



Dealing with dilemmas



J.R. de Vries

The role of trust in spatial planning

Abstract

During the implementation of Natura 2000 in the Netherlands different problems related to public interests and nature objectives arise. Partly because the public was not involved. In England the public was more involved and problems were dealt in discussion with them. In a comparison between these two countries the role of trust is seen as important. The role of trust can be seen as the ongoing balancing of dilemmas. To utilize trust in planning processes a certain flexibility within a common agreed frame is required. Here contracts can be used. This gives a clear space for dealing with dilemmas. People deal differently with dilemmas in fixed implementation approaches, where a lack of communication, ignoring power and acting reserved does not contribute to good cooperation and trust. In contrary, a combination of clear formal and informal cooperation, realistic expectations, flexibility and the space to deal with uncertainties and risks does contribute to trust. In which personal trust is harder to establish but stronger than professional trust.

Key words: Trust, Natura 2000, Wieden – Weerribben, Thanet Coast, Dilemmas

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This thesis is written as final assignment for the master Landscape Architecture and Planning, specialisation Spatial Planning at Wageningen University.

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Wageningen, May 2008



Preface

A preface is actually a little strange. For me it is one of the last things I write as part of my thesis but for you it is probably the first thing you read. This creates a dilemma for me, because what should I write? Just as with all dilemmas there is a risk, here it is that I might write things nobody want to read. Resulting in you putting back this thesis, back into the cupboard, maybe even behind little brown doors, without reading even the summary. The other side of this dilemma is that you might get enthusiastic by my writings and have a hard time putting it down. Creating expectations about the content with this preface. In addition, I write this preface with the expectation that you will read the whole thesis. Of course, this it is uncertain, but to deal with this uncertainty you could provide me with information, which might change my expectations. To deal with this I can chose to be open to you and eventually say that I would like you to read it. If I do this, is part of my approach, how do take care that you read it, do I really have to be open in order to make you deal with the uncertainty whether this thesis is good. A solution is that I could control you, put you in prison with my thesis or let you sign a contract. On the other hand I could also trust you. Leaving me with the dilemma do I really have to be open, do I really have to accept the uncertainties, how big are all the risks and how big is my trust in you? Or do I have to make you trust me? Is that not more important?

This is what this thesis is about: Trust. In the example stated above trust already starts to be complex, especially when one realizes that this is different in every situation. Imagine the complexity of trust in the actual planning situation. That is why this thesis is also about Natura 2000. To explore trust in the actual planning situation. With as extra advantage that this gives recommendations for planning policies. In this the thesis is about trust as scientific concept and Natura 2000 as planning policy. The thesis is written as final assignment for the MSc Landscape Architecture and Planning,

specialization Spatial Planning.

With this preface I would like to thank everybody who helped me making this thesis and getting through all the dilemma's. First of all, I really would like to thank Noelle and Raoul for all the nice discussions, the feedback, the nice trip to England and the chances Raoul gave me. Besides, I would like to thank my roommates because of the good working environment and all the relaxing moments. In addition, all the people I interviewed in England and the Netherlands because of the warm welcome they gave me. Last I would like to thank my girlfriend for accepting my moody moments suddenly changing in happy jokes because I was so tired.

Enjoy reading the thesis,

Jasper de Vries

Summary

The implementation of Natura 2000 sites meets a lot of problems in the Netherlands. The debates focus on the implementation of the management plans and the involvement of the public. In the United Kingdom, discussions focus more on marine sites, different implementation methods and cooperation between (local) people and governments. One of the important mechanisms in these relations between governments and citizen is trust. Trust is a relatively new concept in planning and little is known about it, for instance information about how it is developed and how it can be studied in planning is lacking.

For this thesis the following main question is asked:

What is the role of trust in the actual approach in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites?

This research is conducted using literature review, case studies and interviews. Moreover, to study trust the related concepts and dilemmas were distinguished, because trust is hard to study. Afterwards these concepts and dilemmas were discussed in relation to trust.

From the dilemmas distinguished from literature it can be derived that trust is a mechanism in planning processes. More precise it is a mechanism present in cooperation relations within planning processes. Its role is that of a mechanism constantly balanced by dilemmas of related concepts in a search for certainty. In other words the role of trust is a substitute for certainty and the dilemmas are balanced based on different (personal) considerations.

One of the policy implementations in which trust plays a role is Natura 2000. Natura 2000 is the latest European nature legislation which aims to establish a network of nature sites throughout Europe. To study trust in different contexts England as well as in the Netherlands was selected for a case study. From these cases can be derived that both, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands faced different problems with the implementation of Natura 2000. The Wieden – Weerribben

(the Netherlands) is one of these sites, just as the Thanet Coast in the United Kingdom. Both sites face conflicts between recreation and nature. Although Thanet Coast is a marine site and the Wieden – Weerribben a low land peat area.

Regarding the different concepts balanced different dilemmas are at stake in both countries. These dilemmas are dealt differently and have as such different consequences for the development of trust. First, the approach does influence trust, because the question is what to choose; bottom-up or top-down. Within certain frames a bottom-up process, as in England, can give space for the development of trust. In this there is room for flexibility, self initiative and changing power relations. Besides, it helps to deal with uncertainties. Here communication is important. Especially the combination of formal and informal communication. With this communication the open approach resulted in great involvement of people and the ability for participants to deal with uncertainties. It also helped to create realistic expectations which could be met and as such contribute to trust.

In the Netherlands the more hierarchical top-down approach which was a result of uncertainties from the past was chosen. This approach resulted in the exclusion of people, limited communication towards the public and remaining uncertainties. Here, the Netherlands showed that dealing rigid with uncertainties and the implementation in general led to less trust. Especially because it limited the contacts with the public but also the communication in the workgroup. In addition, people were less open, flexibility was not at stake and uncertainties were hard to deal with. All resulting in the development of mistrust

In general it can be seen that flexibility within certain frames is contributing to trust. Giving it a reason to put effort in the creation of such a situation. Especially because it allows the project teams just as the institutions to change from time to time. If people are personally involved this will also contribute to trust, but it is harder to create personal trust. Although this is said, it is worth to keep an eye on the process to enable flexibility, clear communication and good information because trust is worth it.

Samenvatting

Natura 2000 is het meest recente Europese natuurbeleid met ruimtelijke gevolgen. Natura 2000 heeft als doel het ontwikkelen van een Europees netwerk van natuurgebieden. In meerdere landen levert de implementatie van dit beleid problemen op. Ook in Engeland en Nederland, de twee onderzochte landen is dit het geval. Om de implementatie van Natura 2000 goed te onderzoeken is in beide landen een studiegebied of case geselecteerd. In Nederland is dit de Wieden-Weerribben en in Engeland de Thanet Coast. Beide gebieden ondervinden de gevolgen de strijdige belangen tussen recreatie en natuur. Die in dit geval beide een ruimteclaim hebben op het zelfde gebied. Ondanks deze gelijkenis verschillen de gebieden sterk; waar de Wieden – Weerribben een laagveenmoeras is, is de Thanet Coast een marine kustgebied.

Vooraf in Nederland ontmoet de implementatie van Natura 2000-gebieden veel problemen. De focus van deze discussies ligt vooral op de ontwikkeling van beheerplannen voor de gebieden en het betrekken van publiek hierbij. In Engeland focussen de discussies zich vooral op de ontwikkeling van nieuwe kust en marine gebieden en de methoden voor nieuwe samenwerkingsverbanden. Hierin is vertrouwen één van de belangrijke mechanismen. Vertrouwen is een belangrijk, interessant en relatief nieuwe concept voor planning. In deze thesis zal onder ander onderzocht worden hoe vertrouwen zich ontwikkeld, maar er is ook onderzocht hoe vertrouwen goed bestudeerd kan worden.

De volgende hoofdvraag is gesteld: *Wat is rol van vertrouwen in de implementatie van Natura 2000 gebieden.*

Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd met gebruik van literatuurstudies, interviews en case studies. Omdat het moeilijk is vertrouwen te bestuderen en onderzoeken is ervoor gekozen gerelateerde concepten en dilemma's te onderzoeken en hun invloed op vertrouwen.

Uit de literatuurstudie is ontleend dat vertrouwen een belangrijk regulerend mechanisme is voor planning processen. De rol van vertrouwen is dat van een mechanisme dat constant wordt gewogen onder de invloed van verschillende andere concepten en hun dilemma's. Hierin kan vertrouwen zekerheid vervangen waarbij het afwegen gebaseerd is op (persoonlijke) overwegingen beïnvloed door persoonlijk en externe factoren.

Het afwegen van vertrouwen is sterk gerelateerd aan omgaan met dilemma's. Die dilemma's worden vormgegeven door verschillende concepten. Deze resulteren in verschillende uitkomsten. Waarbij deze uitkomsten allemaal weer een verschillend gevolg hebben voor de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen. Één van de eerste dilemma's heeft betrekking op de aanpak. Want waar wordt voor gekozen: bottum-up of top-down? Binnen bepaalde randvoorwaarden draagt een bottum-up proces bij aan de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen, zoals in Engeland het geval was. In deze case was te zien dat ruimte om flexibel te zijn, zelf initiatief te ontplooien en ruimte om veranderende machtsrelaties te accepteren bijdragen aan vertrouwen. Maar wel binnen een duidelijk gezamenlijk gecreëerd raamwerk van afspraken. Daarnaast gaf het ruimte om met onzekerheden om te gaan. Bij deze ruimte zijn verschillende communicatie mogelijkheden en contactmomenten erg belangrijk. Vooral de combinatie van formele en informele communicatie kan de doorslag geven of participanten om kunnen gaan met bepaalde onzekerheden of niet. In Engeland resulteerde de open aanpak in grote betrokkenheid van burgers en de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen. Daarnaast droeg open communicatie bij aan de ontwikkeling van realistische verwachtingen, die goed waar te maken waren. Wat vervolgens bijdroeg aan de ontwikkeling van vertrouwen en een sterk project.

De Nederlandse situatie was anders. Als gevolg van onzekerheden uit het verleden werd het proces hiërarchisch aangepakt. Het belangrijkste gevolg was dat er nauwelijks participanten bij het project betrokken waren en een dialoog met de bewoners ontbrak.

Dit resulteerde beide in wantrouwen. Ook het gebrek aan flexibiliteit droeg bij aan het vergroten van het wantrouwen. Waarbij vooral het wantrouwen in overheden groeide en een zwak project het gevolg was.

In het algemeen kan gesteld worden dat flexibiliteit binnen bepaalde randvoorwaarden bijdraagt aan vertrouwen en een goede samenwerking. Vooral omdat het niet alleen het publiek de ruimte geeft om te gaan met dilemma's maar ook ministeries en andere instituties. Hierbij is goede en open communicatie enorm belangrijk. Daarnaast is het belangrijk dat mensen betrokken raken uit een persoonlijke motivatie omdat dit bijdraagt aan persoonlijk vertrouwen. Al is persoonlijk vertrouwen moeilijk te bewerkstelligen, het is sterker dan professioneel vertrouwen waardoor het in grotere mate bijdraagt aan een goede vertrouwensrelatie.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to introduce this thesis. The problems will be discussed and clarified in order to state the research questions. Next to that information about the methods used is given.

"Natura 2000 threatens jobs and companies" [Friesch Dagblad, 2008]. Unfortunately for Natura 2000 and its initiators this is not the only negative newspaper headline in the Netherlands, but not only in the Netherlands Natura 2000 causes discussions. As European policy Natura 2000 is subject to discussions in more European countries [Stoll-Kleefmann, 2000]. Natura 2000 is the latest nature policy of the European Union. With this policy the European Union tries to stop the declination of nature values and species all over Europe through a network of nature sites [Commissie Europese Gemeenschappen, 2002]. Meaning that within the different countries the Natura 2000 sites have to be established. In addition to the ecological focus of Natura 2000, the policy can have large spatial implications for present and future (land) use in and around the nature sites. The spatial consequences are present because the policy legislations states that future developments in and around the sites are not allowed if they influence the nature values negatively [EU, 2007]. This makes the establishment of the sites is not without problems, resulting in

different discussions. In the Netherlands discussions mainly focus on the relations between different organizations and people involved with the implementation of Natura 2000 sites and its management [Beunen & Van Ark, 2005].

This thesis focuses on the problems with the implementation of Natura 2000 sites in England and the Netherlands. Besides, it focuses on trust because it is one of the important mechanisms in the relations between people [Van Ark, 2005, Edelenbos, 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007 Eshuis, 2006 and Stein & Thomas, 2003, Jones & Burgess, 2005]. In this introduction, the problems will be elaborated a little further and clarified. After the problem exploration the research objectives and questions are stated. This will be followed by the outline of the thesis. A description of the research method used will close this introduction.

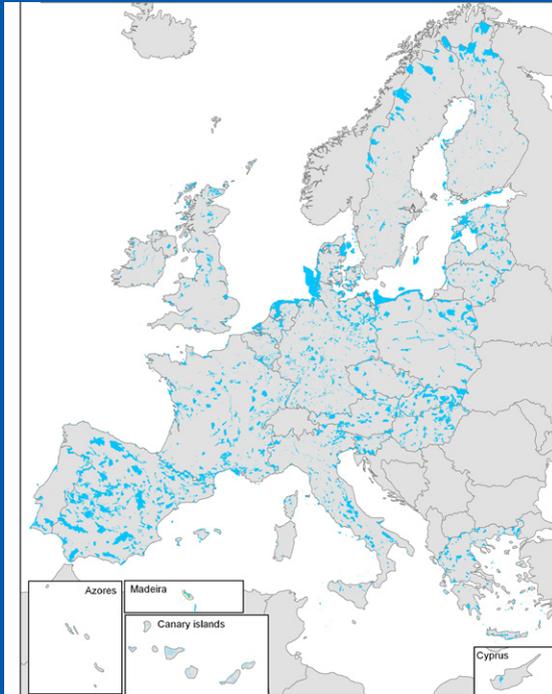


Fig. 1.1 Natura 2000 network in Europe [EU, 2007]

1.1 Problem description

In the Netherlands the consequences of Natura 2000 are the topic of many discussions in different newspapers [see amongst others, Friesch Dagblad, 2008]. Especially the unknown spatial consequences of the legislation for future developments and present (land) use causes these discussions [Beunen and Van Ark, forthcoming]. In the Netherlands, just as in other European countries the main problems are caused by difficulties in the cooperation between governmental organizations and people involved [Van den Bosch, 2006, Stoll-Kleemann, 2000 and Krott et al. 2000]. This is striking because interaction between people influenced by and involved in the implementation of Natura 2000 sites is addressed as important for successful implementation [Stoll-Kleemann, 2000 and Jones & Burgess, 2005]. Moreover, for spatial planning and cooperation relations in general the importance of interactive implementation and frequent interaction was emphasized in different articles [see amongst others Aarts et al, 2007b].

In the United Kingdom different situations are given where problems in cooperating were solved [Jones & Burgess, 2005 and Morris, et al. 2005]. Here the role of trust in the relations between people was seen as important. Moreover, different authors address the importance of the role of trust as a concept for planning relations in general [Van Ark 2005, Edelenbos 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn 2007, Eshuis 2006 and Stein & Thomas 2003]. Making the role of trust as a concept for planning interesting to study.

The studies about trust hardly clarify the role of this concept trust [Van Ark 2005, Edelenbos 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn 2007, Eshuis 2006 and Stein & Thomas 2003]. Which means that studying the role of trust is not only relevant because of its importance but also because knowledge about its role is lacking. In addition, because the importance of trust is mentioned for Natura 2000 sites and for spatial planning processes, studying trust is not only relevant to the

future implementation of Natura 2000 but also to spatial planning in general.

Because trust is interesting does not mean that it is easy to study. From the mentioned articles can be derived that trust is not a static concept but constantly changing. This makes it hard to make trust operational for further research. Moreover, the first definitions found neither help to make trust operational.

1.2 Research objective and research questions

As was summarized in the problem description, this thesis is about the role of trust in relation to Natura 2000 context. This is why this study *aims to explore the role of trust in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites and spatial planning in general.*

To find out what the role of trust in planning is and how trust can be studied in order to explore it further the next question is asked: *What is trust, how can it be studied and what is its role of trust in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites?*

This question will be leading in the exploration of theories in chapter two about the role of trust. At the end of chapter two different research questions will be stated to focus the exploration of trust in two Natura 2000 sites.

1.3 Outline

After this introduction the role of trust will be discussed by exploring different related concepts that highlight important aspects of trust in chapter two. To introduce the case studies chapter three will pay attention to Natura 2000 on European level and National level in both countries. Chapter four is the description of the two cases in England and the Netherlands by concepts and dilemmas from the theoretical framework. In chapter five, the cases will be compared

and discussed. The last chapter, number six will give the conclusions of the thesis just as recommendations for policy implementation and further research.

1.4 Methods

The aim of this thesis is to inquire the role of trust in the Natura 2000 policy implementation. The first method used for this inquiry was a literature scan to clarify the different problems. This first literature scan showed that the concept of trust is very hard to study. Especially because hardly any literature about the role of trust in planning was available and because the many definitions of trust did not help to make the concept operational. Therefore a specific method was developed.

From different scientific sources articles were collected about trust. As a consequence of the limited amount of literature available about trust in spatial planning, literature was derived from adjoining fields of science like management policy, organization sciences, communication science and management psychology. Combining the information of the different sources resulted in the following concepts related to trust:

- Cooperation and public involvement
- Uncertainties
- Vulnerability
- Risks
- Expectations
- Critical attitudes
- Contracts
- Control
- Power

It was found that these concepts influence trust through balancing of dilemmas. Making these concepts and its dilemmas useful for further research because they are easier to study. In order to utilize the

knowledge from theory to a full extend new research questions were asked to study the cases.

Literature

Besides the used scientific sources as described before, the non scientific sources were used to add information about the present situation of Natura 2000 in both countries. Besides, non scientific sources were used to draw information from about the status of Natura 2000 in both countries, the policy in general and the public opinion. The public opinion was mainly used as background information and was derived from newspapers.

Case studies

Using case studies was chosen to explore the role of trust within planning practices in depth [Creswell, 2003]. The cases were conducted by the different questions stated at the end of the theoretical frame. The case studies were used derive general information about processes and mechanisms from [Flyvbjerg, 2001]. Although it is a comparing study, the cases should not be seen as one on one comparisons. The case studies were examples in a specific context. This is even more important because it became clear that the Thanet Coast example was a specific good example and the *Wieden – Weerribben* was special because of its pilot function. The differences in the institutional context was incorporated in order to make them useful. In this the cases could never be complete and other cases can give new information. Meaning that more case studies in both countries probably lead to more information. Besides, in generalizations not all information can be found in the conclusion as a result of generalizing on a higher level then the level the information was derived from.

The choice for the United Kingdom and the Netherlands was made because both countries have an impressive history in planning and nature conservation. Although they both have the history, culturally the countries differ [Van Waarden, 1999] making it possible to learn

from each other. A short review of literature showed that in the United Kingdom the initiative of policy development was mainly in the hands of non governmental organizations, while in the Netherlands the initiative was mainly taken by the government. An other contrast is that from history the belief in feasibility by the government in the Netherlands is large, while in the United Kingdom policy development is mainly based on the interaction between government and actors in an informal way [Van Waarden, 1999]. Third, in both countries policy development strongly depends on consensus and cooperation. Difference was that in the Netherlands this is arranged in official ways while again the United Kingdom works with informal and flexible ways build on the belief that convincing is stronger than legislation [Van Waarden, 1999 and Neven & Kistenkas, 2005]. As a result both countries had partly the same governmental tradition, but different institutional context and different styles of governance.

In both countries case studies were selected. For this selection different criteria were used. To inquire the process the project had to be running for a few years otherwise it would be hard to explore changes over time. Natura 2000 was a new policy which limited the choice for cases. This both countries this resulted in only a few projects. Second, there should be discussions about the use of the area with different stakeholders, groups, users or inhabitants. Besides, discussions in the areas should represent discussions present in the country. Making the outcome of the research useful in the future. In the Netherlands this is the discussion agriculture versus nature and in England the discussion between recreation, fisheries and nature. This resulted in the Netherlands in only two cases, in the United Kingdom also a few dropped of. Third, the information should be available and the projects had to be willing to cooperate. Leading in the Netherlands to only one project and in England to a few of which the people in Thanet Coast were very enthusiastic to cooperate.

Interviews

The interviews were used to explore the different concepts related to trust. Therefore, related concept which highlight at least an important aspect of trust are studied. More precise they were used to explore the different views and experiences of the people involved in the project and not to get facts about the project itself [Emans, 2002]. With the interviews a questionnaire was used based on a subject list of subjects (see annex B). Important to notice is that the interview list was derived from the theory but was not a one on one translation. This was chosen to make the concepts operational for interviews. During the interviews it was tried to record the information from interviewees as objective as possible. In this it should be mentioned that objectivism is tried but can never be reached for the full hundred percent [Emans, 2002].

Just as in the interviewees and the analyses afterwards the role as intercessor should not be forgotten. Meaning that information is always subject of some sort of interpretation. Besides, it is good to realize that the culture and or language difference between the interviewee and interviewer may cause some differences in interpretation.

Based on the literature there were two general selection criteria for interviewees. First, it was the intention to select the people directly involved and affected by the project as interviewees. These were farmers, fishermen, local authorities or recreation entrepreneurs. In order to get the views of the "normal citizen" into the inquiry. Second, it was the intention to interview different groups of involved people in order to discuss the different views from different perspectives. Meaning groups as nature organizations, authorities, citizen representatives and fishermen.

