Trust Within Networks During the Initiating Phase of Spatial Redevelopment Projects

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Preface

Hereby, full of proud I present you the report of my MSc research project. This project is performed in order to complete my MSc's program at Delft University of Technology, commissioned by Gemeente Rotterdam. During this research project I investigated what and to which extent (municipal) interventions lead to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects that aim to reduce the dominance of motorized vehicles and improve the quality of public space in city centres.

The project was carried out in the municipality of Rotterdam; where I was given the opportunity to investigate three cases. Together with literature study, this empirical research made it possible to answer the research questions of this project. I experienced this as an interesting but challenging process and I would like to thank my supervisors for always being available to answer my questions and help me to look in the right direction. Besides, I would like to thank my supervisor at Gemeente Rotterdam for supporting me and bringing me into contact with municipal project leaders of interesting cases.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Liza Sandtke
Rotterdam, May 9, 2018.

Summary

Globally seen, two trends are noticed that threaten the quality of the living environment in cities. First of all, a strong urbanization trend is seen. Secondly, cities have to deal with increasing climate changes. These two trends lead to the development of new policies with the aim to sustain the liveability of city centres by making motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space. Such new policy development always takes place in a network consisting of public and private actors, as well as non-profit organisations and societal stakeholders. All these actors in the network are highly interdependent and characterized by different values and interests. (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Koppenjan & Edelenbos, 2004; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). In practice these differences lead to strategic choices and actions of actors to stand up for their own interests which cause complex decision-making processes during spatial redevelopment projects. However, despite varying values and interests, to achieve good outcomes of such collective decision-making processes, support of a suggested policy by involved actors in the network is important. Factors that contribute to the achievement of support are the involvement and embeddedness of stakeholders, process management, and factors as "acceptance", "legitimacy" and "trust" (Goldenbeld, 2002; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). Focussing on trust, earlier studies show that there are several descriptions of trust within networks in circulation that, more or less, all refer to the reciprocal perception of actors about the intention of other actors in the network. However, although trust is considered as an important condition for support and consequential successful policy development, based on earlier studies it can be concluded that the amount of literature on trust in public-private networks" in public administration, public management and policy science is remarkably small (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). Consequently, it is not clear which governmental interventions can be carried out during decision-making processes in governance networks to steer on trust. Concretely, when focussing on spatial redevelopment projects, the question raises if specific interventions such as, for instance, the distribution of informing door-to-door letters, the organisation of participations sessions, or the use of other innovative methods to involve actors in the network cause changes in the perception of actors about the intention of other actors. For this reason, the goal of this research project is to find out how trust within public-private networks works and if this can be influenced. The following research question is formulated: "Which and to what extent lead interventions to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant and improve the quality of public space?"

The research project starts with literature research to construct a preliminary model that shows how we assume that "trust within networks" evolves during the initiating phase of spatial redesigning projects. During the second phase of the research project three cases in Rotterdam are investigated. Twelve neighbours, entrepreneurs, municipal officials and independent researchers are interviewed. This explorative research leads to a number of observations that improve the model and answer the question which specific interventions and events lead to more or less trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment plans.

In the preliminary model, three types in trust within networks are distinguished: First of all, companion trust, which makes that actors have positive expectations of the intention of other actors, believe that other actors will take their interests into account during the project and adopt an open, honest attitude. Secondly, competence trust, which makes that actors trust the capacities and (technical) skills of other actors in the network to develop the project and consider the shared information by other actors as reliable. Thirdly, collaborative trust, which makes actors willing to participate and undertake concrete

actions during the project because they trust other actors to do so. During my case study research, all three types of trust are noticed.

As assumed in the preliminary model, my case study research confirms that from the first start of an initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects, various contextual factors influence trust. These contextual factors continue to impact the experienced trust during the whole initiating phase. First of all, past experiences with procedures and processes lead to expectations about intentions of other actors and the way actors take each other into account (companion trust). Moreover it influences to which extent local actors expect that the municipality actual will undertake action to change the traffic situation as well (collaborative trust). The second contextual factor, the socioeconomic background of actors, is related to which degree actors are able to understand provided information and therefore be able to evaluate the reliability of the information and estimate the capacities of other actors (competence trust). A third contextual factor, not noticed in earlier studies but identified during my case study research, is the knowledge and experiences actors have with the daily situation of the street. This factor is related to the expectations that actors have about to ability of other actors to understand their interests with respect to the traffic situation in the street and therefore take these into account (companion trust). Moreover, this factor leads to trust in the skills and capacities of other actors to be able to change the situation (competence trust) and ensures that actors have the expectation that other actors are willing to undertake action (collaborative trust). However, my case study research shows that the contextual factor "ideas and interests about spatial planning" noticed in earlier studies does not influence trust from the start of the initiating phase.

It is observed that interventions carried out by the municipality during the initiating phase to increase the feeling of trust among the involved actors in the network, have few, none or a reverse effect on a positive trend of trust. First of all, the current methods to invite and involve actors to participate in the initiating phase are ineffective. Actors that feel involved, are most of the time already considered as strongly involved with the traffic situation of the street, not as a result of invitation methods. Traditional invitation methods do not make actors feel more taken seriously (companion trust) of be more willing to participate (collaborative trust). Uncertainty about to which extent interventions are informing or giving actors in the network the possibility to influence the outcomes of the initiating phase, or when provided information is incomprehensible, makes local actors question the honesty of the municipality and to which degree they are heard (companion trust). (Political) interventions that lead to a change in the degree local actors have influence on the outcomes, lead to uncertainty if interests are still taken into account among these local actors (companion trust). However, the presence of a municipal project leader makes that local actors know where to address their comments, and makes them consider the municipal actor as open and transparent (companion trust).

Besides conscious interventions, my case studies shows that also a specific behaviour or attitude of actors during the initiating phase lead to more or less trust among actors. It is observed that when local actors act very critically, non-collaboratively or inflexibly towards the spatial redevelopment suggestions, other actors are discouraged to participate in the process and do not expect the critical actors to do so any longer (collaborative trust). On the other hand, when local actors feel represented by other local actors with respect to their interests and way of acting, they take a step back and accept a leading role of this other local actor in the network, because they trust their intentions (companion trust). Focussing on municipal actors, it is seen that local actors have doubts about the good intentions and honesty of municipal officials in the network when they have the feeling that the interests of municipal officials are politically influenced, for example by aldermen or over coupling municipal clusters (companion trust). Focussing on independent actors, my case studies show that independent actors only add value to the

network, when other actors trust the integrity and honesty of this independent actor (companion trust). When this is the case, the knowledge and skills of the independent actors supplement the missing knowledge and skills of other actors in the network (competence trust).

My case study research shows that the initial amount of trust that actors have at the start of the initiating phase, is not significantly changed by current investigated interventions during the initiating phase. Especially the trend of competence trust and collaborative trust seems hardly changed during the process by interventions. The trend of companion trust is influenced by the investigated interventions, but not necessarily in a positive direction. Companion, competence and collaborative trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects are already merely subject to overarching, longer-term processes that characterize actor networks. As said, trust is one of the multiple conditions to create support and hence to develop spatial development projects successfully. However, this research project does not reveal how important trust is in proportion to the other identified conditions for support. Therefore, more research is needed in order to find out what the share of trust in support is, and therefore be able to decide if more research on which interventions contribute to trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects is useful.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

Globally seen, two trends in cities are noticed that decrease the quality of life and lead to unattractive cities. First of all, a strong urbanization trend is seen. Nowadays, in Europe more than 70% of the people live in cities (Antrop, 2004; Kabisch & Haase, 2011). Although this urbanization trend has slowed down over the last few decades (United Nations, 2008), this percentage is likely to increase to 84% in 2050 (Kabisch & Haase, 2011). Under favourable conditions, when areas become more urbanized, new economic and political structures emerge. Successful sectors within cities ensure more investment, generate an increased demand for labour and attract more people to the city as a further mechanism of urban growth (Bloom, Canning, & Fink, 2008). Furthermore, in theory, compactness of urbanized areas creates opportunities for sustainability, like reductions in car usage, increasing resource efficiency and accessibility and economic viability. In practice, it seems difficult to realize such opportunities and most cities are far from a safe, clean and liveable environment (Van Den Berg, Hartig, & Staats, 2007). Often, a fast urbanization trend is related to crowding and environmental degradation (Bloom, Canning, & Fink, 2008). Although the importance of lovable, healthy public spaces in city centres is stressed in many studies, it is argued that in our increasingly urbanized society, urban parks and green spaces are devoured by traffic functions and built components of the urban environment (Chiesura, 2004).

Besides pressure on the quality of a liveable environment as a consequence of urbanization, increasing climate change is a serious threat for cities (Carter, 2011; Bulkeley, 2012). Firstly, it is claimed that climate change makes urbanized areas that are already under pressure because of the effects of urbanization of, for example, population growth, ill health, urban expansion or inadequate services, even more vulnerable (Bulkeley, 2012). Because of temperature changes and precipitation patterns, climate change has direct implications for urban processes (Carter, 2011). Secondly, in addition to the negative influence of climate change on the environment in cities itself; it becomes clear that urban areas are significant sources of greenhouse-gas emissions (Corfee-Morlet et al., 2009; Bulkeley, 2012). For this reason, already in the Brundtland Report of 1987, the responsibility of cities as a means to address the challenge of sustainable development, is highlighted (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2005) and however it is claimed that multilevel governance is crucial to avoid policy gaps between local actions plans and national policy frameworks, it is evident that city governments and urban stakeholders play a crucial role in the development of sustainable policies (Corfee-Morlet et al., 2009).

Local authorities are challenged by the task to deal with the aforementioned consequences of growing densities and the increasing political awareness of the importance of sustainable development on local scale. Reacting on this, focused on the Netherlands, the four biggest cities, united in a network named G4, declare to aspire the following three goals (G4, 2017):

1. The development of vibrant cities and a maximum utilization of the economic potentials, achieved through an urban mobility system where public transport, cars and bicycles are optimally connected.
2. The development of attractive cities by stimulating urbanization, while at the same time increasing the quality of public spaces.
3. The development of healthy and social cities, due to a more clean and quiet mobility system, which is accessible for everyone.

In practice, aforementioned goals are translated into various new mobility policies and spatial redevelopment plans, mostly with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space (G4, 2017). Examples of these are the relocation of parking lots from city centres to the edges of the city, improving the quality of cycling facilities and public transport stops, increasing as much as possible the opportunities to walk from one to another place surrounded by a green and attractive environment and stimulate the use of sustainable forms of transport, for instance by creating more charging points for electrical vehicles (Bertolini & Le Clercq, 2003; Bakker, Leijs, & Guit, 2010).

Earlier studies show that cities are characterized by a certain degree of car-dependence, a term popularized by Newman and Kenworthy (1989). The degree of car-dependence is influenced by various city-specific differences (Kenworthy & Laube, 1999; McIntosh, Trubka, Kenworthy, & Newman, 2014; Klinger, Kenworthy, & Lanzendorf, 2013) and describes the level of car ownership, and the supply and usage of urban transport systems in the city (Newman and Kenworthy, 1989; Kenworthy & Laube, 1999). It can be expected that in urban areas where relatively a lot of inhabitants have and use their own car, for example in Rotterdam, mobility suggestions in order to reduce motorized vehicles in the city are received differently, when compared to city centres where less citizens drive and park cars, and the use of public transport options and bicycles is more common, like Amsterdam. For this reason, when developing new mobility policies and spatial redevelopment plans, it is important to take the traditional degree of car-dependence of cities into account (Klinger, Kenworthy, & Lanzendorf, 2013).

Besides a varying degree of car-dependence per urban area within cities, the development of new mobility policies and spatial redevelopment plans always takes place in a network of actors (Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). These networks consist of public and private actors, as well as non-profit organisations and societal stakeholders. All these actors in the network are highly interdependent and characterized by different values and interests (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). These different ideas can be about everything from the nature of the experienced problems, to the desired solutions or the best organizational form to ensure cooperation. The fact that actor networks consist of many interdependent actors with, oftentimes, contrary values and interests lead in practice to strategic choices and actions of actors to stand up for their interests during collective decision-making moments (Koppenjan & Edelenbos, 2004; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). This causes complex decision-making processes during spatial redevelopment projects.

Various researchers assume that to achieve successful outcomes of such complex decision-making processes that are considered as good and satisfying, a major part of the involved actors have to support these outcomes (Goldenbeld, 2002; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013). In other words, when there is not enough support and the development of a new mobility policy leads to too much resistance among actors, there is a chance that this group unites and will try to prevent the development of the new policy, which will cause a difficult or ineffective implementation (Goldenbeld, 2002; Duineveld & Beunen, 2006). For this reason, support by involved actors is important. In earlier studies various factors are mentioned that contribute to the achievement of support, as involvement and embeddedness of stakeholders, process management (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010) and factors as "acceptance", "legitimacy" and "trust" (Goldenbeld, 2002; Verweij, Klijn, Edelenbos, & Van Buuren, 2013).

When focussing on the last mentioned factor, earlier studies show that there are several descriptions of "trust within networks" in circulation that, more or less, all refer to the perception of actors about the intention of other actors in the network (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). When analysing trust in networks, this

perception is considered as a two-way process. It means that we expect that actors have a particular expectation about the intention and behaviour of other actors in the network, based on their own intention and behaviour (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). However, by using this explanation the meaning of "trust within networks" still remains vague. By distinguishing different types of "trust within networks" that are noticed in earlier studies, the concept can be more precisely defined. For this reason, a typology of "trust within networks" is elaborated in chapter 3 of this report. For reasons of convenience, during this research project, the concept of "trust within networks" will be referred to as "trust".

Various researchers highlight the relevance of trust, since a positive correlation between trust and smooth-running collaborations between different actors and favourable outcomes of decision-making processes is found (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Nooteboom 2002). However, although trust is considered as an important condition for support and consequential successful policy development, based on earlier studies it can be concluded that the amount of literature on trust in public-private networks" in public administration, public management and policy science is remarkably small (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). These few earlier studies describe in particular what behaviour of actors in networks can be expected as a consequence of the various distinguished types of trust, and a relation is found between management strategies in networks and the level of experienced trust (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010). However, less research is carried out on which specific strategies or actions lead to an increasing or decreasing degree of trust. In this way, it is not clear which governmental interventions can be carried out during decision-making processes in governance networks to steer on trust. Concretely, when focussing on spatial redevelopment projects, the question raises if specific interventions like, for instance, the distribution of informing door-to-door letters, the organisation of participations sessions, or the use of other innovative methods to involve actors in the network cause changes in the perception of actors about the intention of other actors. Another knowledge gap is to which extent, during which decision-making moments, and during which phases of spatial redevelopment projects, trust is crucial to achieve enough support to develop the project successfully and finally implement it.

1.2. Research Question

Aforementioned knowledge gaps, regarding the evolvement of trust within public-private networks, give rise to carry out a research project to answer the following research question:

"What and to which extent lead interventions to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant and improve the quality of public space?"

In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions can be formulated:

1. *Which types of trust can be distinguished in public-private actor networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
2. *What is the influence of contextual factors that characterize the setting of public-private actor networks on trust at the start of the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
3. *Which groups of actors with belonging interests can be distinguished in public-private actors networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*

4. *What is the influence of the choice for certain participation structures on trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
5. *At which moments and to which degree is trust considered as crucial during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*

1.3. Scope & Brief Overview of Research Design

Given the limited time to perform this research project, as mentioned in the formulated research questions, this research project focuses on the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects with the with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space. This phase is defined as the moment when actors in a public-private network react on the aforementioned trends in city centres and suggest new spatial interventions and ends when actors in the network have determined the functional program of the suggested spatial redevelopment plan.

During this research project qualitative research is performed. The research project starts with literature research in order to establish a preliminary model that shows how we assume that trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects evolves, based on earlier studies. Then, by performing case study research, three case studies are investigated in order to examine and improve the preliminary model. This provides knowledge to answer the formulated sub- and main research question. In chapter 2 the methodology of this research project is described in detail.

1.4. Outline of Report

In chapter 2, the methodology that is used to carry out the research project is described. Chapter 3 consists of a theoretical framework that shows the most relevant findings and theories in earlier studies with respect to the research issue. This leads to a preliminary model. In chapter 4, three investigated case are systematically described. Then, in chapter 5, the case studies are compared and analysed. This results in the important findings. In chapter 6, based on the combination of performed literature and empirical research, the sub-questions of this research project are answered. An improved model is established and the main research question of this research project is answered. In chapter 7, the research method of this project and implications of the results are discussed. Moreover, suggestions for future research are described. Finally, in chapter 8, practical recommendations to the municipality of Rotterdam are provided.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology used during this research project. By performing qualitative research it is investigated which, and to what extent (policy) interventions lead to trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects that aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space. A combination of theoretical and empirical research provides knowledge to answer the formulated sub- and main-research question. Figure 1 shows a schematic overview of the research design of this research project. In the following paragraphs, the research design is explained in detail by describing the research objectives, the data collection and data analysis of each phase of the research project.
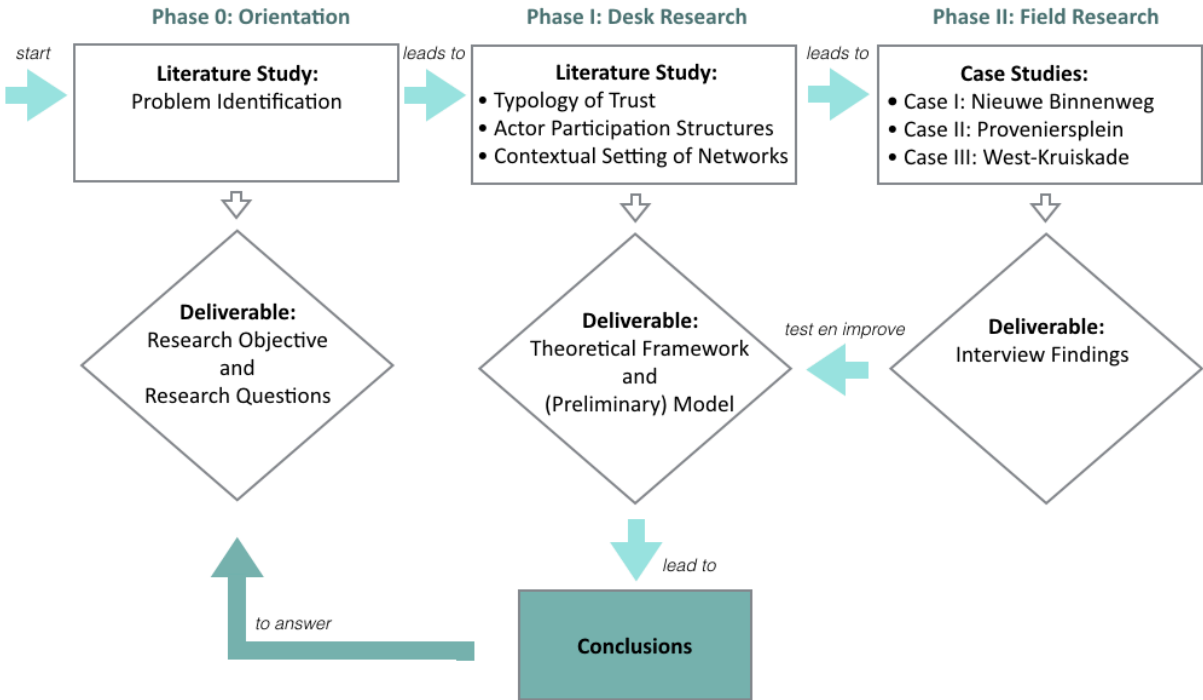
Figure 1: Schematic overview of research design.

2.2. Phase I: Desk Research

2.2.1. Research Objective and Deliverables of Phase I

This research project starts with literature study to investigate findings and theories in earlier studies that can be considered as relevant to understand the research issue of this project. When briefly analysing the research issue, three different main themes are noticed. Therefore, during the first part of this research project, the most relevant findings and theories of other researchers with respect to these three themes are analysed:

1. **Character of Actor-Networks:** As mentioned in the introduction, spatial redevelopment projects take place in a network of actors. A short literature review makes clear that each actor network during spatial redevelopment plans is characterized by a unique contextual setting, influenced by

different factors. During this research project it is expected that the character of an actor network is related with the amount of trust that actors have during the initiating phase. Moreover, it is assumed that it affects the municipality's decision to approach the initiating phase with a certain participation structure. For this reason, during the first part of the research project, the most notable influencing factors in earlier studies are analysed.

2. **Typology of "trust within networks":** As mentioned in the introduction, various definitions of trust are in circulation in earlier studies. In order to understand and operationalize the concept of trust during my research project, during this phase of the research project specifically the types of trust that are assumed to play a role during spatial redevelopment projects are explained. Besides, a few general characteristics that influence trust processes, and way how these processes develop over time, are described.

3. **Approach to Actor-Participation:** As mentioned in the introduction, actors in networks make strategic choices and take strategic actions to stand up for their interests during collective decision-making moments. For this reason, during the first part of this research project, it is investigated how actors can participate and be involved in decision-making processes during the initiating phase by means of various participation structures. Moreover, related to these varying participation structures, different types of resulting municipal communicative instruments that can be used to involve actors in the network in the process are noticed.

At the end of this phase of the research project, the found knowledge and concepts can be used to establish a preliminary model that shows how we assume that trust within networks evolves during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. The preliminary model also reveals which knowledge is currently lacking to answer the research question. Both the preliminary model, as well the knowledge gap, form a strong scientific foundation for further empirical research during the second phase of this research project.

2.2.2. Data collection during Phase I

To investigate relevant theories and findings in order to understand the research issue, for each of the three distinguished main themes, a separate literature study takes place. In other words, per theme, relevant theories and findings that can be found in earlier studies are selected. Several methods to find appropriate studies are used. Initially, by using online search engines as Google Scholar, articles that are included in academic databases as Wiley Online, ScienceDirect and Springerlink are found. Subsequently, a snowball technique is used, which means that references in the investigated articles lead to other relevant articles and findings. Furthermore, several printed publications and books in the field of governance and management studies as suggested by my supervisor, are investigated and contribute to the second ("typology of trust within networks") and third (approach to actor-participation) analysed themes.

Hence, it should be noted that the three analysed themes find their origin in different scientific areas, not all merely focussing on planning or redevelopment issues. Organization, governance and planning theories are investigated. At the beginning of each theme description in chapter 3, the scientific origin of the used theories is indicated.

2.2.3. Data Analysis during Phase I

The data, directly and indirectly found, is explored in order to analyse which theories in earlier studies are corresponding and can be considered as a useful contribution to one of the three themes. When perceived as relevant, the theories are included in the theoretical framework in chapter 2.

2.3. Phase II: Empirical Research

2.3.1. Research Objective and Deliverables of Phase II

During the second phase of the research project, case study research is performed in order to test and improve the established preliminary model. Three cases in the city centre of Rotterdam are selected to investigate. The observations during my case study research lead to findings that are used to update the preliminary model and in this way form an improved model.

Subsequently, based on the improved model, conclusions are drawn in order to answer the sub- and main research question of this research project. This provides a scientific contribution and the possibility to formulate recommendations to the municipality of Rotterdam for future spatial redesigning projects.

2.3.2. Data Collection during Phase II

The three investigated cases are selected in consultation with supervising municipal officials and policy makers from the municipality of Rotterdam. The cases cover the same physical scale and strive for the same goal: Reduce the dominance of motorized vehicles and improve the quality of public space. However, what makes the three cases interesting to compare, are the differences in the organized participation structure and the resulting municipal interventions. By selecting cases in Rotterdam that that have different participation principles, a relation can be found between the use of various participation methods and interventions, and the experienced amount of trust. The selected cases are not characterized by political factors specific for the municipality of Rotterdam. In this way, seen from governance perspective, the cases are considered as representative for initiating phases during spatial redevelopment projects in other Dutch city centres. A more detailed justification for the choice for the selected three cases is presented in chapter 4 (case study research). The reason for this is that understanding of participation structures is first required that only follows from the theoretical framework in chapter 3.

The case studies start with exploratory interviews with involved municipal project leaders to gain more insight in initiating phase of the selected projects. During these interviews, municipal project leaders provide general information about the case, and share various internally and externally published documents. Based on this information, it is possible to understand and present an overview of the project. In this way, the general situation of the project area and details of the project are explained. Besides, a timeline of the most important events and an actor analysis is presented.

Following on this, a series of twelve interviews provides insight how involved actors experienced interventions during the initiating phase, and how these impact feelings of trust. For each case, four in-depth interviews with different actors in the network are performed. All interviewees are suggested, based on their engagement and involvement during the initiating phase, by involved municipal officials. In chapter 4 (case study research), for each case it is more extensively substantiated why specific interviewees are selected. It is tried to select respondents as representative and inclusive as possible for the various identified actor groups in the network. By interviewing both municipal officials, policy makers and researchers, as local neighbours and entrepreneurs, a light is shined on both the municipal perspective as the experiences of local actors.

The interviews, which all last circa 45 minutes, follow an un-structured method. In practice, the specific questions that are asked differ, specified on the interviewee and belonging case. However, it is made sure that during all interviews the five most important concepts that are noticed in the preliminary model, based on the theoretical framework, are discussed. In other words, the preliminary model leads to the structure of the interviews. These five concepts are:

- Contextual setting;
- Approach to Actor Participation;
- Network of Actors;
- Interventions;
- Process of Trust.

As these concepts follow from the preliminary model in chapter 3, for reasons of understandability, an explanation of these concepts is only given in chapter 4.

2.3.3. Data analysis during Phase II

In order to analyse the gathered interview answers, all the audio files of the conducted interviews are transcribed and coded by using Atlas.TI software, consistently following the topic list that exists of the five distinguished concept resulting from the preliminary model. During this process step, the formulated concept families are subdivided in sub-codes, as showed in table 1:

Concept Family	Sub-Code	Explanation
Contextual Setting	a. Past Experiences	Earlier experiences with past municipal procedures and processes
	b. Socio-economic and Cultural Variables	Socio-economic and cultural variables influencing the attitude and behaviour of actors in the network
	c. Spatial Ideas/Interests	Values and beliefs with respect to spatial design
Approach of initiating phase	a. Ambition of Phase	Goal of the initiating phase
	b. Method	Used methodology, tools and instruments
	c. Width of Participation Structure	Ways and degree to which actors are invited to participate
	d. Depth of Participation Structure	Degree to which actors have influence on the process and outcomes
Network of Actors	a. Leadership	Tendency of actors to take responsibility and lead the network
	b. Network formation	Tendency of actors to act and operate together with other actors in the network
	c. Critical actors	Presence of actors who disrupt or steer the initiating phase in a certain way
	d. Independent actors	Presence of actors without personal interest or ideas
Interventions	a. Communicative interventions	Interventions related to information provision (one or two-sided)

	b. Physical interventions	Spatial interventions in the project area
	c. Political Interventions	Interventions related to governmental or political factors
Process of Trust	a. Companion trust	Experiences of actors towards other actors in the network related to: - The adoption of a honest, open attitude - Sharing of information - Positive expectations about intentions - The believe that interest are taken into account
	b. Competence trust	Experiences of actors towards other actors in the network related to: - Technical, financial and governmental capacities - The reliability of information
	c. Collaborative trust	Experiences of actors towards other actors in the network related to: - The willingness to participate and invest in the network - The willingness to take risks and act decisive

Table 1: Concept families and sub-codes resulting from the preliminary model.

Based on this structure, in chapter 4 it is possible to analyse the interviews systematically and describe the results for each case per sub-code. After this, in chapter 5, the results of the different cases are summarized and compared in order to find the most striking similarities and differences. This analysis leads to conclusions and an improved model that provide answers on the sub- and main research question of this research project in chapter 6.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of an overview of findings and theories in earlier studies that are considered as relevant to understand the research issue of this research project. Based on literature study, three different main themes are investigated:

1. **Character of Actor-Networks:** As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, spatial redevelopment projects take place in a network of actors. When investigating earlier studies, it becomes clear that each actor network during spatial redevelopment plans is characterized by a unique contextual setting, influenced by different factors. During this research project it is expected that the character of an actor network is related with the amount of trust that actors have during the initiating phase. Moreover, it is assumed that it affects the municipality's decision to approach the initiating phase with a certain participation structure. Therefore, in this theoretical framework the most notable influencing factors in earlier studies are investigated.

