gezien als een belangrijk element bij het denken over en het gebruiken van nieuwe en alternatieve manieren om publiek beleid vorm te geven; nieuwe governance aanpakken dus. Denk hierbij aan nieuwe manieren om natuurbeleid te organiseren, of aan het maken van plannen voor een nieuwe weg. In de afgelopen decennia hebben deze aanpakken zich steeds meer gefocust op netwerksamenwerking, waarbij partijen op redelijk gelijke voet staan met elkaar. In deze vorm van samenwerking wordt vertrouwen gezien als een mechanisme dat de relaties en interacties tussen betrokkenen helpt te regelen en te controleren. Het is daarom verbazend dat studies die reflecteren op praktijkvoorbeelden vooralsnog ontbreken. Als gevolg daarvan weten we weinig van het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen in interacties tussen mensen binnen governance processen. Daarom gaat dit boek in op de vraag: Hoe ontstaat en ontwikkelt vertrouwen zich binnen governance interacties?

Bij het beantwoorden van deze vraag gebruik ik een dynamisch perspectief op vertrouwen. In dit perspectief wordt vertrouwen gezien als een positieve verwachting ten aanzien van het doen en later van de ander: deze verwachting verandert voortdurend als gevolg van nieuwe ervaringen, gebeurtenissen en belevingen. Hiermee is dit perspectief uitermate geschikt voor het analyseren van governance processen, omdat ook deze processen bestaan uit een aaneenschakeling van gebeurtenissen, besluiten en ontwikkelingen. In dit boek focus ik specifiek op het vakgebied van de ruimtelijke ordening als een van de gebieden waarbinnen governance een rol speelt. In ruimtelijke orderingsprocessen zijn er vier elementen van belang; de organisatie van het proces, beleidsinstrumenten, groepen, en uitingen van vertrouwen. Allereerst worden deze processen gekenmerkt door series van opeenvolgende interacties tussen betrokkenen, en/of mensen die geraakt worden door de nieuwe ontwikkelingen. Bij interacties denken we dan aan ontmoetingen tussen mensen, e-mail contact, telefonisch overleg etc. Deze interacties zijn soms toevallig, maar worden vaak op een bepaalde manier georganiseerd en hebben bepaalde karakteristieken. Er worden bijvoorbeeld veel openbare bijeenkomsten georganiseerd of er wordt juist besloten om alleen met enkele groepen een paar keer om de tafel te gaan zitten. Ten tweede, in deze interacties worden verschillende beleidsinstrumenten, zoals bijvoorbeeld contracten of bestemmingsplannen, gebruikt om tot een gezamenlijk doel te komen. Een derde element is dat deze interacties plaats vinden tussen groepen en hun leden. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan vertegenwoordigers van boerenorganisaties of lokale stichtingen. Als laatste wordt in deze interacties vertrouwen of wantrouwen ook geuit door mensen om hun ideeën en plannen over de samenwerking en toekomstige ontwikkelingen te ondersteunen. In de volgende hoofdstukken focus ik, in samenwerking met collega's op deze vier aspecten en hoe ze enerzijds vertrouwen beïnvloeden, en anderzijds worden beïnvloed door vertrouwen.

Deze studie naar vertrouwen is uitgevoerd in de traditie van interpretatief onderzoek. Dit betekent dat ik er vanuit ga dat er niet een waarheid is, maar dat mensen betekenis geven door het interpreteren van ontwikkelingen, acties en gedrag van anderen. Op basis van deze interpretaties maken mensen keuzes en ondernemen actie (of juist niet). Op zijn beurt beïnvloedt dit gedrag dan weer nieuwe interpretaties en acties. In het kort kijk ik in dit boek dus naar de verschillende interpretaties van mensen, hoe deze vertrouwen beïnvloeden en hoe ze worden beïnvloed door vertrouwen. Gebaseerd op deze traditie, heb ik verschillende studies verricht waarbij ik telkens heb gekeken naar casussen uit de praktijk. In deze studies heb ik gekeken naar de ontwikkeling van het planproces door de tijd (historisch perspectief), hoe deze zich verhoudt tot zijn omgeving (contextueel perspectief), en hoe bevindingen uit de verschillende casussen zich tot elkaar verhouden.