The results of the interviewee selection was slightly different (for total list see Annex A). First, because not everybody was willing to cooperate, did not respond the request for interviewing or it was impossible to get in touch. Especially in the Netherlands this resulted

in only five interviews, where groups as nature and recreation are not represented. In England this resulted in the fact that the nature conservation organization was not interviewed while the nature agency was interviewed. Second, in the Dutch case it became clear that only representatives were directly involved in the project and not the "normal citizen". Resulting in good interviews but only with people involved as professionals.

What not

This thesis is not meant to inquire the feasibility of the nature objectives of Natura 2000 in relation to the chosen implementation methods in the two countries. Besides it was not meant to explore the public's attitude towards these objectives. Natura 2000 is purely used as case study. In this, it is neither a thesis which has the objective to give an comprehensive and overall solution for the problems faced with the interpretation of Natura 2000. It wants to give new insights in the role of trust and the related public support within planning processes.

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CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAME

Different related concepts are distinguished in order to make trust operational.

Inquiring the concept trust in literature resulted in loads of information. To focus the research theory is discussed through different concepts. Herewith it builds a basis for the case studies and interviews as well as it is a tool for analyzing empirical data. The largest part is taken by trust in relation to planning processes and cooperation. After discussing the existing literature, a summary will follow with new research questions to conduct the case studies.

2.1 Cooperation and public involvement

Communication between government and citizen can take place in different ways. Depending not only on communication strategies but also on the way governments approach or initiate an implementation process. First, an overview will be given of the most important communication strategies. In this Aarts [2007b] is followed who derives three different communication models, considering the communication between governments and citizen.

The first model is the *Traditional Steering model*. In this model the government (G) is both initiator and director and citizen (c) are only informed.

This model is one which remembers most professionals about the '60 and '70. Still, in different situations this approach is used, with or without good arguments. The second model is the *Participation model* in which stakeholders or representatives are involved during the process of policy-development to solve problems. This model has become leading in spatial policy development over the '90 [Hidding, 2006]. The government involves citizen through stakeholders (S) and other representatives.

The third model is the *Network model*. This model is based on the principle that citizen have the ability of self-organization within a social network, including institutions like governments. The approach is shown by model 3 and is getting more and more into use in planning

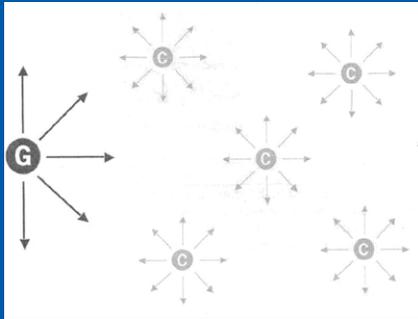


Fig. 2.1 Steering Model [Aarts, 2007b]

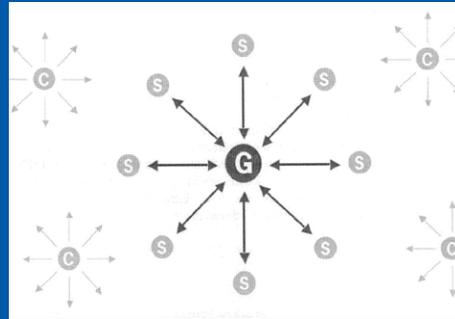


Fig. 2.2 Participation model [Aarts, 2007b]

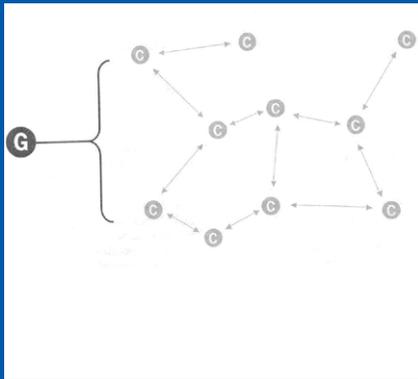


Fig. 2.3 Network model [Aarts, 2007b]

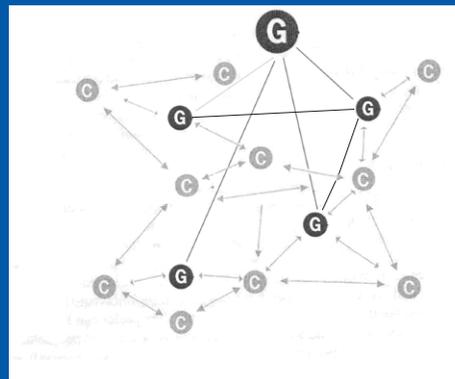


Fig. 2.4 Complex network model [Aarts, 2007b]

practice. With this a short comment have to be made. Although the network model is growing in popularity, it is hard to establish and manage this kind of cooperation and it is known that processes initiated through a network are in reality more like the Participation Model. Partly because the network model asks for a high level of trust in the citizen. The choice for far going freedom to the citizen is hard. The choice for this outcome of the dilemma, how to initiate a process can change during the process. On the other hand the initiator can have the intention to give enough freedom to the citizen but in practice does not dare to do it.

The first model is based on the feasibility of society. The government is the initiator, implementer and director of the process. There is no room for initiatives from citizen who want to participate in the process and there is a constant clash between the ambitions of the government and the initiatives of citizen as a result of the lack of information exchange.

In the second model citizen are involved through stakeholders. The stakeholders are chosen by the government to represent the citizens. In practice there are still citizen who are not able to voice their interests. Or do not want to speak up.

In the third model citizen are seen as an active interacting network in which connections are always changing. In this network the government and other institutions are also playing their part. Formal and informal interactions and processes should be taken into account. These are structures which has always been there, but not always used.

In addition to these models a fourth one can be added, *The Complex Network Model*. Derived from literature about the English planning situation other network relations can be added [Jones & Burgess, 2005, Morries et al. 2005 and Morris & Gibson, 2007]. In this situation the government (mostly national) initiates the process but delegates it to the lower governments (local authority e.g.) or agencies. These coordinate the process in direct contact with different citizen in this

self organizing network. The cooperation between lower and higher governments goes through feedback in different intensities. When this lower governmental agencies have a large freedom in which way they detail the implementation process. Of course within given boundaries or frames.

Choosing approaches

Making a distinction by models is highly theoretical. In practice the lines are not that strict. A lot of different factors influence cooperation within the network. Making the choice between the different approaches is always a dilemma, mainly because the effects of the chosen approach are not always clear. Although the distinction is theoretical it enables to show the dilemma which approach is chosen. As the different models show the role and the space of citizen is different in each model. The different roles and spaces is exactly what makes choosing the approach a dilemma because, to which level is self-initiative accepted? To which level are the opinions of others valuable and useful? Or to which extent are they tolerable? To which level is the risk to give space to citizen accepted? All these questions make the choice for the approach a dilemma.

Besides, other issues play a role. First, there are the context or institutional depended issues, mostly set on forehand. As part of this, the policy content is also important. The content or the object is mostly formed by institutions. Taking in account the different critical issues as described before one can understand that the same definition of a certain concept is essential. Because of the difference between actors the content and the rest of the institutional frame is subject of discussion and a common agreement on this is important [Rousseau, et al. 1998]. Making the choice for the approach depended on the policy content.

Second, the way interactions between people take place and coincidences also influence the process [Van Dijk, Aarts & De Wit, forthcoming]. Although the choice for an approach can be made it

should not be forget that a process or project ca fail because of negative coincidences which will not only come on heavy cots of time and money, but maybe more important, at cost of social capital and trust. [Jones & Burgess, 2005]. Meaning, that the dilemma which approach will be chosen does not stop at the beginning of the project but is a continue process.

2.2 Trust

In literature about Natura 2000 in the United Kingdom confidence and trust were seen as vital issues [Jones & Burgess, 2005 and Morris & Gibson, 2007 and Morris et al. 2005]. In the Netherlands, trust is also an issue but not in the positive way. Especially the last year many articles in Dutch newspapers discussed the lack of trust in the implementation of Natura 2000. For instance, between the recreation sector and the ministry [Stentor, 13 September 2007, ANP (different data) and Eindhovens Dagblad, 10 March, 2007].

For spatial planning, the concept of trust and which role trust plays in planning processes is hardly inquired. Lately a few authors started to address the importance of this concept or mechanism and its role within planning processes [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005, Stein & Harper, 2003 and Van Ark, 2005]. The first publications about trust in planning come with the often described shift to less formalized forms of governance in the Netherlands [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005 and Eshuis, 2006]. From the earlier shown *Hierarchical model* to the networks approach. In this, other then rigid rules or institutional structures dynamic concepts as trust became more important in steering the process and interaction between different actors. Especially when the situation becomes more complex and uncertain, trust seems to become more and more important [see amongst others Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005].

If trust is seen as important [Van Arik & Edelenbos, 2005] the question rises: what is trust? From literature can be derived that there is no

overall definition. Moreover there are dozens of definitions but these definitions do not help to make trust operational in order to study it. Besides its diversity, trust is also interpreted differently [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. Last, it can not be seen as a concept in one shape because of its dynamics. Although this is said, one of the most accepted descriptions is that "Trust can be defined as confidence in the outcome of a situation in a relation over time" [O'Brien, 2001]. In this, trust can be influenced by different concepts. Making it fundamental to trust that it is possible for partners to negotiate and influence these different concepts [Rousseau et al, 1998]. This makes trust very dynamic, semi-conducting and never the same. It already starts with the choice (aware or unaware) of participants [Turnhout, Van Bommel & Aarts, 2008].

To find out more about trust the different concepts influencing trust are studied but before different objects and types of trust are studied.

The many faces of trust

Trust has many faces. It is impossible to give one overall definition of trust because all highlight both different and overlapping aspects. Moreover, they do not help to make trust operational for further study. When looking at trust in planning processes different types and objects can be distinguished. First, trust within the process or the object of trust like trust in individuals or in organizations. Second, the different types of trust as emotional, rational trust and deterrence based trust are discussed.

The object of trust

Trust in the process can be described as an positive expectation of the trail and the outcome of the process [Eshuis, 2006]. Process trust is not a fixed concept, over time it can vary and shift [Eshuis, 2006 and Van Ark, 2005]. The fact that trust has a dynamic character is due to the dynamics of a planning process including the interaction

between individuals and organizations. Within literature about trust it is possible to distinguish three objects of trust. These are individuals, organizations and institutions.

Individual trust is trust one has in another, a person. To individual trust is also referred when speaking about inter-personal trust or personal trust [Van Ark, 2005 and Eshuis, 2006]. Individual trust is based on knowledge and expectations about the intentions, behavior and competences of the other (more about these later). Individual trust takes time to establish. In addition, individual trust is easier established when there is a positive history between individuals. In the beginning this is fragile because of the absence of a common history. Generally, individual trust is seen as an important building block for relations within planning processes [see amongst others Rousseau et al, 1998].

Next to individual trust, trust in and between organizations can be distinguished. Inter-organizational trust is an important condition for cooperation and collaborative planning between organizations [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. Organizational trust is the trust between organizations and from individuals in organizations. This trust is not only based on the one person but on the knowledge and expectations towards a whole organization, its actions, its people and teams [Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007 and Rousseau et al, 1998]. This means that also persons outside the formal process but member of the organization have influence on the attitude of people with their actions [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005].

Third is trust in institutions. Here institutional trust is seen as general accepted norms but is also about laws and social rules. On the other hand institutions can be governments and policy lines. Institutions structure the process when accepted by all participants and give some grip to the process [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002 and Rousseau et al, 1998]. Institutional trust is trust in given circumstances and frames from governments or institutes [Boonstra,

2006]. Institutions can hardly be influenced but do influence and frame the process. Important to notice is that they can change. It makes it even more difficult to build trust in institutions [Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007]. Although this can help the process. But to much institutional control or rigid institutions can limit the creativity [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002 and Rousseau et al, 1998] and lead to mistrust through non acceptance of the institutions. All these factors make that institutions have to balance their actions and behavior in order to reach the point that people have trust in their institution.

As institutions structure the process institutional trust important, making their actions a constant balance over a longer time. In addition, personal trust and is reached in a different way than organizational trust. Making it a dilemma where the focus is for building relations.

Types of trust

Trust in individuals, organizations and institutions can be divided in two kinds of trust: emotional trust and rational trust [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002, Eshuis, 2006 and Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003]. Both can exist next to each other or in combination. Which one is leading can change and depends on actor depended factors like behavior, knowledge and information given by its environment [Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003 and Rousseau et al, 1998]. In rational, trust is based on calculations and known rational information. This way of viewing trust is widely used by economists. The basis of rational trust is in reliability, competence, knowledge and fairness. Underlying building blocks are information and communication based on facts. In this, rational trust is based on a clear balance or rational calculation of the costs and benefits of the information available [Eshuis, 2006 and Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005].

One of the calculations can be made about the information given by the environment like institutions or institutional frames [Rousseau et al, 1998]. So besides trust in institutions, institutions are also

used to calculate and underpin rational trust. An other important element in rational trust is knowledge [Eshuis, 2006, Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007 and Van Ark, 2005]. Knowledge and expertise can enlarge trust, this is also underpinned by the importance people give to the information from experts. Besides, in situations where there is mutual trust based on knowledge, specialist knowledge is easier exchanged [Van Ark, 2005]. This is a sort of subtype of rational trust: knowledge or expertise based trust but not everything can be known. Making it important that relational trust or trust not based on facts is present.

Opposite of rational trust we find emotional or relational trust [Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003, Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002 and Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. In emotional trust "soft" knowledge about each other is important. For this, a certain mutual history and knowledge makes it easier to develop emotional trust [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. This is not about knowledge of their expertise but about their intentions and attitudes. Without mutual history emotional trust in the beginning of the process is mainly based on the first sight or information available at that moment. The longer the positive common history is, the stronger emotional trust will be present. [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. One can imagine that emotional trust is fragile in the beginning of the process. While it is impossible to calculate everything it is an important one. Besides, it can be very strong. This trust can be based on the common concern about each other or the process, the way of involvement or support people have and give [O'Brien, 2001 and Rousseau et al, 1998]. Last it is based on fairness, openness and reputation [O'Brien, 2001]. It is not that all do play a role but it is that all these can play a role.

Last, also a type of trust is deterrence based trust. Trust based on sanctions or based on forced trust by one sided dependency [Van Ark, 2005 and Rousseau et al, 1998]. In this it is hard to speak about real trust and better to speak about forced trust which is a form of

mistrust. This form can also occur under circumstances when people involved in the process experience the expectation that they will reach consensus.

The different types of trust do support cooperation. While rational trust is easier to establish and safer because it is based on knowledge and facts, emotional trust seems to be stronger but harder to influence. Making it a dilemma in which stage to focus in the approach on which kind of relation between people.

2.3 Concepts related to trust

Like the discussion of the different types of trust already showed trust is influenced by different related concept. Here these concepts will be used to explore the role of trust in planning. The most important eye catching one is uncertainty and related to that risk, vulnerability and expectations. In addition opportunism vs. acting to defend ones position as a dilemma of trust can be found.

Uncertainties

The first concept. Trust is seen as a possibility to reduce and to tolerate uncertainties [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007, Eshuis, 2006 and Das & Teng, 1998]. In a way it is a bet about the future actions of others [Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003], a choice to deal with uncertainties and their consequences in a certain way. This makes trust besides the reduction of uncertainties also about going into uncertainties. With this uncertainty goes a vulnerable position, expectations and risks. Making dealing with uncertainties a dilemma, because to which extent are uncertainties accepted and why? Based on which information? Giving the question to which extent information is needed?

Vulnerable positions

Relying on trust can be chosen to reduce uncertainties. This does not mean that this choice is always made aware. On the other hand,

with trust a certain vulnerability of the actors involved comes as a consequence of this uncertainty [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. Stronger, when an actor trusts an other actor he is willing to have an open and vulnerable position [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. This makes dealing with uncertainties a puzzle. To which extend can I be open? when am I too vulnerable? The answers are led by the situation but also by strategies of the participants. The precondition of being vulnerable is that the actors involved need a certain mutual dependency. Otherwise there is no reason to be vulnerable. In this, vulnerability can be seen as one of the dominant concepts related to trust. [Van Ark, 2005]. In other words one leaves itself vulnerable tot the actions of trusted others [Das & Teng, 1998]. A vulnerable position can make cooperation easier because of more openness. Besides without this openness trust is hard to establish. On the one hand not misusing the vulnerable position of the other will create trust [Eshuis, 2006]. Immediately, vulnerability is also a risk. Misuse is easy, will destroy trust, the cooperation and will influence the choice of trusting one an other again. All this, makes adapting to a vulnerable position a dilemma. The question is: to which extend is trust sufficient that someone can or will you be vulnerable?

Risks

A vulnerable position is a risk and in general this risk is only accepted when there is a certain trust. Like O'Brien [2001] says "trust implies risk, because it is based on confidence in a relationship, or the capacity to deliver, without having to continually monitor the outcome." This implies continuously balancing to which extend risks are accepted. In addition, without risks trust would not be necessary and it is risky because there is no guarantee what the result or process will be. The form of risk which goes with trust is mostly seen as the inability to calculate and asses people, organizations or institutions completely on there motives and competences [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002, Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003 and Van Ark, 2005]. This is risk within the process between partners. But trust makes it also possible to overcome risky situations [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. A nice

quote of Rousseau et al [1998] is: "risk creates an opportunity for trust, which leads to risk taking".

The relation between risk and trust is very complicated. On the one hand trust is based on risk because it is impossible to know everything. And on the other hand trust creates different kinds of risk during the process because the relation is build on expectations and not purely on knowledge. Influencing expectations or knowledge by adding or suppressing information, aware or unaware this will influence the balance between trust and risk. This means that influencing the balance can be done out of a strategic point of view by different participants. Making the balance between trust and risk negotiable from the beginning to the end of the process. Last, a risky situation can make it possible that people have to trust each other in which forced trust can come in sight. All these different influences lead to the dilemma to which extend risk is accepted because of trust, when is the risk to big, based on what and why?

Besides this dynamic relation between trust and risk, risk is also related to uncertainties and expectation. These can influence or resulting in vulnerability or opportunism.

Expectations

An other aspect of trust, related to uncertainties is expectations. Trust in each object has to do with positive expectation in the outcome of the process, the attitude, action and the process it self. Because it is related to everything happening in or related to the process, expectations are highly variable but can contribute positively to the process. This contradiction makes it a dilemma to which extend expectations are leading and when more certainty is required. Positive expectations can be towards another's motives [Das & Teng, 1998, O'Brien, 2001, Rousseau et al, 1998 and Eshuis, 2006] or the way effort is put in the process or the desirable action taken. Besides, expectations can also be there to accept uncertainties, about actors, the process or others. It is important that these positive expectations exist because it is

impossible and undesirable to get everything on paper. Although, contracts can be a result of trust based relations (later on more). Again these expectations go with the uncertainties and risks in the process [Van Ark, 2005]. While positive expectations enlarge trust, to high expectations can lead to the absence of a critical attitude, which again can lead to disappointments later on. Making it again a dilemma, because to which extend are expectations supporting the process and when do they break it because of the lack of a critical attitude? Besides these, expectations can also be experienced as power. The expectations that the involved actors do reach agreement can be experienced as forcing. In contrary to expectations or the tendency to keep promises is the likelihood that people will defend their interests which can be experienced as opportunistic behavior by others [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005].

With expectations it is good to make a distinction between active and passive expectations or between trust and confidence [Das & Teng, 1998, Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005 and Van Ark, 2005]. Active expectations can be described as trust in each other and expectations about motives and actions. While passive trust or confidence is more the expectation in cooperative behavior, a feeling that everything will be all right. Too much goodwill or confidence as a result of a lack of critical attitude to each other can lead to "blind trust" [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. Because "blind trust" is related a passive attitude people are not completely informed about the ins and outs of the process. Especially in cases of "unexpected" failure this lack of knowledge and critical attitude can lead to great damage to the process.

Critical attitudes

Within a process most people want to reach their goals. This attempt is logical but can be seen as opportunistic behavior by others. This can appear when people are not (positive) critical to each other. A lack of criticism can have weak and strong consequences. The passive form is a lack of dedication to perform to ones best. The active form

is trying to put everything to ones own interest. As their can be lying and cheating [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. The lack of critical attitude can be enforced when people have "blind trust" or a very passive attitude or confidence. Besides, a critical attitude is needed more when trust is purely based on emotions or relations and not on a rational or calculative basis. Or trusted institutional frames are not clear. Meaning that a balance should be found between the common interest and the personal interest in order to create trust.

In this situation the role of a team leader or facilitator is also important. A good facilitator will notice this behavior and tries to stop it to maintain the trust in the process, between individuals, organizations and in the institutional frames [O'Brein, 2001].

Contracts and trust

The relation between contracts and trust is very complex. One of the reasons for this is that contracts can never be complete because of the complexity of planning situations [Van Ark, 2005 and Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. Using contracts or trusting each other is in this always a weigh of pros and cons. This makes it that contracts and trust can act together, in addition to each other. Besides, every planning situation or process is different which means that no general rules can be given. Although this is true, in this part an effort is made to give a short overview of the most important opinions that exist about the relation between trust and contracts.