2. **Typology of "trust within networks":** In earlier studies, several types of trust in networks are defined. In this theoretical framework, specifically the types of trust that are assumed to play a role during spatial redevelopment projects are described. Besides, a few general characteristics that influence trust processes, and way how these processes develop over time, are explained.

3. **Approach to Actor-Participation:** According to earlier studies, actors in a network can be involved in decision-making processes during the initiating phase by means of various participation structures. Both, the degree actors are invited to participate, as well the degree of influence that actors have during the initiating phase, can differ. In this theoretical framework, these two variables are analysed to be able to distinguish participation structures. Moreover, related to these varying participation structures, different types of resulting municipal communicative instruments that can be used to involve actors in the network in the process are described.

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For each of the three themes, the most important findings for this research project that are find in earlier studies, are analysed.

All together, the found knowledge and concepts form a strong scientific foundation used to establish a preliminary model at the end of this chapter. The preliminary model shows how we assume that trust within networks evolves during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. The preliminary model also reveals which knowledge is currently lacking to answer the research question. Both the preliminary model, as well the knowledge gap, is useful to give direction to the subsequent case study research during the second phase of my research project.

3.2. Character of Actor-Networks

As said, a unique network of actors surrounds each spatial redevelopment project. Earlier studies describe different contextual factors that influence the setting, and therefore the character of an actor network. For this research project it is relevant to identify the most important influencing contextual factors in these studies, since it is assumed that the character of an actor network impacts the decision of local authorities to make use of a certain participation structure during an initiating phase. This choice results in the use of particular instruments and interventions. Another reason to identify influencing factors is that it is expected that the character of an actor network can be linked to the amount of trust that actors in the network have when an initiating phase starts. The theories that are investigated in this paragraph in order to identify influencing factors originate from planning studies.

3.2.1. Influencing Contextual Factors

Knieling and Othengrafen (2009a) write that the development of spatial planning, and related spatial planning projects, is "strongly rooted in, and restricted to, the cultural context or traits of a society". In other words, spatial redevelopment projects are influenced by the specific contextual setting of an actor network. Examples of factors that influence such a contextual setting are, peculiarities of history, beliefs and values, political and legal traditions, socio-economic variables, interpretations of planning tasks and responsibilities, different governmental structures etc. (Hansen, 2011; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009a). Since actor groups in networks reflect these characteristics in habits, traditions, and practices of processes, policy and planning, when trying to increase trust among involved actors during the development of spatial planning projects, aforementioned contextual factors should be taken into account (Hansen, 2011). Based on the list of different variables that are identified by Knieling and Othengrafen (2009b) and Hansen (2011) to describe the planning culture of a city, during this phase of the research project the following three contextual factors that influence the network of actors during a spatial redevelopment project are distinguished:

1. Traditional beliefs and past experiences with procedures/processes

This factor defines the attitude and expectations of involved actors in the network towards the question: "who is responsible for what" during spatial redevelopment projects. It describes the nature, habits and expectations of actors in the network in terms of planning legislation, decision-making processes, the use of instruments and the division of tasks and competencies of involved actors in a project area. Traditional beliefs and past experiences with procedures and processes can be linked to the use of participation methods that are used to involve actors in the network during an initiating phase. In paragraph 3.4 the way participation processes can be approached, is described.

2. Traditional interests and ideas about spatial planning

This factor describes the assumptions, values and vision of actors in the network on spatial planning and design in general. In other words, this factor is about how a spatial plan should look like. It focuses on the physical translation of specific spatial traditions, interests, ideas and principles in practice.

3. Socio-Economic / Cultural variables

Planning processes are directly or indirectly influenced by this factor, which exists of underlying norms and values, traditions, interests, resources and (oftentimes unspoken) rules of local stakeholders. Therefore, it describes the identity of a local community. This factor is related with, and conditioned by, the socio-economic background of actors in the network. It, for instance influences how much interest local actors have in the project, or how actors are used to interact with each other.

Concluding statement:
- **When suggesting a new spatial redesigning plan, three contextual factors that influence the character of a network of actors are identified: Traditional beliefs about procedures and processes; Traditional interests and Ideas about Spatial Planning; Socio-economic/cultural variables of actors in the network.**
- **It is expected that based on these specific contextual factors, local authorities decide which participation structure fit the actor network.**
- **Moreover, it can be assumed that these contextual factors influence the starting point of "trust within the network" among involved actors.**

3.3. Typology of "Trust within networks"

3.3.1. Types of trust

During this research project, it is investigated what leads to an increasing or decreasing amount of trust within networks, during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. In aforementioned paragraph 3.2 it is already described that we assume that the unique character of an actor network, influenced by several contextual factors, is related to the amount of trust actors experience when an initiating phase starts. However, as written in the introduction of this thesis, trust is a vague concept, expressed in many ways in earlier studies. For this reason, in order to understand and operationalize the concept of trust during my research project, in this paragraph, the concept of "trust" is more precisely defined: Three main types of trust are distinguished that are expected to be of interest when analysing public-private networks during spatial redevelopment projects. As described in chapter 1, during this research project, trust is considered as a reciprocal, two-way process. In other words, we expect that actors have a certain expectation about the intention and behaviour of other actors in the network, based on their own intentions and behaviour. The investigated theories in this paragraph find their origin in various organization and governance studies.

Companion Trust

According to Newell and Swan (2000) companion trust relies on the idea that the behaviour of actors will not harm other actors in the network. Following on this, Edelenbos & Klijn (2007) describe how companion trust makes actors believe that other actors will take their interests into account during interaction processes. Newell and Swan (2000) write that to trust others in the network, actors must be in a situation of uncertainty, which means that they perceive an element of risk. While perceiving this risk, when actors trust each other, they are willing to adopt a vulnerable, honest and open attitude, without the ability to monitor or control others, and expect the other parties in the network to do the same (Newell & Swan, 2000; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Consequently, when there is companion trust, actors are willing to share information with other actors and expect other actors to refrain from opportunistic behaviour and misuse the information (Klijn, Edelenbos, & Steijn, 2010; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Rousseau et al., 1998; Lane & Bachmann, 1998). Companion trust presumes the opposite of such "strong opportunism", and can be described as "goodwill" or "benevolence" (Nooteboom, 2006). According to Newel and Swan (2000) companion trust even makes actors relatively tolerant when other actors in the network accidentally make mistakes.

Concluding Statement: Companion trust makes actors believe that other actors have good intentions and will take their interests into account when making decisions. Companion trust makes actors adopt an honest and open attitude because they trust other actors to do so. This makes actors willing to share information with the local authority and other actors in the network. Overall, during this research project companion trust refers to the intention of actors in the network to make things work.

Competence trust

Competence trust is seen when actors trust the competence of other actors to carry out the tasks that need to be performed. This is especially important when actors do not have the right skills themselves that are needed in the network. In this way, competence trust follows from an attitude of respect for the capacities of other actors to complete their share of the job (Newell & Swan, 2000). Newel and Swan (2000) describe that an important characteristic to take into account is that competence trust not necessarily results from the direct exchange of information from one actor to another actor in the

network. It can also be driven by contextual factors. For example, by the overall reputation an actor has, the status or the professional group to which the actors belong. In this way, not the information itself, but the institutional or relational context of the actor determines the amount of competence trust that other actors have. This explanation is further complemented by Felix (2009), who claims that trustworthiness of actors based on contextual factors makes, besides the feeling that actors can rely on the skills and capacities of other actors, the provided information by these other actors perceived as reliable. Especially in governance networks, this element of competence trust is vulnerable, as the local authority most of the time has a greater accessibility to information than other actors in the network have, and even minor shortcomings lead very fast to miscommunication and consequently, suspicion (Felix, 2009). Again, Nooteboom (2006) emphasizes the relation between this kind of trust and opportunistic behaviour of actors: When actors in the network show a lack of dedication or effort to perform the best they can, it results in the absence of attention and participation, which can be considered as free riding. Related to time, Newell and Swan (2000) write that competence trust is fragile and changes quickly, since this type of trust breaks down when actors do not fast enough demonstrate the competencies that other actors expect of them.

Concluding Statement: Competence trust ensures that actors in the network believe that other actors have the (technical) skills and capability to contribute to the process. Furthermore, it makes actors believe that the information that other actors share is reliable. Overall, during this research project, competence trust refers to the ability of actors in the network to make things work.

Collaborative trust

Collaborative trust is a more difficult variant of trust to define. Where the two aforementioned types of trust can be mostly considered as a description of the perception of other actors in a network about the intention/attitude (companion trust) or capacities (competence trust) of other actors in a network, in fact collaborative trust can be more considered as a result that follows from the trust that actors have in each other. Namely, it describes how actors are willing to undertake actions and participate and accept that they are dependent on other actors in the network, combined with a lack of control (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). Collaborative trust makes that actors want to invest in cooperation, despite the risks that are involved (Osborne, 2010). However, during this research project, it is assumed that actors are willing to concretely participate and undertake action, just because they expect this to be a two-way process. In other words, actors want to cooperate, because they expect other actors to do the same. This is more or less confirmed by Osborne (2010), who writes that in actor networks where a high degree of collaborative trust is noticed, the strong ties between involved actors ensures that actors encourage each other to act forcefully and quickly, and therefore collaborate strongly with each other.

Concluding statement: Collaborative trust makes actors willing to accept the risks that arises from being dependent on the local authority or other actors in the network and makes them take action in the participation process, because they expect other actors to do the same. Overall, during this research project, collaborative trust refers to the decisive way of acting of actors in the network to make things work.

Table 2 gives a summarized overview of the characteristics of the three different types of trust:

Typology	Characteristics
Companion trust	**Related to the intention of actors in the network to make things work** • Actors consider the attitude of other actors as honest, vulnerable and open • Actors share information with other actors; • Actors have a positive expectation of the intention of other actors; • Actors trust that other actors will take their interests into account in the interaction.
Competence trust	**Related to the ability of actors in the network to make things work** • Actors trust the skills and capability of other actors; • Actors believe the information that is shared by other actors is reliable.
Collaborative trust	**Related to a decisive way of acting of actors in the network to make things work.** • Actors are willing to take action and participate in the process despite possible risks that arise from being dependent on other actors; • Actors trust that other actors take decisive decisions and actions in the process.

Table 2: Overview of companion, competence and collaborative trust.

3.3.2. The Development of "Trust within Networks"

In this paragraph, firstly, two general characteristics of actor networks that influence process of trust are analysed. Secondly, it is described how these processes start, develop and can be sustained over time. Again, the investigated theories originate from organization and governance studies and therefore, focus on trust within actor networks in general, not merely on actor networks related to spatial redevelopment issues.

Influencing characteristics of actor networks

Influence of dynamics of the actor network

Investigated earlier studies emphasize the importance of realising that the form and context of actor networks are always in transition. For this reason, it is likely that the form of trust within these networks changes over time (Rousseau et al., 1998; Vangen & Huxham, 2003). Wicks, Berman and, Jones (1999) agree by writing that trust within networks is a dynamic and continuous variable, rather than a static phenomenon: Actors can even trust and distrust other actors within the same network at the same time and the various types of trust can vary substantially both within and across relationships, and over time. Vangen & Huxham (2003) state that exactly this dynamic, complex and ambiguous structure of networks requires actors to engage from the beginning of the process in a "continuous process of nurturing".

Influence of anticipation or past experiences of the actor network

As explained, all three identified types of trust in paragraph 3.3.1 are linked in the literature with the concepts of vulnerability, expectation forming and risk-taking. Therefore, these three aspects are in relevant and fundamental when analysing how to build up trust within networks. Vangen & Huxham (2003) state that the ability to form expectations of other actors can be interpreted from both future-oriented as historical perspectives. In other words, trust at the very first start of a process can be rooted either in anticipation that something will be forthcoming, or on past experiences. When feelings of trust are based on anticipation, Vangen & Huxham (2003) claim that developing understanding of what can be expected of the behaviour other actors is crucial at the start or earliest stages of the collaboration. It serves as an alternative for formal contracts (Rousseau et al., 1998).

The development of trust processes

Vangen & Huxham (2003) write that the development of trust can be considered as a cyclic process. Every time actors interact, they are willing to take a (new) risk and form (new) expectations about the intentions and contributions of other actors in the network. When outcomes meet expectations, trust is reinforced. This good experience becomes part of the history of the relationship between the actors, and increase the chance that the involved actors will have positive expectations about possible interaction during the process. It can be concluded that this cyclical trust-building-loop, can be considered as a incremental process.

Start of cyclic process of trust

A condition to start processes to obtain the three types of trust within the network is it that actors should have "enough" initial trust in the network to be willing to take a risk and become vulnerable to take the actions of other actors (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Mayer, Davis and, Schoorman (1995) write that to achieve this initial state, actors need to be able to identify other actors in the network. In this way, actors know and agree which other actors are involved in the process and to which extent. Vangen & Huxham (2003) warn that there are many situations where it appears uncertain for actors which other actors are part of the network. Consequently, there are different opinions about who the central members in the network are and which role they play with respect to the collaboration. Another condition is that actors need to agree on the purpose of the collaboration from the very first start of the process. It means that it should be clear for actors in the network why the collaboration exists, why other

actors want to collaborate, and what they expect each other to do so, during the process. However, again Vangen & Huxham (2003) warn that different actors can have different purposes: Some actors only want to participate with the aim to satisfy their own goals and interests. Oftentimes, the "personal" agendas of actors are hidden for other actors. This makes negotiation or agreement between actors during decision-making moments sometimes difficult.

Sustaining the cyclic process of trust

After starting the initiating phase, and the trust-building loop that goes with it, the actors are required to work together and to become more dedicated to their joint goals over time, to sustain the loop of trust (Vangen & Huxham, 2003). However, according to Vangen and Huxham (2003) often the loop of trust is disrupted by the natural evolution of interactions, for example by new governmental policies or expectations from new actors that join the network. Both lead not only to the development of totally new initiatives but also to changes in purposes. Murphey (2012) emphasizes that to sustain trust among actors, it is important for actors in a network that they can assume that, once adopted, a policy line will not unexpectedly change. In other words, to not break the loop of trust, during the whole initiating phase, the approach and main goals of the project must be clear.

Concluding statement:
- **The cyclic loop of trust starts with a certain degree of trust. This is based on a combination of experiences with other actors in the past and expectations that actors have of the behaviour and purposes of other actors in the network.**
- **A condition for trust from the start of the project is that actors exactly know which other actors are part of the network.**
- **The cyclic loop of trust is an incremental process: It accumulates every time actors interact with the local authority and other actors in the network.**
- **When purposes of actors in the network change, for instance as a consequence of new government policies or pressures from new actors, the cyclic loop of trust can be disrupted.**

3.4. Approach to Actor-Participation

In aforementioned paragraphs three different variants of trust are distinguished that are expected to play a role during spatial redevelopment projects. It is assumed that the amount of these types of trust that actors experience during an initiating phase is related to the way actors are involved in the network, and collaborate with each other. For this reason, in this paragraph it is investigated what is said in earlier studies about participation structures, and the subsequent use of instruments and interventions, during the development of new policies. First, the variables that characterize such participation structures are analysed. Then, two related types of municipal communicative interventions and instruments to involve actors in the network are analysed. The theories that form the basis for this part of the theoretical framework, are originating from both organization and governance studies as planning studies.

3.4.1 Participation Structures

Edelenbos and Klijn (2005) define two different dimensions when analysing participation structures of interactive policy structures: The width and depth of participation. Together, these two dimensions determine the strength of the participation of actors in the network.

The width of participation

The width of participation describes to which degree actors in the network are offered the change to participate in the process. Usually, actors in the network become active when the local authority invites them to participate in the plan. In this way, this moment is the starting point of a participation process. When analysing the width of a participation structure, questions as "in which way are the involved actors approached?", "was it optional for all actors to participate?" and "did actors frequently receive information about how they could participate?" are investigated (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2005).

The depth of participation

The depth of participation describes to which degree actors have the opportunity to influence the content of the decision-making process and determine the outcomes of the process. When analysing the depth of participation it is in particular investigated what type of influence actors have in shaping opinions and on the realization of outcomes (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2005).

Participation ladder

Often, the participation ladder of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001) is used to determine the role of the municipal actors and analyse the width and depth of participation structures. At high levels of the ladder, the degree of participation is deep and wide, since actors in the network are both having the municipal invitation to set their issues on the agenda, as well develop solutions for the policy problem and therefore have as a major influence on the outcome of the process. At lower levels, the local authority decides which other actors are selected to participate. Other actors are only considered as suppliers of ideas about specific policies (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2005). The different "steps" of the participation ladder of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001) are summarized in table 3:

Degree of Depth and width ↑ more influence of actors in the network / less influence of policy makers) ↓ less influence of actors in the network / more influence of policy makers	Role of municipality	Description
	Co-deciding	Local actors in the network are authorized during decision-making processes. Local actors set the issue on the municipal agenda and develop the new spatial redesigning plans. Policy makers mainly provide an advising role.
	Co-producing	Together, policy makers and involved actors in the network determine a problem-solving agenda, and look for a desired outcome together. Policy-makers make the final decision.
	Advising	Policy-makers set the agenda, but give involved actors in the network the opportunity to raise problems and formulate solutions. In this way, all actors play a role in the development of the new policy. Policy makers make the final decision, but listen to other stakeholders.
	Consulting	Policy makers determine the agenda, but ask actors who they consider as important to take part in the discussion when developing the new policy. However, policy makers do not commit to the results of these discussions.
	Informing	Policy makers determine the agenda for decision-making, and will inform other actors in the network by making use of one-sided communication instruments. In this way, they make their plans knowable but involved actors are not allowed to have input in the new policy.

Table 3: Overview of participation ladder of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001).

3.4.2 Communicative Instruments

The aforementioned forms of actor participation are related with different types of municipal communicative interventions and instruments. It is expected that by using different types, local authorities involve actors in the network in different ways. In this paragraph first of all, it is analysed why local authorities make use of communicative interventions when developing plans surrounded by a network of actors. After, the difference between one and two-sided communicative instruments is described.

General motives to use policy instruments

Earlier studies show that to legitimate their decisions, local authorities can not only rely on the evidence of political support they receive by means of municipal elections, but have to clarify their policies directly to actors in the network by means of democratic processes. In order to do so, a variation of multi-sided instruments can be used and lead to interactive public participation processes with the aim to collect input of actors in the network. (De Graaf, 2007; Gilsing, Boutellier, Nederland, Noordhuizen, & Smit van Waesberghe, 2015). However, besides an aim for interactive participation processes, De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof (1994) write that at the same time, local authorities make use of one-sided instruments to play

a steering role when approaching complex societal problems as spatial redevelop plans. The paradox of one- and two-sided communicative interventions in earlier studies shows the relevance of investigating which governmental control options and instruments meet specific steering demands during spatial redevelopment projects.

One sided communicative instruments

Literature study shows that the majority of the communication interventions are described as tools to provide information and inform involved actors within a network. These interventions are one-sided. (De Wit, 2006; De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994). Van der Doelen (1989) shows a gradation in the extent of coercion the instruments have, by distinguishing one-sided communication instruments as instruments that can be focused on knowledge accumulation of involved actors, or on influencing the opinion on the suggested policies of the involved actors. It should be noticed that even one-sided communication instruments with the main goal to prove information, contain multi-sided elements (De Wit, 2006; De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994). A reciprocal character is often seen, for example, when the local authority uses one-sided information sessions to observe the response of other actors and in this way collect information about the interests and opinions of actors in the network (De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994).

Because of the non-binding consequences of aforementioned one-sided communication instruments, such instruments can be considered as "soft policy instruments" and causes most of the time little public resistance (De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994). However, when actors in the network notice that the one-sided communication instruments are only used to create public support and trust, and actors get the feeling that the process is solely for informing purposes without any scope for their own influence, resistance is possible (Boedeltje 2004; De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994).

Multi-sided communicative instruments

De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof (1994) mention multi-sided instruments to make agreements between local authorities and other actors in the network. When using multi-sided instruments, both parties have a say and influence on the outcomes of the process. However, De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof (1994) state that there is a broad range of types of agreements and therefore, there is not one unequivocal definition of multi-sided instruments. Multi-sided instruments can be described as instruments that help the local authority and other actors in the network to negotiate about suggested policies and the approval of a certain performances. However, the legal character of agreements, which are made by using multi-sided instruments, is not always clear. In other words, often the binding consequences of multi-sided instruments are not precisely described (De Bruijn & Ten Heuvelhof, 1994).

Concluding statements:
- **Participation structures are characterized by a certain degree of width and depth, which describes the degree of involvement and influence of actors in the network. In this way, it describes the role of actors in the network during participation processes.**
- **Related to the desired participation structure, local authorities make use of a variety of communicative instruments, which can be one- or multi-sided.**
- **The difference between one- and multi-sided instruments is, first of all, found in the varying degree of interaction between the local authority and other actors in the network. Secondly, it is related with the degree of influence that actors have on the process.**
- **Therefore, the municipality's ambition with respect to interaction and participation of actors in the network during an initiating phase is decisive for their resulting choice for instruments.**

3.5. Preliminary Model

3.5.1. Figure of Preliminary Model

The most relevant ideas and concepts that follow from the different investigated main themes in this theoretical framework, can be related with each other in a preliminary model. The preliminary model (figure 2) shows how we assume that trust within networks develops during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects.
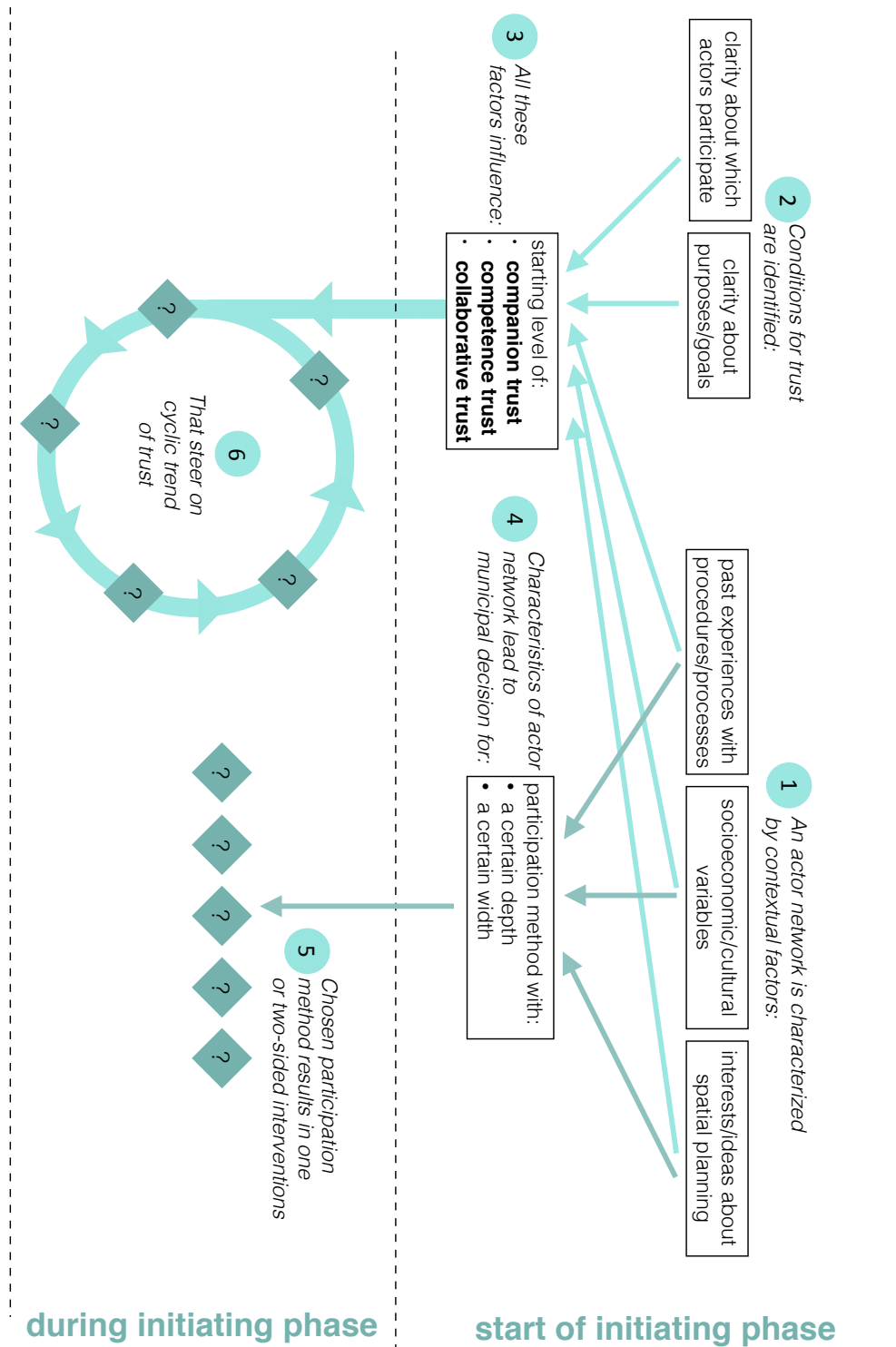

Figure 2: Preliminary model.

3.5.2. Explanation of Preliminary Model

Trust at the start of initiating phase:

1. When the initiating phase starts, an actor network is already characterized by three contextual factors:

- "Past experiences with procedures/processes" describes how and to which extent actors in the network are used to be involved in initiating phases and what they consequently expect of the proceedings of this initiating phase, based on earlier experiences;
- "Socioeconomic/cultural variables" describes how various actors are used to interact with each other and have interest in the project, based on their personal background;
- "Interests/ideas about spatial planning" defines the vision and thoughts of actors generally about spatial planning.

2. Besides, two conditions are considered as required for trust among actors, from the start of the initiating phase:

- Actors need to be able to identify which other actors are collaborating in the network;
- Actors need to be certain about the goals and purposes of the initiating phase.

3. All the five aforementioned factors influence the amount of companion, competence and collaborative trust that actors have in the network when the initiating phase starts.

4. Moreover, taken into account the specific actor network, the municipality takes a decision for a certain participation method to involve actors in the initiating phase. This method can vary in width (related to the ways and degree actors in the network are invited to participate) and in depth (related to which extent actors have influence on the outcomes of the initiating phase).

Trust during the initiating phase:

5. The choice for a certain participation method results in practice in the use of one- or two sided interventions. It is assumed that these interventions take the form of specific methods, tools, instruments and actions that are carried out by the municipality.

6. These interventions steer negatively or positively on the cyclic trend of trust that actors have within the network.

3.5.3. Knowledge gap:

The preliminary model shows that it is currently unclear what kind of specific interventions the municipality can perform to influence the amount of trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. Moreover, the preliminary shows that we do not know on which of the three distinguished types of trust possible interventions will have an influence.

For this reason, case study research needs to be performed in order to analyse which current concrete interventions have an influence on which types of trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. This provides knowledge to answer the research question.

Concluding statement:

- **Although the preliminary model shows how we assume that trust evolves during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects, it also makes clear that it is currently vague what, in practice, the precise form of one- or two-sided instruments and interventions is.**
- **For this reason, it is unclear what kind of specific interventions (as tools, methods or actions) the municipality (can) carry out to influence the amount of trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects.**
- **Moreover, the preliminary shows that we do not know on which of the three distinguished types of trust possible interventions will have an influence.**

- **The preliminary model and the knowledge gap, give ground to perform case research study, during the second phase of this research project, in order to analyse what current interventions have an influence on which types of trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. This provides knowledge to answer the research question.**

Chapter 4. Case Study Research

4.1. Introduction

My research project aims to find out which, and to what extent, interventions lead to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects that aim to reduce the priority of motorized vehicles and improve the quality of public space in city centres. Based on the literature study in chapter 3, a preliminary model is established that shows that we assume that different contextual factors and conditions are related with the amount of trust that actors experience from the start of the initiating phase, and influence the municipality's decision to work with a certain participation method to involve actors in the initiating phase. Although we expect that the choice for a participation structure results in the use of one and two-sided instruments and interventions that steer on the trend of trust during the initiating phase, the preliminary model makes clear that we do not know what these specific instruments or interventions are. We also do now know on which of the three types of trust, such interventions have an influence.