Hoofdstuk 2. In dit hoofdstuk bespreken we hoe vertrouwen tussen mensen ontstaat en zich ontwikkelt in relatie tot de organisatie van een governance proces. We doen dit door te reflecteren op twee casussen: een in Nederland en een in Engeland. Beide casussen gaan over Natura 2000; het Europese natuurbeleid waarbinnen natuurgebieden moeten worden benoemd en beschermd. Deze casussen laten uiteenlopende manieren zien waarop governance processen kunnen worden georganiseerd. Dientengevolge ontwikkelt vertrouwen zich ook anders. In deze casussen kijken we specifiek naar de factoren die vertrouwen beïnvloeden. Op basis van deze factoren ontwikkelen we een kader waarmee ook andere praktijkcasussen kunnen worden geanalyseerd. De processen in Nederland en Engeland laten zien dat vertrouwen niet zozeer beïnvloed wordt door de manier waarop het proces georganiseerd wordt, maar veel specifiekier wordt beïnvloed door de manier waarop de interacties tussen mensen worden georganiseerd. Het gaat hierbij om de manier waarop mensen worden betrokken en de manier, frequentie en het karakter van interacties. De manier waarop interacties worden georganiseerd beïnvloedt namelijk de manier waarop mensen onzekerheden, risico's en kwetsbaarheid ervaren. Deze ervaringen beïnvloeden op hun beurt dan weer de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen. Waarbij dit vertrouwen vervolgens weer de manier waarop nieuwe interacties worden ervaren beïnvloedt. Door de tijd heen, in de loop van het proces, worden deze interacties onderdeel van het perspectief op het collectieve verleden. Waarbij dit perspectief vervolgens de nieuwe verwachtingen en het vertrouwen beïnvloedt. Daarmee laat dit hoofdstuk ook zien dat deze verwachtingen kunnen stabiliseren als gevolg van het organiseren van de interacties en daardoor de vertrouwensrelaties zich kunnen gaan ontwikkelen. Maar, er kunnen natuurlijk altijd onverwachte gebeurtenissen binnen of buiten het proces plaatsvinden die impact hebben op de onderlinge interactie en het proces. Dit laat zien dat om vertrouwen te bestuderen we vertrouwen moeten behandelen als een concept dat tijds- en context gebonden is. Niet alleen omdat het vertrouwen beïnvloed wordt door onzekerheden, risico's e.d., maar ook omdat veranderingen buiten het proces een grote invloed kunnen hebben.

Hoofdstuk 3. In dit hoofdstuk kijken we hoe het gebruik van contracten vertrouwen beïnvloed. Contracten worden vaak gezien als belangrijke instrumenten om nieuwe samenwerkingsvormen vast te leggen binnen governance processen, en om vertrouwen te herstellen. Door het doen van een literatuurstudie naar de relatie tussen contracten en vertrouwen kunnen we concluderen dat er uiteenlopende visies bestaan op deze relatie. Een

stroming in de wetenschap ziet contracten en vertrouwen als twee dingen die elkaar uitsluiten. Anderen daarentegen zien contracten als een vervanging van vertrouwen omdat je het dan immers hebt vastgelegd. Een laatste groep ziet vertrouwen en contracten als aanvullend op elkaar: sommige zaken regel je met vertrouwen, andere doormiddel van contracten. Door te kijken naar drie voorbeelden uit de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland proberen we deze tegenstrijdige standpunten te overbruggen en verkennen we de wederzijdse beïnvloeding van vertrouwen en het gebruik van contracten. De resultaten laten zien dat contracten worden gebruikt als een specificatie van bestaande regels en instituties, en dat ze worden gebruikt in verschillende vormen en op verschillende manieren. Door contracten te gebruiken worden regels en instituties zelf ook anders geïnterpreteerd: het perspectief dat mensen hebben op gerelateerde instituties veranderd en leidt tot veranderende onzekerheden en verwachtingen. Maar het gebruik van contracten veranderd ook het beeld dat mensen hebben van anderen, het verleden, en het gebruik van het contract zelf. Deze beelden vinden we terug in de verwachtingen die mensen hebben van elkaar en het gerelateerde vertrouwen. Dit veranderde vertrouwen beïnvloed vervolgens ook weer de relatie en het gebruik van de contracten. Een dynamisch perspectief op de relatie tussen het gebruik van contracten en vertrouwen, in relatie tot de bredere institutionele context, kan planologen en andere professionals helpen om te gaan met de dynamiek van het planproces en vertrouwen.