First, there are authors who argue that contracts reduces trust or are even seen as a sign of distrust [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005, Rousseau et al, 1998]. Rousseau et al [1998] argues that contracts will reduce the effective exchange in relationships as a result of to high structured process. As a consequence trust is not necessary. Turn this around and it says that trust will replace contracts. So trust and contracts rule each other out. Those authors even argue that contracts reduce existing trust and development of expectations or future social relations [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. It

is also argued that contracts have a big risk when they are infringed. Broken contracts lead to more mistrust [Mosch & Verhoeven, 2003]. This is one view, others argue different.

A lot authors argue that contracts can underpin trust, can be seen as a result of trust or can be complement to each other [Das & Teng, 1998, Eshuis, 2006, Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005, Van Ark, 2005]. This view is based on the growing complexity of planning situations and the notion that situations are too complex to fit into contracts. But this view does not rule out contracts. (Legal) Contracts and psychological contracts (trust) [Das & Teng, 1998] are two different approaches which can be used next to each other. Because "a written agreement does not imply a lack of trust" as Van Ark & Edelenbos [2005] say. In this way trust and contracts can be complement to each other or written agreements can be the result of a process of building trust. On the other hand, trust can also lead to increasing positive criticism and makes less contracts necessary [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005] but still does not rule out contracts. In this view contracts respect the dynamics of trust because certain frames are built with these contracts. One last view on trust is that trust reduces the amount of contracts, or even makes them unnecessary [Van Ark, 2005]. Concluding, this view approaches the relation of trust and contracts as one which can exist next to each other in different ways because of different reasons all situation depended, but it does not rule it out on forehand. The contracts respect the dilemmas in trust.

From this short discussion can be derived that the relation between contracts and trust is very complex indeed. The different views show that there is not one answer to the question what to choose: a contract or "just trust" one or the other. Besides it depends on the context if contracts are necessary, unwanted or additional to trust, because to which extent is trust enough and when are contracts needed and for what? Moreover when do contracts support trust and when do they break trust? This is a constant and complex dilemma within trust balanced during the whole process.

In this thesis the words contracts, written agreements or common agreements are all used as contracts, a way to agree things, mostly written.

Control

Contracts are a form of control. Making control and trust strongly related. Control can be created through formal agreements (contracts, monitoring) or through relationships (trust). The reason to work on trust is because control is necessary to a certain extent and for one or another reason formal control is not the solution for (parts of) the process [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005 and Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. In contrary it is also argued that it might be necessary to have control and trust at the same time [Eshuis, 2006]. This can be strongly related to the combination of contracts - trust like described before. Common trusted expectations can be the basis of contracts which is a form of control.

Formal control and trust can be combined and trust can be a kind of control or a substitute for control. In this, control can be divided in active control, related to contracts and passive control related to trust [Woolthuis, Hillebrand & Nooteboom, 2005]. A last remark needs to be made about the relation between formal control and trust. The balance between formal control and trust is delicate. Control systems which are ill-suited to the situation or task can lead to escalating distrust [Das & Teng, 1998]. In this a good weigh should be made what to chose. The dilemma here is to which extend is informality accepted and when is formal control necessary. This dilemma gets more complicated because the question is control over what exactly? When and how does this influence trust?

Costs

Cooperation is expensive [Van Ark, 2005]. Because discussions about cooperation and the implementation of new policy are often related to costs and trust is an concept for planning issues, some attention

is paid to the literature about costs and trust.

On the one hand trust is seen as cost reducing. One of the reasons that trust is cost reducing is that trust in each other can speed up the cooperation process [O'Brien, 2001 and Eshuis, 2006]. Cooperation takes time and time is money. In addition, the fact that due to trust less monitoring about the outcome and process can be necessary saves enormous amounts of money. Third, it can reduce the transaction costs saved due to less contracts [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005 and Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007]. But it is not only positive, there are also some remarks about these advantages.

The other side of the story is that trust also costs money. It is not only money saving, building trust costs also time and money [Eshuis, 2006]. If these costs grow because of the time the process takes involved people can start doubting about the outcome of the process [Eshuis, 2006] or the participation of certain parties and companies. As a result, trust will decline and costs will get even higher. Or when the outcome does not fit the expectations of the actors involved trust is lowering and will higher the costs too [Van Ark, 2005]. In general, trust can reduce costs but because trust is fragile it can also result in higher costs after failures of the process or people involved and that is a risk.

Thus, maybe trust should not be chosen out of money saving arguments. In addition, the trust - costs relation gives some considerations whether costs and trust are influencing each other.

Power

When people depend on each other which is also the case in planning processes: you need to trust each other to reach your goal. In such a situation there are differences in dependency and power is present [Eshuis, 2006]. Power is often approached negatively but can also be positive. In cooperation based on trust power is also present because power is present in everything which restricts behavior

[Stein & Harper, 2003]. And trust can be restricting to the behavior of participants. This is also why trust in institutions is so important. Institutions mostly restrict but trust in institutions makes it possible to act within these restriction. Sometimes it is even possible to change these restrictions, which is a kind of "using the power to change".

Of course power can also destroy trust, if it is used wrongly [Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007]. In addition, an other relation between trust and power is that trust can be a substitute for hierarchical power [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. And power can also enforce trust, to make a cooperation team even more stronger. In this, the relation between trust and power gives some considerations which should be taken into account. For instance that power is always present. And when trusted relations change, power relations also change. Influencing relations, decisions or people will strongly relate to trust and the decision should be made well balanced. Making it a dilemma whether trust can enforce the project or when power relations do influence trust negatively. And how this is reached.

Last, as shown trust is a very complicated concept. It is impossible to speak about "trust" as one concept. Besides, trust itself is very diverse with its different types, objects of trust and concepts related to trust. In addition, it is tried to show trust not only as a positive concept but also as an important concept with remarks, preconditions and related concepts. With these, trust is a dynamic concept which is always changing and of which the role continuously is negotiated and influenced by choices and dilemma's balanced in the process.

Making and breaking trust

Now some important concepts related to trust are known, related to the kinds of trust and the objects of trust some will be said about its functions and how to "make" trust or to break it. In literature, opinions whether trust can be build are divided. Although this difference, enough evidence is found to assume building trust is

possible [Van Ark, 2005, Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002 and O'Brien, 2001]. That is why some of building blocks are discussed here. It will be clear that building trust is related to the different concepts mentioned before. All the different concepts influence trust which means that building blocks can not be seen as golden rules.

Building trust

"Trust does not come out of nothing. In contradiction it seems that people always make their choices based on the trust that they have in somebody or something." [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. From this quote can be distinguished that in one way or the other trust can appear, aware or unaware. This is good to acknowledge but not useful in a planning process when trust is "needed". The relation between the concepts discussed before and trust is mainly about choices and dilemma's. In this, building trust is the balancing of dilemma's. One of the most important starting points of trust is that there is interdependence [Rousseau et al, 1998]. People have to be dependent of each other to reach a goal, otherwise there is no reason for cooperation. In general this is necessary for planning processes. For trust this is also very important, there must be a reason that you have to trust each other. Still, to build trust is a hard job.

Because of its dynamics trust is not easily developed and it costs time, money and the right people. Besides, it is hard to influence or manage trust [Van Ark, 2005]. Building trust needs to be done at the beginning of the process or at a moment that actors get involved with each other. In this situation actors have to be open to each other or at least have an open attitude to each other. Without such an attitude there is no room for cooperation, meaning no room for trust. Especially at this moment, the beginning, trust is very fragile [O'Brien, 2001] because it is based on a few expectations [Van Ark, 2005] or on "blue eyes" and possible history. Laying confidence in people, opening up or making positive expectations based on a balance with such a small basis of emotional and rational arguments

makes it fragile. History, when positive, can enforce trust. Otherwise experiences from the past need to be overcome and trust is built even slower. Except from the fact that trust is not only built on expectations, which makes it fragile. As described before expectations can also be very risky, vulnerable and easily affected by strategic moves or people's attitude. It makes it that there is no "general rule" how trust can be built but the mentioned factors do play a role. Over time trust can be built on more than only expectations and more on integrity, consistency [O'Brien, 2001] and if available rational knowledge. This makes it possible to decide on the dilemmas on a basis more than only, for instance, "bright eyes".

It is generally acknowledged that trust develops by interaction between actors over a longer period [Van Ark, 2005, Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007 and Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. These interactions can be arranged, as seen in the models and participation methods. This is actually the only part of building trust which can be directly influenced. Shaping an environment for trust. Interaction between actors is not a guarantee for trust but important because this makes it possible to know each other better. Besides, people as a group can rely on each other and stand stronger to solve problems [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. In addition, an other issue influenced by the environment is that a stable situation and a clear design or approach of the process helps to set the frame of trust. [Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007]. For instance, if the approach is known (as shown in the part about communication) building trust can be based on more certainties.

Besides these, openness is important. Openness towards each other can also be seen as a concept or issue to trust. Showing trust generates a trustful attitude (if not abused). The reason for this is that through openness and transparency people gain more information about each other, with the possibility to understand and it makes situations more predictable [Eshuis, 2006]. Besides, as said a certain open attitude is important to accept others' ideas. But the main problem is,

how do you know that people are really open? To assume this, asks a certain risk and choice, a dilemma. It is not only about openness but also about understanding each other. It is important that different actors understand each other or that they speak the same language [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002]. Bringing it together, to communicate open a specific language is required that everybody understands. Even, not understanding each other or communication based on stereotypes often leads to mistrust [Eshuis, 2006]. Last, to communicate and build trust some informality is required [Vermunt, Aarts & Van Woerkum, 2002].

Some last remarks need to be made. It is about building trust. Building a trusting relationship is hard. For that and for keeping it during the process it is important that there is a balance between a bottom-up approach and top-down hierarchy. Actors, participants or people expect a certain steering given by the assigner and clear institutional frames. On the other hand recognition of their role is important just as respecting and using their opinion. To achieve this, a leader is indispensable according to some direct and indirect sources. For instance, from empirical research was found that the development of trust came because of the great involvement of a civil servant or process leader [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005, Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007, O'Brien, 2001 and Gillespie & Mann, 2004].

Functions in cooperation

The concept of trust can be useful in different situations. Especially with the growing complexity of the planning issues relationships become more and more important. Relationships based on trust is one of them. The growing complexity is due to the fact that governments leave the old top-down approach and shift to a more bottom-up process in which cooperation with actors and networks is important [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005]. In this context building trust is seen as one of the ways of dealing with cooperation between organizations [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005 and Eshuis, 2006]. The function of trust can be that trust enlarges the chances of good cooperation

for both private and public cooperation. Besides, it can also enlarge the performance [Van Ark & Edelenbos, 2005] within the process and the scope for action [O'Brien, 2001]. Also, not only scoping for more action, but in general trust can reduce complexity [Das & Teng, 1998]. Complexity is reduced because when one another is trusted certain options are ruled out for the moment. And trust can reduce transactions costs (more about that later), can reduce conflicts and make effective responses to crisis possible [Rousseau et al, 1998]. On the contrary distrust can also have a function. Strategic distrust can be chosen to influence the process to one's own interest. In addition, distrust between different people can lead to trust between others and to better performance resulting in more trust.

Breaking trust

All through the text it is often mentioned: trust is hard to establish, dynamic, depending on the actors and their negotiations and choices in dilemmas. This makes it very fragile and easily destroyed. Building trust takes a lot of time but distrust is even more catastrophic [O'Brien, 2001]. Also, people falling-of during the process makes it all not very better and makes trust even harder. When dramatic differences between evidence comes to light, trust is easily broken.

2.4 Trust: Balancing dilemma's

Discussing the different concepts influencing trust lots of dilemmas arise which are inter linked to each other. The main dilemmas are listed here. These dilemmas have all sub-dilemmas or questions which will be discussed below. Which will also show the interrelations.

- Dilemmas regarding the approach and flexibility
- Dilemmas regarding the kinds of trust
- Dilemmas regarding uncertainties and risks
- Dilemmas regarding openness and vulnerability
- Dilemmas regarding expectations
- Dilemmas regarding contracts and control
- Dilemmas regarding power and autonomy

First of all, dilemmas regarding the **approach** are distinguished. The main dilemma is how hierarchical methods versus bottom-up approaches are balanced. This dilemma is balanced constantly. This balance is important because some (restricting) context have to be shaped to create trust. On the one hand creating space for initiatives can also contribute to trust. On the other hand, too many rules or flexibility lead to too many uncertainties.

Other related dilemmas are: To which extent is self initiative accepted? Is this useful? Does it contribute to the process? To which extent is **flexibility** towards **uncertainties** accepted? Besides these questions, balancing the process is also influenced by the content of the project. Does the content allow flexibility? As part of that, who (is chosen to) join the project?

Besides the approach related dilemmas, other dilemma's related to the **kind of trust** are at stake. There are different types of trust that can be important, but not all are useful or leading at the same moment. Question is which kind of trust is leading? Moreover, how can the stronger, but harder to reach personal trust be created? This leads to the dilemma: when trust is build on facts sufficient and when trust is based on more personal and emotional arguments needed? Besides, how is institutional trust build? This is leading to the next dilemma how to balance institutional actions over a longer period of time to create trust? Especially because changes can be necessary but can also lead to mistrust.

One of the main concepts influencing these dilemma's is **uncertainty**, which does lead to dilemmas itself. Main dilemma towards uncertainties is to which extent are they accepted? Or when is there enough trust to overcome uncertainties? Resulting in another dilemma to which extent information about the project or persons is needed to build trust? So to which extent are **risks** accepted and when is information needed? Especially because trust leads to risk taking. Resulting in the dilemma when are risks accepted?

To make information about persons available in order to trust someone a certain **openness** and with that **vulnerability** is needed. Easy, but nobody is vulnerable when it can harm him because it leads to too much uncertainties and risks. This gives an other dilemma related to trust, how open can or do I have to be and why? Making it a strategic choice. In addition, it is not only about being open but also about deliberately being not open.

This choice is influenced by **expectations** which create an other dilemma. Positive expectations can contribute to trust relations but too high expectations can lead to disappointments which can result in mistrust. To high expectations can be intercepted by taking a critical attitude. On the other hand, too critical can mean that expectations are lowered to far with mistrust as a consequence. Resulting in the dilemma to which extent expectations do contribute to trust and when expectations are too high, leading to disappointments and mistrust.

One way to deal with uncertainties and expectations is through written agreements or **contracts** as a form of **control**. As stated contracts can contribute to trust because they can frame the process. Besides, some form of control is always present. On the other hand too much control (through contracts) can negatively influence trust relations. Here the next dilemma arises, how can written agreements contribute to trust. When do they limit the flexibility to much and when do contracts focus the project. The dilemma gets more complicated because the question is: what should be controlled and what should be left open and flexible? Because open and flexibility can contribute to trust but control is needed.

Related to trust is the dilemma of **power**. On the one hand trust can enforce a project, making it powerful. On the other hand too much power can also create mistrust. Leading to the dilemma to which extent and how can power contribute to trust and when does power

break the project? Related to power relations within a process is the dilemma between the common objective of the project and the personal objectives. So how is the balance between enforcing ones own point of view and the common objective dealt with?

Focus for the cases

From the studied literature two things can be derived. First, a general explanation of trust in planning processes and its role can be given. Second, new questions can be addressed to focus the main aim of this thesis and explore it further:

To explore the role of trust is in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites.

As stated in the introduction the first question was: *What is trust and what is its role of trust in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites?*

From the dilemmas distinguished from literature it can be derived that trust is a mechanism in planning processes. More precise it is a mechanism present in cooperation relations within planning processes. Its role is that of a mechanism constantly balanced by dilemmas regarding related concepts in a search for certainty. In other words the role of trust is a substitute for certainty and the dilemmas are balanced based on different (personal) considerations.

The overview of literature results in a set of dilemmas as mentioned before. Which can be used to make studying the role of trust operational. Besides, it gives the first information about why trust is important and how trust is developed. For more in depth exploration of these dilemmas, the importance role of trust and the development of trust two cases are studied. For the focus of these case studies four research questions are asked:

1. Why is trust important?
2. How does trust emerge in planning processes?
3. Which dilemma's are dealt with?
4. How is dealt with these dilemma's in practice and what are the consequences?

The answers too these questions will be derived from the case



Whereas the Council declaration of 22 November 1973 on the programme of action of the European Communities on the environment [4] calls for specific action to protect birds, supplemented by the resolution of the Council of the European Communities and of the representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council of 17 May 1977 on the continuation and implementation of a European Community policy and action programme on the environment [5];

Whereas a large number of species of wild birds naturally occurring in the European territory of the Member States are declining in number, very rapidly in some cases; whereas this decline represents a serious threat to the conservation of the natural environment, particularly because of the biological balances threatened thereby;

Whereas the species of wild birds naturally occurring in the European territory of the Member States are mainly migratory species; whereas such species constitute a common heritage and whereas effective bird protection is typically a trans-frontier environment problem entailing common responsibilities;

Whereas the conditions of life for birds in Greenland are fundamentally different from those in the other regions of the European territory of the Member States on account of the general circumstances and in particular the climate, the low density of population and the exceptional size and geographical situation of the island;

Whereas therefore this Directive should not apply to Greenland;

Whereas the conservation of the species of wild birds naturally occurring in the European territory of the Member States is necessary to attain, within the operation of the common market, of the Community's objectives regarding the improvement of living conditions, a harmonious development of economic activities throughout the Community and a continuous and balanced expansion, but the necessary specific powers to act have not been provided for in the Treaty;

Whereas the measures to be taken must apply to the various factors which may affect the numbers of birds, namely the repercussions of man's activities and in particular the destruction and pollution of their habitats, capture and killing by man and the trade resulting from such practices; whereas the stringency of such measures should be adapted to the particular situation of the various species within the framework of a conservation policy;

Whereas conservation is aimed at the long-term protection and management of natural resources as an integral part of the heritage of the peoples of Europe; whereas it makes it possible to control natural resources and governs their use on the basis of the measures necessary for the maintenance and adjustment of the natural balances between species as far as is reasonably possible;

Whereas the preservation, maintenance or restoration of a sufficient diversity and area of habitats is essential to the conservation of all

CHAPTER THREE

NATURA 2000 IN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS

This chapter introduces Natura 2000 as European legislation. Besides, it pays attention to the elaboration of the policy in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

3.1 Natura 2000

It is generally known that within Europe nature declines. Since 1972 the European Union developed different policies to stop this decline. Two of these policies are the Bird Directive (1979) and Habitat Directive (1992). These Directives are one of the most efficient legal instruments concerning nature conservation [Christophersen and Weber, 2002]. One of the key objectives of these directives is to establish an European wide network of protected nature area's [see amongst others Krott, et al. 2000]. The Habitat and Bird Directives together are known as the Natura 2000 project. The network should prevent the decline of biodiversity in Europe and keep the different species and habitats in a favorable state [EC, 2007]. To establish this network every country

has to designate Special Protection Areas (SPA), based on the Birds Directive, Special Areas of Conservation (SAC) and Sites of Community Importance (SCI), based on the Habitat directive. The difference between the SAC's and SCI is that SCI are adapted by the European Commission, after they are designated on national level they are called SAC's [EU, 2007]. To establish the NATURA 2000 network following policy steps should be taken:

1. The different member states must submit a list of Special Protection Areas (SPA's) and Sites of Community Importance (SCI's) to the European Commission. These are judged by the E.C. by comparing them with existing inventories of bird populations and habitats. If found sufficient SCI's become SAC's.
2. Each member state sets up ecological objectives per SPA after

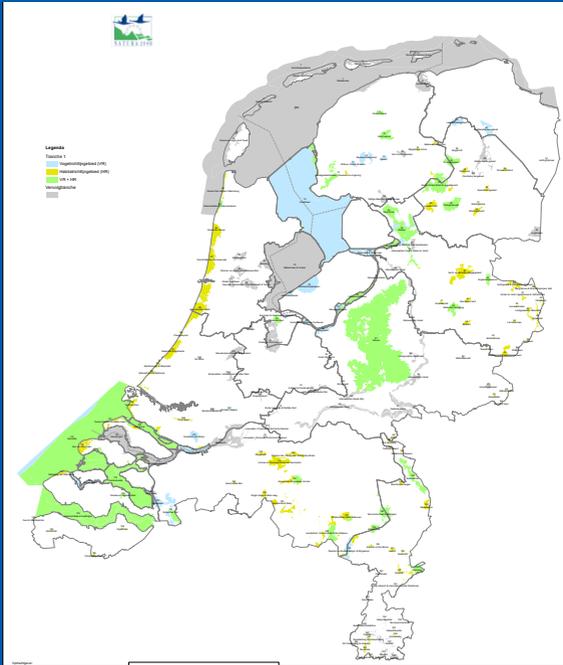


Fig. 3.1 Natura 2000 sites in the Netherlands [LNV, 2006]

Natura 2000 in the Netherlands

Sites: 162, SACs: 141, SPAs: 79 and MAs: 7.

Surface area: terrestrial 7.5 km², marine 3.5 km².

Surface of Netherlands: 9 % (only terrestrial)

Europe: 2.4% of total Natura 2000 area
From: Neven & Kistenkas, 2005

which the different areas are specified more precise and officially designated.

- For each SPA the member states are advised to arrange the management in cooperation with land owners and land users [LNV, 2005a].

The European Union leaves it to the member states how they practically execute the above mentioned steps as stated in the Habitat Directive [EC, 1992]. For instance, the member states should manage the nature sites to keep the species and habitats in a favorable state but if the management will be embedded in existing (spatial) plans or in new management plans is not given [EU, 2002].