In order to test the preliminary model and improve it by collecting useful information to fill in the identified knowledge gaps, during the second part of my research project, case study research is performed.

4.1.1. Case selection

During my case study research, three cases located in the municipality of Rotterdam are investigated. The cases cover the same physical scale and strive for the same goal: Reduce the priority of motorized vehicles and improve the quality of public space. However, what makes the three cases interesting to compare, are the differences in the organized participation structure. As explained in the theoretical framework in chapter 3, participation processes can be defined by a certain degree of width (which describes to what extent, and in which ways actors in a network are invited to participate) and a certain degree of depth (which describes how much influence actors in the network have on the outcomes of the process). Subsequently, the choice for a certain participation structure is linked to the execution of municipal interventions. By selecting cases in Rotterdam that vary in participation structure, it is tried to find out what the relation is between municipal interventions and trust.

The following projects in Rotterdam are investigated:
1. **Proveniersplein.** This case is part of a major project to redevelop the Central Station area of Rotterdam. Local actors are involved in the initiating phase, by being invited by the municipality to visit informing information sessions. Local actors only have indirect influence on the outcomes of the process. The municipality takes all final decisions;
2. **Nieuwe Binnenweg.** Local actors set this project on the municipal agenda, after complaining for several years about the traffic situation. For this reason, local actors kind of invited themselves to participate in the project from the very first start of the initiating phase. During the initiating phase, in collaboration with municipal officials, independent researchers and local actors, various spatial scenarios are developed. However, the local authority decides which scenarios are presented to the city council.
3. **West-Kruiskade**. This project is part of a series of temporary mobility experiments in the city centre of Rotterdam. The project is set up by a public-private partnership, existing of the municipality, research institute DRIFT and two private production companies. Nonetheless, all the experimental interventions are suggested, implemented and evaluated in co-creation with local stakeholders of the area.

Summarizing, as table 4 shows, the described participation structure of the three cases can be distinguished according to the participation ladder of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001) that is clarified in the theoretical framework in chapter 3:

Case	Role of Municipality	Width of Participation	Depth of Participation
Proveniersplein	Consulting/Informing	Low degree of width	Low degree of depth
Nieuwe Binnenweg	Co-producing/Advising	Medium degree of width	Medium degree of depth
West-Kruiskade	Co-deciding/Co-producing	High degree of width	High degree of depth

Table 4: Selected cases distinguished according to the participation ladder of Edelenbos and Monnikhof (2001).

4.1.2. Brief overview of Research Approach

As in detail described in the methodology (chapter 2), this phase of the research project starts with explorative conversations that are hold with municipal officials to get first insights in the three cases. Then, internal and external documents are inspected. Based on this, it is possible to make an actor analysis and decide which actors are relevant to interview during the empirical part of this research project. During the interviews the five most important concepts that followed from the preliminary model are discussed with the selected respondents. Thus, an unstructured method is used to perform the interview series. After this, the collected answers are systematically analysed per concept, by using Atlas.TI software. All findings are described in this chapter.

4.1.3. Structure of Case Descriptions

The three cases are described in this chapter following this structure: Firstly, all case studies start with a project overview, which explains the general situation of the project area and specifications of the project. Then, a timeline of the most important events and an schematic overview of the involved actors in the network is presented, as well the selection procedure of the interviewees is explained. Finally, the findings of the interview series are systematically described following the most important concepts that followed from the preliminary model (figure 2, paragraph 3.5):

- **Contextual setting:** The socio-economic and cultural variables, the past experiences with procedures and processes and the ideas/interests about spatial planning of involved actors in the network are analysed.
- **Approach to Participation:** The opinion and experiences of involved actors with the goal of the phase; The used participation method; The width of the participation structure and depth of the participation structure is analysed.
- **Network of Actors**: The division of roles of actors in the network is analysed. In this way, it is investigated which actors are identified as critical, as leading or as independent, and how other actors in the network reacted on this. Furthermore, it is analysed if different actors in the network acted together and network formation took place.
- **Interventions**: The physical, communicative and political interventions that took place, and the consequential reaction of actors on these during the initiating phase are analysed.
- **Process of Trust**: The trends and development of companion, competence and collaborative trust among actors in the network from the start until the end of the initiating phase is described.

Important to note is that in order to ensure a clear legibility of this report, in this chapter, for each case only a summary of the project specification and a summary of the interview results per concept is presented. The full project specifications of each of the three cases can be found in appendix A-I to appendix A-III and a full description of the interview results of each of the three cases can be found in annex B-I to appendix-III.

4.2. Case I: Nieuwe Binnenweg

4.2.1. Project Specifications

The Nieuwe Binnenweg case is located in the west of Rotterdam. Nieuwe Binnenweg is an urbanized, busy area, characterized by a great number of shops, cafes and restaurants on ground floors and apartments on higher floors. At Nieuwe Binnenweg, cars are allowed to drive 50km/h on a two-lane road. At both sides of the street, parking lots are situated. Moreover, a tramline crosses the street.

For years, both neighbours and as well shop owners complained about the dominance of motorized vehicles in the street. According to these actors, cars caused an unattractive environment for visitors of the street to wander around and make use of the present services. In June 2016 a fatal accident happened when a pedestrian was collided by a car. Following on this, neighbours and shop owners of Nieuwe Binnenweg demanded the local authority of Rotterdam to take measures. As a reaction, the local authority decided to apply a number of small physical interventions. Although these could not be considered as spatial redevelopment, it steered positively on the experienced traffic safety in the street. However, both the municipality as local actors realized that further research into the traffic possibilities was necessary to be able to change the situation significantly. The municipality decided to apply a new method, developed by ANWB, called "Verkeer in de Stad" ["Traffic in the city"]. In the following months, ANWB facilitated a series of workshops, where municipal officials, independent researchers, shop owners and neighbours were invited to collaborate and develop several spatial scenarios. The series of workshops resulted in three scenarios. Finally, the municipality decided to select two of the scenarios to further investigate for feasibility, with the aim to present these to the City Council in the near future.

4.2.2. Timeline of Nieuwe Binnenweg case

- **June 2016:** During the first phase of the initiating phase, several small physical interventions are carried out to make the traffic situation of Nieuwe Binnenweg safer: Relocation of pedestrian crossing; wider bicycle lanes; more intensive enforcement of traffic regulations; more traffic signs and marking.
- **January 2017:** The municipality of Rotterdam promises to investigate possibilities for further spatial redevelopment with the aim to create more traffic safety and more environmental quality. Earlier, the ANWB contacted the municipality to make use of a new methodology in order to develop various traffic scenarios. For this initiating phase, the municipality invites the ANWB as an independent actor to use the method and facilitate the process.
- **September 2017 - October 2017:** A series of workshops called "Verkeer in de Stad" take place. Various scenarios are developed in collaboration with several actors within the network.
- **November 2017:** The final result of the workshop series "Verkeer in de Stad" is presented to actors in the network.
- **December 2017 - February 2018:** The municipal project leader organizes additional information evenings to inform and discuss the suggested scenarios with local actors. Moreover, several researchers are asked to further investigate the selected scenarios. The municipal project leader promises to hand over the developed scenarios to the new City Council, which will be elected in march 2018, by including it into the handover file. At the same time, the involved local actors agree to address the urge to further investigate the scenarios to the new City Council as well.

4.2.3. Actor Network of Nieuwe Binnenweg Case

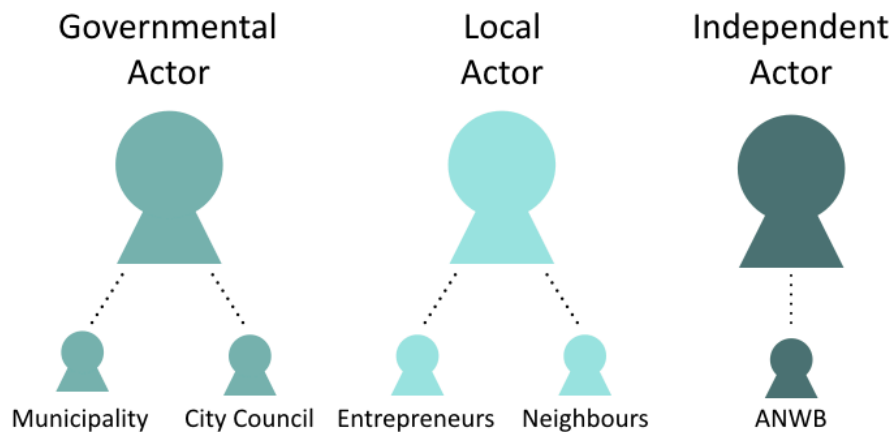*Schematic overview of Actor network*

Figure 3: Schematic overview of actor network at the Nieuwe Binnenweg Case.

As figure 3 shows, the actor network of the Nieuwe Binnenweg case exists of a governmental actor, which can be subdivided in the municipality and the city council; Local actors, which can be subdivided in neighbours and entrepreneurs in the area, and an independent actor in form of ANWB.

Selection Procedure of Interviewees
It is decided to interview the municipal project leader of the case, since this person represented the local authority and was strongly involved during the whole initiating phase of this case. Furthermore, two shop owners and one person who live in the project area are selected to ask about their experiences during this initiating phase. It is a conscious choice not to interview one of the employees of the ANWB, as this actor acted as an independent party that was only involved in the network to facilitate the workshop sessions, without having an opinion or interest in the project. For this reason, their personal experiences during the initiating phase are not relevant to include in this research project.

4.2.4. Findings of interview series at Nieuwe Binnenweg

Findings of "Contextual Setting" at Nieuwe Binnenweg
At the Nieuwe Binnenweg, an active group of local actors, mostly entrepreneurs, is identified that feels strongly engaged and committed to the quality and liveability of the street for years. Some of these local actors are involved in spatial redevelopment projects in the past and for this reason, have earlier experiences with municipal procedures. It can be concluded that local actors seem critical towards the municipality at the start of the initiating phase. Their reason for this is that they claim that the municipality never really had the intention to improve the traffic safety of the street, although various severe car accidents happened.

All interviewed local stakeholders underline to have a lot of useful knowledge about the functioning of the traffic situation in the street, based on daily experiences. The outspoken and determined attitude of the group of local actors ensures a lot of informal signals and complaints about the traffic situations on social media and in daily life on the street. However, it is observed that during formal moments as information-sessions and workshops, local actors participate less actively.

The local actors can be subdivided on basis of their different interests with respect to the priority of cars in the street. Entrepreneurs expect good accessibility for motorized vehicles, while neighbours emphasize to have an interest in traffic-safety and -comfort in the street. Although all interviewed local stakeholders regard the intention of the municipal project leader as good, for two reasons local actors seem sceptical towards the credibility of the interests of the municipality to improve the traffic situation in the street. Firstly, it is mentioned that municipal officials do not have enough daily experience to understand how the traffic in the street functions and what needs to be changed. Secondly, local actors claim that the interest of the municipality is influenced by the City Council. The municipal project leader denies the last mentioned assumption.

Findings of "Approach to Participation" at Nieuwe Binnenweg

The municipal ambition for the initiating phase of this case is to develop various spatial scenarios to improve the traffic safety in the street. These possible scenarios are investigated through the use of the "Verkeer in de Stad" method as developed by ANWB. This method consists of a series of workshops, facilitated by ANWB, where all the actors in the network are invited to participate equally. Because there is no budget reserved to execute the developed scenarios, local stakeholders in the network question the usefulness of the municipal ambition and consequential workshops.

Notable is that local actors state to feel satisfied about the way they are invited to participate at these workshops and consider the process as very approachable, while at the same time, the municipal project leader considers the invitation procedure, that aims to invite local stakeholders to participate, as too selective. According to the interviewed municipal project leader, local actors merely feel invited by hearing about the workshops from other neighbours. In the future, the municipal project leader wants to send more door-to-door letters and make use of social media channels to invite local actors. As earlier mentioned, all interviewed respondents emphasize that only a few local actors took the effort to participate at the workshops.

During the workshop series, the actor network collaborates by using innovative technical tools to design new possible street profiles. Some local actors state to experience these tools as unrealistic and question the feasibility. Consequentially, a certain disappointment among local actors is observed. Moreover, local actors complain that they experience the experimental elements to involve actors in the network as too playful and feel not taken seriously by the municipality. Although the method aims to divide the influence of actors on the outcomes of the scenario development equally, during the interview series it becomes clear that local actors question this. It is observed that local actors have the feeling the municipal officials are influenced by the political agenda of aldermen, and therefore steer on the scenario development in a certain way.

Findings of "Network of Actors" at Nieuwe Binnenweg

During this case, a municipal project leader leaded the process and therefore the network of actors. Local actors consider this leadership as important and appreciate it, since they express that the municipal project leader took responsibility for the progress of the initiating phase.

Although the goal of the project was to let all actors in the network collaborate equally during the workshops, local actors did not experience this, as they claim that there was no consensus about the principles that formed the basis of the developed scenarios. Moreover, local actors did not feel involved as a full partner during the scenario development. During the initiating phase, this perceived feeling is reinforced when local stakeholders discover that the municipal project leader has made the decision to

present only two of the three scenarios that were developed during the workshops to the aldermen. The fact that actors in the network were not involved in taking this decision, led to a discord between the local neighbours and shop owners, and professional actors in the network.

Besides this interruption, local actors consider the Clusters of the municipality of Rotterdam as critical actors in the network that frustrate favourable outcomes of the project, as a consequence of diverging interests. Moreover, the lack of knowledge that municipal actors have about daily events in the street, make local actors consider these municipal actors in the network as incompetent, as local actors think the municipality does not know which spatial solutions are necessary or useful.

Although interviewees highlight the importance of independent actors in the network, it becomes clear that the added value of independent actors is fragile, since local stakeholders approach the definition "independent" critically.

Findings of "Interventions" at Nieuwe Binnenweg

At the beginning of the initiating phase, the municipality carries out various small physical interventions in the street. The interventions calm the worried local actors down, but do not replace the demand of local stakeholders for spatial interventions to significantly change the traffic situation. The municipality understands this, and decides to develop possible scenarios during the workshop sessions. Particularly, the communication of the municipal project leader with other actors in the network is considered as good. However, although the workshop sessions are intended to be interactive, some local actors experience these are merely informing, as they doubt their degree of influence on the outcomes. In this way, there seems to be ambiguity if the communicative interventions are one- or two-sided. Moreover, communicative interventions are experienced as lacking when it comes to informing local actors about internal decisions.

Local actors question the independence of municipal officials, as they experience political influence by the clusters of the municipality and aldermen on municipal decisions. Also, it is seen that the timing of the local elections influences interventions during this initiating phase. For example, it is considered as not strategically to present the developed scenarios to a city council that possibly will change. Therefore, actors in the network together decide to postpone this action.

Findings of "Process of Trust" at Nieuwe Binnenweg

At the start of the initiating phase the companion trust of local actors in the network is low. Local actors experience the municipality is not taking their interests into account since they complain for years about traffic-safety issues and the municipality is not reacting on this by taking any action to change the traffic situation. When the municipality decides to carry out some small physical interventions and organize workshops to develop traffic scenarios in collaboration with local actors, companion trust grows. The presence of a municipal project leader leads to more companion trust among local actors, since they trust him and have positive expectations of his intentions. However, during the process, the degree of companion trust decreases when local actors start to question if their interest are still taken into account, and not undermined by political interests of aldermen. The degree of companion trust decreases even more, when local actors have the feeling that the municipality is not updating them about internal decisions and therefore not sharing all information. The companion trust within the network reaches a low point when the project leader of the municipality decides to select two of the three developed scenarios to present to the aldermen. According to all the interviewed local stakeholders, they were not informed nor involved in this decision.

From the start of the process, the competence trust within the network is mixed. At one hand, local actors consider the shared information by the municipality as reliable. At the same time, local actors question the ability of municipal actors to understand the traffic issues in the street. According to all interviewed shop owners, municipal officials do not have enough daily experience with the traffic situation to really understand it. During the initiating phase, the involvement of researchers as independent actors in the network increases the experienced competence trust, as the capacities and skills of this independent actor are considered as useful.

When the initiating phase starts, a low degree of collaborative trust among local actors is noticed, since local stakeholders have the feeling that the municipality is not willing to collaborate or take action to change the traffic situation of the Nieuwe Binnenweg. During the process, the commitment of the municipal project leader makes local actors trust that the municipality feels responsible to improve the traffic safety of the street and wants to take action. This increases the collaborative trust within the network. Moreover, the municipal project leader takes appropriate actions, as organizing extra information sessions that stimulates actors in the network to keep involved in the initiating phase. This influences the collaborative trust within the network positively.

4.3. Case II: Proveniersplein

4.3.1. Project Specification of Proveniersplein case

Proveniersplein is part of the Central District, the bigger area around the central station of Rotterdam. One of the main functions of this place is to facilitate the great number of arriving and departing travellers. At the same time, Proveniersplein is surrounded by stately residential buildings and used by neighbours who live their daily lives at the project area.

The Proveniersplein case is part of a large-scale metamorphose of the area around Rotterdam Central Station, which aims to increase the quality of the two entrances at both sides of the Central Station by improving the traffic safety and give more space to pedestrians and bicycles instead of motorized vehicles. This outside area of the station needs to be an attractive link between the building of the Central Station itself, and the surrounding neighbourhood. When initiating the project, a formal and standardized municipal procedure is followed to develop the plan. Here is, is of great importance to take notice of the role of "Deelgemeente Noord" during this project. Before the repeal in 2014, "Deelgemeenten" were the lowest governmental layer in the Netherlands. In practice, when taking decisions, the local authority consulted Deelgemeenten who, in turn, represented the local neighbours of an area.

When starting the project, the municipality and Deelgemeente Noord decided to develop the spatial plan of Proveniersplein in collaboration with each other. For this reason, the initiating phase of the spatial redevelopment of the Proveniersplein started by the suggestion of a "Programma van Eisen" by the local authority, which was presented to Deelgemeente Noord. Following on this, the "Programma van Eisen" was determined by Deelgemeente Noord, while taking the opinions of the local neighbours into account. The second step of the formal procedure was the development of an "Inrichtingsplan". Again, suggested by the municipality, the initial idea was that Deelgemeente Noord would examine this phase of the plan and represent the local stakeholders. However, since from the very start of the project the citizens who lived around the area seemed sceptical towards the plans, Deelgemeente Noord was not accepting the suggested "Inrichtingsplan" of the local authority.

Finally, the municipality of Rotterdam decided to directly revoke the authorization of Deelgemeente Noord and decided to determine the "Inrichtingsplan" herself without the consultation of Deelgemeente Noord. In other words, from this moment on (may 2012), local stakeholders could not exercise indirect influence on the plan via Deelgemeente Noord anymore. For this reason, it can be stated that this decision caused a change in the chosen participation structure. The municipality still decided to inform local stakeholders and applied various communicative interventions to do so.

4.3.2. Timeline of Proveniersplein case

- **September 2008 - 2010:** The Municipality of Rotterdam presents the preliminary plan and ideas to restructure the Proveniersplein to Deelgemeente Noord. Deelgemeente Noord represents the local actors, and accepts the plan. Based on the preliminary plan, a "Programma van Eisen" is set up, which serves as a basis to make decisions on how to redevelop and redesign the Proveniersplein. Deelgemeente Noord accepts this "Programma van Eisen" and following on this, the local authority and Deelgemeente Noord discuss the "Inrichtingsplan", a specific spatial redesigning plan based on the earlier determined "Programma van Eisen". However, representing the local neighbours, Deelgemeente Noord more and more announces the concerns of local stakeholders towards the "Inrichtingsplan", which grow over time.
- **March 2009:** The municipality and Deelgemeente Noord organize the "Week of the Proveniersplannen", to inform the neighbours of the area about the plans.

- **May 2011:** Following the complaints and concerns of the neighbours of the Proveniersplein as manifested by Deelgemeente Noord, the local authority decides to listen to the neighbours and adapt the "Plan van Eisen", in order to develop another "Inrichtingsplan". In this way, initially the concerns are taken into account.
- **May 2012:** The local authority decides to stop the authorization and influence of Deelgemeente Noord on decision-making processes with respect to the "Inrichtingsplan". By doing this, newer visions and interests of the local actors are no longer formally included. From this moment on, the spatial redesigning is no longer interactive, interventions are one-sided and local actors have no influence on the design of the spatial plan. However, during information sessions, characterized by an one-sided approach, the local authority tries to involve neighbours, listen to their concerns and take these more or less into account in their designing process. Moreover, these information-sessions are used to identify other issues that play a role in the area.
- **2014:** The municipality informs local actors that based on the Inrichtingsplan, as decided by the City Council, a spatial plan will be designed and executed.

4.3.3. Actor Network of Proveniersplein case

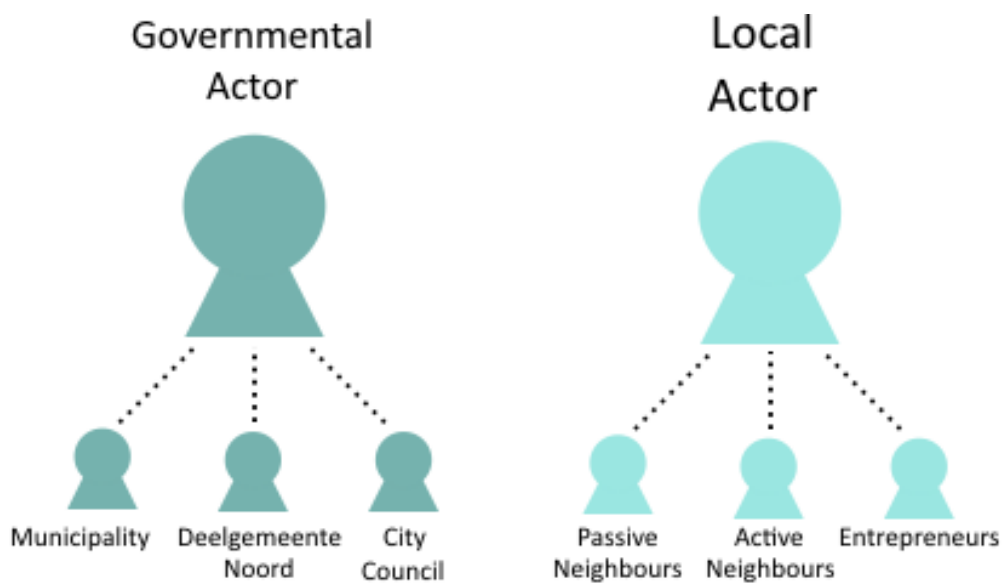*Schematic overview of Actor network*

Figure 4: Schematic overview of actor network at the Proveniersplein Case.

As figure 4 shows, the actor network of the Provenierscase exists of a public actor, which can be subdivided in the municipality, Deelgemeente Noord and the City Council, and a private actor, which can be subdivided in passive neighbours, active neighbours and entrepreneurs. In this case, no independent actor is involved during the initiating phase.

Selection Procedure of Interviewees

Based on the explorative interview with a municipal official at the start of the case study research, it is decided to interview the involved "Gebiedsnetwerker" in the network. This Gebiedsnetwerker worked on behalf of the municipality, as part of the Deelgemeente, and is considered as a link between local actors in the area, as neighbours and entrepreneurs, and the municipality. For this reason this person is strongly involved during the initiating phase. Besides, one neighbour that can be considered as very critical towards the spatial redevelopment suggestions, as well one neighbour that favoured the spatial

redevelopment suggestions is selected. By interviewing these two neighbours, different perspectives within one actor group on the initiating phase are included. The fourth interviewee that is selected is an entrepreneur, who has a shop in the project area for more than twenty years. This person is selected because he represents the interests of entrepreneurs in the projects area and he knows the project area and involved actors in the network very well.

4.3.4. Findings of interview series at Proveniersplein case

Findings of "Contextual Setting" at Proveniersplein

At the Proveniersplein case, a major difference between the socioeconomic background and ideas/interests about spatial planning of different local actors is seen. For this reason, the acceptance and attitude towards the expressed interests of the municipality of the involved local actors in the network differs strongly. Firstly, there is a highly educated local actor group that uses their knowledge and professional network to influence and control the initiating phase. Secondly, there is a moderate, more passive local actor group. The critical attitude of the first group leads to resentment between this group and the more moderate, but still strongly engaged, local actors in the area. A third group of local actors is identified as a group that is less active or involved in the initiating phase. According to the interviewed respondents this is because this group has other daily interests and concerns.

Involved local stakeholders seem to have mixed expectations and interests about the new spatial interpretation. Some of the local stakeholders are very enthusiastic about the plans and consider the redevelopment of the whole Central District as a chance to improve the whole environment of the Central Station, where others focus more on the Proveniersplein itself. Moreover, there is a discord observed between local stakeholders who are focussing on the appearance of the place, and local stakeholders who are focussed on the traffic-safety of the Proveniersplein.

The numerous past experiences with spatial redevelopment projects have various consequences on the contextual setting of this initiating phase. Firstly, it makes local actors sceptical towards the consequences of construction activities when the plan will be executed. Secondly, it creates expectations about participation and the involvement of local actors during this suggested spatial redevelopment plan.

Findings of "Approach to Participation" at Proveniersplein

The municipal goal of this initiating phase is to develop a "Programma van Eisen" and an "Inrichtingsplan" for the Proveniersplein, as part of the major spatial redevelopment of the Central District Area in Rotterdam. A formal and standardized procedure is followed.

Since local actors in this area are used to participate in decision-making processes and have influence on outcomes, they have some expectations about the depth of participation when this initiating phase starts. However, because of the resulting principles from the overarching master plan, during this particular initiating phase, their influence on the outcomes is limited. This ensures frustration among strongly engaged local actors. Initially, local actors can influence the outcomes of the phase indirectly, via Deelgemeente Noord. Later, when the municipality withdraws the influence of Deelgemeente Noord, local stakeholders still try to steer on the outcomes of the phase by presenting multiple objections, which delay the initiating phase. During the initiating phase, various information sessions take place. Without making a distinction between different local actors groups, as entrepreneurs and neighbours, all local

actors are invited to attend these sessions. However, only a few local actors actually participate.

Findings of "Network of Actors" at Proveniersplein

During the initiating phase of this case, the socio-economic background of the neighbours living along the canals seem to make it possible for them to unite their forces and present themselves as a powerful actor in the network. This small group of active local actors claims to represent all local actors and acts as a strongly united leading group in the actor network. Other local stakeholders react mixed towards this leading behaviour. Actors who feel represented trust the active actor group. Others who not feel represented feel annoyed and intimidated by the leading attitude and consequential behaviour of the active actor group. This feeling is increased, when the active actor group arises formal objections that cause delays of the initiating phase. At the moment, other local actors consider the critical attitude as disrupting.

Findings of "Interventions" at Proveniersplein

In this case, the first communicative signals about the redevelopment of the Proveniersplein reach local stakeholders in an informal way when informed neighbours, active in committees and the resident association, talk with other people who live in the area and announce the plans by writing about it in their local newspaper. The first communicative interventions are one-sided, and consist of various informative means. For example, the municipality organizes information sessions to inform local stakeholders about the "Programma van Eisen" and the "Inrichtingsplan". Besides, information about the plans is publicly provided through information panels and models at the Groothandelsgebouw, a public building near the Proveniersplein. During the initiating phase, the municipality decides to appoint a municipal project leader. From this moment on, the communication between actors in the network fosters, as local actors know now where to address their comments on the process. Moreover, a technical spokesman from the municipality is appointed to explain the technical implications of the project to actors in the network. In this way, the technical comprehensibility of the project by actors in the network is increased, which satisfies these actors. Involved local actors understand that political interests and an overarching master plan influence the initiating phase. However, local actors are unpleasantly surprised by the political intervention of the municipality to withdraw the influence of Deelgemeente Noord on the Inrichtingsplan.