In hoofdstuk 4 kijken we naar vertrouwen tussen groepen. Tot nu toe besteden studies naar vertrouwen vooral veel aandacht aan vertrouwen tussen individuen. Maar, mensen worden ook altijd beïnvloed door de omgeving waarin ze wonen, werken en leven. We kunnen dit dus niet negeren als we proberen vertrouwen te begrijpen. Om het vertrouwen tussen groepen beter te begrijpen gebruiken we inzichten van de Sociale Identiteits Theorie (SIT) en de sociologie, waarbij we ons de vraag stellen: hoe ontstaat en ontwikkelt vertrouwen zich tussen groepen door de tijd heen? Voor het beantwoorden van deze vraag analyseren we de Baviaanskloof casus (Zuid-Afrika). De Baviaanskloof is een geïsoleerde vallei met verschillende boerderijen omgeven door natuurgebieden. In deze vallei is tussen boeren enerzijds en natuurbeschermers anderzijds een groot conflict ontstaan. Het conflict draait om de uitbreiding van het natuurgebied op het land van de boeren. Hiertoe zijn in de loop van de tijd verschillende pogingen ondernomen, zoals gedwongen en vrijwillige verkoop maar ook vrijwillig natuurbeheer. Dit heeft geleid tot een conflict tussen de twee groepen en een sterk wantrouwen. We concluderen dat dit wantrouwen is ontstaan door de tijd heen door de manier waarop interacties tussen de groepen binnen de eigen groep wordt uitgelegd. Preciezer kunnen we zeggen dat de manier waarop gebeurtenissen binnen de groep werden uitgelegd hebben bijgedragen aan het groeiende wantrouwen. Het construeren van de eigen identiteit als boer en natuurbeschermmer hebben de verschillen tussen de groepen alleen maar versterkt en gingen vervolgens dienen als basis voor verwachtingen. In dit proces, werden onbelangrijke zaken in het verleden, en veranderingen in de directe woonomgeving zoals grootschalige erosie als argument gebruikt waarom de andere groep niet te vertrouwen was. Het groeiende wantrouwen zorgde ervoor dat de groepen niet meer met elkaar spraken en het wantrouwen dus steeds aanwezig bleef. Dit laat zien dat relaties tussen groepen en binnen groepen een sterke invloed hebben op de mogelijkheden om samen te werken. Ook laten we zien dat conflicten en relaties van wantrouwen moeilijk zijn te overwinnen omdat ze sterk zijn gerelateerd aan de groepsidentiteit. Verder laat het hoofdstuk ook zien dat vertrouwen sterk

worden beïnvloed door groepslidmaatschap, en de bijbehorende regels en normen.

In **hoofdstuk 5** behandelen we het laatste aspect, namelijk uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen en de invloed daarvan op governance processen. Als we het over vertrouwen hebben, hebben we het vaak over gevoelens en verwachtingen. Maar deze gevoelens kunnen niet los worden gezien van uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen in de communicatie tussen mensen. Vertrouwen wordt geuit op verschillende manieren en op verschillende plekken. In dit hoofdstuk laten we zien dat deze uitingen van vertrouwen grote gevolgen kunnen hebben voor vertrouwen, maar ook voor het samenwerkingsproces. We tonen dit aan door te kijken naar het Investingsbudget Landelijk Gebied (IL). Dit beleid was opgericht om Rijksdoelen op het gebied van onder andere natuur en recreatie uit te laten voeren door de provincies. In onze analyse hebben we naar dit beleid gekeken en specifiek naar de relatie tussen rijksambtenaren en ambtenaren van de provincie. Het samenwerken tussen het Rijk en de provincies was geregeld doormiddel van contracten; elke provincie had een contract met het Rijk. In het begin was er veel nadruk gelegd op vertrouwen als basis voor de toekomstige samenwerking in het project. Maar, het ontwerpen van de contracten en de gerelateerde onderhandelingen werden door beide partijen gezien en uitgelegd als tekenen van wantrouwen. Hiermee werd het zaadje gelegd voor de ontwikkeling van wantrouwen, wat door de tijd heen erin resulteerde dat ook andere gebeurtenissen werden uitgelegd als tekenen van wantrouwen. Deze verhalen bouwden op elkaar voort en werden verteld en her-verteld. Opvallend is dat alleen de verhalen over wantrouwen zo sterk werden opgepakt en opnieuw werden verteld. Op den duur werden deze verhalen de basis voor nieuwe acties, besluiten en overleggen. Bij de uitingen van vertrouwen was dit duidelijk niet het geval. Deze werden zelf uitgelegd als teken van wantrouwen onder het motto dat er alleen maar over vertrouwen werd gesproken omdat het afwezig was. Deze uitingen van zowel vertrouwen als wantrouwen hebben door de tijd heen het samenwerken binnen het ILG sterk bemoeilijkt. Op basis van deze studie kunnen we dus zeggen dat uitingen van vertrouwen niet altijd positief uitpakken, al worden ze wel vaak zo gezien. Zeker als ze uitgelegd worden als nep of dwingend.