In the case of management plans the Netherlands chose for a legally binding management plan. In other countries like the UK it is chosen to have no legally binding plans [Krott, et al. 2000]. In the UK the lower but relevant authorities together with the coordinator choose whether the management will be incorporated in existing plans or new management schemes will be developed.

A short literature review shows that all members states are behind on the initial schedule of the European Commission [Krott, et al. 2000, Christophersen & Weber, 2002 and Chilla, 2005] and that major problems arise in different countries. The countries got one or more reprimands from the European Commission. Both because they were behind on schedule and because the submitted lists were found insufficient.

3.2 Natura 2000 in the Netherlands

The Netherlands have a long history of nature protection. Large nature areas are owned by private nature organizations and the governmental forestry agency. One of the last Dutch developments in nature conservation is the Ecological Main Structure. For Natura 2000 the national government has chosen to select areas that are also designated as Ecological Main Structure or already existing nature areas.

As written before, the European Commission states in their guidelines for Natura 2000 that each country has a responsibility for different species and habitats. How each country chooses to deal with their responsibilities is to the national governments [EC, 1992]. The Dutch government translated their responsibilities for species in national objectives of keeping or getting the different species and habitats in a favorable state of living [LNV, 2005a]. These objectives are allocated over 162 different Natura 2000 sites that will be established in the Netherlands.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food safety (LNV) is the coordinating body for the Natura 2000 policy. In its role as coordinator they started the discussion about precise designation and borders of the different sites. This discussion was held with scientific organizations, experts, civil servants and nature organizations. The process was planned in fall 2005. Summer 2006 the designation discussions were closed by the provisional designation of sites. Alterra, one of the governmental research institutes collects the data during these discussions and developed also the database with sites information [LNV, 2007b].

For every Natura 2000 site the ministry appointed an area coordinator. The area coordinator is always a government, most of the times the provinces. This is different when a government owns the site for more than 50%. In these situations, the owning government is the coordinator. In practice this means that next to the provinces the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food safety (LNV), the Ministry of Transport and Waterworks (V&W) or the Ministry of Defense can be coordinator. The coordinator is responsible for achieving the objectives that are designated to the specific site [LNV, 2005a].

All the area coordinators have the responsibility to reach the area objectives established by the Ministry of LNV. To reach the objectives there are three instruments. First, the designation decisions. In these decisions the precise borders of the areas are allocated made by the

Ministry of LNV in discussion with scientific institutes, nature conservation organizations and the provinces. Second, the management plans. The management plans should be developed by the area coordinator according to the guidelines of the ministry of LNV. The management plans are developed for the actual management. Important is that the management plans form the basis of the protection. The management plans will be inspected by the ministry if they meet the standards and if necessary revived or adjusted every six years. Important element of these evaluations is the monitoring. Through monitoring the coordinating authority will be judged to which extent they reached the objectives. Judging the achievements is done by a department of the ministry of LNV. Third, the permissions for new and existing activities. These permissions can be granted or refused because they influence the habitats and species negatively. The balancing of this decision will be done on the basis of the management plans by the area coordinator or the ministry [LNV, 2005b].

In short Natura 2000 in the Netherlands looks as this:

- National objectives
 - o Product: the national objectives document
- Objectives for Natura 2000 sites
 - o Product: designation decision
- Working out the objectives in space and time
 - o Product: management plan

From the documents reviewed it seems important to the ministry of LNV to make these objectives measurable and verifiable because they have the national responsibility towards the European Union. Furthermore, the Ministry of LNV decided to shift the responsibilities for the areas and the management plans to the provinces but keep controlling them. First, through the monitoring and evaluation reports, second through the granting of permits.



Fig. 3.2 Natura 2000 sites in the United Kingdom [JNCC, 2007]

Governmental responsibility the Netherlands

Initiative: Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Safety (LNV).

Coordinator: Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Safety (national and site level), provinces, ministry of Finance, ministry of Transport and Waterworks, ministry of Defense (site level).

Data: Alterra Research Institute

Definitive designation: Ministry of LNV

Back-up: Ministry of LNV
Management plan: legal binding plan, checked by ministry of LNV.

Monitoring: Ministry of LNV

Natura 2000 in the United Kingdom

Sites: 614, SACs: 610, SPAs: 252 and MAs: 5.

Surface area: terrestrial 15.9 km², marine 9.1 km².

Surface of UK: 6.5 % (only terrestrial)

Europe: 5.4% of total Natura 2000 area

From: Neven & Kistenkas, 2005

3.3 The Dutch Natura 2000 situation

According to the website of the ministry of LNV [LNV, 2007] at this moment 119 of the 162 sites are designated provisional. The designation proposals have been available for the public and the minister will give her reaction to the National Parliament as soon as possible. For the remaining 43 areas the designation process will start in 2008. In the meanwhile some provinces (as area coordinator) started with the development of the management plans. In February 2008 the first four areas were designated and for three sites the development of the management plans started. For further information the ministry organized information evenings in every province (one for each province).

Although the Habitat Directive (the newest of the directives) was established in 1992, the adjustment of the national laws to the directives was done in 2002 and in 2005 for the protection of Natura 2000 sites [LNV, 2005a]. When Natura 2000 came in the picture in the Netherlands the first reactions from nature organizations were positive, this was in back in 2004 [Beunen & Van Ark, 2005 and Van den Bosch, 2006]. In contrary, most (local) actors were not aware of the consequences of Natura 2000 for a long time because the discussion about the national and area objectives were not a public discussion [Boom, 2004 and Van den Bosch, 2006]. When Natura 2000 became part of the public debate the reactions were mainly negative. An often heard argument was that the ministry put too much weight on the ecological part of the designation process. During the designation process the ministry did not incorporate socio-economical factors and they lacked public involvement and information. [Beunen & Van Ark, 2005 and Van den Bosch, 2006]. Resulting in less room left for negotiation with local actors about other interests. This made that the Dutch press mainly published negative about Natura 2000.

Arguments in the public discussion seem to have in common that Natura 2000 is still unclear. As a coordinating body the ministry develops a lot of documents in which they try to be clear about Natura 2000.

Unfortunately these attempts did not seem to help. Different inquiries show that there is a lack of communication. Not only between the government and the public but also between the ministry, the provinces and the municipalities. [Van den Bosch, 2006]. In the national discussion the ministry stated that they delegated a lot of responsibilities to the provinces. Which is also clear in their documents [LNV, 2005a and LNV, 2005b]. In addition the municipalities also have high expectations of the provinces. This while the provinces stated to lack the important information they need [Heukels, et al. 2006].

Besides the communication between the different governments, there is also a lot to say about the communication between the government and the public involved. On the level of Natura 2000 sites as well as on the national level the communication was lacking while there were high expectations. To give an example, the province of Gelderland had high expectations because they see Natura 2000 as an opportunity to protect their nature areas better. Although the province knew additional funding for management will be necessary, they still do not know where the money has to come from. This while this question for more money was addressed more than once and leaves uncertainties about the feasibility of Natura 2000. As a consequence Natura 2000 was not in the minds of actors involved on the level of Natura 2000 sites [See amongst others: Boom, 2004]. In his research Van den Bosch [2006] even stated that managers of nature sites were not actively involved and that actors like users, inhabitants and visitors were neither. This indicates that the implementation of Natura 2000 in the Netherlands was still vague and that the implementations goes with a lot of problems.

Concluding, the implementation of Natura 2000 in the Netherlands was formalized but still unclear to big groups and meets different opponents. As a consequence the development of management plans will face these differences.

3.4 Natura 2000 in the United Kingdom

Just as the Netherlands, the United Kingdom has a long history in nature conservation. Large areas are owned by private nature organizations and national park authorities.

Before 1994, conservation of nature areas through site protection by the government was only possible under the Wildlife and Countryside Act (1981) with the designation of Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) [Morris et al. 2005]. The site protection was well arranged on paper but in practice did not had any consequence. The introduction of the Habitat Directive in 1992 changed this situation. After the adoption of the Habitat Directive by the European Union in 1992 both Special Areas of Conservation (SACs) and Special Protection Areas (SPAs) were transposed into the UK law of Conservation Regulations or Habitat Regulation (1994). For Northern Ireland the EC directives were transposed a year later [DEFRA, 1998]. Since then 614 sites were proposed to the European Commission as Natura 2000 sites. Most of them are designated. The total area of sites is 1.559.558 ha (including marine sites). The United Kingdom government choose to treat sites designated under the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance the same as Natura 2000 sites. As independent advise body to the national and local governments the Joint Nature Conservation Committee (JNCC) is the coordinating body of date used for the designation process, management and monitoring of the different Natura 2000 sites [JNCC, 2007].

The United Kingdom Government initiated the designation process of the SACs and SPAs (hereafter Natura 2000 sites). The government intended to select the sites on the basis of scientific criteria (as given by the Habitat Directive) and through the nature conservation agencies coordinated by the JNCC [DEFRA, 1998, Morris, et al. 2005 and JNCC, 2007]. In this process, a suitable site must be designated before the process of socio-economic is taken into account [Morris, et al. 2005]. The potential sites where selected by the conservation agencies and the

Governmental responsibility United Kingdom

Initiative: Department of Environment,
Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA).

Coordinators: Natural England
(England), Countryside Council for
Wales (Wales), Scottish Natural
Heritage (Scotland) and Environmental
and Heritage Service (Northern
Ireland).

Data: Joint Nature Conservation
Committee (JNCC)

Definitive designation: regional
coordinators

Back-up: Secretary of State DEFRA
Management plan: common agreement
in existing regional plans or new
management plan.

Monitoring: regional coordinators.

JNCC. Afterwards, owners, occupiers and other parties were involved in a widely consult. This discussion resulted in the definite list which was submitted to the EC and corrected. Again, the correction was in consultation with owners, occupiers and other parties [JNCC, 2007].

After the selection and designation of the Natura 2000 sites the government delegated the management to the governmental agencies and different country agencies, as there are: Natural England (for England), the Countryside Council for Wales (for Wales), Scottish Natural Heritage (for Scotland) and the Environmental and Heritage Service (Northern Ireland) [Defra, 2007]. In this, the policy guidance states that "*the voluntary principle should apply as far as possible*" at least when it concerns Marine sites [Jones & Burgess, 2005]. The development of the management should be with Relevant Authorities and relevant stakeholders, land owners, industries, recreation etc. on the basis of common interest [JNCC, 2007]. The state or central government sees their role as one of facilitation instead of control. As example the role, the Secretary of state is only involved on a back-up basis [Jones & Burgess, 2005] and the facilitation of the process of the establishment of management is through country agencies, for instance Natural England.

The management of the Natura 2000 has as overall goal to get or to keep the habitats and species in a positive state. New developments effecting the Natura 2000 sites the United Kingdom has an extensive system. For every development which effects Natura 2000 sites, local authorities like district councils or municipalities are obligated to extant permission. Second, in case that developments effect the site negatively local authorities and the initiator should look for alternatives. If alternatives can not be found, the Secretary of State DEFRA should be informed and the national government stays involved [Morris & Gibson, 2007]. Only when there are no alternative solutions and if there are reasons of overriding public interest permission may be granted. Third important precondition is that compensation with the establishment of areas with equal quality is required. Reasons of overriding public

interests are tested by the following guiding principles:

- *"A need to address a serious risk to human health and public safety;*
- *The interests of national security and defense;*
- *The provision of a clear and demonstrable direct environmental benefit on a national or international scale;*
- *A vital contribution to strategic economic development or regeneration;*
- *Where failure to proceed would have unacceptable social and/or economic consequences."* [Defra, 2007]

In general it is clear that the United Kingdom delegates the management to Local Authorities and nature agencies (even Natural England works with regional offices) just as dealing with new developments. This approach is similar to the way the habitat directives is formulated by the EC [1992]. Only in special cases, the central government is a back-up option. It is clear from reviewed literature and governmental information that as a result implementation guidelines are hardly given. This does not mean that national government did not thought about it because if the back-up of the Secretary is at stake they have strict guidelines what should happen and how. Although, the government delegates most to the countries, the general responsibility is still at the national level. This shows a large amount of trust between the different governments and clear division of tasks.

3.5 The English Natura 2000 situation

In 1994 the United Kingdom translated the Habitat and Birds Directive to their national laws in the Habitat Regulations. Since then, a lot happened. The new Habitat Directive was, especially by the Marine conservationists enthusiastically welcomed. Although there was much enthusiasm, the United Kingdom missed the deadline of 1995 to submit their selection of sites to the European Commission. In this the UK is not an exception [Krott et al. 2000]. In January 2000 the EC started an

procedure against the UK for submitting an incomplete list of proposed sites [Lásen Diaz, 2001 and Morris, et al. 2005]. It is clear that they learned from this because at this moment all sites are submitted.

Lately especially Marine sites were in the picture [see amongst others: Morris & Gibson, 2007, Jones & Burgess, 2005 and Morris, et al. 2005]. Besides the United Kingdom is developing management schemes. As said, the Habitat Directive was welcomed enthusiastic by marine experts and not without reason. Already the new legislation stopped port development at the south coast of England near the New Forest because of its effects on this site. In contrary it was not only success for marine conservation, few examples show that nature areas were lost because of mistakes. Besides these two examples, later cases show that through good partnership between local and regional actors potential mistakes and collective action problems can be overcome. This emphasizes the positive progress that is made [Morris & Gibson, 2007].

In 1999 the provisional list with sites was submitted. After correction the definite list was submitted and found sufficient. With the definitive designation a lot of people were consulted. In contrary to the stated involvement the Farmers Union in Wales was not pleased by the way the JNCC handled the designation. According to them, they were not involved [NFU, 2005]. Together with discussions with harbors and some land use, mainly forestry, these are the main problems met by the implementation.

The UK government focuses on local cooperation with the delegation of the development of management plans within the socio-economical context to the local authorities and regional conservation agencies. Besides, in this literature review it seems that the approach of the UK government is based on positive cooperation. Although much is known about Natura 2000 in the UK the role of local actors and users in this situation is not yet discussed in detail in literature.

HAVE YOU
PAID AND
DISPLAYED

There is currently an outbreak of **Myxomatosis** on the reserve.

Myxomatosis is endemic to this country and affects rabbits in a cyclical fashion. Some years are worse than others but it is always present in some amount. Rabbits with natural immunity survive and reproduction slowly rebuilds the population.

Take care or traps you have caused by

Myxomatosis is a disease caused by

Myxomatosis is a disease caused by



CHAPTER FOUR

THANET COAST AND WIEDEN - WEERRIBBEN

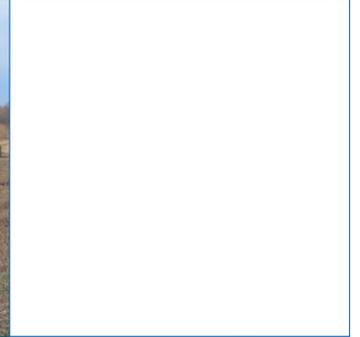
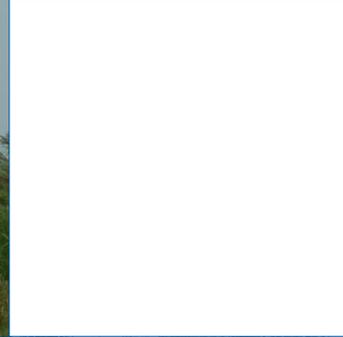
This part aims to describe the case Wieden – Weerribben and Thanet Coast. To specify the inquire after trust in the case the different concepts out of literature are used.

4.1 The Wieden – Weerribben project

The *Wieden* and *Weerribben* are two large nature areas in the low north of the Netherlands. Together they form the area of the *Wieden – Weerribben* project. A project established to develop a Natura 2000 Management Plan for the two areas together. The sites consist of lowland peat, smaller and larger open waters, reed lands, swamp forests and grasslands. The sites are protected because of their value for oligotrophic peat, moor and swamp landscapes. Different species like bittern and black tern depending on this kind of areas are included [LNV, 2006].

The area

The *Wieden* and *Weerribben* are two separate but similar areas, situated in the delta of the rivers *IJssel*, *Vecht* and *Zwarte Water*. The *Weerribben* is a variation of small channels, reed fields, small bushes, shrubs and in the reed fields small holes as little lakes called *pet gaten*. This landscape emerged due to centuries of peat and reed harvesting. The areas are home to numerous animals, plants and special vegetation types. One of the most important is the stadia of water becoming land by plants like the water soldier. The *Wieden*, just a little south of it and to be connected by new nature development projects is more characterized by open lakes. Open lakes are already in the name, where *Wieden* means large open ponds. These are also the result of peat harvesting. In contradiction to the *Weerribben*



the land between the peat harvesting areas eroded away by water and wind and big ponds emerged. Along the sides the *Wieden* look more similar to the *Weerribben* with small channels, reed fields and shrubs.

The *Wieden* and *Weerribben* are situated in the Province of *Overijssel* and the municipality *Steenwijkerland* home to approximately 40.000 people. Large villages close to the site are not present, but smaller villages like *Kalenberg*, *Giethoorn*, *Ossenzijl* and *Belt-Schutsloot* are situated within the site. Near to the area cities are absent and the site is completely surrounded by agricultural land. Agriculture is one of the main economical activities in this part of the country. In addition, tourism is very important to the economy. The *Wieden* and *Weerribben* are very famous because of their natural beauty which makes them popular amongst tourists. Each year the area is visited by about one million people.

The project

The project started in 2005 with the establishment of the workgroup. To understand the whole project and the issues at stake in the project some historical knowledge is required.

In the beginning of the 1990s discussions were held in the provincial parliament about the development of new nature areas between the *Wieden* and the *Weerribben*. This discussion was part of the national debate about the Ecological Main Network (*EHS*) which is developed to connect all nature areas in the Netherlands. In '94 the first concept of the Provincial Development Perspective on Northwest *Overijssel* (*Gebiedsperspectief Noordwest Overijssel*) was published. This governmental document stated that 3000 ha of new nature should be developed. Of course this had big consequences for the farmers in this area. About 80 to 100 had to leave. In the definite version of the Provincial Development Perspective this was brought back to 1500ha and as compensation the farmers outside the new nature areas were allowed to develop and grow. In addition, 350 jobs would

be created in the recreational sector [Metz, 1998]. Just after finishing the Perspective Natura 2000 came in. First, this was no reason of concern. As one of the interviewees told: "some farmers were worried and went to the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food safety. At the ministry an officer told them not to worry. He suggested just to replace some nature areas if there was a big problem." Because provincial politicians wanted to have more clarity about Natura 2000 they initiated the development of the management plan.

As written, the project started in May 2005 as a pilot project for Natura 2000 in the Netherlands. The initiative was fed by the uncertainties and fear about the consequences of Natura 2000 for this part of the country. In the beginning a workgroup started to develop the management plan. The workgroup was composed of representatives of landowners, the agricultural sector, the Land Allocation Committee and relevant authorities, including the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food safety. Already from the start different problems arose. These problems are mainly due to national legislation and rules which are not developed yet. This made the first phase of the workgroup time consuming because of all the information which should be gathered. To separate discussions about the content and the decisions a steering committee was established after one year. This was the first step in reducing uncertainties. Now the possibility was created to take decisions authorized by all stakeholders involved in the workgroup.

Besides contact with the steering committee the workgroup discusses with groups representatives of different committees and associations to know what is at stake in the area. The workgroup is chaired by the project leader who is the coordinator and contact person to the steering committee and the representatives. In February 2008 they presented the first concept of the management plan.

Involvement

All people interviewed about the project are involved as representatives

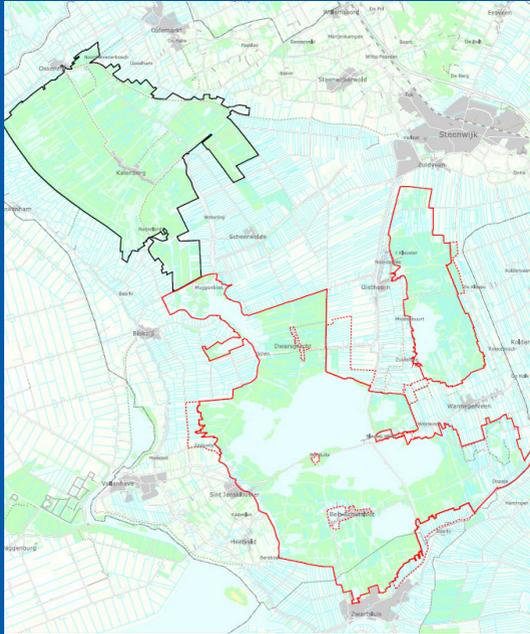


Fig. 4.1 Map of the Wieden - Weerribben
[NP Weerribben, 2008]

as part of their job. This means that they are involved because they “should be”. Personal involvement or involvement out of personal interests is not at stake under the interviewees. Here the dilemma “who is involved” results in a formal process because of the professionals. In contradiction, some interviewees tell that the reed sector and the recreation sector are represented by people personally involved with the area. Everybody involved in the project has a clear vision about its role. This mainly means that they have to look after the interests of their organization or inhabitants (municipality). For instance the municipality tells they are involved to look after the interests of their inhabitants because the management plan is about more than 50% of their grounds. The professional interests make that the interviewees generally state that they all have the responsibility to come to a good end result. A good end result should be interpreted as a good result in the view of the agencies, governments etc. represented by the members of the workgroup. Remarkable is the absence of uncertainties about the role the stakeholder got from their organization. While in the rest of the project uncertainties play a major part. About their own role in the project, the stakeholders were less certain. More about this later.