During this initiating phase, small physical interventions with respect to other spatial issues in the area are carried out. It is noticed that these interventions create public support for the suggested plan, and local actors feel compensated for the expected physical disturbance. In this way, actors in the network are calmed down.

Findings of "Process of Trust" at Proveniersplein

From the start of this initiating phase, the experienced companion trust among local actors differs; since local actors have different expectations if their interests are take into account. At the same time, during the initiating phase, from municipal perspective seen, the companion trust decreases when local actors have a growing critical, inflexible attitude towards the plans. At the same time, during the process, this critical local actor group has the feeling that the municipality is not transparent and open, and does not share enough information about the plans. However, the companion trust in the network grows a bit, when a municipal project leader is appointed. From this moment on, local actors know where to address their comments, and have the feeling their interests are more taken into account.

From the start of the initiating phase, the competence trust within the network is low, as not all actors do understand the technical implications of the project, and therefore question the reliability of the shared

information and competencies of the municipality. When a technical spokesman is appointed to explain the technical implications of the project, the experienced competence trust grows.

The initiating phase starts with a varying degree of collaborative trust within the network. Related to the socioeconomic background of actors, a part of the identified local actors want to be represented by other local actors in the network, while some other local actors lose collaborative trust, when they do not agree with the way of acting of other local actors during the initiating phase. At the same time, a part of the local actors group wants the municipality to take action, while at the same time another part of the local actors group tries to stop the municipality by presenting several formal objections against the plan. Because of these objections, the collaborative trust within the network of the municipality decreases as well, and the municipality decides to withdraw the influence of Deelgemeente Noord, and therefore stop the influence of local actors, on the Inrichtingsplan.

4.4. Case III: West-Kruiskade

4.4.1. Project Specification of West-Kruiskade case
West-Kruiskade, located in the West of Rotterdam is characterized as a busy, urbanized street with a great variety of stores, cafes and bars. A great number of pedestrians walk and hang around in the street. At the same time, it is filled with traffic: Motorized vehicles and tramlines leave little space for bicycles. As a consequence people drive on bikes on the pavement, which disturbs pedestrians.

In 2017 the municipality of Rotterdam initiated the project "Happy Streets" in the city centre of Rotterdam. Happy Streets exists of a series of temporary experiments in the field of mobility and its relation with the quality of public space. The main goal is to gain knowledge about how local actors react on the applied participation structure, with permanent mobility projects and future spatial redesigning plans in mind. In this way, by executing experiments, this project can be considered as a practical initiating phase. The experiments include not only physical changes in streets but steer on behavioural changes as well. The project is set up by a public-private partnership existing of the municipality, research institute DRIFT, and two private production companies. Nonetheless, all the experimental interventions are suggested, implemented and evaluated in co-creation with local stakeholders.

In this way, the initiating phase starts by organizing various co-creation sessions, in order to investigate the interests and ideas of all the involved actors in the network. Research institute DRIFT facilitates these sessions and invites local stakeholders to participate. Based on the input during the co-creation sessions, various physical interventions are developed. After this, over the course of one month, the experiments are executed. Again, during these activities, local stakeholders are invited to participate and collaborate. At the end of the initiating phase, DRIFT and the municipality extensively evaluate the project.

4.4.2. Timeline of West Kruiskade case
- **June 2017:** Commissioned by Gemeente Rotterdam, DRIFT organizes several co-creation sessions to develop mobility suggestions together with involved stakeholders and create public support for the plans. An actor analysis, carried out by DRIFT, is used to invite various sub-actors groups. The main result of these sessions is that there seemed to be a demand for more priority for pedestrians and bicycles instead of motorized vehicles. Concretely, stakeholders want motorized-vehicles to drive more slowly, make it generally less attractive to drive through the street and remove parking lots.
- **August 2017:** The expressed aspirations during the co-creation session result in practical experiments. In this way, it is planed to create new benches, the suggestion of bicycle lanes, and more trees and plants. Every experiment is connected with one of the local shopkeepers.
- **October 2017:** Although the production of the experiments is managed and carried out by a professional company, all experiments are executed with practical help of local stakeholders.
- **October - November 2017:** During the temporary experiments, research institute DRIFT performs various counts in order to investigate the quantitative impact of the physical interventions. Moreover, questionnaires and interviews with local stakeholders and involved actors are conducted to measure the qualitative results of the experiments. DRIFT asked participants about their opinion with the participation process, and their experiences with experiments itself.
- **November - December 2017:** The various partners of Happy Streets evaluate the experiments and formulate lessons for future spatial redesigning plans in the city. Moreover, it is concluded which of the temporary experiments can be applied as permanent mobility interventions.

4.3.3. Actor Network of West-Kruiskade case

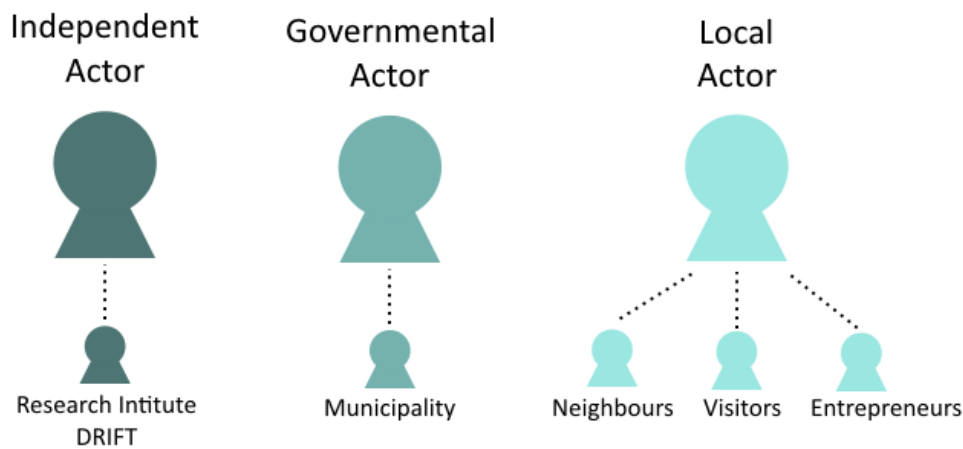*Schematic overview of Actor network*

Figure 5. Schematic overview of actor network at the West-Kruiskade case.

As figure 5 shows, the actor network of the West-Kruiskade case exists of one governmental actor, in form of the municipality. Three types of local actors in the project area are identified: Neighbours, visitors and entrepreneurs. Besides, this network consists of one independent actor, namely, research institute DRIFT.

Selection Procedure of Interviewees

It is decided to interview the municipal official that was involved during the whole initiating phase of this case, since this person represents the municipality in the network. Furthermore, one of the involved researchers of research instituted DRIFT is interviewed. In this way, it is possible to analyse the experiences of the independent actor in the network. Also, two local actors are interviewed: First of all, the interview questions are discussed with a shop owner in the street. Secondly a neighbour, living in the project area ,is interviewed. By doing this, varying experiences of local actors with diverging interests during the initiating phase of this case are taken into account when performing this case study.

4.3.4. Findings of Interview series at West-Kruiskade Case

Findings of "Contextual Setting" at West-Kruiskade

At the West-Kruiskade, a number of entrepreneurs with a strong opinion and a big professional network, who are strongly formally and informally connected with each other, is noticed. The outspoken opinion combined with past experiences of local actors, seems to ensure some suspicion during this initiating phase: First of all, it is emphasized by local actors that they are a bit sceptical towards the sudden arrival of new actors in the network that are initiating this plan, because normally, local entrepreneurs association "De Alliantie" is the party that is concerned with projects and pilots in the street. Moreover, local actors experience that the "new actors" in the network do not have enough daily experiences to understand the traffic situation of the street, since the new actors are not locals. Besides, they express to have critical thoughts about the integrity of Research Institute DRIFT, based on earlier experiences. The interests of the local stakeholders in spatial planning seem to differ. At one hand, most local stakeholders do not have interest in spatial changes, besides car accessibility and a reduction of the speed of cars and do not participate actively at the co-creation sessions. At the other hand, the ones that do participate during the sessions do have greatest ideas about ways to reduce the priority of cars in the street. A

possible explanation for the differences between the general interest, and the interests during the co-creation sessions is the temporary character of experiments.

Findings of "Approach of Participation" at West-Kruiskade

The municipal goal during this initiating phase is to investigate the degree of participation of local actors during mobility changes ahead of a major spatial restructuring in 2021 and to create a basis for participation. A striking note is that this goal seems unclear for local actors during the whole initiating phase. Local actors claim that it was not communicated in the network why the project took place, how much money was reserved for it, who initiated it, and who was going to execute it.

The method to achieve the municipal ambition is to organize several co-creation sessions with the aim to establish an equal collaboration between research institute DRIFT, local actors and the municipality in order to investigate the possibilities for spatial redevelopment. The outcomes and suggestions during these sessions result in practical concepts for small physical spatial interventions. The involved actors are sceptical towards the used method. Local actors felt not taken seriously during the co-creation session and consider the experiments as too playful. Research Institute DRIFT, states that "doing" might be more useful, than brainstorming is.

Based on recommendations of entrepreneur association "Alliantie", several entrepreneurs are invited per email to represent the "local actor group" and participate during the co-creation sessions. The degree of width of the participation process resulting from this selection procedure is considered as too low as no neighbours are invited and invited entrepreneurs do not experience the invitation email as inviting and personal. Only a few invited entrepreneurs want to participate actively. Moreover, although all neighbours and entrepreneurs are invited by door-to-door letters to participate during the execution of the experiments, local actors experience a lack of clear communication and do not feel invited.

In practice, although an equal participation of involved actors in the network was one of the main ambitions of the project local stakeholders state it is unclear what kind of influence they have. The ambiguity about the depth of participation ensures tension in the network.

Findings of "Network of Actors" at West-Kruiskade

Although one of the main principles of this initiating phase is to establish an equal collaboration between all actors in the network, in practice it is seen that the municipality and research institute DRIFT act as leaders in the actor network. Local actors do not feel very involved or want to participate actively in the project. A possible explanation for this is the fact that local actors state that they do not feel the urgency to change the traffic situation. For this reason, the goals of the initiating phase might be not important to them. Local actors are sceptical to the involvement of actors in the network without daily experience of the traffic situation in the street. At the same time, municipal officials consider some local actors in the network as critical and disrupting the process, because of their inflexible attitude and opinion about the suggested experiments. It can be concluded that the network of actors during this initiating phase cannot be considered as equally collaborating and strongly united.

Findings of "Interventions" at West-Kruiskade

The initiating phase of the West-Kruiskade case consists of physical interventions to test public support for definitive spatial changes in the future. It is remarkable that local actors do not understand the

relation between the executed physical interventions and spatial planning purposes. Communicative interventions in order to invite local actors to participate are lacking, as local actors do not feel invited or involved in the initiating phase. Various actors in the network experience the degree of interaction during the organized co-creation sessions differently. Although these sessions are intended to be two-sided and interactive, since equal collaboration between all involved actors is one of the main ambitions, in practice, local actors doubt their influence on the outcomes during these sessions. Communication during the experiments is not sufficient, as local actor do not understand the experiments. This initiating phase is part of a bigger spatial planning program in Rotterdam with the aim to improve mobility and the quality of public space. Since the investigated case is financed by means of this program, it is likely that the political principles of this program influence the development of the temporary experiments that are carried out. For this reason, it is a remarkable note that this is not communicated and unknown by local actors from the very first start of the project to all actors in the network.

Findings of "Process of Trust" at West-Kruiskade

When the initiating phase starts, the companion trust within the network among local actors is low. This is a consequence of their thoughts about the reputation of research institute DRIFT. Local actors question the integrity of DRIFT. At the other hand, the companion trust of the municipality is high: The municipality has high expectations about the intentions and interests of local actors to participate in the project. During the process, it is noticed that the unknown amount of the reserved budget causes a negative trend of companion trust among local actors, as this is experienced as not transparent. During the process, the companion trust among local actors decreases when local actors have the feeling their interests are not taken into account during the co-creation sessions, nor when executing the temporary spatial experiments.

From the start of the process, the competence trust among local actors is low, as local actors don't trust the capability of involved actors in the network that are not locals, to understand the traffic situation in the street as good as local actors do. For this reason, they are suspicious about the capability of municipal officials and research institute DRIFT to understand the issues in the street.

The initiating phase starts with a low amount of collaborative trust within the network, as seen from the perspective of local actors. Since local actors do not consider the traffic situation as problematic and do not feel the urgency to undertake actions to change this, nor expect the municipality to do so, they are not willing to participate in this initiating phase. At the same time, local actors experience the way of acting of DRIFT and the production company as patronising, which discourages them even more to participate in the project. Also the interviewed researcher of research Institute DRIFT states that the way of involving local actors in the processes, leaded to a low degree of collaborative trust: She expects that local actors are more willing to participate when they can "do" something, than think/brainstorm about it. Moreover, the inflexible, non-collaborative attitude of some local actors, discouraged municipal officials to still expect these local actors to participate during the process. At the end of the initiating phase, the municipality and research institute DRIFT concluded that to ensure that actors in the network still want to participate and preserve collaborative trust during later phases, aftercare is needed. For example, evaluation sessions to ask how local actors have experienced the initiating phase can be organized. Furthermore, good communication about future steps of the project is required.

Chapter 5. Findings of Case Study Research

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the three investigated cases in chapter 4 are compared and analyzed. By doing this, the most notable similarities and differences between the cases are noticed, and for each of the five concepts that is distinguished, conclusions are drawn. This knowledge is used in chapter 6 to improve the preliminary model (figure 2). Hence it forms an improved model (figure 6) that shows how trust evolves during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects and which interventions influence the three distinguished types of trust. This provides knowledge to answer the research question of this research project.

In this chapter, in order to make sure the findings of chapter 4 are clear in mind, per concept the findings of the three cases are summarized in a table. Then, point by point, based on the analysed findings, the most important conclusions are drawn.

5.2. Contextual Setting

5.2.1. Overview Interview Findings "Contextual Setting"

Table 5 shows a summary of the most important findings during the interview series of all the sub-concepts that together form the "Contextual Setting" per investigated case:

	Nieuwe Binnenweg	Proveniersplein	West Kruiskade
a. Socio-economic/ cultural variables	• Entrepreneurs are strongly engaged with the traffic situation. Neighbours are less involved with traffic-safety. • A lot of local actors are very active and outspoken about the traffic situation in daily life. Only a few participate during information sessions and workshops. • Local actors underline the usefulness of their knowledge about the traffic situation based on daily experiences.	• Different socioeconomic backgrounds of local actors are noticed: • A well educated, wealthy group is noticed that uses its professional and educational background • A more moderate, but strongly engaged, group is noticed • A less actively interested group, with other daily interests is identified.	• Entrepreneurs are strongly presented in the street and formally united in an association for entrepreneurs • Entrepreneurs know each other well and take each other very seriously • Entrepreneurs emphasize that they have a strong opinion and know very well how the street functions • However, only a few participate at organized co-creation sessions.
b. Ideas/Interests about spatial planning	• Local stakeholders have different interests: • Entrepreneurs have an interests in good car-accessibility and (un) loading practices • Neighbours focus more on traffic safety and comfort in the street. • Local stakeholders claim that aldermen influence municipal officials' interests. However,	• Local stakeholders have different interests and ideas about the suggested plans. • A part of the local actors focus on the final appearance of the spatial redevelopment plan • Others focus on the improvement of traffic safety • Entrepreneurs seem to be mostly concerned about the car accessibility during	• Local stakeholders do not have a major interest in spatial redevelopment, as they do not consider the traffic situation as un safe. However, local actors prefer interventions to slow down the traffic in the street. Besides, car accessibility is still important. • However, during the co-creation sessions, local actors think big.

	the municipal project leader denies this.	construction activities and the final plan itself.	• A possible explanation for this contradiction is the temporary character of the experiments during this initiating phase.
c. Past Experiences	• Earlier experiences with municipal procedures and actions are mixed • Local actors discussed traffic safety problems for years with municipal officials, but last years it seems more difficult to collaborate. This changing state of affairs frustrates local actors.	• Local actors had a lot of past experiences with spatial redevelopment • Local actors are used to get involved in these processes as a full partner • At the same time, local actors are sceptical towards the plan because of their bad experiences with construction activities in the past.	• Local actors have a lot of experiences with trial projects and pilots in the street • However, normally, the entrepreneurs association is engaged with traffic safety in the street • For this reason, local actors experience the sudden arrival of new actors instead of the entrepreneurs association during the project as inappropriate.

Table 5: Overview of interview findings "contextual setting".

5.2.2. Conclusion of Interview Findings about "Contextual Setting"

- Every initiating phase takes place surrounded by different local actors with diverging socioeconomic backgrounds and interests. These factors result in a varying degree of engagement and activeness of actors in the network.
- Local actors in the network that claim to have much expertise and knowledge about the traffic situation in the street and spatial redevelopment, for instance arising from their professional background or daily experiences, seem to have a particular strong opinion about the role of cars in the street.
- Analysing the engagement of local actors in networks, it seems that entrepreneurs are more strongly active during initiating phases of spatial redevelopment projects than neighbours are. Moreover, entrepreneurs have more outspoken interests and ideas about car priority. Most of the time, their interests are related to good accessibility for motorized vehicles. Neighbours are mostly concerned with the aspect of safety and comfort related to motorized vehicles in the street.
- Even when local actors have a strong, outspoken opinion or interest during the initiating phase, most of the time this is only informally expressed. In practice, during formal interventions, as information sessions or co-creation sessions, a small number of local actors is active.
- Past experiences with procedures and processes during earlier initiating, strongly creates expectations of local actors in the network about procedures and processes during future initiating phases. Local actors expect the same way of being involved or taken seriously, based on earlier participation structures. For this reason, in one investigated case it is even observed that actors are sceptical towards new, and therefore unknown, actors in the network.

5.3. Approach to Participation

5.3.1. Overview Interview Findings "Approach to Participation"

Table 6 shows a summary of the most important findings during the interview series of all the sub-concepts that together form the "Approach to Participation" per investigated case:

	Nieuwe Binnenweg	Proveniersplein	West Kruiskade
a. Ambition/goal of Initiating Phase	• The ambition is to develop various traffic scenarios to improve the traffic-safety • Local actors are confused about the actual municipal ambition, as there is no budget reserved to execute the project	• The ambition is to develop a "Programma van Eisen" and a consequential "Inrichtingsplan" fitting in the over coupling master-plan of the Central District Area around the central station • Local stakeholders understand this, but feel that their interests are undermined by the already formulated ambitions of the municipality.	• The municipal goal is to investigate the acceptance and degree of participation of local actors with respect to mobility changes ahead of a major spatial redevelopment project in 2021 • The motive/budget of the project and which actors are involved in the network is not clear for local actors.
b. Method	• A new method is used to develop spatial scenarios • The method consists of interactive workshops focused on collaboration between local stakeholders, researchers and governmental actors. • Some actors experience these experimental tools as too idealistic or abstract. This leads sometimes to disappointment. • Some of the used tools to engage local stakeholders to the project are experienced as too playful and extreme.	• Initially, a formal municipal procedure is followed • Information sessions to inform local stakeholders are organized • During the initiating phase, the municipality decides to withdraw the influence of the Deelgemeente on the Inrichtingsplan. Local stakeholders are not longer indirectly able to influence the plan.	• In co-creation with local stakeholders various mobility experiments are developed and carried out • DRIFT experiences that brainstorming and "thinking" sometimes is too abstract to commit local actors; "doing" is more effective. • Playful methods are used • Local stakeholders do not appreciate the used method, since they do not feel taken seriously.
c. Width of participation structure	• Local stakeholders feel invited to participate during this initiating phase but are considered as already engaged with traffic-safety issues in the street earlier • Other local actors feel invited by hearing from other neighbours about the workshops. • The municipal project leader considers the degree of width of the participation structure as too low • Local stakeholders feel	• All local actors are invited by door-to-door letters to participate at general information sessions. • During the invitation process, no distinction is made between different local actors. • Not all invited local actors actually attend the sessions because a lack of interest	• DRIFT invites a selection of local actors, recommended by the entrepreneurs association to participate during the co-creation workshops per email • All local actors are invited to carry out the experiments by door-to-door letters • The invitation procedures are considered as unsuccessfully: Local actors do not feel personally

	not informed or involved in the outcomes of the internal meetings		invited; The degree of width of the procedure is to low.
d. Depth of participation structure	• Local actors question their influence on outcomes during the workshops. They experience their interests are undermined by the political agendas of aldermen. • When the municipality decides to only investigate two of the developed scenarios, this doubt grows.	• Local actors in this area are used to have an influence during municipal decision-making processes • During this initiating phase, they can only indirectly steer on the outcomes (via Deelgemeente Noord) • When the municipality withdraws the influence of Deelgemeente Noord, local stakeholders present multiple objections, which delay the initiating phase.	• The aim of the participation process is to give all involved actors in the network the same amount of influence • Local stakeholders state it is unclear what kind of influence they have • The ambiguity about the depth of participation ensures tension in the network.

Table 6. Overview of interview findings "Approach to Participation".

5.3.2. Conclusion of Interview Findings about "Approach to Participation"

- When approaching the initiating phase in an experimental way, the ambitions and goals of initiating phases are less clear for local stakeholders, then when following a traditional, formal procedure.
- The way municipal ambitions/goals of initiating phases are understood seems related with the reserved municipal budget. When the budget to execute spatial redevelopment plans during later phases is unclear or there is no budget reserved, it causes confusion about the goal of the project among local actors.
- Innovative and experimental methods to approach initiating phases are sometimes experienced as too playful and result in a feeling of not taken seriously among actors in the network.
- In most cases, the degree of width of the participation structure is evaluated as too low. It seems difficult to give local stakeholders the feeling of being personally invited by only sending on or offline written invitations. This results in a lack of interest, and consequently less participating local actors than intended.
- When the degree of depth of the participation structure, and therefore their degree of influence on the outcomes of the initiating phase, is unclear for local actors in the network from the start of the initiating phase, this causes tension among actors in the network.
- Moreover, changes in the depth of participation during initiating phases lead to tension within the actor-network.

5.4. Network of Actors

5.4.1. Overview Interview Findings "Network of Actors"

Table 7 shows a summary of the most important findings during the interview series of all the sub-concepts that together form the "Network of Actors" per investigated case:

	Nieuwe Binnenweg	Proveniersplein	West Kruiskade
a. Leadership	• The municipal project leader acts as a leader within network, and takes responsibility for the progress of the initiating phase • The actors experience this leadership as important and appreciate it	• A small group of active local actors claims to represent all local actors and acts as leaders in the actor network • Other local stakeholders react mixed towards this leading behaviour. Some appreciate it because they trust this small active group, others do not appreciate it, because they do not agree with the way of acting and the attitude of the small active group.	• Although an equal collaboration of all actors in the network is strived for, in practice, research Institute DRIFT and the municipality lead the actor network • A lacking experienced urgency to change the traffic situation in the street among local actors is a possible explanation for their lacking participation
b. Network Formation	• During the workshops, it is tried to form an network of actors where all actors are equal • Local actors do not experience that all actors in the network are equal, as they feel not feel involved as a full partner during the scenario development	• A part of the local actors strongly unite themselves as one group in the network • This strong tendency intimidates some other local actors	• The fact that some actors are not locals, and therefore do not have experience with the daily situation of the street but still the authorization to change the local situation interfered the feeling among local actors of equality within the network.
c. Critical Actors	• Local actors consider the clusters of the municipality and aldermen as actors that frustrate the outcomes of the project because of their diverging interests • Local actors consider municipal actors in the network as critical actors, as they do not have enough daily experience with the situation of the street.	• The critical attitude and behaviour of the small group of active local actors results in formal objections that disrupt and delay the initiating phase. • Some other local actors claim these objections were only raised to frustrate the process • The small group of local actors claims that the reason for objections were doubts about the safety and functionality of the suggested plan.	• The municipal officials consider local actors in the network as critical actors because of their inflexible opinion and attitude towards the experiments • These local actors only complain but do not delay the progress of the project
d. Independent actors	• The ANWB acts as independent actor during this initiating phase by facilitating the scenario development • Actors stress the importance of independent actors in the network, but highlight the importance of absolute independence to make them credible as well	• No independent actors are part of the actor network	• Research Institute DRIFT acts as independent actor • Local actors in the network question the integrity of DRIFT, and therefore its independency.

5.4.2. Conclusion of Interview Findings about "Network of Actors"

- When actors feel represented by a certain actor with respect to their own interests and trust the intentions of this actor, they accept a leading attitude and consequential behaviour of this actor in the network. An example of such an actor is a municipal project leader or other local actors.

- When actors in the network experience the knowledge of other actors in the network with respect to the content of the project or daily situation of the project area as insufficient, actors in the network do not consider the other actors as equals.

- Local actors in the network consider the involvement of independent actors as important. However, an experience of absolute independence of independent actors is required to be able to add value to the network.

5.5. Interventions

5.5.1. Overview Interview Findings "Interventions"

Table 8 shows a summary of the most important findings during the interview series of all the sub-concepts that together form the "Interventions" per investigated case:

	Nieuwe Binnenweg	Proveniersplein	West Kruiskade
a. Physical interventions	• Prior to the workshops the municipality carries out various physical interventions • These calm the worried local stakeholders down • However, local stakeholders still insist on a bigger spatial interventions to change the traffic situation	• Small physical interventions with respect to other issues in the area that are carried out during the initiating phase calm down sceptical local actors • These interventions can be considered as a compensation mechanism	• Physical interventions are a mean to test public support for definitive spatial changes • This link is not understood by local actors in the network.
b. Communicative interventions	• In particular, the good communication and approachability of the municipal project leader is experienced by local actors as satisfying • Sometimes it is unclear for local actors to which degree communicative interventions are informing or interactive. This confuses local actors. • Communication is lacking when it comes to informing local actors about internal decisions.	• First communicative interventions are one sided, for example when the municipality organizes information sessions. • Besides, other informing instruments as publicly accessible information panels are carried out as one-sided instruments. • During the initiating phase, a municipal project leader is appointed. Local actors know now where to address their comments. This fosters good communication between actors in the network • During the initiating phase a municipal technical spokesman is appointed to	• Communication during the invitation process is lacking. Local actors do not feel personally invited or involved in this initiating phase. • Actors in the network experience the degree of interaction during the following co-creation sessions differently • The co-creation sessions are intended to be two-sided but are experienced as one-sided by local actors. This annoys local actors. • Communication during the execution of the experiments is lacking. For this reason, local actors do not understand the

		explain the technical implications of the suggested plans to actors in the network. This is considered as conducive for the comprehensibility of the plans.	experiments.
c. Political interventions	• Local actors have the feeling municipal decisions are politically influenced by the clusters of the municipality and aldermen • The municipal project leader denies this influence. • The timing of the local elections have an impact on actions during this initiating phase, as it is considered as not strategic to present the developed scenarios to a changing City Council and actors decide to postpone this.	• Local actors understand the political influence on the outcomes of the initiating phase from the start of the process • A political intervention takes place when the municipality withdraws the influence of Deelgemeente Noord on the Inrichtingsplan. • Local actors are unpleasantly surprised by this political intervention.	• This initiating phase is part of a bigger program in Rotterdam with the aim to improve mobility and the quality of public spaces. • The project is financed by this program, and therefore the principles are likely influenced by the political principles of this program • Local actors are not aware of this overarching municipal program.

Table 8. Overview of interview findings "Interventions".