Hoofdstuk 6 is het afsluitende hoofdstuk van dit boek. Hierin behandel ik de conclusies en bediscussieer ik enkele belangrijke thema's. Het vertrekpunt van dit boek was dat vertrouwen dynamisch is, en gezien kan worden als een verwachting ten aanzien van anderen. Door het bestuderen van vertrouwen in governance processen, heeft dit boek laten zien op welke manier vertrouwen dynamisch is. Alle hoofdstukken samengenomen kan ik concluderen dat de verwachtingen van mensen zijn gebaseerd op het perspectief op het gezamenlijke verleden. Dit perspectief wordt continue heroverwogen door dingen die mensen vandaag meemaken; hedendaagse interacties. Het resultaat van deze hedendaagse interacties zijn veranderende ervaringen op het gebied van onzekerheid, risico's en kwetsbaarheid. Door de tijd heen worden deze interacties en verwante ervaringen onderdeel van het gezamenlijke verleden. Hiermee vormen ze de basis voor veranderende verwachtingen, en vertrouwen. In deze interacties wordt vertrouwen beïnvloed door verschillende gerelateerde aspecten. Dit zijn met name: de manier waarop governance processen worden georganiseerd, het gebruik van beleidsinstrumenten, de identiteit van groepen en hun leden, en uitingen van vertrouwen.

- De organisatie van governance processen stuurt de dynamiek van vertrouwen door de frequentie, manieren en het karakter van interacties tussen mensen binnen het proces. Binnen deze interacties, beïnvloeden de informatie die wordt gedeeld tussen mensen, alledaagse gebeurtenissen, en gerelateerde ontwikkelingen (in andere governance processen) het perspectief op de huidige situatie en het verleden. Deze perspectieven resulteren in veranderende verwachtingen en vertrouwensdynamiek die nieuwe interacties, het proces zelf en dus opnieuw vertrouwen beïnvloeden.
- Beleidsinstrumenten, zoals contracten, hebben een invloed op vertrouwen door de manier waarop ze gebruikt worden. Beleidsinstrumenten zijn een specificatie van bestaande regels en instituties van een bepaalde situatie. Door het gebruik van beleidsinstrumenten veranderd de rol en het perspectief op deze instrumenten en gerelateerde instituties. Dit heeft invloed op nieuwe opties voor samenwerking, maar kan ook anderen beëindigen. Ook kan het gebruik van beleidsinstrumenten resulteren in veranderende onzekerheden en verwachtingen die vertrouwen beïnvloeden. Waarmee dit vertrouwen het gebruik van bestaande of nieuwe beleidsinstrumenten vervolgens weer beïnvloed.
- Groepsidentiteit beïnvloed de dynamiek van vertrouwen door de manier waarop interacties tussen groepen plaatsvinden en uitgelegd worden in de verschillende groepen. In deze groepen wordt het gezamenlijke verleden selectief onthouden en vergeten om het vertrouwen of wantrouwen tegenover de ander te versterken. Ook worden ongerelateerde ontwikkelingen als argument gebruikt waarom de ander niet te vertrouwen is. Door de tijd heen kan dit resulteren in een stabilisatie van vertrouwen en wantrouwen, die telkens wordt bevestigd. Dit kan er toe leiden dat vertrouwen en wantrouwen onderdeel worden van de groepsidentiteit.
- Uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen zijn anders dan vertrouwen zelf maar beïnvloeden het wel. Uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen door de manier waarop ze geuit, verteld en geïnterpreteerd worden. Als verhalen die op verschillende plekken worden verteld kunnen deze uitingen worden gezien als waar. Daarmee kunnen ze de basis vormen voor nieuwe beslissingen en acties. Deze acties en beslissingen beïnvloeden onzekerheden en verwachtingen en dragen bij aan nieuwe verhalen en uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen.

Op basis van deze conclusies en de resultaten in de verschillende hoofdstukken bespreek ik vier overbruggende thema's: 1. De blijvende rol van formele overheidsstructuren voor vertrouwen, 2. Het vertrouwen van overheden in hun burgers, 3. Het belang van het alledaagse voor de dynamiek van vertrouwen. 4. Een kritische reflectie op het monitoren van vertrouwen als basis voor beleidsverandering.