There is a difference in time that people become involved. Some are involved from the beginning, others just since a year. Everybody has the role to represent their organization. One of the interviewees had two different roles in the time he is involved. First he was project leader and after a year he represented the National Park *Weerribben - Wieden*. He stopped in the beginning as project leader to prevent confusion. From this can be derived that the strict choice for only professional involved people result in formal processes and as will be shown later less flexibility and personal relations.

Accepting uncertainties

The reason to initiate the process was to get clarity about Natura 2000. This resulted in a start with lots of uncertainties to every

aspect of the process. Also to inhabitants of the area and participants there were a lot of things uncertain in the beginning of the project. For some of the participants it was their first nature project, while they were actually experienced in recreation and tourism projects. In this stage all participants dealt different with their uncertainties.

The main respond to the uncertainties concerning the project was the collection of information. Here it can be seen that uncertainties were not accepted at all. The result was a long time of information collection. During this time the discussions were very hard and took a long time. As one of the interviewees says: *"everybody stood in the trenches."* According to some workgroup members information collection was something which should not be the job of the workgroup: *"information collection in the beginning should be done by experts, not by workgroup members. In order to contribute to the effort to provide information free of any value."* Resulting in distrust in the project. Besides time, an other consequence of this was that people questioned the information found by workgroup members. According to nearly all interviewees this caused discussion and made the working ambiance tensed. One of the interviewees even states: *"Information brought in by us was questioned. This made us angry resulting in dropping interests and disappointment amongst our councilors."* In this situation the expectations were negative towards the collected information. Making the result of the dilemma discussions and mistrust.

An other reaction to the dilemma if uncertainties are accepted in the beginning was that appointments were made. Important ones were that the concept borders of the site given by the Ministry were taken for granted (because there are no definite yet) and documents would only be published with the agreement of everybody. A last appointment is that the original survey date would be the first of January 2007 (This date is important to measure the state of the nature objectives). The appointments were made because *"the ministry could not give any clear information about it these definite*

boarders or dates while these should be arranged on national level" as one of the interviewees tells. Although these appointments were made, accepting the concept borders gives a risk about the response of the ministry on the final management plan. For this, expectations are tensed. Making agreements is a kind of contract. Meaning that to overcome uncertainties contracts are used. The contracts limited the uncertainties (temporarily) but raised a new dilemma because the agreements led to new risks. Here it can be seen that to deal with uncertainties new risks are created through contracts.

In the beginning other uncertainties came through the fact that the process was unclear. Partly the growing uncertainties had to do with the unclear role of the workgroup. All interviewees admitted that the fact that there was no steering committee in the beginning made the workgroup useless because decisions could not be taken. While these were necessary to continue. After the steering committee was established the workgroup could go on. Besides time, this indistinct gave frictions because some could take decisions and others could not. *"That was hard for the cooperation. No, it was not a nice time."* As was told. Concluding, the lack of clear division of tasks and roles and no steering or hierarchies in the approach led to discussions and frictions.

The role people had in the beginning of the project was also very unclear to many. The Water Management Board told: *"We thought our role was clear, but we were mistaken. Natura 2000 was about much more than only water. And the things we knew about water were not seen as facts."* Most people had a simple solution to this; to see what will happen. Others knew what their role had to be which was mainly representing interests. Something they are experienced in. In this it can be seen that people had different expectations and different questions and dealt with the dilemma differently.

During the process different uncertainties arose. This was particularly difficult because the main reason to start the project was to reduce

uncertainties. Different uncertainties were caused by the unclear information of the Ministry or the fact that they were behind on schedule. Behind on schedule or not, from the interviews could be derived that all this information is highly relevant, which results in the situation where critical facts or preconditions are not clear. An other way to say it was also often heard: *"The Wieden – Weerribben case is a pilot project so we are the ones who have to invent the wheel."* This means that general rules and critical principles are not clear. First of all, the ammonia deposition makes that the water is too eutrophic. The source of the ammonia are the agricultural areas around the nature sites. To protect the nature values the deposition should be lowered. Problem is that the deposition is also caused by farms far from the area. In order to control the deposition in the region farms should be *"replaced"* to stop the deposition. For this *"replacement"* national legislation should be implemented by the ministry. So for a good solution the workgroup has to wait till the national government takes a decision. Meaning that uncertainties are accepted but result in a negative attitude towards the institution.

Second main issue was the costs of the actual management. The management plans were getting more concrete at the time of interviewing but nobody knew how expensive the actual management will be. Besides, it is not clear who will pay for the management. The Water Management Board (*Waterschap*) and the municipality already admitted to lack in any additional budget for the management to reach the Natura 2000 goals. This means that the final result of the workgroup can be different from what the Ministry or Province expects. Which leads to a risk. This risk is that management plan will not be sufficient to reach the nature goals. As one of the interviewees told: *"well if the ministry wants more, then they have to pay. But it does make me wonder what will be left of all the good intentions of the beginning about Natura 2000. If the plan is toned down I question if Natura 2000 is still the thing we need then."* Here uncertainties were not handled at all leading to the dilemma of risk taking. To which extent is the risk that the end result is good enough

taken? This dilemma is balanced negatively influencing the process and trust in the ministry and in the result.

History was a third issue. History, related to the old plans and agreements and especially the Provincial Development Perspective. In this Perspective different appointments were made with different people. Now Natura 2000 is at stake some of these appointments and with that expectations from the public towards future developments might have to be re-considered. Resulting in uncertainties and mistrust. Especially when it comes to the cumulative effect. The cumulative effect has to do with the fact that significant negative effects on nature values should be avoided. In practice this means that windmills from the municipality of *Steenwijkerland* can be placed because they have no significant effect. But the effects of windmills together with those of a new neighborhood in Meppel (a little further) can have negative impact. Meaning it is not allowed. (fictive example is given by the municipality of *Steenwijkerland*).

All these uncertainties are not without consequences. First of all the workgroup started a time consuming process looking for more information to clarify as much as possible. Second, the issues which had to be arranged nationally could not be solved. This resulted in delays and more uncertainty for everybody involved. Especially when it comes to big questions like dealing with ammonia the workgroup can not do anything. This is mentioned by everybody and all admitted that this causes uncertainties for the future process. Sitting on the fence was the resulting attitude towards these issues. The lack of active response influenced the process. Most of the interviewees were prepared to accept these delays and responded to it from a formal point of view: *"we have to reach the end of the process together, that is what the council wants. It is our job to do it so we will, but it takes long, maybe too long."* This formal point of view seems leading towards dilemma's concerning uncertainties. Resulting in less action and leading to lowered expectations.

In the workgroup the different dilemmas regarding uncertainties led to problems in cooperation, delay and longer discussion. Especially because the dilemmas were not balanced at all but pushed forward. Leading to more risk taking and low expectations. In addition it leads to low expectations in the public. As interviewees told about the public, they public and mainly the farmers, were not happy with the delays and started to lose their confidence in the project and government. Especially because information is hardly given to the public. People in the workgroup tried to deal with it: *"I can tell the project leader that we have to inform the public and then to the councilor but that is it, it is not my job to arrange these kind of things."* These situations reflect on the workgroup and because of the negative influence it makes discussions harder. Concluding that the lack of information together with postponed dilemmas led to lowered expectations. Meaning that these can not contribute to the process.

Power relations

It stays unclear why different people were chosen to be involved. Even the project leader does not know, because it was arranged by its predecessor. Some interviewees thought the composition was the same as in the earlier Perspective group. For the Natura 2000 project the province just copied the list with stakeholders. Different interviewees identified the composition of the workgroup as a cause of the problems in the beginning. Referring to the uncertainties about their task as workgroup and the impossibility to take decisions. This impossibility is underlined by the fact that the composition of the workgroup did change several times. Here it can be seen that the dilemma is rebalanced. To deal with uncertainties it is chosen to install the steering committee. In addition, it shows that to deal with different roles and with that power is rebalanced.

From the interviews could be derived that hardly any groups, alliances or clusters are formed. Everybody is acting autonomous and the common is stronger than the personal. Especially the municipality

and the province told that they did not want form groups because they have to speak up the interests of all inhabitants. In contrary some interviewees stated that contact between governments was easier because they have the same kind of organization. In addition, the two nature organizations often had the same opinion, but they also say that the two nature organizations could disagree with each other. One example of this was given by the Water Management Board. *"we as a water management board sorted out what the possibilities would be for more water level fluctuation because this is good for nature. But when sorted out we found it could only vary 15 centimeters extra. Staatsbosbeheer was strongly against it, while Natuurmonumenten was in favor! These different opinions led to new discussions."* This situation led to more uncertainties concerning existing and new information. From this can be derived that autonomous roles and uncertainties did not contribute to the enforcement of the project leading to a negative outcome of this dilemma at this moment.

An other uncertainty related to dependencies was the composition of the work group. The way the composition was during the interviews was found acceptable at that moment. But as written before, there have been some changes in project leaders and how the group is composed. Besides, some did question the role of the recreational sector and reed sector in it. According to this respondent *"all the people in the work group are there as part of their job, defending the interests of nature, inhabitants etc. In contradiction the recreation sector and the reed sector do not. They defend their personal interests."* Different people admitted that this *"makes discussions hard because they are much more emotional."* Showing the dilemma of personal versus common interests. To much personal interests was by others experienced as negative, resulting a negative attitude. In addition, other people questioned the role of the ministry in the process. *"The person from the ministry is not very useful, in some situations I wonder what he is doing over here. He can not answer important questions."* These situations gave some resentment between the people of the workgroup.

Because there were hardly any alliances between stakeholders and if they are present then occasionally, the workgroup members act autonomous towards each other. The only dependency they have is with their own colleagues and organization. According to different respondents this led to big discussions in the beginning. One of them said: *"In the beginning the cooperation was more like poker. Who says 'yes' too, who do I need to reach my point. This was pretty bad for the cooperation, no it was not nice."* This situation changed after the steering committee was installed. *"Now a days it is more about consensus. We have to do it together, everybody knows. Everybody knows that we defend interests so it will never be personal."* It was obvious that this new way of thinking is because of the professional background of the members. For the stakeholders, in their role, it was a way to deal with the dilemma of uncertainties. This change in situation also shows that more common power and less personal interests led to better cooperation.

Open

There seemed to be a turn in how open people are in the project. Different interviewees pointed at a weekend in December after which the cooperation was much better and the discussions more open. One of the interviewees said: *"It is different in such a weekend, you know your are brushing your teeth together in the morning, that makes the group better, because you get to know each other in a different way."* Meaning that because of informal contact this weekend resulted in better cooperation. Showing that openness and more personal contact led to better cooperation here. In general everybody said that the cooperation is open at the moment, but there are some remarks. First of all, different people told that they stopped voicing their interest if they feel it is not the right moment. Examples given are the heated discussions in which different opinions can go lost. In this situation, they also say that a little later there is always the opportunity to speak up. Second, the municipality told that sometimes they have a hard time being open. According to them because of their position between the work group and the

politicians, they were uncertain about the reaction or the view of the councilors of the municipality. Other members noticed this and said that the vague attitude of the municipalities made discussions sometimes useless because decisions can not be taken. In contrary, for the municipality it was a way of dealing with uncertainties. They also noticed that this was not the case with the recreation sector and the reed sector, their attitude is much opener: *"We are involved as professionals, the reed sector is not. They are involved out of their own interest, out of emotion, for me it is a job. I go home in the evening and leave it behind. It is not that I do not understand them, but I will not cry with them."* From this can be derived that the dilemma how open one can be is balanced constantly. Here it is seen that unclear information and ill suited tasks resulted in less openness and trust.

An other remark mentioned about being open was that people in this part of the country have a hard time speaking up. This is why the province did speak to the participants separately, a way to create openness and also to speak up uncertainties. Which, led with these groups to a better relation and more trust. Here effort is put in the dilemma to balance it positively. The comment have to be made that the person who told this did not know for sure if and how this information got into the management plan after that. Last, it was remarkable that two women interviewed both said that they stop voicing their interests if men in the group start to be too loud.

Being open towards the public was something totally different. Different interviewees say that the information from the Ministry towards the people in and around the nature sites lacks. Especially now the process is longer than expected some even said the unclear situation is a *"disaster to farmers!"*. As a consequence the farmers and other civilians start asking questions to the municipalities and the province to get information and deal with uncertainties. Because of the uncertainties as described before the workgroup could not answer. There seemed to be a balancing of openness versus

uncertainties of which the result was negative for the farmers. The consequence was that *"farmers still live in a uncertain situation, this creates mistrust towards the government and the management plan while a government has a hard time keeping the trust from civilians."* This made the municipality and other workgroup members starting to explain Natura 2000 to everybody who asked about it. Providing information was, according to them, the task of the province. For the municipality it was a way to deal with the uncertainties of the inhabitants and with their uncertainties. Besides, it helped to manage the expectations.

Information

That everybody in the workgroup realized that they are there to voice different interests is clear. In the beginning this was completely different. Many people said that at that moment they did not know what their role would be or what the project would look like. Still, the last was unclear at the time of interviewing. The consequence was that some kept quiet for the first few meetings until they were a little familiar with the project. Other respondents said that the lack of information was the reason to the positive attitude towards the time planning of the project from the project leader and others. A third reaction was that people started to collect information about the project. The lack of information resulted in uncertainties about the role of the workgroup and the end result. Everybody found a solution for this by balancing the consequences, but it took a lot of extra time.

Information about the exact content of the project was even more scarce. All respondents said that they did not know what the project process would look like. For a long time this stayed unclear. As a consequence it all took a little longer because the group had to find out what to do and to balance the uncertainties. Besides, clear information to the public could not be given. As one of the people said: *"we did not know what the result should be, it also changed a lot, but I think we are on the right track now."* Especially when

it was about specific parts of the management plan, it was hard to find out what the result would be. For instance, how will the finances be arranged. Even now it is still unclear: *"we have to wait and see if the management plan is found sufficient, otherwise we can start all over again."* Towards the workgroup this uncertainty about the expectations of the ministry was a big risk at the time of interviewing, but the dilemma whether the risk is too big or not is balanced positively.

Towards the public false information was spread which led to more uncertainties and negative expectations. As one of the interviewees told: *"Farmers looking for information about Natura 2000 went to the regional officer of the Ministry before the project was started. The officer stated not to worry, if there were any problems the nature should be relocated. What did the officer think of, that you can take some peat and drag it to somewhere else with a small boat?"* This example made clear that the public was waiting for information, which results over time to rising pressure for the workgroup. Besides, it influenced the balancing of trust in institutions negatively.

The lack of information and provision of false information (that peat was easily relocated) by the ministry about Natura 2000 caused a lot of speculation. This influenced people in the area but also in the workgroup and resulted in mistrust. In the workgroup it is often heard that they (the ministry, the province) should pay more attention to information to the public in their approach in order to stay informed about expectations, uncertainties and feelings amongst the public in the area. Here it was seen that a closed attitude made it hard for people to balance the dilemmas towards expectations and uncertainties positively.

Expectations

The main expectation from interviewees but also from the politicians was to give clarity about the consequences of Natura 2000 for the Wieden and Weerribben within one and a half year. Afterwards all

say that these expectations were too high. Especially when it comes to time. Here the expectations did not contribute to trust and the dilemma how far can we rely on expectations is answered negatively. The first planning was to be finished at the end of 2006. As the former project leaders said: *"it was far more complex than we imagined in the beginning."* The main *"unexpected result"* is that the project takes longer. Even during the interview *"nobody is able to give a time frame."* The people interviewed did not like it that the project is taking so long but accepted it. Although, they also said that because of time the pressure on the workgroup grew, displeasing more and more people in the area and in politics. As a consequence, explaining the management plan to the people in the area will be harder. Explanations that were not incorporated in their approach. The growing risk dilemma of inhabitants rejecting the plan as a result of the uncertainties was present.

Besides, for the workgroup and the people in the area it was uncertain what the ministry and the province expect as exact outcome of the project. According to the ministry the plan should be *"feasible and payable"* but interviewees expect that the management proposals are too expensive. The question was how the ministry will respond to this? Moreover because the different parties involved said that they do not have any additional money to execute the management. This was seen as a risk. The dilemma was what will happen to the plan and the area if the management plan is not meeting the expectations of the ministry. Still without answer this was leading to less positive feelings towards the project. In addition, *"it is also a political decision. This makes it difficult to predict if the plan will be accepted. The politician also wants to be every body's friend."* To accept this dilemma a lot of contacts between councilors and workgroup members within stakeholder organizations like municipalities is made.

Misuse of trust

All the interviewees said they did not experience situations in which trust was misused in the project. In addition they did say that "you

really have to be keen, if you do not pay attention you can be too late. Nobody else is going to voice your interests." In this there seems no real misuse but there is no back-up or solidarity in the group either. Dealing with this dilemma from a very professional point of view.

In contradiction, indirectly it was mentioned. In the beginning of the project all made appointments about the cooperation. For instance that no information would be brought into public without agreement of all members. An other appointment was that the workgroup should work with the temporary boarders of the site. For one member of the workgroup this was hard. He brought the concept reports into public without discussion with others. He did this because he wanted to give clarity to the public. Besides, he started the discussion about the concept boarders over and over again. Whether he was put out the workgroup or that he stopped himself is subject to different interpretations. Fact is that he did not stick to one of the appointments and misused the trust of the other workgroup members. This action resulted in a short period of uncertainties within the group. Can we still trust each other? From this can be derived that contracts or agreements which are not supported by all do not contribute to trust. More important that uncertainties did lead to mistrust in this situation.

Leader

In general the role of the project leader did not seem to influence the process a lot. In this case, uncertainties, the approach and the attitudes of people were much more important. People saw the project leader *"as one of us, he just has the role to translate the outcomes to the steering committee."* Others saw the project leader more as a coordinator: *"it is good to realize that the province chooses to ask different parties in the project. The other solution was to write a management plan with only the province and the ministry. So the project leader have to take care that we will reach our product."* This role of time manager and coordinator is underlined by different people stated that the changes in project leader (three time in total)

did not contribute to the continuation of the project. Resulting in moments of vagueness in which time was required to resettle and to redefine the roles of everybody. Here time and interaction was the solution to deal with uncertainties.

Choices in the approach

In general everybody knew that discussions about the content were the task of the workgroup and that the decisions would be made in the steering committee. In addition the final approval of the management plan would be taken by the politicians. For the main discussion about the content the backup were the ecologists. This was clear at the time of interviewing, but in the beginning the approach was not clear. Moreover, nobody knew why the different parties were involved in the workgroup. As a consequence two people of the Land Allocation Committee were involved but stopped later or were transferred to the steering committee because their role was different from what was expected in the workgroup. This damaged the cooperation so far and made it a hard time the first meetings after this happened. Meaning that a lack of information about the roles of people and the information about the process resulted in the dilemma whether to cooperate or not. Especially because of the uncertainties. Here it can be seen that they chose to clarify it, with a lot of negative results.

It was already mentioned that there was no steering committee in the beginning. This made it impossible to take decisions. Also the man who left the workgroup was more of a politician and because the workgroup was about the content this is very strange. Still, even in the workgroup decisions had to be made. The ideal situation was that everybody agreed, but sometimes there was no consensus. Here the project leader took the decision. Meaning that there was enough confidence in the project leader to let him deal with uncertainties.

Between this formal structure hardly anything happened. Discussions about the management plan always take place in the workgroup

meetings. In between the meetings there was hardly any contact about the project except with the project leader. Most people said that there was no reason to have in between contact, everything was discussed in the meetings. One of the interviewees states: "*the project is taking so long, it does not make sense anymore to meet in between.*" In direct this means that uncertainties present are accepted until, at least the next meeting. The only contact in between was held about specific subjects. In addition, all stakeholders said that it never occurred in between discussions filled the agenda. Here the approach was not flexible to use in between contacts for the process. Resulting in a lot of control from the perspective of the province. This led to the fact that dealing with uncertainties or other dilemmas was mainly accepting till the next meeting.

Another issue mentioned more than once was that the management plan is initiated from a ecological perspective. Also during the process, because the feedback with the province was always through the ecology department. According to different interviewees Natura 2000 could be approached broader. The interviewees suggested to deal with Natura 2000 from a spatial planning point of view because so many different functions and types of (land) use are part of the discussion. Although suggestions of change were made, this is part of the way the province interprets the guidelines of the ministry. Here it can be seen that the province responds very inflexible to new developments. Besides, they are not very open about the approach as was also told. In general this resulted in less institutional trust towards the ministry and Natura 2000 in general.

As part of the approach one could choose to use contracts to arrange different issues in the process. A contract or written agreement can be interpreted differently. Like here in the *Wieden- Weerribben*. Although different parts of the project were fixed, asking about contracts made most of the respondents reacted negative. In general the respondents thought about sanctions in a contract or thought that a contract is too formal and not appropriate in the approach.

Some saw the management plan as a form of a contract, but are not negative about this role for the management plan. For zoning the recreation there was an appointment made with the National Park which can be seen as a contract. Others see the agreements which were made in the beginning of the project as a sort of contract. One of the interviewees saw these agreements as positive: *"It helps for the cooperation, to make uncertainties about the borders clear and to get our roles clear, we are here to voice others interests."* Meaning that, although there were some difficulties with the agreements in the beginning, contracts were experienced positively. Moreover, as a good method to deal with uncertainties and risks.