5.5.2. Conclusion of Interview Findings about "Interventions"

- A municipal project leader that individually represents the local authority as actor in the network, ensures that local actors experience "the municipality" as approachable and engaged.
- When suggested spatial redevelopment plans consist of very detailed or difficult technical information for non-professionals, a technical spokesman that is able to explain the implications of the plan ensures comprehensibility among actors in the network.
- Carrying out small physical spatial interventions that are not directly related with the goals of the suggested spatial redevelopment plan, but create a feeling of compensation for the (expected) disturbance, calm actors in the network down and ensure public support.
- Often, during the initiating phase it is not clear for local actors if various communicative interventions are informing or interactive. In this way, it is unclear if interventions are one or two sided and what the influence of local actors on the outcomes of the plan is. This can lead to annoyance of confusion among local actors in the network.

5.6. Process of Trust

5.6.1. Overview Interview Findings "Process of Trust"
Table 9 shows a summary of the most important findings during the interview series of all the sub-concepts that together form the "Process of Trust" per investigated case:

	Nieuwe Binnenweg	Proveniersplein	West Kruiskade
a. Companion Trust	• At the start of the initiating phase the companion trust of local actors is low, because local actors expect the municipality will not take their interests into account since they complain for years about traffic-safety issues and the municipality is not reacting on this. • Therefore, the degree of companion trust grows when the workshops start. • The appointment of a municipal project leader increases the experienced companion trust among local actors, as they have a positive expectation of his intentions and praise his open, honest attitude. • The degree of companion trust decreases among local actors when local actors question if their interest are any longer taken into account during the scenario development because they think they are undermined by political interests. • The degree of companion trust decreases among local actors when the municipality is not sharing information about the outcomes of intern meetings in the network	• From the start of the initiating phase the companion the amount of trust differs among involved local actors. This is mostly a result of diverging expectations if the municipality is taken the interests of local actors into account, based on earlier experiences. • During the initiating phase the companion trust of the municipality towards local actors decreases because of their continuous critical, not open attitude. • The companion trust of the local actors decreases when they feel the municipality is not transparent and open because the municipality does not share (understandable) information about the proceedings of the process. • The companion trust among local actors is somehow restored when a municipal project leader is appointed and local actors know where to address their comments.	• At the start the companion trust among local actors is low, as they question the integrity of research institute DRIFT. • At the start of the process, the companion trust of the municipality is high, as they expect good intentions and active participation of all actors in the network. • During the process, the fact that the amount of the reserved budget for the project is not shared with local actors, negatively influences the companion trust as local actors consider this as not open or transparent. • During the process the companion trust among local actors decreases when local actors do not experience that their interests expressed during the co-creation sessions are included when executing the experiments.
b. Competence Trust	• During this initiating phase, the competence trust within the network among local actors is mixed. • Local actors consider the shared information by the municipality as reliable. • However, local actors question the ability of municipal officials to understand the traffic issues that take place in the street, because of a lacking daily experience.	• At the start of the process, the competence trust among local actors is low, as they do not understand the technical aspects of the project, and therefore question reliability of the information and capability of the municipality. • This competence trust increases when a technical spokesmen is appointed to explain the technical implications of the project	• From the start of the process, the competence trust among local actors is low, as local actors do not trust the capability of actors in the network who are not locals to understand the traffic situation in the street as good as local actors do.

	• The competence trust within the network is increased by the involvement of independent researchers. Local actors trust the expertise and knowledge of this actor.		
c. Collaborative Trust	• The initiating phase starts with a low degree of collaborative trust within the network, since local stakeholders have the feeling that the municipality is not willing to collaborate and change the traffic situation of the street. • During the process, the municipal project leader increases the collaborative trust, by undertaking extra communicative interventions, as organizing extra information evenings and therefore stimulates actors in the network to keep involved in the process.	• From the start of the initiating phase, the degree of collaborative trust among local actors differs. • Some actors want to participate in the network, others let themselves be represented by other actors in the network. This is related to socioeconomic and cultural variables. • During the process, the collaborative trust among some local actors decreases when they do not agree with the way other local actors behave. For this reason they are less motivated to participate any longer. • During the process some local actors stimulate the local authority to further develop the plans. Others try to stop the municipality by presenting many objections. • During the process, the collaborative trust of the municipality reaches a low point, when they do not expect local actors in the network to influence the project any longer, by withdrawing the influence of Deelgemeente Noord on the Inrichtingsplan.	• From the start of the process, the collaborative trust among local actors is low. This is devoted to various reasons: First of all, local actors do not experience the traffic situation as problematic and do not see the urgency to take action nor expect the municipality to change the traffic situation. Secondly, local actors do experience the behaviour of other actors as too patronising, which make them less willing to participate in the network. • During the process, Research institute DRIFT experiences more collaborative trust when actors can take concrete actions, instead of "thinking" and brainstorming about it • During the process, the inflexible, non-collaborative attitude of some local actors decreases the amount of collaborative trust of municipal officials. • At the end of the process, the municipality and DRIFT evaluate that to preserve collaborative trust during later phases of a project, aftercare is needed.

Table 9. Overview of interview findings "Process of Trust".

5.6.2. Conclusion of Interview Findings about "Process of Trust"

Related to contextual factors:

- At the start of an initiating phase, "companion trust" among local actors is strongly influenced by general experiences with actions and the overall reputation of other actors in the past. These past experiences do not have to be necessarily related with spatial planning.

- A general inflexible, non-collaborative attitude of local actors decreases the "collaborative trust" of the municipality in the network, because they have a negative expectation of the willingness of local actors to participate and take beneficial actions during the initiating phase.
- The degree of "competence trust" among local actors is related with their expectations of the capability of other actors to understand the traffic situation of a project area. For example, when municipal officials or researchers do not have a lot of daily experience with the situation, the experienced "competence trust" is low. For this reason, local actors have more "competence trust" in involved municipal actors that are specifically concerned with the project area, for example a Gebiedsnetwerkers or a Stadsmarinier.

Related to interventions:
- "Companion trust" among local actors increases when an individual municipal project leader is appointed to represent the municipality. It ensures that local actors know where to address their problems and comments during the initiating phase. This makes that actors experience that their interests are taken into account.
- "Companion trust" among actors decreases when they experience that the amount of influence they have on the outcomes of the process changes during the initiating phase.
- "Companion trust" decreases among local actors when an open, transparent attitude is questioned, for example, when not all information about outcomes of intern decisions or the reserved budget for the project is publicly shared.
- Both "companion trust" and "competence trust" is related with the (technical) comprehensibility of shared information for non-professionals. When information is initially not understandable, interventions to explain the information to local actors can make the shared information considered as more reliable. Moreover, it creates a feeling of transparency among actors in the network.
- Involving independent researchers or experts in the network increases "competence trust" when local actors in the network have the feeling the skills or knowledge of independent research supplement their own.
- "Collaborative trust" decreases when actors do not agree with the way other actors in the network behave during the initiating phase. When this is the case, actors are less willing to participate and undertake actions themselves.
- It is expected that to preserve "collaborative trust" and to make sure local actors in the network still want to participate during following phases of spatial redevelopment plans, it is important to communicate about the future steps of the project and interact with local actors in anticipation of following phases.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

During this research project, I investigated which interventions lead to trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space. The concept of trust is widely described in earlier studies, and in most cases related with the perception of actors about the intention of other actors in the network. Trust is important, since it is considered as one of the factors that ensure that involved actors in a network support new policies when these are developed. When there is not enough support, there is a chance that actors try to prevent or hinder the development and implementation of a new policy. However, it is not clear which specific governmental interventions can be carried out during decision-making processes in governance networks to steer (positively) on trust. The question is if specific interventions, as for example the distribution of informing door-to-door letters, organizing participation sessions or the use of innovative methods to involve actors in the network, influence the perception of actors about the intention of other actors. Also, earlier studies do not show to which extent, and during which specific phases of a spatial redevelopment project, trust is a necessary condition to achieve enough support to develop a project successfully.

In order to investigate this research issue, the following research questions are formulated:

1. *Which types of trust can be distinguished in public-private actor networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
2. *What is the influence of contextual factors that characterize the setting of public-private actor networks on trust at the start of the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
3. *Which groups of actors with belonging interests can be distinguished in public-private actors networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
4. *What is the influence of the choice for certain participation structures on trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*
5. *At which moments and to which degree is trust considered as crucial during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?*

In this chapter, all sub-questions are answered based on the knowledge that is gained by investigating earlier studies, supplemented by findings that result from my case study research. Together, this provides knowledge to answer the main research question:

"What and to which extent lead interventions to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant and improve the quality of public space?"

6.2. Conclusion Sub-Questions

Q1. Which types of trust can be distinguished in public-private actor networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?
Earlier studies show that there are several descriptions of "trust" in circulation. Based on these earlier studies, in the preliminary model (figure 2), three types of trust are distinguished that are assumed to play a role during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects: Companion trust, competence trust and collaborative trust:

- Companion trust makes actors adopt an honest and open attitude. When there is companion trust, actors are willing to share information with the local authority and other actors in the network during the initiating phase. Furthermore, companion trust makes actors believe that the local authority and other actors in the network have good intentions and will take their interests into account during decision-making processes.
- Competence trust ensures that actors in the network believe that other actors have (technical) skills and the ability to develop spatial redevelopment plans. Furthermore, it makes other actors believe that the information that the local authority and other actors share in the network is reliable.
- Collaborative trust makes actors willing to accept the risk that arises from being dependent on the local authority or other actors in the network and therefore to actively participate in the network when initiating spatial redevelopment plans. Moreover, collaborative trust of actors stimulates other actors in the network to take action.

During my case study research, all three types of trust are noticed in the investigated actor networks. During the initiating phases of the investigated cases, small fluctuations relative to amount of trust at the start of the initiating phases are observed. These fluctuations will be further explained by answering the following sub-questions.

Q2. What is the influence of contextual factors that characterize the setting of public-private actor networks on trust at the start of the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?
Based on earlier studies three contextual factors are identified as characterizing the setting of an actor network:

- "Traditional beliefs and past experiences with procedures/processes" defines how actors in the network are used to be involved in initiating processes during spatial redevelopment projects, based on past experiences;
- "Socioeconomic and cultural variables" defines in what way (local) actors have interest in the project and how actors are used to interact with each other based on their personal background;
- "Traditional interests and ideas about spatial planning" defines the vision of actors on spatial planning.

In the preliminary model (figure 2) that follows from earlier studies, these three contextual factors are assumed to influence the amount of trust at the start of the initiating phase during spatial redevelopment projects. However, the preliminary model does not clarify on which of the three specific types of trust these contextual factors will exert influence.

The findings of my case study research confirm only the first two factors as indeed influencing the amount of trust that actors have from the start of the initiating phase. Moreover, on the basis of my findings these two contextual factors can be related to specific types of trust: Past experiences with procedures and

processes creates certain expectations among actors to be taken into account in way during the initiating phase, based on how they are used to. For example, I observed that local actors expect the municipality to listen to them and have good expectations of their intentions, when they have experienced this in the past. In this way, this factor is related to companion trust. Moreover, past experiences with procedures and processes positively influence collaborative trust, when actors have experienced that other actors were willing to take decisive actions and cooperate before. Of course, this also works the other way around.

Socio-economic and cultural variables are related with the experienced competence trust. For example the education level of local actors influence to what extent local actors understand the provided information, and therefore be able to consider it as reliable and trust the skills and capability of the municipality to execute a spatial redevelopment plan.

However, following my case studies I observed that in practice the third contextual factor that was showed in the preliminary model (figure 2), "interests and ideas about spatial planning" is not influencing the starting point of companion, competence or collaborative trust.

Based on my case study research, another contextual factor is identified that characterizes the setting of an actor network and therefore influences the degree of trust at the start of the initiating phase: The amount of knowledge and experiences that actors have with the daily traffic situation of the project area. For example, when local actors have the feeling that other involved actors only have limited knowledge about the daily situation of the street, local actors believe that these other actors will not take their interests into account, simply because they do not understand these. This is negatively related with companion trust. Furthermore, limited knowledge of the daily situation makes local actors question if other actors are capable to have the right capacities and skills to take the right actions. Therefore, this is related with competence trust. Finally, knowledge and experiences with the daily traffic situation also influences collaborative trust: When actors believe that other actors do not understand the problems of the project area they question if they are willing to change the situation and cooperate. Therefore, actors also do not want to participate or contribute to the initiating phase themselves.

Q3. Which groups of actors can be distinguished within public-private actors networks and what is their relation with trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?
In the preliminary model (figure 2), no assumptions are made about which actors can be identified in public-private actor networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant in city centres and improve the quality of public space, nor belonging interests or their influence on trust is investigated.

Nonetheless, during my case study research I observed that private actors, public actors and independent actors can be distinguished in actor networks during spatial redevelopment projects: Local actors can be divided by their interests in two sub-groups: Entrepreneurs are mostly concerned with good accessibility for motorized vehicles, while neighbours focus more on traffic safety and comfort. Since local actors are permanently part of the project area of a spatial redevelopment project, it can be concluded that this actor group is highly interested and has a great amount of knowledge about the project area, based on daily experiences. Following my case studies, sometimes local actors can act non-collaborative and critical towards spatial redevelopment suggestions from the start of the initiating phase. When this continues during an initiating phase, this attitude leads to less collaborative trust among other actors in the network. In other words, other actors are discouraged to contribute positively to the process and do not expect the critical actors any longer to do so.

At the same time, my case study research shows that when local actors feel represented by other local actors with respect to their interests and way of behaving, they trust the intentions of their fellows, and experience enough companion trust to accept a leading attitude in the network.

I observed that the public actor in the network can be divided in two sub-groups as well: The municipality and the City Council. In theory, the City Council has a political interest during the initiating phase and the municipal officials are only executing project, without having a personal interest. However, my case study shows that sometimes local actors are sceptical towards the sincere intentions of municipal officials in the network when they have the feeling that the interests of municipal officials are politically influenced, for example by aldermen or overarching municipal clusters. When this is the case, an open and honest attitude of the municipal actor is questioned, which ensures less companion trust in the network.

Independent actors are identified in the network in various forms. For example, research institutes or commercial companies that facilitate the initiating phase can be involved as independent actors. To contribute to companion trust within the network, it is observed as important that other actors in the network do not question the integrity of the independent actor.

In other words, local actors have to trust that independent actors have no personal interest in steering on the outcomes of the initiating phase and consider their attitude as honest and transparent. My case study research shows that involving independent actors during the initiating phase can also contribute to competence trust within the network. This is for example the case, when researchers add knowledge and skills that were previous lacking in the network.

Q4. What is the influence of the choice for certain participation structures on trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?

In the preliminary model (figure 2) that results from findings in earlier studies, it is assumed that the type of an actor network, characterized by contextual factors as mentioned in Q2, influences the municipal decision to approach the initiating phase with certain participation structure. Based on literature study, in the preliminary model such participation structures are described by a certain degree of width and a certain degree of depth:

- The width of participation is related to the ways and degree actors in the network are invited to participate in the process.
- The depth of participation defines to which extent actors have influence on the outcomes of the process.

However, my case study research does not lead to findings that confirm that the municipality chooses a certain participation structure because of character of an actor network. In other words, since no relation is found between contextual factors that characterize the setting of an actor network and municipal decisions for participation structures, in practice it is not clear based on what criteria municipal officials decide to make use of participation structures to involve actors in the network.

Still, my case studies show the influence of the degree of width and depth of participation structures and resulting methods/tools on the amount of trust that is experienced in the network:

Focussing on the width of participation, it can be concluded that regardless the degree of width, which differs per initiating phase, in practice most of the time the invitation procedure is observed as difficult and ineffective. Although the municipality tries to positively influence collaborative trust and companion trust by inviting actors in the network, it can be concluded that actors that are considered as strongly involved in the network from the start of the process, are most of the time already strongly engaged with

issues related to spatial planning in the street before, not resulting from current invitation methods. Moreover, all investigated cases show that traditional invitation methods, as sending off- en online letters, cannot be considered as effective, and make actors not feel more involved in the process, being taken seriously, or willing to participate. Related to the way and extent actors in the network feel involved in the initiating phase, the appointment of a municipal project leader steers positively on companion trust. The fact that actors in the network know how to contact the municipality and address their comments during the initiating phase makes that local actors consider the public actor in the network as more open and transparent and have the feeling their interests are heard.

Focussing on the depth of participation, following the preliminary model (figure 2), my case study research confirms that general uncertainty or a change in the degree of influence that actors have on the outcomes of the initiating phase, steers negatively on companion trust. This is also the case when it is not clear for actors if interventions are just informing or interactive. In both cases, actors do not trust if their interests are taken into account and feel passed over. Moreover, when actors do not understand the shared information about the projects, for instance when the information is too technical, they have the feeling that they have limited influence on the outcomes of the process. Therefore, incomprehensibility of provided information is negatively related with companion trust. Notable about the depth of the participation is that even when local actors have a strong, outspoken opinion or interests during the initiating phase in daily life, most of the time this is only informally expressed. Apparently, in practice, the concrete influence that local actors prefer to have on the outcomes of the process is limited. To illustrate, it is observed that for example during information evenings or co-creation sessions, only a small number of local actors participates.

Focussing on methods and tools that result from specific participation structures, during my case studies I observed that to involve local actors in the network and give local actors the opportunity to influence the outcomes of the initiating phase, sometimes innovative, experimental methods are used. For example, workshops, co-creation and brainstorm sessions are organized. Also modern visualisation tools are used to develop plans. However, in some cases local actors consider these methods as too playful and unrealistic and consequently do feel not taken seriously. This has a negative influence on companion trust. Moreover, my case study research shows that when approaching the initiating phase in a more experimental way, the ambitions and goals are from the start of the initiating phase less clear for local stakeholders, then when following a traditional, formal procedure. This uncertainty ensures that actors in the network do not trust why and in what way the municipality is going to take actions, and are less willing to participate themselves or have good expectations about the intentions of the municipality. In this way, experimental methods lead to less collaborative trust and less companion trust.

It can be concluded that the investigated participation methods lead to municipal interventions that in particular influence companion trust, but less steer on competence of collaborative trust. However, most of the noticed interventions decrease the amount of companion trust.

Q5. At which moments and to which degree is trust considered as crucial during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres?

Investigating at which moments trust is crucial during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects, in the preliminary model (figure 2) it is assumed that the feeling of trust that actors have in other actors can be seen as a cyclic process that changes over time as a consequence of events and interventions. This is confirmed during my case studies: When an initiating phase starts, the initial degree of trust that local actors have in other actors is strongly influenced by the contextual setting, as described in Q2. Subsequently, different events and interventions steer on the amount of trust that actors have, as

described in Q3, and Q4. However, at none of the investigated cases during my case study research an absolute change in the trend of trust as a result of events or interventions is noticed. It means that I observed that actors with a high degree of trust within the network at the start of the initiating phase more or less had this same amount of trust at the end of the phase. Though, my case study research shows that to preserve collaborative trust at the end of an initiating phase and sustain it during the next phase, it is important to communicate about the future steps of the project and interact with local actors in anticipation of following phases.

Focussing on to which degree trust is crucial during the initiating phase it should be understood that in earlier studies trust is considered as one of several necessary conditions that ensure support. Support by involved actors is crucial to develop spatial redevelopment projects successfully. However, as this research project only focuses on trust, it is not investigated how important trust is, relative to the other identified conditions for support. For this reason, it is not possible to say exactly how much trust during the initiating phase is required to function as a useful condition for support, and therefore to contribute to the successful development of a spatial redevelopment project. It can be concluded that, first of all, more research is needed to investigate the relation between trust and other necessary conditions for support. Then, based on this information, it can be decided if more future research is useful on which interventions do contribute to trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects or if other conditions are more important to focus on when trying to investigate support.

6.3. Conclusion Main Research Question:

"What and to which extent lead interventions to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects in city centres with the aim to make motorized vehicles less dominant and improve the quality of public space?"

Based on my observations during this research project an improved model is created, which is shown in figure 6, that answers the formulated research question. Hereby, my findings and the implications of the improved model are explained:

To start with, during my case study research I observed that actor networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects exist of local, municipal and independent actors. In particular the presence of local stakeholders is notable during spatial redevelopment projects, as local stakeholders are permanently part of the project area, and for this reason considered as being highly interested and having a major amount of knowledge about the project situation, based on daily experiences.

Trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects is considered as a two-way process. Corresponding with earlier studies and presented in the improved model (figure 6), in all investigated cases of this research project three variants are observed. First of all, companion trust is noticed, which shows that actors have positive expectations of the intention of other actors, trust that other actors will take their interests into account during the project, adopt an open, honest attitude and want to share information in the network. Secondly, competence trust is seen, which shows that actors trust the capacities and (technical) skills of other actors in the network to develop and execute the project. This type of trust also includes that actors trust the reliability of the shared information by other actors. Thirdly, collaborative trust is noticed, which makes actors willing to participate and undertake concrete actions during the project because they trust other actors to do so.

It is concluded that the observed amount companion, competence and collaborative trust during the whole initiating phase of my case studies, is mostly determined by a few contextual factors, that are not so much related with the ongoing spatial redevelopment issue but more characterizing the actor-network in general. For this reason, these contextual factors determine the amount of trust that actors have in the network immediately when the initiating phase starts, and subsequently continue to impact the experienced trust among actors during the whole initiating phase.

As my improved model (figure 6) shows, the first identified contextual factor is "past experiences with processes and procedures". This factor affects the way in which actors expect to be taken into account during this initiating phase. For example, local actors expect the municipality to listen to them and have good expectations of their intentions (companion trust), when they have had experienced this during earlier municipal projects that took place in their street. Moreover, "past experiences with processes and procedures" create expectations among stakeholders if other actors want to collaborate and undertake concrete actions (collaborative trust). The second identified contextual factor that influences trust from the beginning of the initiating phase is the "socioeconomic/cultural background" of local stakeholders. For instance, the education level of local stakeholders influences to which extent local stakeholders are able to understand provided information by the municipality. Therefore it influences if local actors can estimate the reliability of the shared information (competence trust). The third contextual factor is the "knowledge and experiences that actors have with the daily traffic situation" of the project area. For

example, when municipal actors do not know the project area well, actors do not believe that these municipal actors will take their interests into account (companion trust), simply because they do not understand it. Or, when other involved actors have limited knowledge about the daily traffic situation, it makes local stakeholders doubt if these actors have the right skills and capacities to undertake the right action (competence trust). A lacking knowledge about the current daily situation also makes local stakeholders sceptical if other actors are willing to change the situation and undertake action to do so. If this is the case, local actors are less willing to contribute to the project themselves as well (collaborative trust).

The municipality approaches the initiating phase by a certain participation method with the aim to involve actors in the network in a certain way in the initiating phase. This can vary between very traditional methods, to more experimental ones. Although expected in the preliminary model (figure 2), as the improved model (figure 6) shows, my case study research does not lead to findings that confirm that in practice the municipality chooses a certain participation structure based on the characteristics of an actor network. In other words, my case study does not show a relation between contextual factors and municipal decisions for a participation structure. For this reason, it is not clear what criteria lead to the choice for a specific participation method.

However, as presented in the improved model (figure 6) the municipality's decision for a certain participation method results in the use of various instruments, tools and actions. I observed that planned interventions carried out by the municipality during the investigated initiating phases with the aim to increase the feeling of trust among the involved actors in the network, have few or no influence on a positive trend of trust. In some cases, the carried out interventions even had a reverse effect.

Based on my case study research, the following conclusions are drawn: When starting the initiating phase, most of the time current invitation procedures are not sufficient. Actors that can be considered as strongly involved in the network from the start of the process and willing to participate, are most of the time already strongly engaged with issues related to spatial planning in the street, not resulting from current invitation methods. The interview series reveals that sending inviting emails or door-to-door letters do not make actors feel more involved, being taken seriously (companion trust) or willing to participate (collaborative trust). During the initiating phase, the appointment of an individual municipal project leader makes that local actors know where to address their comments on the initiating phase. In this way, local actors consider the municipality less as a major, abstract actor, but more as an approachable and open actor that takes their interests into account (companion trust). Uncertainty about, or a change in the degree of influence that actors have on the outcomes of the initiating phase, makes that actors question if interests will be taken into account or will be ignored (companion trust). This is also the case when actors do not understand the content of the (technical) information that is shared by other actors about the spatial redevelopment plans (companion trust). Incomprehensibility of shared information ensures that actors are not able to estimate the reliability of information as well (competence trust). In some cases, local actors experience experimental or innovative methods/tools as too playful or unrealistic. When this is the case, local actors do not feel involved as a full-fledged partner (companion trust) or believe in the competencies of the municipality to execute the project (competence trust). Moreover, my case study research shows that by using experimental methods, goals and ambitions of initiating phases are less clear for local actors, than when following more traditional, formal procedures. This uncertainty makes that local actors do not understand how or why other actors are going to undertake actions during the initiating phase. For this reason, they are less willing to participate (collaborative trust) or do not understand the intention of the municipal actors (companion trust).

Besides conscious interventions, my case studies show that also a specific behaviour or attitude of actors during the initiating phase lead to more or less trust among actors. Again, this is shown in the improved model (figure 6). Focussing on local actors, it is seen when local actors behave very critically, non-collaboratively or inflexibly towards the spatial redevelopment suggestions, other actors are not willing to participate in the process because of the bad atmosphere in the network. Moreover, other actors do not expect the critical actors to do so any longer (collaborative trust). On the other hand, when local actors feel represented by other local actors regarding their shared interests and way of behaving, they take a step back and accept a leading role in the network of this other local actor, because they trust their intentions (companion trust). Focussing on municipal actors, it is observed that local actors have doubts about the good intentions and honesty of municipal officials in the network when they have the feeling that the interests of municipal officials are politically influenced, for example by aldermen or over coupling municipal clusters (companion trust). Focussing on independent actors, my case studies show that the attendance of independent actors only contributes to a feeling of trust, when other actors in the network trust the integrity and honesty of the independent actors (companion trust). When this is the case, the knowledge and skills of independent actors supplement lacking knowledge and skills of other actors in the network (competence trust). A last important note to take into account is that it is observed that to ensure that local actors are willing to participate during next phases of the project (collaborative trust), it is important to communicate about future steps of the project and interact with local actors in anticipation of following phases.