Allereerst ga ik in op de blijvende en belangrijke rol van formele en bestaande vormen van governance voor de dynamiek van vertrouwen. Wanneer binnen het ontwikkelen van beleid de ontwikkeling van het vertrouwen van burgers in de overheid als doel wordt gesteld wordt er vaak gegrepen naar nieuwe manieren om publiek beleid te organiseren. Hiermee worden bestaande structuren vaak vergeten. Maar dit boek laat zien waarom en hoe deze bestaande vormen toch belangrijk blijven voor veel mensen. Nieuwe manieren om beleid te ontwikkelen resulteren niet zelden in hoge verwachtingen en vertrouwen. Maar ze resulteren vaak ook in onzekerheden en wantrouwen omdat het onduidelijk is wat er precies gaat gebeuren. In deze

situaties grijpen mensen graag terug op wat ze weten, de bestaande structuren en manieren van werken. Maar ook als ze weinig onzekerheden ervaren, blijven de bestaande vormen een rol spelen als iets om je tegen af te zetten of om een alternatief voor te verzinnen. Waarbij het niet zo is dat de bestaande structuren volledig vervangen worden door nieuwe vormen van governance.

Studies die vertrouwen als onderwerp hebben gaan er voor een groot deel van uit dat het vertrouwen in de overheid daalt. Dit is een indirecte uitnodiging om de vraag eens om te draaien: vertrouwen overheden hun burgers en hoe laten ze dat zien? In dit boek heb ik laten zien dat met nieuwe vormen van governance en de decentralisatie van beleid (lagere overheden voeren taak uit van hogere overheden), overheden meer ruimte geven aan lokale initiatieven. Maar met deze ruimte gaan ook vaak nieuwe en meer intensieve vormen van controle gepaard: mechanismen die snel worden gezien als een teken van wantrouwen door burgers en lokale organisaties. Deze ervaringen kunnen leiden tot een negatief perspectief op het beleid en wantrouwen in de overheid in het algemeen.

Ten derde heeft het dagelijks leven invloed op de dynamiek van vertrouwen. Het dagelijks leven van mensen speelt zich vaak af buiten het planningsproces. Daarmee is wat daar gebeurt vaak afwezig in studies die focussen op governance processen en vertrouwen. De studies in dit boek laten echter zien dat het juist dit dagelijkse leven is waarin veranderingen, gebeurtenissen en beslissingen worden nabesproken en op waarde worden geschat. Maar ook dat gebeurtenissen in het dagelijks leven van mensen een grote invloed kunnen hebben op het planproces, onderlinge relaties en vertrouwen. Een dynamiek die dus zeer interessant is voor het begrijpen van governance processen in het algemeen en vertrouwen in het bijzonder.

Het laatste punt ter discussie is de rol van studies die vertrouwen monitoren in relatie tot de complexiteit van het begrip. Dit boek heeft laten zien dat vertrouwen een complex begrip is dat begrepen moet worden in relatie tot verschillende perspectieven en contexten. Maar een andere belangrijke en waardevolle manier om vertrouwen te bestuderen is door het te meten op verschillende momenten in de tijd. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan het meten van consumentenvertrouwen in de economie. Deze studies laten geregeld een dalende trend zien waar het gaat om het vertrouwen van burgers in de overheid. Maar in het dagelijkse leven stellen veel mensen nog steeds vertrouwen in de overheid en maken mensen nog steeds veel gebruik van overheidsdiensten, de rechtspraak etc. Op de basis van dit boek roept dit verschil enkele vragen op. Allereerst kan het zijn dat uitingen van wantrouwen meer sociaal geaccepteerd zijn dan anderen, maar dat het nog steeds is geaccepteerd om gebruik te maken van gemeentediensten e.d. Het kan ook zijn dat vertrouwen gerelateerd gedrag zichtbaar is omdat er geen redelijk alternatief is. Het zou bijvoorbeeld tot grote onzekerheid leiden als je voor de rechtspraak afhankelijk bent van een toevallig passerend groepje. Ten derde is vertrouwen zeer specifiek; verschillende vormen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen kunnen dus naast elkaar bestaan. Deze drie punten roepen vervolgens de vraag op wat er is gemeten en waarom? Een vraag die zeer relevant is omdat studies die vertrouwen monitoren niet zelden worden gebruikt om beleid aan te passen.