4.2 Dealing with dilemmas in the Wieden - Weerribben

In the Wieden- Weerribben the different dilemmas were balanced in many ways. Besides, the dilemmas were not balanced once but constantly. In general it could be seen that the professional involvement of the different stakeholders and the limited involvement of people in the process influenced the process enormous. Part of this choice was that the province chose to implement Natura 2000 through a hierarchical and fixed approach. Main reason for this was to deal with the different uncertainties. This strict approach led to a lack of information towards the public leading to a negative balance towards the project by the public because of remaining uncertainties.

Besides a lack of information, to deal with the existing uncertainties about the future of the area and the Perspective initiatives from the public were not incorporated. In addition, the lack of involvement of public based on their initiative is also a sign that flexibility was not incorporated in the approach. Leaving the possibility to create positive expectations towards the project. Both, the possibility to create expectations and the incorporation of initiatives have also to do with the dilemma who is chosen to join the project.

In the *Wieden - Weerribben* the province chose to keep the amount

of stakeholders involved very limited. Moreover there was no real choice because nobody knew exactly why these stakeholders were involved. Just as was shown with different uncertainties this was accepted because it was somebody else his or her job. Meaning that these dilemmas are balanced out of a certain passive confidence. As a result of this, personal trust was hardly build. Mainly trust between professionals was build. Although, it could be seen that to deal with uncertainties towards the cooperation the province chose to have an informal weekend. In other situations it was shown that the professional trust even influenced the personal trust when uncertainties were balanced and information was questioned. In general, the inflexibility of the approach did negatively influence the development of trust.

Besides personal and professional trust, the dilemma how to build institutional trust was influenced by the inflexibility. Besides, the closed attitude and inflexibility seemed to be the main cause of the lack of information towards the public. These two factors did influence the dilemma of trust in institutions. This was mainly negative. The lack of information together with the uncertainties out of the history (Area Perspective) and the inflexibility to deal with questions from the public made workgroup members and groups of inhabitants lose trust in the ministry, the province and Natura 2000. In this, the balancing had a negative result. This negative balance was enforced by sudden changes of the ministries point of view. From positive, no Natura 2000 will have no spatial consequences to, there can be big consequences. In combination with the earlier described lack of information this led to more mistrust.

Although institutional mistrust is present just as uncertainties, these uncertainties were accepted by the workgroup. Dealing with uncertainties in this had mainly to do with the professional involvement. The professional attitude towards uncertainties was mainly expressed as a form of confidence; that everybody would do his or her job. This passive attitude did not contribute towards a

fast process, but made it clear that professional confidence enabled the workgroup members to accept uncertainties. In contrary the inhabitants do not accept the uncertainties because the uncertainties were about their personal life. This difference had to do with the personal involvement of the inhabitants. In combination with the lack of information it was hard to deal with the uncertainties for the inhabitants, resulting in a negative attitude and mistrust.

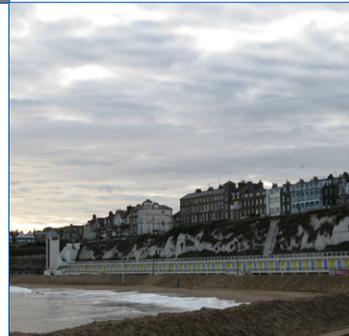
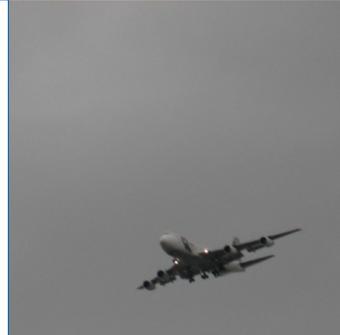
The discussed professional attitude of the different workgroup members was also leading in the balancing of risks. Especially towards the acceptance of the end results. Although there was a risk that the ministry would found the plan insufficient the workgroup members accepted this. This was not without consequences, it resulted in longer discussions.

The continuous risk did not change because of the closed attitude of the ministry. As written before, information was hardly given. Here it can be seen that as a result of all the uncertainties on national level the ministry chose to stop answering questions. This closed attitude resulted in mistrust towards the ministry. In other situations the contrary of this was seen. Especially the informal common weekend with the workgroup members was an example of this. As a result of this weekend everybody knew each other better. Resulting in more openness about uncertainties. Besides it resulted in personal trust between the members of the workgroup.

Another way to deal with uncertainties then informality was through contracts or common agreements. In the *Wieden - Weerribben* the workgroup used common agreements to deal with uncertainties. Initially these agreements were accepted by everybody. Here it can be seen that contracts contribute to the cooperation and in this, to trust. As a consequence a better start of the project could be made. This is underlined by the mistrust caused when one of the members misused the agreements or the trust.

With the written agreements in the beginning the spectrum of uncertainties was limited, in order to focus better. In other situations the control limited the flexibility to much. The remaining presence of the ministry in the workgroup and the strong restrictions to the cooperation made workgroup members less flexible, leading to less cooperation. Especially because the ministry want to control all kind of content related issues and lacked clear guidelines necessary for the project. Meaning that on the one hand the dilemma of control to limit uncertainties resulted in constant control from the ministry. On the other hand, the control from the ministry led to rebalancing the dilemma of trust in the ministry because good information and guidelines were lacking constantly.

In this situation the ministry used its power as national coordinator to control. Bringing the last set of dilemmas in the *Wieden - Weerribben*, the dilemma of power. Also in this dilemma the professional attitude played an important role. This involvement made that most stakeholders had mainly a professional interest and were representing their organization, making the common objective, the management plan less important. The choice for more importance towards the personal objective instead of the common made it impossible to use the common power to enforce the project. This was accepted because all members did the same. Moreover the ever controlling power of the ministry made the project less strong. Resulting in less common feeling and less involvement.



4.3 The Thanet Coast

The Thanet Coast Project is the name of the project established around the Natura 2000 marine site Thanet Coast. This site is situated in the southeast of England in Kent County. The site consists of chalk rocks, lagoons, cliffs, beaches, sand and mud flats. The main reason for protection is because of its European value for chalk reefs, submerged sea caves, wintering turnstones and golden plovers and breeding little terns [JNCC, 2008].

The area

The Thanet Coast site is mainly characterized by the chalk rocks and cliffs. In the northwest it starts with low rocks overgrown with grass and long beaches. Around Just east of Margate the chalk rocks start to rise and the seashore is formed by lagoons and small beaches. Most of the rocks are protected against erosion by concrete constructions. Bordering Margate the site consists of a large beach with a pier and a small harbor. Between Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate the chalk rocks rise again and big parts without concrete protection and small lagoons are present. In these parts large areas of chalk reef are at the surface during low tide. South of Ramsgate, different bays form the border of the site. In this large area the chalk rocks disappear under the surface. From here mud or sand flats characterize the landscape.

Inland, the site borders a dense build-up area. Different towns were built closely to the coast with a total of about 127.000 inhabitants. A railroad and different main roads following the coastlines connect the Thanet Coast with the inland. Situated near London the Thanet Coast has been an important touristic site for decades. Under the influence of cheap holidays in sun guaranteed places the numbers of tourists dropped since the end of the 70s. The last few years the numbers seem to recover but at the moment of interviewing people still move out of the area as many "For sale" signs indicate. In the past the whole coast was popular but now a days this is limited to

Broadstairs and parts of Ramsgate with a total annual amount of 2 million visitors (2006).

The project

The project was initiated in the end of the 1990s after the Thanet Coast was designated as SAC (Spatial Areas of Conservation). The initiation existed of two separated parts. First, there was the formal cooperation with the Management group and the scientists. The second part was the public project known as the Thanet Coast project with all the stakeholders. This description focuses mainly on the Thanet Coast project. At the beginning of the project the Thanet District Council refused to cooperate because they were afraid that the designation of the SAC would imply restrictions with a negative economical impact. The District Council made a back flip after positive results of the first workshops organized by English Nature, (today's Natural England). The reason for the Council to change was because of the future possibilities in the project and had positive expectations towards the future. In contrary to this positive attitude, it took till 2006 for the District Council to invest in the project. In these days the project was already very active.

At the start of the project different workshops were organized to involve the public. According to Natural England and the project team all people from Thanet were invited and nearly all user groups were involved. From these workshops different stakeholder groups were identified which form the main group involved in the project at the moment of interviewing. Since the start of the project stakeholder group changed several times because of new people joining. The stakeholders represented the coastal community and visitors. They joined in activities and in workshops twice a year. The stakeholders were in close contact with the project team, not only in the workshops but also through in between contact. The project team was also the link between the Management group, the stakeholders and the Scientific Coastal Advisory Group. The Management Group was composed of the ten relevant authorities that have statutory controls



Fig. 4.2 Map of the Thanet Coast site [JNCC, 2007]

within the site. They met twice a year to review the management progress and reviewed the management scheme every six years. The Management Group was chaired by Natural England. The last involved group was the Scientific Coastal Advisory Group, they met twice a year to discuss management and research issues keeping the site protection up to date with the latest scientific information.

Involvement

Different people were involved in the Thanet Coast Project. People joined the project out of different reasons. The most common reason is the interest people had in the coast and their environment. Even professionals leading the project did join partly out of interest in the marine life and their own coast. Involvement out of personal interests seemed very important in the project and strongly influenced the dilemmas.

There were also people involved with a special reason. One of the interviewees answered that the main reason for her was *"the building of the hover port in front of my house in the past had such a big impact and from that moment I want to protect my coast."* Another citizen told: *"My biggest job, also within the Thanet Coast Project is to stop the commercial fishing."* Others had professional interest, like hotel owners and life guards who wanted to keep the beaches beautiful to ensure tourists keep coming. All these reasons had to do with the expectation that the project would benefit the coast.

Accepting uncertainties

The project started at the end of the 90s. Different people or stakeholders joined at different moments but in general everybody experienced uncertainties and had questions when joining the project. Even the project leaders had questions. It was for instance unclear to one of the leaders what the designation as nature site exactly was. She even named it a *"World Heritage Site"*. Especially to people involved from the beginning, in which stage more issues were unclear. Funding was mentioned more than once and also the

question how to deal with all the different interests was heard. For people involved later on in the project a lot of questions were taken away by general introduction and speeches of the project team. An other important way of dealing with uncertainties was the always existing possibility to phone the project team or to ask questions during informal gatherings like activities. Others came in with their own specific questions, for instance about the old hover port: *what will happen to that area?* Here dealing with uncertainties mainly resulted in discussing questions and the provision of information.

Although these questions exist nearly all the interviewees agreed that this hardly did influence their attitude or behavior. One of the things said was that these uncertainties were no problem because the open attitude of the project leaders and their ability to answer questions at any time. Again, making a phone call or asking a question during activities. This made the project team saying: *"A lot of questions were asked"*. Stakeholders and team agreed upon the principle that you have to be open and that a lot of contact with stakeholders did reduce the uncertainties. Enabling the different stakeholders to deal with uncertainties and to accept them. Creating not too high expectations because the project team was open about uncertainties and risks. In addition, this contact made the identification and acknowledge of uncertainties possible. For other main uncertainties, like the funding, pragmatic solutions were thought of. Like the officer of Natural England told: *"The funding was one main uncertainty and this still does influence the project. We have to make choices about basics we want to do and extras which we can only do if additional funding is found."* Which is also a way of dealing with uncertainties. This open, informal and pragmatic way of dealing with uncertainties and questions was an important element of the approach used. This resulted also in realistic expectations and a critical attitude.

In the beginning there were many uncertainties towards different aspects of the project for the project team. Mainly because it was one of the first projects. One of the uncertainties related to the

involvement of people. Here the questions was how to deal with all the people and all the management assignments. This dilemma was balanced and as a consequence the project started to invite all people for workshops. During the first workshops the tendency was to start low profile to keep expectations low in order to build a relation based on realistic perspectives. Their attitude was to be open especially about the fact that they did not know everything. *"A little bit like trail and error"* as the project leader said. The main questions of the team were answered through the workshops by asking the public. According to them the uncertainties about planning the project did influence their behavior: *"We had to be open about the fact that we didn't know everything. That was the only way the workshops could help us knowing how to continue."* This vulnerable position was one of the ways that was dealt with the dilemma of uncertainties and was an important part of their approach to create realistic expectations. The same team also admitted that a lot of uncertainties were taken away by simply asking questions to Natural England or the stakeholders, later on in the process. Besides, a lot of questions were also asked informally which made it easier to oversee the uncertainties present in the public. An informal approach was an other way of dealing with uncertainties. Others were taken away coincidentally, because results turned out the way people expected.

People who got involved in the project a little later told that uncertainties were taken away by opening up for the project and just joining. They were not expected to know everything right from the start and there was time to get into the project slowly. What also helped was that there was a lot of informal contact between people. In this informality and low expectations towards the stakeholders was a way of dealing with uncertainties and building a trust relation. Besides, different people admitted that they still did not know what was done exactly or how the management was arranged, but they do not care. Often heard was *"that's Tony's part"* (Tony is project leader) or: *"The project is doing well I do not have to know exactly what is happening."* Meaning that, showing what you are doing

enables people to accept uncertainties and risks and create realistic expectations. To others, joining activities of the project was a way to deal with uncertainties and to get to know the project a little better. In addition, the different newsletters the project released were appreciated a lot. Not only to reduce or accept uncertainties or provide information but also to see what is coming, to create expectations. Meaning that a combination of informal and formal but frequent communication enabled people to deal with uncertainties.

Only a few people joined the project because they represented an organization. According to the interviewees this made cooperation harder because things the point of view of the professional stayed unclear. Here different "languages" resulted in a negative influence on the balance of uncertainties. One of the examples was the vague policy language with a lot of fuzzy words by organizations like Natural England. Making it hard for stakeholders to find clarity and to deal with uncertainties. Besides, it seemed that the uncertainties in the beginning made stakeholders lost their interest. One of the interviewees told that not answering her questions made her losing interest and eventually leaving the project. In which it had to be added that these questions were addressed to the District Council. Meaning that stakeholders can influence each other and even making them leave the project.

During the project most interviewees indicated that questions arose for instance because of the earlier mentioned use of vague language. In contrary, the fact that the project results were clear and that the project team was always present to answer questions helped to clear a lot of uncertainties. Meaning that availability enable people to deal with uncertainties. The same was for expectations. In this the knowledge or information reduced the uncertainties. Besides, different interviewees told that the "*project people*" were always open for feedback and that his could be given in different ways. For instance by responding to concept reports, in workshops or just by calling them. To give an example. After a few workshops the project

team was uncertain about the opinion of the public. To reduce this uncertainty they asked people about their opinion in newsletters, local newspapers and in informal meetings like activities. From this could be derived that the attitude of the project team, the open approach and the combination of formal and informal communication was important to deal with uncertainties and expectations.

In general uncertainties did exist and different people handle it differently. Some stakeholders did not mind the uncertainties and left it to others because the project works out fine. So based on the past and good experiences they trust them. Others have questions and could not cope with the uncertainties and drop out. The project continued and some of these people came back. The leaving people did not seem to be key people to the project. In contrary the main group did accept the uncertainties about the process, mainly by asking questions or voicing their interests. Which is a way of dealing with uncertainties. In Thanet Coast it was clear that this was possible because of the open attitude of the project team and the continuing stream of information and answers reducing the uncertainties. Meaning that the approach of showing your own uncertainties and being open was important to make the reduction and acceptance of uncertainties possible.

Power relations

In the project different stakeholders were involved as discussed in relation to the involvement and the different uncertainties. The management group consisted of the ten relevant authorities and nearly all groups were represented in the stakeholder group. Besides, scientific experts were involved in the advisory group. In between the project team was present, resulting in different (power)relations.

According to most interviewees the different stakeholders are rather autonomous. Different stakeholder groups were discussing specific subjects with each other. The discussion between the bait diggers and individual birdwatchers was given as example. Here the individual

birdwatchers stated that the fishermen digging for bait scare away the birds and disturb their roosting places. Besides, the birdwatchers had also problems with kite surfers and water skiers. In this situation the amateur fishermen joined the birdwatchers and the kite surfers to make their point. A little later the fishermen joined the kite surfers and the water skiers to make their point against the birdwatchers. This was accepted by all stakeholders. According to different interviewees the problems were handled after each other and there was no long lasting group forming against the birdwatchers. The groups are very flexible and the open attitude makes that the atmosphere stays good. Here it was seen that flexibility and independency make it possible to use power within the project. Making it important for dealing with power.

Although, in general the birdwatchers did not have a nice reputation amongst all interviewees. One of the birdwatchers started with bullying texts on the internet site of the birdwatchers. When this was found out, a discussion was organized to clear feelings as a fast response. This is an important part of the open approach, it can be seen that the dilemma of openness is going very far. The project team is very open to the different groups making it possible to deal with this kind of problems.

According to one of the fishermen there were more problems with the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB). These act autonomous from the earlier mentioned birdwatchers which should be seen as bird watching inhabitants. According to the fisherman the RSPB was present with nine people in the workshops because they wanted to close down the beaches. During the discussion they were very forceful but *"we thought it was stupid and ignored them."* The negative and forceful way was not appreciated and did not work at all. Here can be seen that, if everybody is open it is hard to act different and a group can deal with these forces.

Within the relevant authorities (in the management group) the Thanet District Council, Natural England and the project team formed a group. This was mainly the result of the many informal contacts between the three organizations. In the project this is the only obvious group formed. Which was partly logical because they were the main coordinators. In this, it was an alliance to deal with the different issues in the group and to deal with the dilemmas. Close contact made it even easier because little time was required. Besides them no groups were formed. According to different people this was a positive experience for many of the stakeholders. *"I like it that it is never the we against them situation."* As one of the interviewees told. One of the reasons for this was the methods used in the workshops and discussions. Every workshop the groups were mixed by the facilitator, always in a different way. Or as another said: *"We were asked if we wanted to form groups by subject (nature groups together etc.) to have more influence on the management group. But nobody wanted it. If I speak for myself, I trust that Tony and Naomi communicate our voice to the management group in the right way and I like it being autonomous."* Here the combination of information and clear roles made it possible to accept certain uncertainties. One of the interviewees thinks that the fact that groups were not formed comes *"because our coast exists of different bays so we can say: this bay is for swimming, this one for water skiing. So we never have these Caribbean situation where people are over sailed by water skiers."*

Even within one group of stakeholders people felt autonomous enough to speak up, as could be derived from one of the discussions held with fishermen. The project was working on a natural zone in front of the coast. This zone will be a forbidden area which makes it a highly delicate issue with fishermen. In stead of forming a block against the zone an interviewee told: *"We were very happy that the fishermen were all present but also a little nervous what would happen. But in stead of forming one block against the plans some fishermen were even a little in favor."* In contrast with this, many

interviewees did not think there will be a outcome of the discussion soon. The differences in opinions are too big. Besides, the Natural Zone is a project that requires effort on a national or international scale. In this it was not expected that the project can handle it. Here the expectations could be too high in the future leading to a negative outcome of the dilemma too which extend one can build on expectations.

In general the respondents state that they did not experience real alliances or groups. Only on small scale and between the most important parties in the project because this enables them to cooperate better. Which did not mean that others respond negative about this cooperation. In contrary, everybody confirmed more than once that the project team was very open. There seemed to be different dynamic and pragmatic clusters which come and go. *"This autonomously position makes discussions heavy but always fair"* as one of the interviewees stated. More people respond that this made the discussions not easy but clear. The autonomous positions seemed to be a result of the informal and unaffected approach. Making it possible for everybody individually to deal with the dilemmas in his or her way.

Open

"The question how open people are is hard to answer." Was what was answered by one of the members of the project team and she was not the only one. Giving room and some more questions gave more insight into this concept. Generally people said that the space that was created for everyone to express their opinion made them feel that the process was really open. In the project different opportunities were given by the facilitator which was experienced positive. After the workshop the reports of the workshop were send around and everybody could respond. This double check enabled people to speak up without anybody doubting about what is said. In addition, all said that a phone call to the project team was always possible if additional information had to be given. Again, the combination of

openness, clear informal and formal communication made it possible for stakeholders to deal with dilemmas regarding uncertainties, risks.

That the method in the workshops was important to the openness of the project is repeated by different stakeholders. Creating awareness was one of the important issues used by the project team to involve everybody. This created a common value which helped people to be open. Being open seemed especially important when it comes to the role of experts. Two respondents told that they had a hard time giving their opinion when experts were around, the stakeholders felt *"that their opinion was unimportant"* or less important than the ones of the experts. Here a hierarchy in knowledge could be found. This gave the experts a special status within the project. The same happened in a situation in which one of the stakeholders was overruling the non-experts by his overactive behavior. Consequence was that the non-experts did not voice their opinion. Making it a dilemma how to deal with these situations. Here this influenced the behavior of different stakeholders but the fact that they could voice their opinion afterwards in reviewing the reports of the workshop made it possible to have their say.

In other situations stakeholders admitted that it was hard to give their opinion. Especially with new people *"we experienced it with the new coastal wardens. Only after some workshops and experiences they started to be open and give their opinion."* In other situations people were not able to be open: *"in the discussion about the natural zone, everybody was very open and the discussion was good. But Will Wright from the Fisheries Committee does not come to the point that easily which makes it hard to find out what he means. The consequence is that other people take over..."* More situations gave a reason not being open for a short while. One of the interviewees stated: *"I could always express my opinion but for instance the people of the beach huts can be very forceful which makes discussions hard and people do not express their opinion. But on forehand, before*

important discussions they (the project team) talk with the different stakeholders which makes it much easier the discussion because everybody knows what it is about." Again, the flexible and open approach dealing with what is at stake results in the possibility for people to be open.