It can be concluded that by performing the current investigated interventions, the municipality has a limited positive influence on the experienced trust in the network. Especially the trend of competence trust and collaborative trust seems hardly changed by performing interventions. Companion trust can change, but not always in a positive direction. Companion, competence and collaborative trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects are merely already influenced by overarching, longer-term processes that characterize actor networks right from the beginning of the initiating phase. As said, trust is one of the multiple conditions to create support and hence develop spatial development projects successfully. However, this research project does not reveal how important trust is in proportion to the other identified conditions for support. Therefore, more research is needed in order to find out what the share of trust in support is, and therefore be able to decide if more research on which interventions contribute to the three types of trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects is useful.
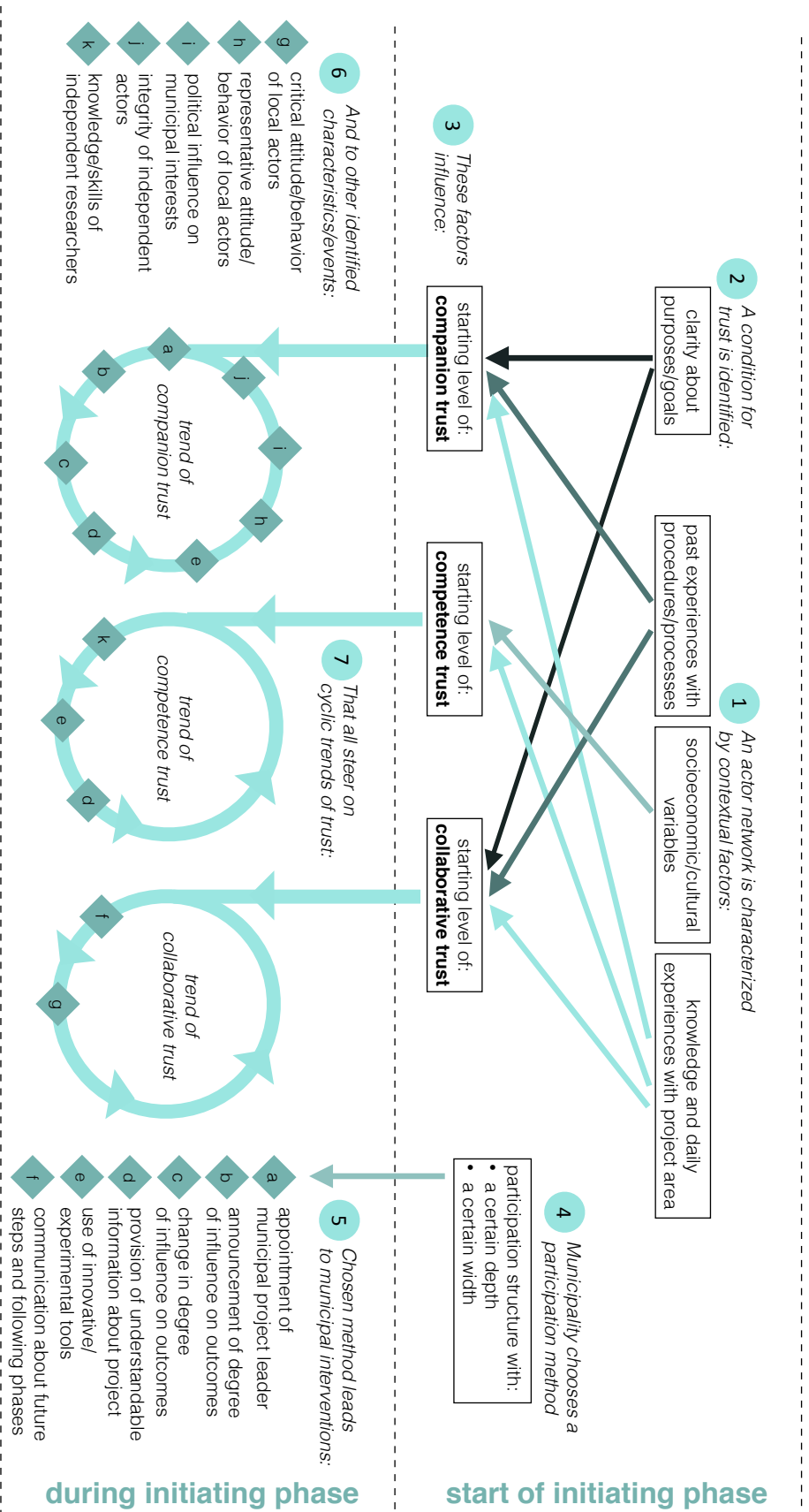
Figure 6: Improved model.

Chapter 7. Discussion

7.1. Introduction

The goal of this research project is to find out which interventions and to what extent interventions lead to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment project with the aim to reduce the priority of cars and improve the quality of public space in city centres. To analyse this, three cases are investigated by performing qualitative research. Twelve involved actors are interviewed, by following an unstructured interview method. In this chapter, firstly it is discussed to which degree the research method and consequential results of the research project are valid and which limitations are found. Secondly, it is evaluated what the results of this research project bring to research area and, finally, what consequential future research is suggested.

7.2. Validation of research project

7.2.1. Validation of research method

One of the biggest challenges of this research project is the operationalization of the research object. The feelings and experiences of involved actors with respect to trust and the used participation methods are subjective concepts. For this reason, writing a theoretical framework and constructing a preliminary model are useful ways to unravel and define these concepts. Furthermore, by doing this, it is possible to identify the five most important themes that form part of the research issue: Contextual factors; approach to participation; actor network; interventions; process of trust. These themes and definitions form a guideline that gives structure during the execution and subsequent analysis of the case studies during this research project.

The use of an unstructured interview method is convenient during this research project because it ensures that all five themes can be discussed with both involved professional actors with a lot of (technical) knowledge, for example municipal officials or researchers, and as well with non-professional actors, for example neighbours, by asking suitable questions. At the same time, it gives space to discuss specific aspects more in detail, which are considered as important by the interviewee.

The asked questions are formulated, based on the defined themes in the theoretical framework. However, the lack of a precisely determined and strict list of questions, sometimes causes unstructured conversations, steered by the interviewee instead of the interviewer. For example, during this interview series it is noticed that interviewees tend to repeatedly start talking about the execution phase of the spatial redevelopment project instead of the initiating phase and their answers sometimes are focused on the content of the spatial redevelopment plans, instead of on the process and proceedings of the initiating phase. To remedy this, it is suggested that during further research, the aim of the interviews can be clarified even more at the start of the conversations with respondents. Another critical note is that, although the interview questions result from definitions in theoretical framework and answers are systematically analysed using the division of the five themes, this research method is still qualitative, not quantitative. For this reason, by using this research method, to a certain extent this research method is still subjective.

7.2.2. Validation of research results

For each case, per actor group in the network an individual is selected that is considered as representative for that actor group with respect to his opinion and experience with the proceedings of the initiating phase. In this way, an inclusive as possible whole of perspectives of involved actors per case is analysed. The selection of these individual respondents is made on the advice of involved municipal officials. Assuming this fact, critical questions can be asked with respect to the internal validity of the results of this research project, because it can be expected that involved municipal officials tend to suggest local actors that go along well with them. At the same time, it can be questioned if respondents act and answer completely honestly during the interview series, while realizing that the municipal official is able to find out what answers they are giving. This makes that respondents might give desirable responses during personal interviews. On the other hand, it can be expected that local actors that are critical towards the process be more motivated to express their opinion and cooperate with such an interview series. Above mentioned reasons, give ground to investigate in which way the selection of respondents can proceed more randomly, and the interviews can be carried out more anonymously, during further research projects, in order to increase the internal validation of the results.

Focussing on the external validity of the research results, firstly, it should be taken into account that only three cases are investigated during these explorative studies. Because of this small number, it can be concluded that the observations that follow from these case studies, do not lead to unequivocal statements. However, although the investigation of more cases will strengthen the external validity findings of this research project, the observations during this research project are still interesting to refine earlier studies and existing theories. Secondly, all investigated cases are part of the municipality of Rotterdam. This means that all investigated cases are characterized by the same degree of car-dependence. As described in the first chapter of this report, it is expected that in cities with another degree of car-dependence, involved actors will react differently to plans to redevelop areas with the aim to give motorized vehicles less priority than in Rotterdam. For this reason, it should be taken into account that results that follow from this case study research cannot immediately be generalized to other municipalities with another degree of car-dependence.

7.3. Contribution to research area

7.3.1. Results of research project vs. Expectations of research project

As said, the aim of this research project is to find out which and to which degree interventions lead to trust within networks during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. Since knowledge about this is lacking in current studies, the results of this research project serve as an addition to existing theories.

Although there were no clear expectations about the degree of influence that interventions have, as the preliminary model (figure 2) showed, at the start of the case study research it was assumed that interventions do lead to changes in the trends of trust during the initiating phase. However, the case study research makes clear that investigated interventions only have little influence on the experienced amount of trust during the initiating phase. For example it is seen that actors that have a lot of trust from the start of the phase, still have this amount of trust in the network at the end of the phase. It is concluded that mostly three contextual factors are influencing the amount of trust, as well from the start of the initiating phase, as during the initiating phase, more than specific interventions do. A possible explanation for this is that it can be presumed that the amount of trust in a network is accumulated over

a longer period and thus a too deeply rooted aspect, to influence by sudden interventions during an initiating phase.

Another interesting result of this research project is that it can be concluded that most of the investigated interventions have an impact on the amount of experienced companion trust. The interventions have less influence on competence or collaborative trust. A possible explanation for this difference is, since companion trust is related to terms as good intentions, transparency and openness, companion trust fits best with conventional ideas of trust. For this reason, answers and statements of respondents during the interview series are probably most easily directly relatable to companion trust. A clear relation between the given answers and competence or collaborative trust is more difficult to find, as these types of trust are more difficult to operationalize. For this reason, it is suggested to investigate if other types of questions can be asked during interview series, and if so, if these questions lead to more information about competence and collaborative trust.

7.3.2. Limitations of research project

This research project focuses on the amount of trust that actors experience during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects. It is believed that it is useful to gain more knowledge about trust, as trust is considered as an important condition to achieve support by involved actors when suggesting spatial development projects. However, as I also mentioned before, trust is only one factor between various identified factors, as the involvement of stakeholders, process management, and factors as acceptance and legitimacy, that is considered as required for support. This research project does not focus on these other factors. For this reason, based on this research project, we do not know what the share of trust is in support, relative to the other identified conditions. Another limitation of this research project is that it concentrates strictly on the initiating phase. Therefore, based on this research project, it is neither possible to assume how trust evolves during other phases when carrying out spatial redevelopment projects, nor to estimate to which degree trust is necessary during other phases. Therefore, it can be concluded that the implications of this research project for the understanding of the achievement of support during the development of new spatial planning policies, are limited.

7.3.3. Suggestions for further research

In line with above mentioned arguments, for further research it is suggested to start with carrying out more research to find out to which extent trust contributes to support, in relation with other important conditions. Deciding if, and to which degree, trust is a necessary condition for support, makes it possible to decide if more research on which interventions lead to trust during the initiating phase of spatial redevelopment projects is useful or not. If this turns out to be the case, it might be interesting to investigate how trust develops during the other phases of a spatial redevelopment project. By doing this, it can be found out when trust within the network is particularly important during a whole spatial redevelop project. Again, this makes it possible to decide if it is useful or not to carry out more research on which interventions steer on trust. For example, if trust within networks is not considered as necessary during any subsequent phase of a project to still carry out a project successfully, it can be decided not to perform more research on which interventions influence feelings of trust at all. However, if after this, the factor trust is considered as to be important, it might be interesting to investigate which interventions increase or decrease a trend of competence and collaborative trust, as this research project only uncovers a few influencing interventions on these types of trust. Furthermore, as I stated before, to generalize the results of this research project, cases in municipalities characterized by other degrees of car-dependence should be investigated as well.

Chapter 8. Recommendations

Several practical recommendations can be provided to the municipality of Rotterdam, in order to improve the proceeding of initiating phases during spatial redevelopment projects in the future.

Approach to Actor Network

- As this is already the case for most spatial redevelopment projects, a municipal project leader should be appointed that clearly can be held responsible by local actors for municipal actions and decisions during the initiating phase. In this way, this individual can be considered as an approachable mediator between local stakeholders and the municipality. It is recommended to appoint a local, who is already known by local stakeholders and has daily experience with the situation of the project area. For example, a Stadsmarinier or a Gebiedsnetwerker.
- Since I observed that past experiences with procedures/processes, socioeconomic variables and the knowledge that actors have about the daily situation of the project area, strongly influence the amount of trust that local actors have in the network when an initiating phase starts, it is recommended that a municipal project leader investigates this state of affairs when being appointed to work on a project.

Approach to Width of Participation

- Future research and tests are necessary to develop alternative invitation methods to involve stakeholders in the network, as it is shown that written on- and offline letters do not make local actors feel personally invited. Again, probably a local project leader, who is known by local actors, can play a role in establishing contacts.

Approach to Depth of Participation

- I observed that from the beginning of the initiating phase, it should be clear for involved actors what kind and to which degree they have influence on the outcomes of the initiating phase. It is very important that these aspects do not change during the phase.
- To ensure that involved actors are aware of their possibilities to exercise influence, these should be declared during information sessions and in written agreements.

Approach to Methods and Tools

- When involving actors in the network with certain methods and tools and demand them to participate in this way, it is recommended to first investigate the contextual setting and character of an actor network, to make sure the selected methods and tools fit this specific actor network. To illustrate, it is presumable that young or highly educated local actors will take up innovative, modern tools faster than older or lower educated local stakeholders do.
- When the municipality decides to work with experimental methods and tools, it is important to make sure that involved actors in the network understand what the consequences of the use of these methods and tools are, and what the goal of the initiating phase is. This needs to be clearly explained to actors.
- Future research is necessary to find out which aspects of innovative methods and tools makes them considered as too playful or unrealistic by involved actors in a network and therefore not recommendable to use.
- It is observed that carrying out small physical interventions to improve the quality of the environment of a project area creates a positive atmosphere in the project area. Therefore, for

each project it should be investigated which other issues play a role in the area, and which (small) interventions with respect to these other issues can possibly be carried out.

Approach to Information Provision
- General understandability of shared information for non-professionals should be guaranteed. It is recommended that for example, the communication department of the municipality rewrites internal documents instead of just sharing original documents as an "Programma van Eisen" or an "Inrichtingsplan" with local actors.
- Moreover, technical comprehensibility of spatial redevelopment plans for involved actors in the network should be improved. For example, technical experts should be invited to explain the technical implications of the plans to non-professionals and make sure all involved actors in the network understand the spatial suggestions.

Overall, it can be concluded that the aforementioned suggestions and recommendations can be considered as feasible interventions. Therefore it is strongly recommended to test these and strive for in the near future.

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Appendices

Appendix A-I. Project Specifications Nieuwe Binnenweg Case

a. Location Nieuwe Binnenweg

b. General Daily Situation Nieuwe Binnenweg

The project area consists of a part of the Nieuwe Binnenweg, located between the 's-Gravendijkwal and Eendrachtsplein. Nieuwe Binnenweg is located in the West of the centre of Rotterdam. It's an urbanized, busy area, characterized by the great number of shops, cafes and restaurants on the ground floors. Above these functions, apartments are located in the buildings. At Nieuwe Binnenweg, cars are allowed to drive 50km/h on a two-lane road. At both sides of the street, parking lots are situated. Moreover, a tramline crosses the street.

c. Project Specification Nieuwe Binnenweg

For years, both neighbours and shop owners complained about the dominance of motorized vehicles in the street. According to these actors, cars ensured an unattractive environment for visitors of the street to wander around and make use of the present services. Around 2016, the local authority did not measure the number of accidents or keep officially record of other traffic problems in the street and consequently did not know the "official status of safety" of the street. However, in June 2016 a fatal accident happened when a pedestrian was collided by a car. Following on this, neighbours and shop owners of Nieuwe Binnenweg demanded the local authority of Rotterdam to take measures. It can be stated that the public actors set the issue on the municipal agenda.

As a reaction, the local authority decided to apply a number of small physical interventions. Although this could not be considered as spatial redevelopment, it steered positively on the experienced traffic safety in the street. However, both the municipality as local actors realized that further research into the traffic

possibilities was necessary to be able to change the situation significantly. The involved local stakeholders asked the local authority to investigate these possibilities for further spatial redesigning with the aim to create more traffic safety and more environmental quality. The municipality decided to apply a new method, as developed by ANWB, called "Verkeer in de Stad" [Traffic in the city]. In the following months, ANWB facilitated a series of workshops, where municipal officials, independent researchers, shop owners and neighbours were invited to collaborate and develop several traffic scenarios.

In between the workshops internal meetings took place, and experts in the field processed the results of the workshops. Every new workshop started with informing all attending actors about the results of the internal meetings. The series of workshops resulted in three scenarios. Finally, the municipality decided to select two of the scenarios to further investigate for feasibility, with the aim to present these to the City Council in the near future.

Appendix A-II. Project Specifications Proveniersplein Case

a. Location Proveniersplein

b. General Daily Situation Proveniersplein

Proveniersplein is situated right at the north entrance of the central train station of Rotterdam, and is part of the Central District, the bigger area around the central station of Rotterdam. At one hand, one of the main functions of this place is to facilitate the great number of arriving and departing travellers. At the same time, the place is surrounded by stately residential buildings built around 1900, and is used by neighbours who live their daily lives at the area.

c. Project Specification Proveniersplein

The spatial redesigning project is part of a large-scale metamorphose of the area around Rotterdam Central Station, which aims to increase the quality of the two entrances at both sides of the Central Station by improving the traffic safety and give more space to pedestrians and bicycles instead of motorized vehicles. This outside area of the station needs to be an attractive link between the building of

the Central Station itself, and the surrounding neighbourhood. In particular, the aim of the new north entrance is to design it in such a way that the feeling of 19th century in the area is experienced. As said, besides the entrance-function, the Proveniersplein is characterized as an stately residential area. Consequently, the project is two-folded: It has to take into account the goals of the over-coupling spatial plans to redesign the Central District as formulated by the municipality and the landscape architect, and the interests of local stakeholders as well.

When initiating the project, a formal and standardized municipal procedure was followed to develop the plan. Here is, is of great importance to take notice of the role of "Deelgemeente Noord" during this project. Before the repeal in 2014, "Deelgemeenten" were the lowest governmental layer in the Netherlands. In practice, when taking decisions, the local authority consulted the "Deelgemeente" who, in turn, represented the local neighbours of the area.

When starting the project, the local authority and "Deelgemeente Noord" decided to develop the spatial redesigning of Proveniersplein together by deciding that they would approach decision-making processes together. In this way, the initiating phase of the spatial redesigning of the "Proveniersplein" started by the suggestion of a "Programma van Eisen" by the local authority to the "Deelgemeente Noord". Following on this, the "Programma van Eisen" was determined by "Deelgemeente Noord", while taking the opinions of the local neighbours into account. The second step of the formal procedure is the development of an "Inrichtingsplan". Again, suggested by the municipality, the initial idea was that "Deelgemeente Noord" would examine this phase of the plan again and represent the local stakeholders. However, as from the very start of the project the citizens who lived around the area seemed sceptic towards the plans, "Deelgemeente Noord" would not accept the suggested "Inrichtingsplan" of the local authority. Reason for the local concerns were the accumulated worries over a period of 20 years, mainly following the plans to develop the RandstadRail and drill underneath historical houses. Moreover, neighbours were worried that their street would lose its historical atmosphere, as old trees would be removed as a consequence of the spatial redesigning.

Finally, "Deelgemeente Noord" did not want to accept the suggested plan, the municipality of Rotterdam decided to directly revoke the authorization of the "Deelgemeente" and decided to determine the "Inrichtingsplan" herself. As from this moment (may 2012), the local stakeholders could not exercise indirect influence via "Deelgemeente Noord" anymore and this decision caused a change in the chosen participation structure. The municipality still decided to inform local stakeholders and applied various interventions to do so.

Appendix A-III. Project Specifications West-Kruiskade Case

a. Location West-Kruiskade

b. General Daily Situation West-Kruiskade

West-Kruiskade, located in the West of Rotterdam is characterized as a busy, urbanized street with a great variety of stores, cafes and bars. Research institute DRIFT (2017) describes how the public space is used often "to see and to be seen" and how the opportunity to meet in public is an important function of the street. A great number of pedestrians walk and hang around in the street. At the same time, it is filled with traffic: Motorized vehicles and tramlines leave little space for bicycles. As a consequence people on bikes, drive on the pavement, which of course disturbs pedestrians. Five shared cars and one electric charging point is located in the street.

c. Project Specification West-Kruiskade

In 2017 the municipality of Rotterdam initiated "Happy Streets" in the city center of Rotterdam, a project that consists of a series of temporary experiments in the field of mobility and its relation with the quality of public space.

The main goal is to gain knowledge about how local actors react on the applied participation structure, with permanent mobility projects and spatial redesigning plans in the future in mind. In this way, by using experiments, this project to be considered as a practical initiating phase. The project takes place in a few selected streets in Rotterdam, including the West-Kruiskade. The experiments include not only physical changes in streets but steers on behavioral changes as well. The project is set up by a public-partnership existing of the municipality, research institute DRIFT, and two private production companies. Nonetheless, all the experimental interventions are suggested, implemented and evaluated in co-creation with local stakeholders of the area.

Earlier QuickScans showed an urgency to develop more traffic safety, air quality, and a better approach towards the disturbance caused by motorized vehicles and trams. At the same time, the presence of an entrepreneurs' association, shows an already existing active network of actors which has experiences with

collaborating and self-organisation. The combination of the expressed mobility urgencies following the QuickScan and the presence of entrepreneurs, lead to the development of experiments that try to steer on the (number of) motorized vehicles of customers of the stores in the street.

With this in mind, the initiating phase started by organizing various co-creation sessions, in order to investigate the interests and ideas of all the involved actors in the network. Research institute DRIFT facilitates these sessions and invites local stakeholders to participate. Based on the input during the co-creation sessions, various physical interventions are developed. After this, over the course of one month, the experiments are executed. Again, during these activities, local stakeholders are invited to participate and collaborate. At the end of the initiating phase, the project is extensively evaluated.

Besides, the multi-cultural character of the street, and therefore various sub-actor groups makes the participation process interesting.

Appendix B-I. Interview Findings Nieuwe Binnenweg Case

Selected interviewees and corresponding interviews

Interviewee	Actor Type	Corresponding Interview
Respondent A1	Neighbour and Shop owner	interview 3
Respondent A2	Shop owner	interview 5
Respondent A3	Shop owner	interview 8
Respondent A4	Municipal Project Leader	interview 9

Contextual Setting at Nieuwe Binnenweg

a. Socio-Economic/Cultural Variables of the network

The Nieuwe Binnenweg is characterized by the presence of several entrepreneurs who feel strongly engaged with the traffic-safety of the street and the responsibility to (re)act on this. An image of empowered, active local stakeholders is seen and expressed in various ways. Respondent A3 (interview 8) tells how he has regularly contacted the municipality for over twenty years with the aim to improve the traffic-safety and consequently the attractiveness of the street. He has worked with several aldermen over the years in order to reorganize the infrastructure.

Nowadays, active involvement by local stakeholders is noticed. Respondent A2 (interview 5) tells how all shopkeepers run out of their stores when (car)accidents happen outside, and talk with each other about the incidents. Respondent A1 (interview 3) agrees, and emphasizes how shopkeepers consequently act very outspoken about the incidents by expressing their dissatisfaction on social media. Shop owners of the Nieuwe Binnenweg use twitter and started a Facebook group to update each other about the traffic situation. Moreover, involved stakeholders who participate at information-sessions and workshops, require the municipality to clarify their decisions about the spatial design of the street and want to make sure it's understandable for non-professionals (Interview 8, Respondent A3).

All interviewed shop-owners underline how their daily experience with the daily situation in the street, results in useful and important knowledge about how the traffic-system in the street "works". However, opposed to the image of active stakeholders, all interviewed respondents emphasize that only a few entrepreneurs act in an constructive way: Some entrepreneurs complain on social media and in daily life by talking with each other about the malfunctioning of the infrastructure, but don't show up during information- or workshop sessions. Important to notice is the fact that all respondents point out that most of the local stakeholders are shop owners. Neighbours seem less active.

b. Ideas/Interest about Spatial Planning

As mentioned, most local stakeholders who feel engaged with the traffic-safety of the street, run a business. For this reason, they require good accessibility for both loading and unloading practices. At the same time, traffic safety is important to guarantee a pleasant environment for visitors of their stores. For this reason, all interviewed shop owners and neighbours stress they want the municipality to reduce the maximum speed, but still make the street easily approachable for motorized vehicles. Together, the shop

owners developed the principle: "Bicycles rule the street, motorized vehicles are guests". Local stakeholders have precisely formulated ideas about the physical and practical interventions that need to be carried out to increase the traffic safety. Examples like coloured bicycle pavements, more zebra crossings, signing (Interview 5, respondent A2) and expansion of police enforcement (respondent A3, interview 8) are expressed these during the workshops. The municipal project leader (respondent A4, interview 9) emphasizes the differences between neighbours and shop owners: "They [neighbours] have another interest. For example, car-accessibility. However, the fact that they will be there during the evening [is an influencing factor on their interests], as well. They think, "nice, that it will be more cosy, but I experience more nuisance while the shop owners of this street are gone by night."

The fact that shop owners pay a lot of taxes to the municipality and make the street more attractive by running successful businesses is mentioned by all the interviewed shop-owners as a reason why the municipality should take their opinion how to redesign the infrastructure street into account.

Although all interviewed local stakeholders regard the intentions of the municipal project leader as good, all interviewed local stakeholders doubt the usefulness of ideas and interest of the municipality. Firstly, it is mentioned that officials do not have enough daily experience how the street functions and its issues. "Good initiatives are coming from the government, both from people who develop the process, executors, but from politicians as well. But they have another attitude then entrepreneurs and people who live and work in the street" (Respondent A3, interview 8).
Secondly, all local interviewees mention that the municipality might realize that some spatial modifications are necessary to improve traffic-safety of the street, but do not have enough budget to execute the ideas that are developed during the workshops. All interviewed local stakeholders devote this to the fact municipal officials have to listen to aldermen and other persons who are political responsible, but have a different agenda and interest than local stakeholders.

This statement is contradicted by the municipal project leader: "You can start a discussion: Does the municipality has any interest? And, moreover, who is the municipality? Since, in principle, as officials we serve politicians, elected by the citizens of Rotterdam. [..] But of course, a lot of municipal officials do have their own opinion about how things should be [..]. However, when starting, I personally did not have any order like, as the municipality, we think this should be done at the Nieuwe Binnenweg" (respondent A4, interview 9).

c. Past experiences
Earlier experiences with processes and procedures with respect to traffic safety and spatial redesigning interventions are mixed. According to respondent A1 (interview 3), and respondent A2 (interview 5) the municipality never had the intention to improve the traffic safety of the street, although various severe car accidents happened. Although local stakeholders complained a lot at aldermen and the municipality, and the municipality several times promised to intervene, practically nothing changes. It was until local stakeholders threatened to block the road that the municipality decided to carry out some small physical interventions and start to develop new spatial suggestions. Respondent A2 (interview 5) says: "Some cumulative indignation developed, a collective fear which said, what else must happen?"

At the same time, respondent A3 (interview 8) declares how he has, for twenty years, been discussing the spatial design of the street with the municipality in order to make it more safe and attractive for visitors. However, it seems that last few years it has been more difficult to collaborate with the municipality, as

respondent A3 claims: "I'm now constantly fighting with the aldermen [to take necessary traffic safety measures]".

Approach to Participation at Nieuwe Binnenweg

a. Ambition of initiating phase

From the municipal perspective, the goal of the initiating phase is to develop various scenarios to improve the traffic safety of the Nieuwe Binnenweg. However, this leads to two comments from local stakeholders. First, all three interviewed local stakeholders question the goal of this phase, as there is only enough municipal money reserved to develop scenarios but not to execute these. The shop owners seem to experience this as paradoxical: "The municipality does not want to invest in the street, while at the same time they use it as a cash cow. We have a shop and every three months pay large amounts of taxes to the government. We pay our charges, but they do not want to maintain the street. [...] There is a lot of tension, and everyone knows it because the municipality has an interest to practically do nothing" (respondent A1, interview 3). Second, all interviewed stakeholders are sure the ambition during the initiating phase of the municipal officials is strongly influenced by the political agenda of the aldermen they need to follow and these political goals differ from the goals of local stakeholders. Because of this, the interviewed stakeholders have the feeling the developed (fictive) scenarios are steered in a certain way.

b. Method

Firstly, following a fatal accident, the municipality decides in June 2016 to carry out some small physical interventions. Furthermore, reacting on the request of local stakeholders, the municipality decided to experiment with a new method called "Verkeer in de Stad" to develop various spatial scenarios in order to investigate the possibilities to improve the traffic safety. "Verkeer in de Stad" focuses collaboration between local stakeholders, researchers and governmental actors.

"Verkeer in de Stad" consists of various interactive workshops, which start with analyzing the identity of the street. During the following workshops, computer animations are used. According to the municipal project leader this method is used to involve local stakeholders in the field of knowledge. "By working with a tool to make models of the street profile, which they could make during the workshops, people realized you might want a lot, but you have to make decisions" (respondent A4, interview 9).

Some of the interviewed respondents seemed sceptical towards the use of experimental tools during these workshops. At the same time, they state that most involved participants reacted positively to them: "Well, they used a lot of computer manipulations, all that nonsense. For me it's all nonsense. But everyone enjoyed it. You can drop a bicycle lane on a computer screen, something of this, something of that. Fantastic. You really have the feeling you are involved. [...]. [This method] was an example of the ideal world of participation" [Respondent A1, Interview 3].
Furthermore, "The method and tools to reorganize the streets are nice. But a bridge needs to be built between practice, as it is too abstract at this moment" (respondent A2, interview 5).