Gebaseerd op deze discussie is mijn aanbeveling om in toekomstig onderzoek meer te focussen op: 1. Het belang van het dagelijkse leven voor de dynamiek van vertrouwen in governance interacties. 2. Verder in te zoomen op de relatie tussen uitingen van vertrouwen en wantrouwen, en vertrouwen gerelateerd gedrag. 3. Het vertrouwen van overheden in hun burgers. 4. De verschillende manieren waarop vertrouwen wordt geuit en het effect daarvan op de dynamiek van vertrouwen.

Werkend vanuit deze discussie heb ik twee aanbevelingen geformuleerd voor professionals in de ruimtelijke ordening en gerelateerde velden: 1. Veel projecten in de ruimtelijke ordening focussen op het eindresultaat; het punt waar naar toe gewerkt wordt. Dit is belangrijk, maar om meer vertrouwen te ontwikkelen tussen verschillende mensen in ruimtelijke projecten, is het verstandig te focussen op het hier en nu. Met name omdat mensen vooral de impact van ruimtelijke projecten ervaren in het hier en nu, en op basis daarvan veranderende onzekerheden, verwachtingen en de wil om mee te werken ontwikkelen. Focussen op het hier en nu kan gedaan worden door in kleine stappen te werken en om aan te sluiten bij belevingen van verschillende groepen en ervaringen uit het dagelijks leven. Maar ook het regelmatig, op tijd en open communiceren van zowel successen als fouten draagt bij aan de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen. 2. Het ontwikkelen van nieuw beleid zou gepaard moeten gaan met een grotere focus op continue reflectie en niet alleen evaluaties achteraf. Een houding waarin mensen worden uitgedaagd te reflecteren op hun eigen handelen en de ontwikkelingen van het project draagt namelijk niet alleen bij aan de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen, maar stelt mensen ook in staat om het project aan te passen aan de constant veranderende context waarin ze werken. Dit vraagt om een open en kritische houding van alle betrokkenen, maar draagt zo wel bij aan het ontwikkelen van onderling vertrouwen.





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About the author



About the author

Jasper Rudolf de Vries was born in 1983 in Zwolle, the Netherlands. After finishing his bachelors in Garden and Landscape design at Hogeschool Larenstein, he studied Spatial Planning at Wageningen University. Here he has a broad interest in the field of spatial planning, amongst others focussing on: participative environmental planning in Kenya, regional landscape heritage policies, and trust dynamics in governance processes. After his studies, he started as researcher at the Land Use Planning group of Wageningen University working on various projects related to visitor management in nature conservation areas. After several years he started his PhD research at the Strategic Communication Group which he combined with lecturing several courses in the Landscape Architecture and Spatial planning program. Currently, he is working as lecturer at the Land Use Planning group. His main research interest lies in local and regional governance processes in European and African contexts, with a specific interest in interactions between actors and the role of trust.

Jasper is married to Saskia de Vries - Van Vugt. They enjoy living in Driebergen-Rijsenburg with their children Lisa and Nils.

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Jasper Rudolf de Vries
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan



Name of the learning activity	Department/ Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
Getting to the bottom of Mt. Kenya, Analysis of land dynamics and sustainable development in an interdisciplinary perspective	PE & RC	2009	4
Doing interpretative analyses	WASS	2010	3
Participatory approaches in planning, policy and development	WASS	2011	3
Writing PhD proposal	WASS	2011	6
B) General research related competences			
Introduction course	WASS	2011	1
'Trust as a central concept in planning research & practice'	AESOP, University of Liverpool, UK	2009	
'Discussing the details, about expressions of trust and distrust in intergovernmental processes'	AESOP, Aalto University, Helsinki, Finland	2010	1
'How old arguments gain weight. How trust emerges and develops in intergroup contexts in the Baviaanskloof South Africa'	NeFCA	2014	1
Scientific writing course	WU Language center	2011	1.7
Discussing spatial planning in practice and science/ PhD discussion group	LUP/COM	2009-2014	4
'Faking and forcing trust: The performance of trust and distrust in public policy'	WASS PhD day	2014	1
C) Career related competences/personal development			
Course Teaching and supervising thesis students	WU-DO	2009	1
Supervising MSc and BSc thesis students	LUP/LAR/COM	2009-2014	2
Teaching activities, (e.g. guest lectures; courses 'Landscape Engineering' and 'Advanced Planning Research Methods'	LUP/LAR/COM	2009-2014	2
Career Assessment	WGS	2013	1
Total			31.7

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load.

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