The general picture given about the openness of the project was positive, although different moments are mentioned when it was hard to be open and flag opinions. According to the project team *"the people are rather closed here."* This made the result very good. Even the stakeholders who stated that there were problems with being open said that this was not a big problem because voicing your opinion was also possible commenting on the different reports afterwards. This showed that the status of experts can be bypassed giving an extra possibility to deal with uncertainties and the power of experts. Besides, informal contact in between and the possibility to ask questions is valued very high. In this the combination of being open, an open approach and the availability of information is important.

Information

In the Thanet Coast project different information moments were found. *"There is always the opportunity to call with Naomi or Tony if you have questions."* *"If you have any questions, you can always call them."* *"I think it works so well because of their way of communicating."* These were a few quotes of the interviews. From the different interviews could be derived that information was always available and that if needed contacting was very easy. If answers were always given is not said, but maybe this was less important. Sharing an uncertainty is also a method to deal with uncertainties. One of the interviewees said that building a relationship with citizen and the Local Authorities was one of the most important things they (the project team) did for the project.

An other information part was about the roles of people. Many

stakeholders involved in the project did not know what their role would be in the beginning when they joined the project. In general it was told that many stakeholders were afraid that the nature objectives would stop economical development. Something which was reflected in uncertainties and was part of the expectations. After a while, when the stakeholders knew more about the project, they saw that it was more of an opportunity. It differs how they dealt with this situation. For some their role was described in the older management plan, for others it was not important to know it right from the start and the last group was informed by the project team in small lectures. The stakeholders who did thought it was not important to know exactly what their role would be and what the project exactly was about, mostly had a strong reason to join. For instance, they had economical interest in the coast or were very enthusiastic about the coast and the project and just wanted to join. For them it seemed less important to know right from the start what their role would be or the project was about. Meaning that information was not always necessary to get a trust relation, enthusiasm and personal involvement seemed also important in the balancing of dilemmas.

Others dropped out in the beginning. Not knowing what their role would be or the outcome of the project, they stopped. Here to many uncertainties gave a negative outcome. As one of the interviewees said: *"In fact, a lot of people were pessimistic. This made also that people dropped out because they could not imagine the future."* For the people who stayed in the project the situation changed in the last workshop. According to them this pessimism did not influence their behavior. One of the reasons they mentioned was the fact that the project was managed very well. According to the project team, they were working on an information package to make sure new people get enough information if they join. It is not clear what the effect was on the project when people dropped out. This can be due to the fact that the project was still in the starting phase and not all stakeholders were identified.

In general information about the project and the role of the people seem to be very important in the Thanet Coast Project. The lack of information was one of the reasons people left the project. For others it is not important at all because of their enthusiasm or because of the open style of project management. This has also to do with the expectations that go with the uncertainties about ones role, the project and the organization in general.

Expectations

Local people joining the project mostly started with expectations which influenced the project. The expectations could be divided in expectations towards the project, process and towards people. *"Towards the content of the project there were a lot of expectations and it was hard to meet the expectations because of the strict EU regulations"*, told the project team. *"This influenced and frustrated the project in the beginning because the EU regulations were not visible to a lot of people. Later on we incorporated the issues important to the community to the management scheme. The result was very positive."*

From the interviews could be derived that in the beginning people had low expectations towards the project and the process. Especially because it was hard to find out what would be the result. Later on the project brought more results then expected (especially activities) and people were very happy. Resulting in higher expectations. Dealing with expectations in this way was part of the approach. One of the interviewees told what happened with the coastal wardens: *"Others had the same low expectations towards the results of project. For instance the coastal wardens. They are very happy to join and say that they expected less and found out that the project does a lot."* This was not the only situation when low expectations turned into a good feeling after a while. Different stakeholders said that including more points important to the public raised their expectations. Especially because they did not expect that these ideas would be included. Also from the commercial point of view the expectations towards the

result were low. As the representative says: *"In the beginning we had no expectations at all, that is why the project is so good. This made it always hard to be disappointed. They started down beat and low profile. They kept the expectations low."* As was written in the approach this was a strategy to avoid disappointments. So low expectations worked out fine in the project, influencing the dealing with dilemmas positively.

Also for the official agencies the project approach was not very clear and expectations were low towards the process. As the local nature officer says: *"In the beginning I did not know what they were doing and I did not expect that they were doing so much in such a good way. Besides, it is incredible how the project grows. From others I do think that they expect that the project delivers what is in the management scheme. In this, nobody is disappointed within the management group."*

Besides, the expectations from the EU and the UK government did also play a role. Especially towards the nature objectives the expectation was set that the objectives would be met. In the interview one of the project members stated that she was afraid that the activities need all their time. As a consequence the nature objectives are getting a little bit out sight. Here high expectations could lead to a risk for the project. Meaning that the dilemma which expectations should be met, the European or the local had to be balanced again.

So in general people had low expectations towards the project and the process, which resulted in enthusiastic people. Before, one of the residents representatives told that people dropped out because they could not imagine the future. From this can be derived that they had to high expectations in the beginning of the project towards the results.

Misusing of trust

Misusing somebody's trust is disastrous towards the project. In Thanet this hardly happened and most interviewees think that they are "fortunate" with it. In the past there had been some problems between the authorities in the management group and one of the interviewees told that this resulted in highly formalized cooperation and situations hard to work with. Here mistrust led to formalization.

Leader

All the interviewees said that the project leaders did a lot, were always there, are open and coordinate the project in a good way. This was especially important in managing expectations and dealing with uncertainties. Being open about uncertainties was the response of the project team. This resulted in the creation of expectations together with the community. Besides, the enthusiasm and involvement of the project team was experienced as very positive. Here the project leaders influenced the dilemmas dealt with, positively because of the mentioned approaches.

For instance Natural England said that the good cooperation with the project was mostly due to the leadership and hard work of the project team. This was also said about the educational officer, with involving the communities and school.

Choices in the approach

In the project there were two kinds of official approaches. Approaches towards the development of the management scheme and the approach of giving permits for activities in the Natura 2000 site. Half of the interviewed stakeholders did not know what the official approach was towards reaching the management scheme or giving permits and they did not mind. They admitted that they had the opportunity to know it through small lectures. For them it was important that the project team can be contacted always and that "Tony and Naomi use the common sense approach." Again, in dealing with the dilemmas the opportunity to ask questions was more important than actually

knowing everything.

Different people told that the approach chosen by the project team was very positive. The "common sense approach" resulted in a lot of space for different options. The positive attitude works very well, also because it was all regional or given to lower authorities, which means that regional contacts are easily made. In this, different respondents appreciate the way the project team knew how to use local knowledge and how to use the contacts people have to get to this knowledge. Here the familiar context was used to deal with the different uncertainties in the project.

The project team stated that the management scheme was developed based on the information from stakeholders. Besides, in the management scheme it was visible that the scientific advisory group also had their say and that the management team makes it final. In addition, different interviewees said that besides the official moments there are always possibilities to contact the project team, just by phone. About everything you think what was important. In some cases this led to new discussions, workshops or new issues to incorporate in the management plan. Which were for instance the incorporation of the seals and the cliff tops. This flexibility gave a certain feeling of being taken serious, making it a part of building trust in this situation.

As part of the approach different contracts were used. Hereby the positive approach towards the contracts as method to divide responsibilities was very important. To give an example, between the relevant authorities and the project team a contract was made about the objectives the project team had to reach. The main reason for this was because the project team was paid by them. Other contracts were between users and Natural England, order to clarify what was allowed and forbidden at the nature sites. An other contract was made between the coastal wardens and the project team. The main reason for this contract was to divide responsibilities. Here the

contracts were used to get some certainties as a context. Within that context the flexible approach was used in order to deal with the dilemmas at stake.

Especially because the contracts were used to control the outcome of the project and to divide responsibilities most people say that the stakeholders understand that they were happy with the contracts, because it makes things clear. Also heard was that they do not know about the exact content. Making it easier to focus on other dilemmas.

The officer of Natural England told that contracts are widely used. Also in other areas, for instance the New Forest area the National Park Authorities told that contracts were used to regulate the management of the site. Experiences with these were very positive because landowners knew their responsibility and what was allowed. *"The landowners have to check their lists or the management plan to find out if a certain activity is allowed. If it is not on the list they have to turn to NE for permission."*

4.4 Dealing with dilemmas in Thanet Coast

In the Thanet Coast project the different dilemmas regarding trust were balanced in different ways. Generally the open and flexible approach did influence the balancing of dilemmas the most. Besides, the personal involvement of the stakeholders did also influence the balancing. The open and flexible approach was the result of the balancing of hierarchical versus bottom – up approaches. Although, there is control through contracts and from the ministry through back up control, the local approach with a lot of flexibility to incorporate local ideas resulted in great involvement. Besides, it gave space to deal with uncertainties and possibilities.

In this approach self initiative is highly appreciated and accepted. From this case can be derived that openness, flexibility and with

that the ability to incorporate ideas from the public was the way of the project team to deal with uncertainties. Of course this flexibility asked for the balancing of flexibility. Here this balancing resulted in flexibility within a certain clear context, agreed upon by contracts. Meaning that in this situation it was the balance between local flexibility and clear contexts on national scale contributing to trust. Here it can be seen that the content of the project does allow this flexibility.

This flexibility and with that openness could also be seen in the balancing of uncertainties regarding the people involved in the project. Here the project team chose to involve as many people as possible, although this created a risk. Besides it was very uncertain who would join. Important was that the project team was open about these uncertainties which enabled them to deal with it. In addition, it enabled the stakeholders to ask questions, get clear information in order to deal with their own uncertainties. Resulting in stakeholders who were involved based on personal enthusiasm. Moreover this enthusiasm resulted in involvement and managing of expectations brought in by the stakeholders. The expectations were kept low which resulted in a positive contribution of the expectations towards the project. Making the expectations a positive influence on dealing with uncertainties.

The flexible and open approach was mostly created by the combination of formal and informal contact. Through this method, personal trust was created. Besides, this contributed greatly to the project. Trust based on facts was less important. Although it can be seen that the relation between stakeholders relying on information and stakeholders relying more on emotion as basis for cooperation was difficult. Resulting in a more closed attitude. Meaning that the role of experts limited the openness, the vulnerability and the possibility to voice interests. Making it harder to deal with uncertainties. On the other hand, this example showed also that this could be avoided by arranging other formal and informal ways of expressing once

opinion.

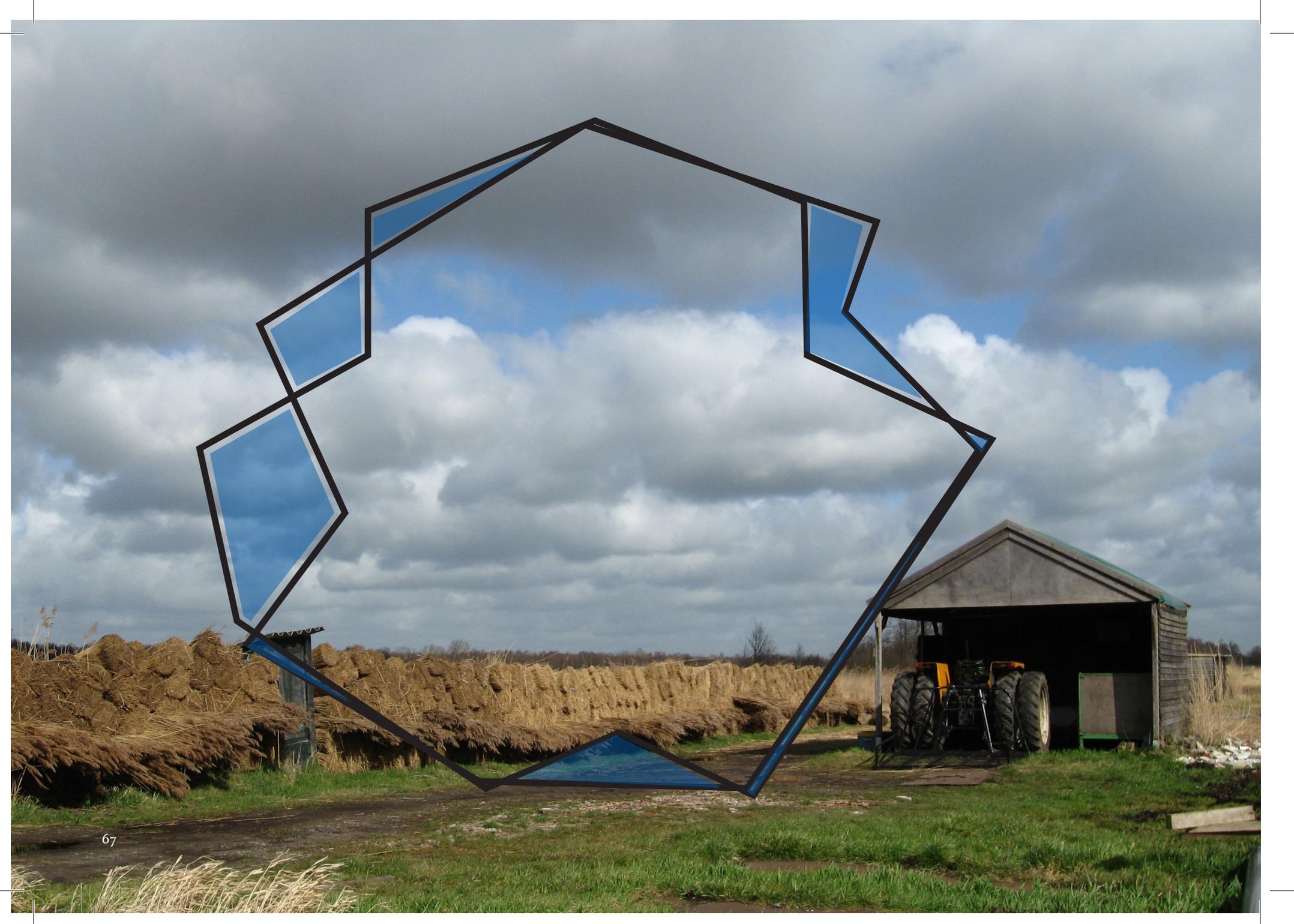
The earlier mentioned flexibility within certain fixed frames was part of the approach. The choice for this resulted in a positive outcome of the institutional dilemma. Meaning that clear agreements and communication influenced the dilemma of building institutional trust positively. This was enforced through the combination of formal and informal communication. Besides, the flexibility gave room to initiatives of the public, which were incorporated in the project. Creating trust in the project and the institutions involved.

Although trust was present, uncertainties were not ruled out. Again, the flexibility, openness and with that the vulnerability of the project team made it possible to express uncertainties. This made it easier to deal with uncertainties. Besides, the fact that questions could always be asked or shared enabled stakeholders to deal with uncertainties and overcome them. In this, it was not important if the project team was always present to answer questions. Meaning that dealing with uncertainties was influenced by positive expectations. In addition, dealing with uncertainties was not about taking them away but about accepting and acknowledging. On the other hand, too much uncertainties made people stop. Here the combination of uncertainties and openness did not help. Meaning that dealing with dilemmas was different from person to person.

The same goes for risks. Being open about risks and uncertainties asked for a vulnerability but because the project team chose to be open, it enabled people to accept the risks. On the other hand it was seen that experts can limit the openness of other stakeholders resulting in too much risks when voicing their opinion. Here stakeholders look for other ways of dealing with risks, the more official communication (minutes etc.) was used. Showing that the combination of formal and informal communication opportunities enables people to deal with trust.

Use the power of knowledge and people stopping was an exception in the project. In general it is seen that the good relation, the different communication possibilities enforced the project as a whole. Meaning that this influenced the trust relations positively. It also enabled people to be more open because the power of the project in combination with the earlier mentioned openness and flexibility enabled people to act autonomous. Meaning that power differences within the project were accepted. This made it easier to deal with dilemmas, being open about the dilemmas and discuss them. On the other hand it shows that the common interest in the project was stronger than the personal ideas. Without the common interest restricting the personal ideas. Leading to more trust.

The strong project resulted in the District Council joining. On the other hand it created expectations towards the public. The success of the activities made that these activities cost more and more time. Here the expectations of the European Union regarding the nature objectives gets a little out of sight. Meaning that dealing with expectations was also about dealing with expectations from different people. Which should all be managed in order to keep trust relations.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSING TRUST

This part brings the two descriptions concerning the countries together in a discussion about the dilemmas concerning trust.

The different dilemmas were dealt with in different ways. Comparing the two cases resulted in an overview of the dilemmas with the different consequences for trust. The combination of the cases and the theory lead to the following dilemmas:

- Dilemmas regarding the approach and flexibility
- Dilemmas regarding contracts and control
- Dilemmas regarding the involvement of participants
- Dilemmas regarding uncertainties and risks
- Dilemmas regarding openness and vulnerability
- Dilemmas regarding the kinds of trust
- Dilemmas regarding power and autonomy

The first subject of discussion is the approach. Afterwards the other dilemmas with their consequences for the development of trust will be discussed.

A formal versus an informal approach

Where in England openness and flexibility was leading, the Dutch situation was better characterized as reserved and formal. On the one hand this makes the two cases each others opposite. On the other hand, the comparison also shows that both approaches were started because it was uncertain what the consequences would be for future developments. However, while the reason was the same, the chosen approach was totally different. The English flexibility guided by the boundaries of the project gave people in the area the ability to share uncertainties about the future consequences with the project team. In the Dutch situation, the formal approach led to the exclusion of local people. Leaving them without the possibility to deal with uncertainties, this resulted in mistrust.

From this difference, it can be derived that a well arranged bottom-up process in combination with a clear institutional frame is leading

to more trust and involvement of people. A clear institutional policy frame is important because it guides the project and it helps to create realistic expectations. Besides this, institutional frames are hard to influence. Making it extra important to be clear about these general policy frames because they steer the process over a longer period of time. Creating the space for people to deal with dilemmas. In addition, it can also be seen that many uncertainties about future developments in a highly formal process with an unclear and changing institutional frame lead to uncertainties about the project and the collaboration. As a consequence long discussions are held to create clearness about institutional issues. Besides a long process, this results in uncertainties, dropping expectations and mistrust.

The chosen approach also influenced the amount of self initiative in the process. As a result of many uncertainties the Dutch workgroup choose to keep the public out of the process, leading to the situation in which initiatives from the public were not incorporated. In England it was the other way around. Because of the uncertainties the project team chose to involve as many people as possible; resulting in the incorporation of their ideas. Even the successful protection of the birds was partly based on ideas from the public. Such initiatives were not part of the approach in the Netherlands. The formal approach led to mistrust because people were not involved. Moreover it says something about the way uncertainties are balanced. Concrete, because the province in the Netherlands used a formal approach and many institutional uncertainties were present, the public was left out the project and self initiative was not incorporated. The opportunity for the public to share and deal with uncertainties was therefore ignored. This resulted in mistrust towards the province, as well as towards Natura 2000. On the other hand, in England the situation is generally the opposite. Out of uncertainties the project team tried to involve many people, providing clear institutional guidelines and giving room to self initiative through different ways of communication. As a result people got involved and there was room for both the project team as the public to deal with dilemmas. Here it can be seen

that a flexible approach led to the incorporation of successful ideas from the public. As a consequence a trust relation was build.

Control and contracts

Related to the approach and flexibility is the dilemma how to deal with contracts and control. As written in the theoretical frame, trust can be a substitute for control. On the other hand, contracts can enforce trust by setting clear frames in which dilemmas can be dealt with. In both countries this dilemma is dealt with differently. In England the balancing was done through discussions. This resulted in contracts creating a frame through agreements. These agreements were initiated by institutions to set clear responsibilities and roles and confirmed by all parties involved. An important part of these contracts is that they are rebalanced every six months through a review. Because of the agreements all organizations involved knew their responsibilities towards the project and its role. The certainties created this way enabled the project team to act more flexible. Resulting in a situation in which the focus and the guiding principles are clear, but where space is left to the project team to deal with the dilemmas in the project. Enabling them to modify to the specific environment and to what is important for the participants.

In the Netherlands control is arranged differently. No contracts are used, but the responsible authority (the Ministry) is present at all workgroup meetings to control the process. In addition different guiding principles which frame the project are missing, leading to uncertainties influencing the whole process. Main problem in the case was that these uncertainties were about the guiding principles which are part of national policy. This policy, and with it the uncertainties, was hard to influence but always present in the discussions. Resulting in long discussions and institutional mistrust. In addition, the ministry mainly controlled the process and not the outcome of the project.

From the last paragraph another dilemma arises; control about what? Comparing the two cases it can be derived that control is

mainly required for framing general or institutional policies because they are hard to influence. Clear communication and the common establishment of these agreements do also contribute to trust. Besides, this has to be rebalanced constantly because only then it contributes to trust.

Involvement of participants

Within the process the way participants were involved influenced the balancing of dilemmas. In England the involvement was mainly out of personal interest while the Dutch stakeholders were involved as part of their jobs. Giving a new dilemma, which people are involved and how? In the Netherlands the formal approach resulted in the involvement of only professionals while in the English situation "everybody" was invited to join. In the Netherlands the consequence of this dilemma was a more formal kind of trust, which is the confidence that everybody is doing its job. In England it was possible to build personal trust because people were involved from a personal perspective to "their" coast. Personal trust is harder to establish, because it is totally based on emotions and not on facts. On the one hand this makes it risky to choose for personal trust. On the other hand the choice to build on personal trust resulted in strong cooperation and active involvement. In the Netherlands professional trust led to formal confidence, resulting in less active attitude, long discussions and longer duration of the project. Which as such, resulted in the ongoing existence of uncertainties for inhabitants, with mistrust as main result.