All interviews local stakeholders experience the first workshop as very ambitious, since it is encouraged to think about big interventions and possibilities. As the workshops proceed, by following the method, the spatial possibilities become unlimited. Respondent A1 (interview 3) and respondent A2 (interview 5) declare the limitation of options as disappointing. "The start is actually wrong because the make the illusion of what is possible so big, it can not but lead to disappointment" (Respondent A1, interview 3). Respondent A3 (interview 8) states that this procedure indeedled to disappointment, but states it is not a

consequence of this specific method: "I'm collaborating with the municipality for over twenty years now. It is always like this during projects: In the beginning, the municipality makes a lot of promises, people get excited. In the beginning you see, it's all well and good, but if you look more specific at the problem, these nice things fall of, and you look at what is realistic. I do not experience this as a bummer, but just as a part of the process". The municipal project leader explained that the workshops started ambitions to keep all options open: "But at a certain point, you have to decide how to fill in. So you have to delineate, otherwise, it goes nowhere" (respondent A4, interview 9).

As earlier described, the methods that the municipality used during the initiating phase consisted of various experimental elements to invite and involve stakeholders. Following the interview series, these seem to arouse public sympathy but scepticism as well. "You feel a bit like a monkey during all these experiments. Everyone is so excited, and this slick chairman, and then two cabaret performers during the last workshop. You think, oh god.." (respondent A2, interview 5).

c. Width of participation
The process started when local stakeholders achieved to set the issue on the political and municipal agenda in June 2016. Both interviewed neighbours and shop owners are content with the way they are invited by the municipality to participate at the workshops. "It was very approachable, it was done in a good way. The invitations were well distributed, people were asked personally to participate, and by mail as well" (respondent A1, interview 3). All interviewed respondents emphasize that the municipality broadly invited stakeholders in the area, but only a few took the effort to participate at the workshops.

A remarkable note is that the municipal project leader claims not to feel satisfied with the width of the participation process. According to the project leader, at the initiating phase, the municipality only contacted stakeholders who were already engaged with the traffic-safety issues in the street. The project leader described this as too selective. Moreover, he states that people felt invited by hearing from other neighbours about the workshops. During next phases of the project, it was suggested to invite more stakeholders, by sending door-to-door newsletters. Furthermore, the municipal project leader says to want to make us of social media to involve and invite local stakeholders (respondent A4, interview 9).

Mixed signals are noticed about the way local stakeholders are involved in the internal municipal meetings that were held between the workshops. "They [the municipality] organize internal meetings without inviting any neighbour or entrepreneur. Professional men and women of ANBW, of the traffic department of the municipality, idealistic officials and the project leader himself are attending. Of course this goes faster than democracy can go [...]. If you have no insight in what happens, you can take this as manipulation" (respondent A1, interview 3). Respondents suggest the municipality to inform involved stakeholders about the results of the internal meetings. However, they warn: "You can inform people about the outcomes of the internal meetings, but you have to ask yourself: How will they react if I organize new interactive sessions? It will be a wasps' nest. So I think it is good if they investigate the earlier discussed possibilities, and it results in a plan, they just inform us" (respondent A3, interview 8).

The municipal project leader clarifies that it was a conscious choice to use the workshops to collect input of local stakeholders, and internal meetings to take some professional steps in between and use this knowledge to prepare the next collective workshops (respondent A4, interview 9). Furthermore, the project leader stresses the exceptionality of inviting neighbours for four evenings so intensively during this participation process.

d. Depth of participation

Although the interviewed local stakeholders feel invited to participate in the process, they question their degree of influence during the workshops, especially as the process continues. "There are no evil intentions. Whatever you want to believe as an angry neighbour, Wim [municipal project leader] has no bad intentions. So he [municipal project leader] is very surprised when you say at a certain moment, I do not understand how it is possible that the scenarios are developed in this way? It has nothing to do anymore with what we wanted" (respondent A1, interview 3). Respondent A2, interview 5 agrees. Looking at the visualisations of the scenarios, she explains: "The products that are used for the scenario building are options, maybe following a political agenda or choice, or a municipal choice, but not following our principles. Actually I think, if you do it like this, you [the municipality] have already decided want you want". Respondent A3, interview 8 says: "At a certain moment you receive a summary and maybe you can steer on this summary for 5 or 10%, the rest is decided, not based on the interests of neighbours and shop owners, but based on what policy makers have said, the money and what the Gebiedscommissie want".

The municipal project leader assigns the aforementioned experiences to the fact that decision-making moments during the initiating phase might proceeded too fast for local stakeholders. In particular, when the municipality and ANWB decided to eliminate some of the developed scenarios during the workshops, and decided to continue with only two of the scenarios. "For some people this created the idea that the municipality prefered certain scenarios. This was by no means the case ". As a reaction, the municipal project leader declares: "If I could do this again, I would try to steer on the tension about the division of influence of the local stakeholders and the experts. I do not know how, but I should do something with it. Because now, it is on the edge of "okay" and a feeling of: Is the municipality deceiving us?" (respondent A4, interview 9).

Network of Actors at Nieuwe Binnenweg

a. Leadership

The first physical interventions and following development of possible spatial scenarios, started when local stakeholders succeeded to get the attention of the Stadsmarinier and aldermen Eerdmans, following a fatal accident. During the workshops, a municipal project leads the process. All interviewed respondents highlight the importance of such a municipal leader and state they trust the intentions of this municipal project leader. "It is important for us that someone takes the responsibility for the process. He did this very well. Of course, local stakeholders are already involved because they work and live in the area, but when a project leader starts such a process, it increases involvement. It ensures that there is someone where you can address your problems, which is very important when you experience issues" (respondent A1, interview 3).

b. Network formation

As mentioned, the Nieuwe Binnenweg is characterized by strongly engaged shop owners, who critically express their corresponding interests on social media, to local newspapers and towards the municipality. Although the approach of the workshops is to stimulate collaboration between local stakeholders, independent researchers and governmental actors as a network, the interviewed local stakeholders sketch the image of a division in practice between the local stakeholders and professional actors.

The interviewed shop owners and neighbours claim that there was no consensus about the principles that formed the basis of the developed scenarios. However, the professional actors continued working, which resulted in scenarios excluding the interests and ideas of local stakeholders. During the initiating phase,

this perceived feeling was reinforced when local stakeholders discovered that the municipal project leader made the decision to present only two of the three scenarios that were developed during the workshops, to the aldermen. The fact that actors in the network were not involved in taking this decision, led to a discord between the local neighbours and shop owners, and professional actors.

c. Critical actors

According to all interviewed local stakeholders, the clusters of the municipality of Rotterdam and aldermen "have totally different attitudes and interests as entrepreneurs and people who live and work in the street" (Respondent A3, interview 8). For this reason they do not take the interests of local stakeholders into account and disrupt the initiating phase. As the clusters direct the executing departments of the municipality, even the municipal project leader is not able to able to further investigate spatial scenarios based on the precisely formulated interests during the workshops. Respondent A1 (interview 3) suggests to the municipality to explain these processes of subversion more extensively to involved local stakeholders during the initiating phase.

As earlier described, interviewed local stakeholders mention municipal actors as "critical actors" in the network as well, as they stress their lacking knowledge about daily events in the street. Consequently, the local stakeholders claim that the suggested spatial solutions by the municipality do not correspond with what is necessary.

d. Independent actors

An independent party, the ANWB, developed the method that is used to investigate various scenarios. The ANWB invited several researchers working at independent consultancy firms, a communication company, and TU Delft to collaborate. Most interviewed actors consider the presence of such an independent actor as important. Respondent A1 (interview 3) declares: "I think it is of great importance to invite actors who are not part of the municipality, but just investigate the interests of the street [...]. Such a party has nothing to do neither with the municipality nor with us. This actor is just independent".

However, although the importance of independent actors is highlighted during the interview series, it becomes clear that the added value of independent actors is fragile. Local stakeholders approach the definition "independent" critically: Respondent A2 (interview 5) described: "Yes the ANWB was independent but it didn't feel that way. The men are researchers, yes, but they discuss regularly with the municipality. You can feel that". Moreover, respondent A2 (interview 5) said: "you discussed with one or two neighbours and a researcher during the workshops. And for example, in my opinion the researchers were steering towards certain outcomes". The municipal project leader notes as well: "In my opinion, there were too many independent researchers attending during the workshops to maintain a good balance" (respondent A4, interview 9).

Interventions at Nieuwe Binnenweg

a. Physical interventions

Prior to the workshops to develop scenarios, the municipality carries out various small interventions to improve the traffic safety of the street. However, the three local stakeholders seem not impressed by these interventions. "They implemented a few physical changes, like stopgaps, in order to calm down everyone" (respondent A3, interview 8). The municipality realizes the experienced feeling and reacts: "We

couldn't fix it with small measures. We promised, we have to approach this from a bigger perspective [the development of scenarios]" (respondent A4, interview 9).

According to the municipal project leader, still the municipality carries out physical interventions. These interventions do not necessarily have anything to do with traffic safety: The aim of these interventions is to send a signal to the local stakeholders that the municipality still is involved in the street (respondent A4, interview 9).

b. Communicative interventions

In general, all interviewed local stakeholders are content with the communicative interventions, carried out by the municipality. Local actors consider the way they are invited to participate in the workshops as approachable and good and are in particular satisfied about the communication of the municipal project leader. However, sometimes, there seems to be ambiguity whether the communicative interventions are one or two sided. For instance, during the interview series make clear that, as earlier mentioned; the involved stakeholders doubt their level of influence the development of scenarios during the workshops. Sessions are considered more as informative then interactive (respondent A2, interview 5). Besides, at some moments communicative interventions are insufficient, as stakeholders claim that information provision about the results of intern meetings was lacking (respondent A2, interview 5; respondent A1, interview 3). For this reasons, intern decisions, made in between the workshops with all actors in the network, were not communicated.

c. Political interventions

As described, there is no clarity among actors in the network about the degree of political influence steering the decisions in the process. According to the interviewed shop owners and neighbour, the clusters of the municipality and aldermen steered on the actions of the municipal officials. The municipal project leader denies this (respondent A4, interview 9). Besides, is becomes clear that the local elections in march 2018 influence the continuity of the initiating phase. The municipal project leader states it is not very strategic to present the developed scenarios right before the elections to the involved alderman. Therefore, he advises to wait for a new elected city council (respondent A4, interview 9). For this reason, the involved local actors asked the municipal project leader to make sure, when a new alderman will be elected, the issue is again brought to the attention. "I have promised that it will be in the transfer paper. But that is the only thing we can do as municipal official. I have told them, if this is important to you, you have to take the initiative yourself" (respondent A4, interview 9).

Process of trust at Nieuwe Binnenweg

a. Companion trust

As earlier described, prior to the initiating phase and the first workshops taking place, there's a low degree of companion trust within the network among local stakeholders. Local stakeholders experience that the municipality is not taking their interests into account as they complain for years about traffic-safety issues and the municipality is not reacting to this. Officials at the municipality seems to realize this, since the municipal project leader states: "They [shop owners] have endured a lot in the street and it is likely that they have been disappointed about what was possible and what was not. I have to deal with it." (respondent A4, interview 9).

The degree of companion trust within the network among local stakeholders grows when the workshops start. "In any case, they wanted you to give that feeling [of having influence]. It was very, like, what exactly do you want?" (respondent A1, interview 3). Another contributing factor to the experienced companion trust within the network is the appointment of a municipal project leader. All interviewed shop owners and neighbours state that they had positive expectations of the intention of the municipal project leader. Moreover, they praise the open attitude of the project leader, his good intentions, and his approachability during the initiating phase.

However, as the workshops follow, the degree of companion trust decreases when the feeling grows that the municipality is steering towards certain scenarios. Involved local actors start to doubt if the scenarios building is based on their interests and question whether the political agenda of aldermen is overruling theirs. "The intention [of the municipality] was still good, and they did everything to get a democratic process, but you have to deal with actors who are just not democratic"(respondent A1, interview 3) and "They [the municipality] can deny it, but it is just.. You really get the idea that their agendas are already set, and that things are selected already" (respondent A2, interview 5).

Moreover, the fact that the municipality is not updating the local stakeholders about each internal meetings and therefore not sharing all information, is negatively influencing companion trust within the network (respondent A1, interview 3; respondent A3, interview 8). Respondent A1 (interview 3) states that his critical reaction leads to less companion trust within the network among the municipal officials as well: "When I said, it feels like manipulation, they were convulsed and like, you can not talk about us like that. And I agreed, I can not talk about them like that, because there are no bad intentions. But there is a distance between their knowledge and meetings, and the inclusion of our interests. It just does not match".

The companion trust within the network reached a low point when the project leader of the municipality decides to present two of the three developed scenarios to the aldermen. According to all the interviewed local stakeholders, they were not informed nor involved in this decision. "We noticed this, without being informed by the municipal project leader, just because we received an answer of the alderman" (respondent A1, interview 3). At this moment, by not sharing crucial information the honesty and openness of the municipality is questioned by local stakeholders. When realizing this, the municipal project leader organizes a new meeting to clarify the motives of this decision. Following the interview series, it can be stated that local stakeholders appreciated this intervention.

b. Competence trust

During the initiating phase, local actors have a positive experience of the communicative competencies of the municipality (respondent A1, interview 3; respondent A2, interview 5).

At the same time, during the whole process, local actors do question the ability of municipal officials to understand the traffic issues that take place in the street. According to all interviewed shop owners, municipal officials do not have enough daily experience to understand the numerous obstacles and therefore what technical and physical interventions are necessary. For this reason, the involvement of independent researchers, and collaboration with local stakeholders during the workshops, increases the experienced competence trust, as the capacities and skills of the independent actor are considered as useful.

Another critical factor, which influences the experienced competence trust in the network negatively, is the fact that actors question the governmental capacity of the municipality. During the interviews series it becomes clear that local stakeholders have the feeling that the political interests of the alderman outflank the municipal officials. Besides, the limited financial capacity to further investigate and execute the developed scenarios negatively influences the degree of competence trust within the network. According to the municipal project leader, from the very beginning of the initiating phase, it is pointed out that there is no budget reserved to execute a project (respondent A4, interview 9). However, some of the interviewed local stakeholders seemed frustrated about this.

c. Collaborative trust

The initiating phase starts with a low degree of collaborative trust within the network, since the local stakeholders have the feeling that the municipality is not willing to collaborate and change the traffic situation of the street.

The first intervention of the municipality is to carry out a few small physical modifications. Because the minimal consequences of these changes, they do not contribute to the experienced collaborative trust. When the municipality realizes this, it is promised develop scenarios in order to investigate the spatial possibilities of the street. "Yes, we did have the feeling that something was going to happen. In particular, because it was stated [by the municipality] that the possibilities for spatial redevelopment would be investigated" (respondent A2, interview 5).

Moreover, during the workshops, the commitment of the municipal project leader seems to contribute to the feeling of actors that the municipality feels responsible to improve the traffic safety of the street and want to collaborate. Besides, appropriate actions of the municipal project leader influence the collaborative trust within the network positively. For example, when the workshops did not proceed according to the wishes of the local stakeholders, he organized additional information evenings to inform the involved actors. By doing this, he held the actors in the network together and makes sure actors did not leave the process.

Nevertheless, both the municipal project leader, as the interviewed respondents state that only a few of the invited local stakeholders take the responsibility to commit them to the initiating phase in practice. The municipal project leader stresses that he would prefer it if more local stakeholders participated in the project, and wants to increase the collaborative trust within the network by inviting more explicitly a greater list of actors by sending neighbour letters and using social media (respondent A4, interview 9).

Appendix B-II. Interview Findings Proveniersplein Case

Selected interviewees and corresponding interviews

Interviewee	Actor Type	Corresponding Interview
Respondent B1	Gebiedsnetwerker Provenierswijk	Interview 1
Respondent B2	Active Neighbour	Interview 6
Respondent B3	Shop owner	Interview 10
Respondent B4	Active Neighbour	Interview 12

Contextual Setting at Proveniersplein

a. Socio-economic/cultural variables of local stakeholders

According to the interviewed respondents, the socio-economic background of various local actors at this project differs and is associated with a certain attitude and behaviour during the initiating phase.

Firstly, along the canal live highly educated and wealthy people. A part of this group is very actively involved with all the spatial transformations in the area. The Gebiedsnetwerker dedicates their capacities to interfere the project to their initial professional background and the fact that they are retired, and enjoying a lot of free time (respondent B1, interview 1). Using their knowledge and professional network, from the start of the initiating phase, this group insists on being involved and having the rights to control and influence the "Programma van Eisen" and following "Inrichtingsplan".

The critical attitude of this group, in particular when the initiating phase continues, leads to resentment between this group and the more moderate, but still strongly engaged, local actors in the area: "There is a residents association in this area, which is against everything. They tried to influence organized information evenings by asking annoying questions. What happened was that the other part of the neighbours was like: Just continue the plans. It's an opportunity for this area, don't disturb it! So there was a part of the area, myself included, who didn't make it difficult for the municipality to continue" respondent B2 (interview 6).

A third group of local actors can be identified as an actor group with another socio-economic background, who live in the smaller side streets of Proveniersplein. This group is less active and involved in the initiating phase. According to the interviewed respondents this is because this group has other daily interests, as "making sure the kids don't dropout, come into contact with the police, financial problems etc" (respondent B1, interview 1).

b. Ideas/interests about spatial planning

Local stakeholders realize that the plans to restructure the Proveniersplein are part of the major metamorphose of the Central District. However, following the interview series, local stakeholders seem to have mixed expectations and interests about the new spatial interpretation. Respondent B2 (interview 6) explains that he was very enthusiastic about the plans, as he considered the restructuring of the whole Central District as a chance to improve the whole environment of the Central Station.

The interests of other interviewed local actors is more focused on the Proveniersplein itself, and do not seem to look at the plan as part of a greater whole. According to respondent B4 (interview 11), there was a discord between local stakeholders who were focussing on the appearance of the place, when there would be less space for motorized vehicles, and others, whose ideas about spatial planning were focussed on the traffic-safety of the place. "Those people were only looking at what the place would look like, and were not caring about safety" (respondent B4, interview 11).

Following the interview series, above all, it becomes clear that the interests of local stakeholders during the initiating phase focus on how the execution phase is going to look like and what the consequences of the working activities will be. Mostly, because of the extensive list of earlier restructuring activities which causes a lot of nuisance, neighbours and shop owners seem to be concerned about the consequences of new restructuring activities (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B4, interview 11). Moreover, respondent B2 (interview 6) and respondent B4 (interview 11) stress the spatial interest of shop owners with respect to the accessibility for motorized vehicles to their stores.

The Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent b1, interview 1) states: "We never interfered with the construction activities around the Central Station because it was too technical, it was business of the municipality and ProRail. [...]. We were only interested in the communication with neighbours. Is the coordination with neighbours okay? Is the information okay, are we good informed as boardmembers of the Deelgemeente?" (respondent b1, interview 1).

c. Past experiences

As mentioned, for years, a lot of construction activities passed in the area of the Proveniersplein. With respect to past experiences with processed and procedures, according to the Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1), from the 90's local stakeholders were involved during these activities. For this reason, these local stakeholders had a certain experience towards the degree of participation when the initiating phase of the Proveniersplein started: "During the 90's local stakeholders were involved as full partners. It did not mean that the municipality said, we are doing everything the way you want is, no, there were a lot of conflicts, but the municipality took them seriously". At the same time, as earlier mentioned, the past experiences with the execution phase of earlier construction activities were such that during the initiating phase of Proveniersplein local stakeholders were sceptical towards the plan.

Approach to Participation at Proveniersplein

a. Ambition of initiating phase

From municipal perspective, the goal of the initiating phase is to restructure the Proveniersplein as a part of the large-scale metamorphose of the whole Central District Area. Practically, it means that the ambition of this phase is to develop a "Programma van Eisen" and a consequential "Inrichtingsplan". Based on these documents, a definitive spatial plan will be developed during following phases. This ambition is clear to interviewed respondents (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B3, interview 9; respondent B4, interview 11). However, Interviewed respondents seem to experience that their interests will be overtaken by the already formulated over-arching principles for the master plan (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B4, interview 11). In the following paragraphs the (experienced) width and depth of the participation structure will be further elaborated.

b. Method of initiating phase

When initiating the project, initially a formal and standardized municipal procedure is intented. Although local actors cannot directly influence the initiating phase, the idea is that their opinions are still taken into account since the "Deelgemeente" represents them. During the initiating phase, information about the current situation is provided during information sessions, organized by the municipality. According to the interviewed neighbours, it is clear that these moments are organized merely to inform local actors, not to listen to their opinion about the taken decisions regarding the "Programma van Eisen" (respondent B4, interview 11; respondent B2, interview 6). The municipality does not approach neighbours differently as shop owners, although they claim to have other interests (respondent B3, interview 9).

As earlier described, as the initiating phase continues, tension between local stakeholders, the Deelgemeente and the municipality grows. As a consequence, the municipality decided to change the procedure of the phase and decides to withdraw the influence of the Deelgemeente on the inrichtingsplan. The local stakeholders are no longer able to indirectly influence the plan.

Local stakeholders raise multiple objections and the initiating phase is temporary shutdown. After two years, the municipality organizes a new information session, and informs local stakeholders that based on the Inrichtingsplan as decided by the City Council, a spatial plan will be designed and executed.

c. Width of participation structure

The project is set on the agenda as part of the big metamorphose of the Central District. As stated, the municipality uses various methods to inform actors in the network about the plans and therefore participate in the initiating phase.

According to the Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1), local stakeholders were invited to participate at information sessions, first of all by sending a newsletter to all neighbours. Not all invited local actors actually participate in the information sessions. "I think it was a lack of interest. The same as you see during elections, low educated people say; I do not have any interest in this. I don't think this is anyhow the fault of the municipality" (respondent B2, interview 6).

However, as earlier described, to the annoyance of shop owners, the municipality makes no distinction between shop owners and neighbours when inviting them to participate (respondent B3, interview 9). The Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1) stresses that during the initiating phase more detailed information about the suggested plans was only provided to the people of "workgroup CS", a part of the residents association. Subsequently, this workgroup shared the given information within their network and among individual neighbours of the area. Interviewed neighbours confirm this.

Furthermore, during the interview series an image of informal participation is seen as well. "Since I am active in this area, I hear things from people who interfere with the plans around the Central Station. You talk with them. Not with the municipality" (respondent B4, interview 11) and "I have a lot of contact with people in this area. People who were involved in the initiating phase. Sometimes you have a chat with them, and you ask them every now and then, so you have globally an idea of what is going on?" (respondent B3, interview 9).

When, during information sessions the relationship between actors in the network deteriorates, the width of the participation structure changes. At one hand, as stated by interviewed neighbours, the municipality decides to suspend the information sessions (respondent B4, interview 11). At the other

hand, a municipal project leader is appointed, to inform local stakeholders, and keep the network of actors together (respondent B1, interview 1).

d. Depth of participation structure

The depth of the participation structure changes during the initiating phase. From the first beginning of the initiating phase, since local stakeholders only indirectly have influence on municipal decisions, the depth of the participation structure is low. However, because of earlier experiences, according to the Gebiedsnetwerker, local stakeholders try to have influence on the plans and outcomes. "People tried to enforce it, because they were used to participate in this way, and to be taken seriously by the government" (respondent b1, interview 1).

Moreover, the depth of participation within this case is used as a means of exchange. "People said, if we are not allowed to influence the content of this plan, we want to have influence on another case. They acted very smart. The other case was about groundwater problems" (respondent B1, interview 1).

The depth of participation is further reduced when the influence of the Deelgemeente on the Inrichtingsplan is discontinued. Both respondent B2 (interview 6) and respondent B1 (interview 1) explain how they experienced this as a brave decision of the municipality.

According to the interviewed respondents, at this moment during the initiative phase, a small group of people of local stakeholders, who stated to represent all neighbours, wanted to change the content of the plan and expressed this in an aggressive way. The Deelgemeente agreed with this group of critical local stakeholders, and tried to change the "Inrichtingsplan". However, at the same time, more moderate neighbours decided to approach the alderman, and declared that they did not feel represented by the aforementioned critical group of local stakeholders. The division between various local involved neighbours made the municipality decide to change the depth of the participation structure and control the situation themselves.

As earlier described, after this decision, local stakeholders tried to change the depth of the participation structure in another way and steer on the outcomes of the plan by presenting various formal objections against the Inrichtingsplan.

Network of Actors at Proveniersplein

a. Leadership

Following the interview series, it becomes clear that this initiating phase is characterized by the presence of a small group of local actors, who have the tendency to act as leaders within the network and claim to represent the local stakeholders in general. Other local stakeholders in the network seem to have mixed reactions towards the attitude of this group. According to the Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1) people with other daily problems, and so less involved, were content to be represented by outspoken people. Respondent B3 (interview 9) adds: "I knew the people who were involved in the initiating phase. And I was like, I can trust them, it will be fine. [..] I think, if people represent you, you have to trust them, and if you don't you have to do something yourself. So If I didn't trust them, I would have been more involved myself". However, other actors seemed to be annoyed by this group: "This group said, we talk on behalf of all neighbours. But I know this group, and I have participated at those information evenings, and if you did not agree, you didn't count anymore and you were ignored from that moment on" (respondent B2, interview 6).

b. Network Formation

During the initiating phase, the socio-economic background of the neighbours living along the canals seem to make it possible for them to unite their forces and present themselves as a powerful actors in the network. This tendency seems to damage the feeling of a strong network with equal stakeholders (respondent B1, interview 1). Moreover, the delays, which are a consequence of arising objections, lead to even more disrupted relationships within the network (B4, interview 11). Finally, it even leads to a discord between the board members of the Deelgemeente, who represent the local stakeholders.

c. Independent Actors

Although no fully independent actor is identified during this initiating phase, according to the Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1) and respondent B2 (interview 6), the involvement of technical experts and engineers by the municipality calmed down the technical concerns among local stakeholders in the network. These experts explained the technical methods that were suggested during the initiating phase, and recognized the technical uncertainties.

d. Critical Actors

The local actor group which is described as critical by several interviewed respondents (respondent B1, interview 1; respondent B2, interview 6 respondent B4, interview 11) does not only ensure a discord in the network, as described in foregoing paragraphs, they also ensure a delay of the initiating phase.

According to respondent B4 (interview 11), the phase was interrupted for two years as a consequence of raised formal objections. According to respondent B1 (interview 1), the objections are both about the content of the plans, as about the procedure. "People were very focused on procedural mistakes. For example, it had to be published on time. And yes, the municipality made mistakes in this field," (respondent B1, interview 1). This is contradicted by respondent B4 (interview 11), who claims that the reason for objections were doubts about the safety and functionality of the suggested plan. "People who wanted the process to speed up only cared about the appearance of the Proveniersplein" (respondent B4, interview 11). However, for all involved interviewed respondents it is clear that the attitude of the critical local actor group led to great tensions within the network.

Interventions at Proveniersplein

a. Communicative interventions

Since the Proveniersplein is part of the master plan that is restructured as a whole, before the initiating phase starts, it is clear for all actors in the network that the municipality has plans to redesign the Proveniersplein as well, and make it better suited pedestrian and bicycle, just as the front of the Central Station. The first signals reach local stakeholders in an informal way when informed neighbours, active in committees and the resident association talk with other people who live in the area and announce the plans by writing about it in their local newspaper (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B3, interview 9; respondent B4, interview 11).

From September 2008, the municipality starts to organize information sessions to inform local stakeholders about the "Programma van Eisen" and "Inrichtingsplan". Besides, information about the plans is publicly provided through information panels and models at the Groothandelsgebouw, near the

Proveniersplein (respondent B1, interview 1; respondent B2, interview 6) and through articles in the local newspaper (respondent B4, interview 11; respondent B3, interview 9). People were invited for these information evenings through door-to-door newsletters (respondent B1, interview 1).

In order to intervene in the growing tension within the network, during the initiating phase, the municipality appoints a municipal project leader. "We call it the man with the red cap. Someone, who is recognizable for people, is walking around and presented at information sessions [...]. You say: If you have a problem, this is your man, and this is his email address, and this is his direct phone number. This was very important, because now you have social media, but at the time people had to know how to complain" (respondent B1, interview 1). Respondent B2, interview 6 agrees: "You need someone who answers all the emails and contact of local neighbours, even it is bullshit."

Moreover, following the interview series it becomes clear that during the initiating phase there is a gap between the degree of technical comprehensibility for non-professional actors in the network and actors with a technical background. This will be further elaborated in paragraph "Competence Trust". According to the Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1), for this reason at the end of the initiating phase, the municipality appointed a technical spokesman to give technical explanations and to involve local actors in the technical specifications. Respondent B2, (interview 6) states: "Yes, the deployment of experts has calmed everyone down".

As mentioned, the initiating phase is delayed when local stakeholders present multiple objections and the process is shut down. It takes two years before the municipality organizes a new information session, and informs local stakeholders that based on the Inrichtingsplan as decided by the City Council, a spatial plan will be designed and executed. According to respondent B4 (interview 11) local actors are not involved in this part of the process and any form of communication is lacking: "For a long time, it was completely silent. For most people is was not clear what was going on. Nobody knew, whether we were waiting for a decision of the City Council, or another party or institute?"

b. Physical Interventions

During the initiating phase of the Proveniersplein, several other technical cases play a role in the area. As earlier said, local stakeholders try to control these cases to a certain extent, in exchange for more or less influence on others. In practice, for example it is seen that during the initiating phase of the Proveniersplein, several physical interventions are carried out to steer on the problems with the groundwater level in the area in order to calm down local stakeholders (respondent B1, interview 1).

During the interview series, it is suggested that small physical interventions with respect to other issues in the area, can stimulate a smooth initiating phase because local actors feel compensated for the spatial disturbance they expect to experience during following project phases: "You can create public support for such a spatial restructuring project by doing something positive for the area. This can be for instance temporary measures [..]. As a municipality, you have to compensate experienced disturbance and reward neighbours" (respondent B2, interview 6).

c. Political interventions

From the start of the initiating phase, for all involved actors in the network it is clear that the suggested plans are in line with the major spatial restructuring of the Central District. Nonetheless, some local stakeholders question the functionality and safety of the "Inrichtingsplan" and express their concerns to the Deelgemeente. As the initiating phase proceeds, a division between the board members of the

Deelgemeente is seen, as some board members share the expressed concerns of the local stakeholders, and others do not. Consequently, the municipality decides to withdraw the influence of the Deelgemeente on the Inrichtingsplan during the rest of the initiating phase.

Process of trust at Proveniersplein

a. Companion Trust

From the start of the process there seems to be a very varying degree of companion trust within the network among the involved actors.

Firstly, when the initiating phase starts, the experienced companion trust of local actors towards the municipality differs. Some interviewed local stakeholders point out to have positive expectations of the intentions of the municipality: "Because I know the municipality good, and I know a lot of people at the municipality, I trusted that it would be something beautiful and good and ambitious" (respondent B2, interview 6). Others are sceptical towards their intentions. In particular, shop owners do not have the feeling that the municipality takes their interest into account during the initiating phase: "There was no moment in the process that they [the municipality] tried to contact me about what was going to happen. There was no communication at all" (respondent B3, interview 9). The Gebiedsnetwerker (respondent B1, interview 1) criticizes the low companion trust among local actors on forehand, but explains: "At one hand I think, it is stupid that you [local stakeholders] always adopt a negative attitude from the start, but on the other hand I have sympathy, because most of the time the municipality isn't doing its homework that well, and then it is like, we have a plan we want to execute, well, just organize some participation, and that's all" (respondent B1, interview 1).

Subsequently, as the initiating phase proceeds, the companion trust in the network is reaching a low point, when a part of the local stakeholders adopt a very critical attitude. Both the municipal officials as other local stakeholders in the network do not consider the intentions of this group as good, as they are critical, no matter what. "This group was opposed to everything what was possible. From the beginning, they would even object to a small detail at the roof of the central station" (respondent B1, interview 1). At the same time, the critical local actor group considers the attitude of the municipality as not transparent, as they do not share information about the proceedings of the process (respondent B4, interview 11).

After this, the experienced companion trust in the network among local actors who live in the area is restored a little when a municipal project leader is appointed. From this moment on, neighbours have a better idea of where to address their comments and complaints about the project. However, still, one of the interviewed actors claims that his interests as a shop owner are still not taken into account at this moment, because even the municipal project leader did not ask him about his opinion (respondent B2, interview 6).

Interviewed respondents highlight that the disturbance caused by other construction activities in the years before the initiating phase led to negative expectations of the intentions of municipality during this initiating phase (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B4, interview 11). It can be concluded that contextual factors should be taken into account when steering on companion trust within the network. For this reason, as earlier mentioned, it is suggested that during the initiating phase, small interventions that can compensate the experienced disturbance can be promised (respondent B4, interview 11).

b. Competence Trust

Following the interview series it becomes clear that during the initiating phase there is a gap between the degree of technical comprehensibility for non-professional actors in the network and actors with a technical background. In practice this means that neighbours are not able to understand the informing documents and drawings of the municipality. Interviewed respondents state not to be able to understand the scale of the suggested physical interventions (respondent B2, interview 6; respondent B3, interview 9), the "Inrichtingsplan": "It is very detailed, with a lot of measurements and symbols. Yes, we received it as local stakeholders, and they [the municipality] showed it printed at information sessions, and you can even ask questions to municipal officials, but it is too detailed for neighbours" (respondent B2, interview 6) and the municipal documents: "Even the easy documents are written in municipal language. It can be so much shorter, easier and clearer" (respondent B4, interview 11).

It can be concluded that the fact that because of the high technical level, the reliability of the shared information during the information phase was difficult to assess and did not contribute to the experienced competence trust within the network. As mentioned, for this reason, at the end of the initiating phase, the municipality appoints a technical communication spokesman to give technical explanations and to involve local actors in the technical specifications (respondent B1, interview 1).

According to the Gebiedsnetwerker, an aspect that increased the competence trust within the network, was the municipal decision to be more transparent about the technical uncertainties at the end of the initiating phase. By recognizing, and letting several engineers explain the technical situation in the network, actors in the network trusted the technical skills and reliability of the information more (respondent B1, interview 1).

c. Collaborative Trust

All interviewed respondents point out that there is varying willing to participate in the process, when looking at local stakeholders. It is pointed out that the socio-economic background of people living in the side streets of the Proveniersplein, differ from the neighbours along the canal, and for this reason do not collaborate during the initiating phase (respondent B1, interview 1; B2, interview 6). Moreover, for some local stakeholders, it is a conscious choice to let themselves be represented by others: "I knew which people were involved on behalf of the neighbours. And I trusted them" (respondent B3, interview 9).

According to the interviewed respondents, when the atmosphere during information sessions turns more negative, because there develops some discrepancy between the interests of the local stakeholders, some local stakeholders decide to stop participating: "I heard people say, I'm not attending anymore if that woman will be here as well to turn everyone against the project" (respondent B2, interview 6). Finally, when discontinuing the influence of the Deelgemeente in the Inrichtingsplan, the municipality shows no collaborative trust in the network as well, as they do not expect other actors in the network to participate any longer.

Another remarkable note is that the change of appointed municipal officials during the initiating phase decreases the collaborative trust within the network as well, as local stakeholders question the dedication of these municipal officials to the project: "I have seen that municipal officials just don't understand, but that's a consequence of the fact that every time the team of municipal officials changes, so the annoyance and feeling of having enough of the process, what is felt by neighbours, they just do not understand. Yes, in an objective way, but not in an emotional way" (respondent B2, interview 6).

Appendix B-I. Interview Findings West-Kruiskade Case

Selected interviewees and corresponding interviews

Name	Actor Type	Corresponding Interview
Respondent C1	Policy maker, Municipality of Rotterdam	Interview 2
Respondent C2	Researcher, Research Institute DRIFT	Interview 4
Respondent C3	Shop owner	Interview 7
Respondent C4	Neighbour and entrepreneur	Interview 11

Contextual Setting at West-Kruiskade

a. Socio-economic and Cultural Variables

West Kruiskade is characterized as a busy street, with numerous restaurants, bars and stores, owned by active entrepreneurs. The association for entrepreneurs, named "Alliantie", seems to play an important role in representing the interests of the entrepreneurs. Besides this formal way, following the interview series, entrepreneurs seem to know each other well informally and take each other's opinion seriously. DRIFTS' project leader confirms this: [During the co-creation sessions] there was an atmosphere of everyone knowing each other, they really know who the others are" (respondent C2, interview 4).

Respondent C4 (interview 12) emphasizes the number of well-informed people with a big professional network, living and working in the street: "Everyone knows, this is not a stupid street". For this reason, he states, entrepreneurs definitely do not want to be patronised by other actors in the network. Approaching entrepreneurs in a very informal way, leads to resistance because they will feel insulted and not to be treated as serious interlocutors (respondent C4, interview 12). Respondent C3 (interview 7) states the same: "We are working in the street for years, so we know what people want, what people like, what people do not like".

b. Ideas/Interest about Spatial Planning

First of all, according to respondent C4 (interview 12) local stakeholders do not experience the traffic safety in the street as very dangerous: "[Inconvenience of traffic flows is] a kind of an invented problem [...] We do not have mobility problem, but we do want to have more freedom to cope with the spatial design of the street in a more flexible way". A lack of interest with respect to this topic is seen in the turn out rate as well: Although invited, only a small number of local stakeholders participates at the co-creation sessions and experiments itself (respondent C1, interview 2; Respondent C2; interview 4).

There seems to be a difference between the general ideas about spatial planning among local stakeholders, and their opinion during the co-creation sessions. During the interview series, it turns out that some stakeholders want to reduce the number of parking lots and lanes in order to give less priority

to cars. In particular, neighbours highlight that they would prefer interventions to slow down the traffic in the street (DRIFT, 2018). Others want to make sure that customers with motorized vehicles still can park in front of their shops (respondent C4, interview 12).

However, during the co-creation sessions, local stakeholders suggest to experiment with complete blockades for motorized vehicles (respondent C2, interview 4; Respondent C4, interview 12). "During the co-creation sessions, nothing was too crazy: They wanted to blockade the street for motorized vehicles, so the ideas were much more radical than the final experiments (respondent C2, interview 4). A possible explanation for the differences between the general interest, and the interests during the co-creation sessions is the temporary character of experiments.

c. Past Experiences

According to one of the interviewed neighbours (respondent C4, interview 12), a lot of trials and pilots take place in the street, which makes neighbours and local entrepreneurs used to such projects and processes. At the same time it is stated that entrepreneurs association "Alliantie" is trying for years to control the traffic safety in the street. For this reason, according to the interviewed neighbour, because of the past commitment and dedication of this association, local stakeholders experienced the sudden arrival of new actors to steer on this during the project, as inappropriate. "For six, seven years, the Alliantie is very seriously involved in the traffic safety. And all of the sudden a few hipsters from the North of the city are telling me how to restructure my street.. That is not very convenient" (respondent C4, interview 12).

During the interview series, the municipal policy maker is asked as well, if the municipality was taking into account any earlier experience or event in the field of spatial design in the street, which could influence this initiating phase: "No, people did go into the process blanco, however, people are very attached to the parking lots in front of their door, though" (respondent C1, interview 2).

Besides, based on earlier experiences, local stakeholders seem have critical attitude towards one of the actors in the network, research institute DRIFT. In the following paragraphs, this scepticism will be further elaborated.

Approach to Participation at West-Kruiskade

a. Ambition

The municipal goal of the initiating phase was to develop experiments in the field of mobility, and investigate the degree of participation within the actor-network during this phase. "Nowadays a top-down approach is not working anymore, so initially, it was the idea to let local stakeholders generate ideas for experiments during the co-creation sessions [..] Moreover, it was meant to investigate what is possible as a preparation for a major spatial restructuring in 2021. Then, the tram track will be renewed, and they use this moment to redesign the street. I hope this was a lesson to investigate how we can improve in the future" (respondent C1, interview 2). The ambition to create a basis for future spatial interventions it stressed by DRIFT: "You've started something. So actually you have to continue now on what is created, and how people are involved. You have to consider this as the first step" (C2, interview 4).

However, when interviewing local neighbours and shop owners, it turns out that this municipal goal was not clear within the network, both during the co-creation sessions as during the execution of the experiments (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12). Besides the aim of the phase, the

interview series gives an image of a lacking clear overview of the project for actors in the network. Interviewed local stakeholders claim that it was not communicated in the network why the project took place, how much money was reserved for it, who initiated it and who was going to execute it (respondent C4, interview 12). Another remarkable note is that both local respondents state that even now this ambition is explained to them, they do not understand the relation between the experiments and the influence of the traffic situation in the street.

b. Method

As described, the municipality and research institute DRIFT start the initiating phase by contacting entrepreneurs association "the Alliantie" to invite local entrepreneurs to participate in the network (DRIFT, 2018). Following on this, several co-creation sessions where local stakeholders, the municipality, and DRIFT collaborate, take place.

During these sessions, first of all, the traffic situation of the street is identified. Then, ideas to intervene the current situation are generated (respondent C1, interview 2). The co-creation sessions proceed by following various brainstorm techniques: "First we did an exercise with hats to explain: Okay you can put on a negative hat, but a positive one as well. You can approach things from several perspectives. You can play various roles. This is something, we really thought about". However, the use of this methodology is not received positively by all local actors in the network, who state that they felt not taken seriously: "[Invited] People attended the session, got a hat and walked away angry. They said: Listen, I ask €195,- without taxes if I give advices on this level, and now I'm sitting here with a weird hat on my head? [..]. How can I take you seriously, if you want me to brainstorm with a hat on my head?" (repsondent C4, interview 12).

Subsequently, municipality officials and researchers from DRIFT process the expressed ideas during the co-creation sessions in practical experiments. Afterwards, DRIFT evaluates the methodologies that are used during the co-creation sessions critically and say that "doing" in the future will result in more participation and an effective way to involve local actors in the process, instead of thinking about it. DRIFT states that this is too abstract, and maybe a reason not to participate and attend at co-creation sessions (respondent C2, interview 4). Moreover, interviewed local stakeholders question if there was enough time reserved to work out and tests the ideas before executing it (respondent C3, interview 7). This image is confirmed in the evaluation report of DRIFT (2008).

When executing the experiments, the method aims to invite all actors in the network to participate. This means that besides the involved local stakeholders in the co-creation sessions, all neighbours and shop owners in the area are invited by door-to-door letters and social media to participate. According to the municipal official, in practice, some of the physical interventions led to participation and interaction, others did not (respondent C1, interview 2). However, this is not corresponding with signals local stakeholders give during the interview series. They state not to feel invited (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C2, interview 4). Besides lacking effective invitations, again the method seems to be experienced as too playful: "People in the street were resisting. The first meetings were not progressing smoothly, and then all of the sudden a complete stranger asks me to attach stickers on the street [...]. I'm not sarcastic, but if you look at me, do you think I like it to attach stickers, or do I insult him? Because that was what happened" (respondent C4, interview 12).

Again, it can be concluded that the local stakeholders did not understand the relation between the experiments and the mobility goals of the project. In particular, the costs of the project are not corresponding with the playful set up (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12). "I was

shocked about the total amount of money. If it costs one-tenth of the money, I would have understood. It was just a few planks, a few dots on the street and a few trees, which was all very expensive. [...] If you want to do something useful, to make people feel involved. You don't have to throw €70.000 on the street. You can also, I don't know, organize a meeting". Respondent C3, interview 7).

c. Width of Participation Structure

Research institute DRIFT facilitated the participation procedure. Before doing this, DRIFT consulted entrepreneur association "the Alliantie" to make use of their network. Disadvantage of this, was that from the start, entrepreneurs who were not connected to the network were not involved in the process and it is noticed that even entrepreneurs who were part of the network, were not always aware, because of a lack of interest (DRIFT, 2018). It was a conscious choice to only invite a selection of entrepreneurs to participate. "You don't invite everyone, because then the process gets a very informing character, or a setting based on consensus" (respondent C2, interview 4). Afterwards, the municipal official considers the width of this participation structure as too small (respondent C1, interview 2).

Selected entrepreneurs receive an email, but do not consider this invitation as very personal or feel invited to participate (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12). Furthermore, both interviewed local stakeholders and the municipal official emphasize that entrepreneurs are very busy and only want to participate actively, if they experience that they could actual influence the process (respondent C1, interview 2; respondent C4, interview 12).

The invitation process to invite local actors participate during the execution of the experiments is not experienced successfully as well. According to the evaluation of DRIFT (2018) and during the interview series, it turns out that local actors experienced a lack of clear communication, and did not feel invited or understood the aim of the project (respondent C1, interview 2; Respondent C3, interview 7; Respondent C4, interview 12). DRIFT concluded that by sending emails, only a limited group of people was reached and suggests that in the future, local actors should be invited to participate in more ways (respondent C2, interview 4).

Furthermore, according to interviewed respondents, local actors would have feel more invited to participate in the process, if a local actor, as a Stadsmarinier or Gebiedsnetwerker would have been involved. "I would have taken an invitation by a local more seriously, because I know that he would have been pushed by the municipality to improve the street in collaboration with neighbours" (respondent C4, interview 12).

d. Depth of Participation Structure

The idea of the methodology that is used to approach the initiating phase and generate experiments is based on a co-creation principle, which means that all actors in the network are stimulated to participate. "What struck me was that not everyone was trying to contribute [their ideas] during the sessions. I have facilitated these sessions, and sometimes I knew someone had a very cool idea, but did not bring it himself, so I tried to ask questions in a certain way so he would say it. It was absolutely the entrepreneurs, the municipality and DRIFT all together trying to generate things" (respondent C2, interview 4). The municipal official and the researchers from DRIFT state that the final concepts of the experiments were translations of the input by local stakeholders during the information sessions (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C1, interview 2). "Personal elements and ideas of our own were in it, but we tried to align everything with everyone as good as possible. However, it's not possible to make everyone satisfied. You

always have persons who are against something, but that makes such a process interesting" (respondent C3, interview 7).

However, the fact that the amount of the reserved municipal budget is unknown to the local stakeholders, seems to be a reason why is it unclear how far the options and ideas can reach and what kind of influence they can have (respondent C4, interview 12).

Moreover, although this was one of the main goals of the project, the degree of influence during the execution of the experiments seemed limited as well: "I doubt if the experiments were really interactive. The degree people really could participate during the experiments was minimum. For instance, we have changed parking lots into benches, and people could use it, but it was not really something people could influence" (respondent C1, interview 2).

Network of Actors at West-Kruiskade

a. Leadership
Although the guiding principle of the process is to develop experiments to reduce the priority of motorized vehicles in the street in equal cooperation between public and private involved actors, in practice it appears that a horizontal participation structure is difficult to establish. Research institute DRIFT and the municipality can be considered as the leaders of the process (respondent C1, interview 2; respondent C2, interview 4). One of the possible reasons for this is the lacking experienced urgence among local stakeholders to steer on the traffic situation (respondent C4, interview 12). Other reasons that can be mentioned are the fact that local stakeholders do not understand the goal of the project (respondent C4, interview 12; respondent C3, interview 7).

b. Network Formation
The West Kruiskade is characterized by a strong and active network of entrepreneurs, connected by entrepreneur association "the Alliantie". As the aim of the process is to involve various entrepreneurs of the street, the municipality contacts "the Alliantie" to connect the entrepreneurs of their network to the project. "Initially, we trusted on the network of the Alliantie. We had the idea like, the Alliantie are the eyes and ears of the area, everyone in the area supports them, so if we try to reach them through the Alliantie, we can organize an evening and their people will be there, so then we have the opinions of the area. [..] Looking back, I think that was naive" (respondent C1, interview 2).

In fact, despite the expressed aim to involve all the actors in the network equally, and create one strong network, a discord is seen between the public actors and private actors in the network. All interviewed local stakeholders state that they felt that their experiences and knowledge about the daily issues in the street was not always taken into account (respondent C4, interview 12; respondent C3, interview 7). They emphasize that numerous involved actors were not locals, but still had the authorization to change the local situation. "All of the sudden a few hipsters from the North of the city are telling me how to restructure my street.. That is not very convenient. I think there intentions were absolutely legitimate. However, in Rotterdam, you can't just drop in and say, I'm going to change your neighbourhood. Then you end up in a fight." (respondent C4, interview 12). It can be assumed that this aspect infringed the feeling of a horizontal and equal participation structure among the local actors in the network.

c. Critical Actors

During this initiating phase, there are no actors identified who disrupt the process in such a way it is delayed. However, a few local actors are sceptical about both the implementation of the experiments as about the communication about it (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4; interview 12). During the interviews, it becomes clear that these actors discussed the experienced malfunctioning of the project with each other during the process. Since the entrepreneurs are part of a strong network and take their each other's opinion seriously, it can be assumed that these discussions will lead to a growing critical attitude of other actors in the network as well.

The interviewed entrepreneurs tell that they expressed their dissatisfaction towards the experiments, during the process (respondent C3, interview 7). The municipal official confirms this and states that, looking back, he realizes that the municipality and research institute thought too lightly about the negative opinion of the experiments on the local stakeholders (respondent C1, interview 2). However, as earlier said, he stresses that in his opinion, there was no (communicative) way to change the critical attitude of these local stakeholders in the network.

d. Independent Actors

The integrity of research institute DRIFT is questioned by one of the local stakeholders, who points out that this is a shared opinion among local actors in the network (respondent C4, interview 12). However, despite this complaint, the interview series does not show a clear demand for a more independent actor in the network.

Interventions at West-Kruiskade

a. Physical Interventions

This initiating phase is unique because of the temporary experiments to test the public support for definitive physical interventions to steer on the priority of motorized vehicles in the area. For this reason, it is remarkable that interviewed local respondents highlight that the relation between the concept of the experiments and the traffic situation is not understood (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent 4, interview 12).

Nonetheless, all the interviewed respondents, point out the effectiveness of the provisional, temporary bicycle lane, painted on the street. However, the subjectivity of the experienced success is shown in the interviews, as the local stakeholders claim: "Well, actually, as a car driver, round dots on the street do not make me realize it is a bicycle lane, but from other entrepreneurs I heard they experienced the situation for cyclists as much safer" (respondent 4, interview 12), and the municipal official says: "You directly saw the effect of the bicycle lane, which was very positive. A lot of people were very enthusiastic about it, and you saw a lot of tweets were people were writing, oh this is so nice" (respondent C1, interview 2).

b. Communicative Interventions

During the interviews, it becomes clear that there are doubts within the network about the actual intention of the project with respect to interaction and participation during various communicative interventions. In this way, it can be concluded that the communicative interventions of the municipality and research institute DRIFT did not lead to desired effects.

As earlier mentioned, firstly, the invitation procedure is not clearly inviting local stakeholders to participate and feel involved in the process: "I did not get a feeling of being personally invited, based on the first email. I really got the feeling like, there will be a session, but whatever" (respondent C4, interview 12). Research institute DRIFT, which is responsible for the invitation procedure, states: "We discovered that by just sending emails, you will reach a very limited group. [...]. You have to try to invite people in more ways, than only sending emails" (respondent C2, interview 4). The degree of interaction during the following co-creation sessions is experienced differently. The researcher from DRIFT says that all attending actors had the chance to give input during the co-creation sessions (respondent C2, interview 4). However, interviewed local stakeholders did not get the idea that the expressed ideas during the co-creation sessions leaded to the actual experiments (respondent C4, interview 12).

Moreover, mixed signals among local stakeholders are given about the communicative interventions during the execution of the experiments. According to respondent C3 (interview 7), it was "kind of explained what was going to happen", while respondent C4 (interview 12) states that it was absolutely unclear which interventions would take place. During the interview moment, respondent C4 (interview 12) asks another entrepreneur [Richard de Boer] about his experiences with communicative interventions. Mr De Boer answered that it differed per experiment (interview 12).

c. Political Interventions

The temporary experiments of Happy Streets are part of a bigger program in Rotterdam with the aim to improve the mobility and related quality of public spaces in the city centre of Rotterdam. The process is financed from the budget of this program. For this reason, it can be assumed that principles of this bigger program are to a certain extend interwoven in the experiments. Therefore, it is remarkable that local stakeholders in the network claim not to be informed about this fact during the process (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12).

Process of trust at West-Kruiskade

a. Companion Trust

At the start of the project, the degree of companion trust within the network is low as local actors question the integrity of research institute DRIFT. In particular, this scepticism is focussing on the way DRIFT obtains money as an institute. "We knew DRIFT. We knew that DRIFT is a company that keeps itself alive by devising every time something new to receive subsidies. That's something I am against in general" (respondent C4, interview 12).

Since research institute DRIFT and the municipality manage the reserved budget, it is likely that, in combination with the fact the amount of the budget is not revealed publicly, local stakeholders stay suspicious about the openness and honesty of the municipality and research institute DRIFT during the process. "If they told me before, it would have cost 70.000 euro, I've said before, stop this" (respondent C3, interview 7). "I am getting angry when I notice that money is spent in the street, which could be spent better. Even more when it is spent by people that I don't know, and I have no idea where it is coming from and what they want the money to be spent on" (respondent C4, interview 12).

It can be concluded that certain ways of communication about the costs and financial aspects of the project have steered on the experienced degree of companion trust. However, during the co-creation it is tried to increase companion trust within the network by using various brainstorm techniques to stimulate involved actors to adopt an open, honest attitude. Moreover, by giving all involved actors the possibility

to share their interests it is tried to give a positive expectation of intentions (respondent C1, interview 2; respondent C2, interview 4). However, following the interview series, it seems that during the process, local stakeholders question if the municipality is taken their interests into account as they experience that the final experiments do not correspond with the expressed ideas during the co-creation sessions (respondent C4, interview 12).

The municipal official states that some local stakeholders seemed to have such a developed opinion, that nothing could have changed their companion trust within the network: "We send him [One of the local shop owners] an extra letter, we visited him another time, but whatever we did, he was against it, no matter what. Maybe the communication could have been better, but it would not have changed his opinion" (respondent C1, interview 2).

b. Competence Trust

Local stakeholders claim that the competence trust in the network of the municipality is low, as the municipality gave little priority to the competences and knowledge of local actors about the daily situation of the street during the process (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12). Local stakeholders suggest a local party as preferable to facilitate co-creation sessions. For example a Gebiedsnetwerker or Stadsmarinier, instead of people who do not live in the area and therefore, do not understand the local situation.

It can be concluded that the fact that various actors in the network are not locals, contributes to a low degree of competence trust within the network. Moreover, the fact that during the process entrepreneurs association Alliantie was in an organizational transition phase, and for this reason could not use their capacities to contribute to the network, probably did not increase the experienced competence trust as well.

c. Collaborative Trust

The interview series show a number of reasons that can be related to the fact local stakeholders did not want to collaborate actively in the process. First of all, local stakeholders did not experience the mobility and traffic situation as problematic and preferred other issues in the street to be improved (respondent C3, interview 7; respondent C4, interview 12). Secondly, the methodology of the participation process was considered as too patronising and did not match with the general attitude of local stakeholders. (respondent C4, interview 12). Thirdly, DRIFTS states that they experienced more collaborative trust when the experiments were carried out. Before this moment, when local actors were invited to brainstorm about the experiments, this activity was too abstract (respondent C2, interview 4).

However, the interviewed local actors state that they want to collaborate in the future, when they are involved as serious partners (respondent C4, interview 12; respondent C3, interview 7).

An important note to take into account is the obtained degree of collaborative trust at the end of the initiating phase. According to the municipal official (respondent C1, interview 2), to preserve collaborative trust within the network, it is of great importance to provide aftercare, when the initiating phase is over but the project is not directly executed. "When the process was over, various local entrepreneurs did not understand what was going to happen. For that reason, a participation process is worth nothing, if you never ask again how people experienced it. What happened here is that entrepreneurs had the feeling that they invested time in it, and time is money for entrepreneurs, and at the end nothing happened.

Because of this, the built up trust decreased rapidly. For this reason, I'm wondering if people want to collaborate next time" (respondent C1, interview 2).