Dealing with uncertainties and risks

The existing uncertainties in the Netherlands resulted in the above discussed result of dilemmas. Furthermore, it resulted in different ways of dealing with flexibility towards uncertainties in the project. In England the dilemma how to deal with uncertainties led not only to the involvement of people but also to a flexible approach. Especially the flexibility to incorporate what is important to stakeholders led to the development of trust, just as the combination of formal and

informal communication. In the Netherlands the uncertainties led to a reserved process and inflexibility towards communication to the inhabitants. This resulted in a lack of information towards inhabitants and remaining uncertainties. The lack of information led to mistrust towards the project and institutions as the ministry.

Not in every situation flexibility in communication and changes in the process is possible. That is why it is a dilemma to which extend the content of the policy allows flexibility. In this case, it is the question if the content of the Natura 2000 policy, forms the borders of the flexibility? Again, both countries deal different with the flexibility. In the Netherlands the province interpret Natura 2000 very strict, resulting in inflexibility and a negative view on nature protection from the public. The rigid and non-communicative attitude seems to be based on the fear that new or existing activities will influence the nature objectives negatively. In England the situation is the opposite, the flexibility and openness was used to develop ideas for protection of bird species together with the public. Resulting in great involvement and a positive attitude towards the nature from the public, especially since their ideas contributed to the protection. This shows that it is important to people that their input is used. Moreover, the inflexible and reserved attitude of the Dutch workgroup only resulted in a negative attitude from the public so far. These two examples show it was only a matter of choices whether to be flexible or not, since both countries had to implement the same legislation. This shows the content does not necessarily restrict the flexibility.

An other way of dealing with uncertainties is creating expectations. Especially because they can influence trust. In the English case it seems that managing expectations is an important part of the approach. The project managed to deal with expectations in such a way that it contributes to the process. Especially the creation of low expectations in the beginning led to more trust after the first results came and activities were organized. Furthermore, in the project high expectations from the public towards the activities such as hiking

and beach cleanings made it hard to meet the expectations of the European Union towards the nature objectives. A critical attitude towards both expectations is needed. Here it is shown that low expectations which were met can contribute towards the process. Besides, high expectations which are not met can lead to mistrust. Regularly critical reflection can intercept these. In this sense, clear, open and honest communication that helps to create realistic expectations.

Openness and vulnerability

Openness and clear communication in general enable participants of the project to deal with uncertainties and risks. This could be derived from the English case. On the other hand, from the Dutch case could be derived that a lack of open and clear communication leads to mistrust. Especially the combination of informal and formal contact in England enabled people to get a realistic view on the uncertainties and risks. Minutes, letters and newsletters can be seen as formal contact, while telephone calls and chatting during activities is seen as informal contact. This combination of contacts gave the opportunity to the stakeholders to accept and deal with the uncertainties. Openness about uncertainties or risks, which creates a certain vulnerability is more important than questions that take away the uncertainties or limit the risks. This shows that it is important to use different communication options and that communication about uncertainties without the attempt to solve them contributes to trust.

In the English situation it could be seen that openness and with that vulnerability was used to a wider extent. In order to create trust, aware or unaware, the project team was very open towards the participants. The role or power of experts limited this openness. This means that other ways of communication had to be looked for. Here the rebalancing of openness was positively influenced by the combination of formal and informal communication possibilities. In the Netherlands openness was limited. Although everybody in the process said they were open, it stopped when ideas or decisions had

to be verified with the organization the stakeholder represented. For the stakeholders this was no problem because of the professional involvement, "it is part of the job." On the other side the professional involvement also had a negative impact on the trust relations because verifying takes a lot of time and creates unclear situations. This means that the way of involvement does influence the balancing of dilemmas. In addition, the province choose to be reserved towards the public, mainly out of the described uncertainties which resulted in the long periods of time without certainties or communication. Eventually this led to mistrust.

Using kinds of trust

As a result of the different roles and ways of involvement both countries dealt with different kinds of trust in the process. In England they chose to build mainly on personal relations and the creation of emotional trust. The emotional involvement that the participants had with the coastal area was a basis for this. Contrarily in the Netherlands the process was build on formal relations and professional trust. Because the English project was build on personal trust it resulted in a stronger alliance. On the other hand this took a lot of time and effort. In the Netherlands the situation was different due to the professional trust. The professional involvement led to a formal project without strong involvement of stakeholders. In these cases this implied that personal trust is more risky but led to a better project in the end.

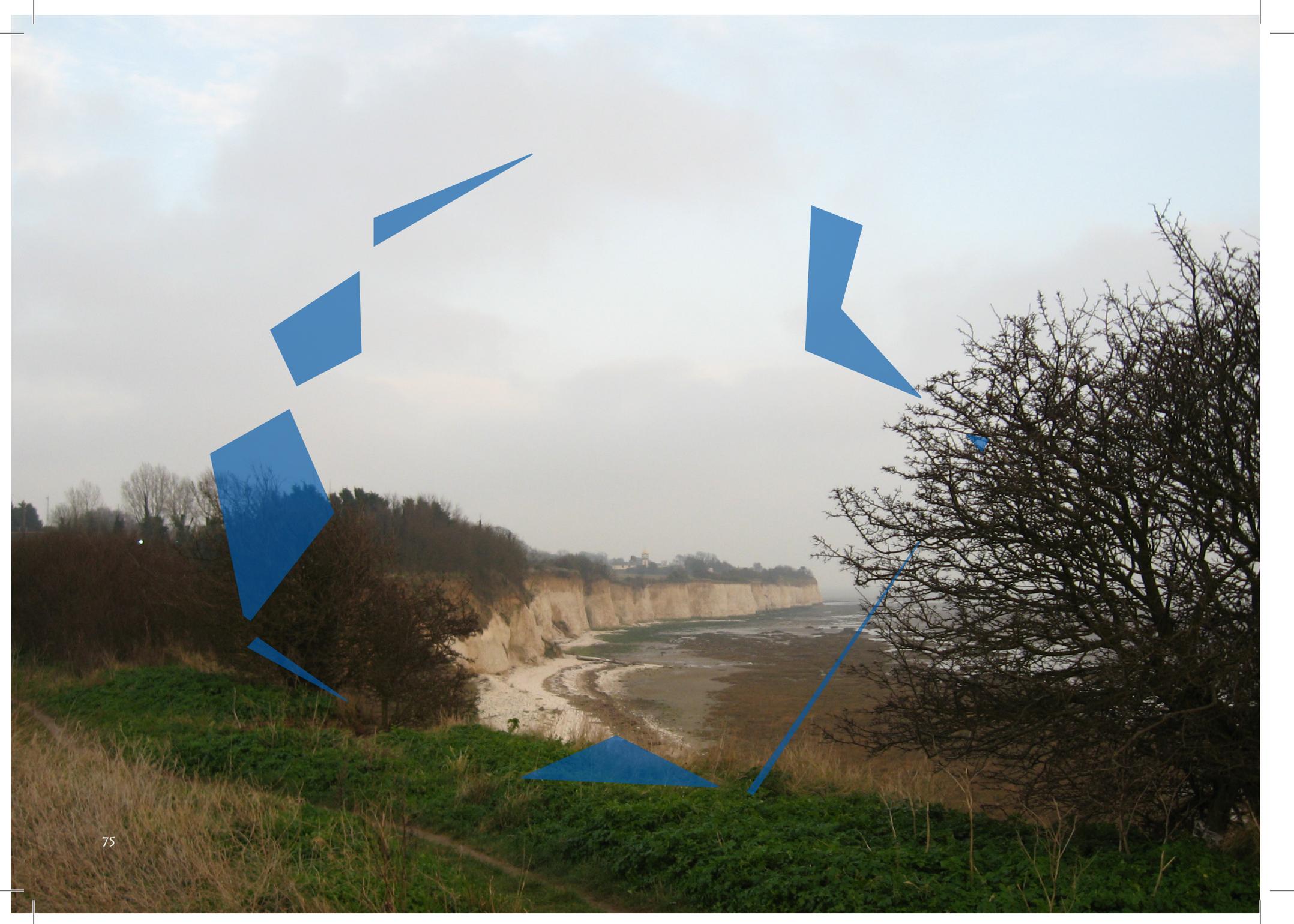
Besides personal and professional trust, both countries dealt differently with the dilemma regarding institutional trust. In England institutions (department for environment, Natura 2000 and Natural England) were at the background, providing a frame of national legislation through clear communication and interaction. This resulted in more flexibility for the project, as well as for the institutions self. Through the different contracts which were build on regular discussions, information and evaluation, this was put into practice. In the Netherlands the institutions (the ministry and Natura 2000)

played a major role and were clearly present in the process. This was mainly a result of their control methods, enlarged by the lack of information, communication and the changing point of views of the ministry. These changes were hardly communicated towards the project and in combination with the inflexibility and the control of the process this led to institutional mistrust. This is striking because it can be derived from the English case that institutions can act flexible without losing the confidence of the public.

Power and autonomy

Dealing with power dilemmas regarding trust has two faces. First, there is the dilemma how to deal with power differences within the project. Power differences are always present and when accepted by all participants they can contribute to lively discussions and trust. Additionally, it means that different (personal) opinions and power differences are accepted, meaning that people can act autonomous. In both cases it can be seen that there was enough trust to accept changing power relations within the project. In the Netherlands this was out of a professional kind of trust, more based on confidence giving less room for personal ideas. In England the strong personal trust made it possible for stakeholders to act autonomous and discuss their personal interests. In addition, it enabled them to look for (temporarily) partners to enforce their ideas within the project, without a unacceptable risk of damaging the trust relations. Which contributed to trust because people feel free and accepted in the process.

The second part is that trust can empower a project. As was seen in England, personal trust and strong involvement resulted in the enforcement of the project. The District Council, for example, which was negative towards the project at the start, but joined the project after a period of success and trust.



CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter gives answers to the different questions asked at the end of the theoretical frame. Besides, it aims to give recommendations regarding spatial planning processes.

This thesis was started to *gain more insight in the role of trust in the implementation process of Natura 2000 sites*. Which is immediately the general objective. Furthermore, it was conducted to develop recommendations for spatial planning. The literature study was used to derive research questions from in order to inquire trust more in depth.

Resulting in research questions:

1. Why is trust important?
2. How does trust emerge in planning processes?
3. Which dilemmas are to be dealt with?
4. How is dealt with these dilemma's in practice and what are the consequences?

In addition, the policy aim was: *to give policy recommendations for spatial planning processes and as such, for Natura 2000.*

To explore the role of trust in the implementation process of Natura 2000 the four research questions were asked. Together these questions give a good summary of the role trust can play in the implementation process of Natura 2000. Moreover, it can be seen in a broader sense, as the answers to the questions give an overview of the role of trust in planning processes in general.

6.1 Answering the questions

Why is trust important?

Trust is important because within planning processes relations between people are very important. Trust plays an important role in these relations. More specific, to cooperate and join planning relations a certain trust is required because nobody will cooperate with somebody he or she does not trust. In these relations different dilemmas and choices are at stake because it is impossible to control everything through contracts or by measuring and knowing everything. Although not everything can be known, people are always looking for a certain amount of certainty in order for them to deal with different dilemmas. This is why it is important to find a substitute for control and certainties in planning processes. Trust is such a substitute because it enables people to deal with uncertainties, risks, expectations, power, vulnerabilities and it gives guidance to their role in a project.

How does trust emerge in planning processes?

Trust is developed through the balancing of dilemmas of the different related concepts. It is a search for certainties or a substitute for that. In this context, the development of trust is always different from person to person. Meaning that trust is personal and can not be created with one single recipe. As a result, the development of trust asks for a constant balancing of dilemmas by the project leaders, specified for the one situation and the one person or group. In addition, the development of trust strongly depends on the space given by the policy, the institutions, project leaders, other participants, the way people are involved in the process or the role they have. Meaning that trust can only be developed if the right space is created to deal with dilemmas, the right focus is present and clearness is given about the concepts influencing the dilemmas. Here the role of institutions and the project team is again important because they have to allow for enough flexibility to make dealing with the specific dilemmas present in the project possible. Thus it can be

seen that the development of trust requires flexibility. On a more limited scale the same flexibility is required from the participants involved. This is because participants do influence the space to deal with dilemmas but their influence is less.

The development of trust also depends on the kind of trust developed. Where personal trust is harder to develop and requires more interaction, professional trust or confidence is easier to develop. Main reason for this is that professional trust is mainly present in processes where participants are involved as part of their job. This leads to less personal involvement and with that a more passive type of trust which is easier to develop. Contrarily, personal trust is based on active and emotional involvement of participants. Moreover, it is based on personal properties which are hard to influence. Institutional trust is mainly developed by the balancing of institutional activities over a longer period of time. This results in the fact that institutional trust is slowly developed. As a consequence institutions have to balance their actions more careful over a longer period of time professionals have to do. This balancing is even harder, because institutional changes are less accepted than personal changes.

For all kinds of trust can be said that it is not developed at once but, because of the constant rebalancing and negotiation of the dilemmas, it is redeveloped over and over again. This means that trust should be maintained time after time specific to the context and the people involved.

Which dilemmas are to be balanced?

The dilemmas which are to be balanced are related to different concepts. Important to notice is that most dilemmas influence each other, which results in the fact that the outcome of a dilemma can create a new dilemma or influence the outcome of another dilemma. Besides, the dilemmas are balanced individually which means that the choices made as a result of the balancing of dilemmas can differ from person to person. Again with the result that this can create

new dilemmas between people who made different choices out of the same dilemma. It is important to acknowledge these nuances and developments in order to create the right space which enables participants to deal with these dilemmas without giving them the feeling that there is no guidance at all.

The first dilemma comes from, or is related to the **approach** followed by the initiator to implement spatial policy. It is a dilemma to which extend a top-down or bottom up approach is chosen because some steering through hierarchical approaches (top-down approach) is needed to give guidance and focus to the process. On the other hand bottom-up processes can give more space and flexibility for the creation of trust. To this dilemma other dilemmas are linked. It starts with the dilemma who will be involved in the project? . To which extend is self initiative accepted and is flexibility required or can flexibility be given?

Hereto the dilemma of **control** is related because the question is to which extend control is required to support a good process? . Even more important is the question: control about what? Related to this is the dilemma how contracts can be used to support the development of trust. Or, when can contracts help to focus in a process and how?

A next dilemma is how to deal with **flexibility**. Where the dilemma of flexibility is also related to **uncertainties**, here different questions or sub dilemmas are to be dealt with. How do involved people deal with uncertainties and to which extend can certainties be given? On the other hand, does the policy content allow flexibility? Besides, how do people deal with uncertainties in general? Or, to which extend are uncertainties accepted? Why and when? Have uncertainties to be taken away? The same goes for **risk** related dilemmas because risks are strongly related to uncertainties.

To deal with **uncertainties** and to create trust a certain **openness** is required, giving the next dilemma, to which extend can I be open? Why and how? Resulting in other dilemmas; when can I not be open? When people can not be open it gives the dilemma, how can uncertainties then be dealt with? Here the dilemma rises to which extend different communication possibilities are required. All are important because with being open, **expectations** can be managed. Giving the next dilemma, how can realistic expectations be created and how can these contribute to the process? A way to deal with expectations is to remain critical, but this gives the next dilemma, because a certain criticism is required but when is there to much critique it breaks trust. Showing the dilemma to which extend does critique contribute to trust.

An other dilemma influencing trust in the project is **power**. Trust can enforce a project but can also break a project. Too many power differences within the project lead to mistrust. Giving room to power differences however can also enable people to deal with uncertainties in discussions. Creating the dilemma to which extend power differences can be accepted. In this dilemma balancing the common objective against ones personal objectives play a role.

The last dilemma is regarding the **types of trust**. Personal trust can strongly contribute to the process but on the other hand professional trust can also contribute in another way to the process. Which is the best or are both needed? Finally, institutional trust does influence the whole process, but how is it dealt with and created in practice?

How is dealt with these dilemma's in practice and what are the consequences?

From the discussion of different dilemmas in practice it was seen that they influence the development of trust. Most important is that the dilemmas are dealt with depending on the situation. Besides, processes build on trust need time and because of ongoing rebalancing one can never lean back and relax.

Dealing with dilemmas has to do with different concepts influencing choices. First it is seen that dealing with uncertainties as part of the implementation **approach** can lead to rigid behavior of institutions and governments. This results in hardly any communication to the people in the area, the lack to deal with questions from workgroups and remaining uncertainties. This means that there is hardly any possibility for developing trust and with that a good cooperation between people. Besides rigid behavior leads to the exclusion of people out of the fear that the involvement of too many stakeholders will lead to unmanageable critiques and chaos. This exclusion leads to mistrust. On the other hand one can see that uncertainties can also lead to an open and flexible approach in order to share the uncertainties in discussions.

A second way of dealing with **uncertainties** is the creation of a clear frame in which flexibility is accepted. Here the frame exists of appointments between different governmental organizations to clarify the general policy rules. This has as advantage that the project can adapt to the local situation. The local project has space left to create a project adapted to the local and actual situation. Besides, if these clear frames are based on common agreements they can also be changed in close contact, they are not fixed. Meaning that contracts can be reviewed in order to deal with the changing situation. In this context it does enable both the project as well as the initiating governmental organization or institutions to be **flexible** on clear and agreed moments about the general rules. This helps to create institutional trust, because institutional changes are foreseen and established through clear communication and discussion.

An other way of dealing with uncertainties is **opening up** about uncertainties, expectations and risks present in the project. Combining this with the possibility for stakeholders to voice their opinion, their main concerns and uncertainties it leads to realistic **expectations** which can be met and the creation of a common understanding. Together this results in a trust based relation. In

addition, this also leads to active participants which give useful input in discussions because the participants got the feeling they have been taken seriously. The useful input and free discussions lead to self initiative from participants or stakeholders contributing to the project. Moreover, the fact that initiatives from stakeholders are accepted and used contributes to the development of trust.

Important in dealing with openness is being open about **risks** and uncertainties. This requires a certain **vulnerability** but it also gives everyone the possibility to deal with uncertainties. This is because people can see that everybody is dealing with uncertainties. Giving them the feeling they are not the only one. As a consequence, showing vulnerability creates trust. Discussing risks and uncertainties enables people to view risks and uncertainties more realistically, which results in the acceptance of these uncertainties and risks. A more realistic view on uncertainties and risks enables people to create expectations towards the project which can be met. Expectations which are met create trust. In this, expectations can be kept low in order to create trust more easily.

Contrary to a open and vulnerable attitude, a reserved attitude leaves the ability to discuss and create realistic views on uncertainties and risks. Resulting in less realistic and often negative expectations and as such leading to mistrust. Being open is not always a choice. In certain situations experts can restrict the openness of the project because of their knowledge. Here the **power** of knowledge does negatively influence openness. In order to enable people to be open after all, it is important for the process to have different ways of formal and informal communication to express ones feelings. This can be done for instance by giving participants the possibility to voice their opinion afterwards through the comments on minutes.

As concluded before, negative expectations lead to mistrust. Besides, expectations which are not met also lead to mistrust. This means that too high expectations can damage the process. Creating expectations

which can be met is easier with different **communication** methods. The same counts for dealing with uncertainties, risks, openness and power. In these situations the combination of informal and formal communication is important. It is important that these methods are used flexible. Meaning that there is not one rule about formal and informal communication. Both should be used and utilized if the situation requires this. Acting flexible is especially important when one of the opportunities for dealing with dilemmas is ruled out. It is also seen that without this combination of communication people lack the possibility to deal with dilemmas. Thus mistrust is created. As a consequence people can leave the project.

In all situations dealing with dilemmas is strongly influenced by personal influence of the **project leader** and project team. A positive, open and flexible attitude from them enables stakeholders to deal with dilemmas more easily. Especially because a lot of questions are addressed towards project leaders. Here it is seen that when people have to deal with uncertainties it is more important that somebody is available to ask questions to, or share uncertainties with, then to get answers to questions. Meaning that sharing and accepting uncertainties is more important than taking them away.

One of the other main dilemmas was dealing with **control**. In controlling processes it is seen that **contracts** can be an addition to trust because they create clearness about the general policy and institutional rules. Contracts focus the project and create space to adapt to the actual and local situation. This space is very important because it shows that institutions trust the project team or project leader to deal with the uncertainties in their area without constant control from above. Here it is important that contracts are made in common agreement and can be rebalanced at agreed moments. Just by agreeing on the length of the contracts and the possibility to discuss the content of the new contract. On the other hand, fixed contracts for a longer time, without common agreement or discussion lead to mistrust.

Being flexible to deal with uncertainties does not mean that other objectives have to be forgotten or will not be reached. Especially because dealing with uncertainties in a flexible way can lead to self initiatives and new ideas of participants. These new ideas can contribute to the objectives. This contributes to the satisfaction of both stakeholders and the government. The stakeholders because they see that their input is used and does contribute to a successful project. The governments because they see that their approach of giving space to act local, contributes to better nature protection.

One of the last dilemmas dealt with is the dilemma regarding **power**. On one hand because power can destroy a lot in a process but on the other hand because giving room for power differences enforces the project. Here giving room for autonomous behavior and enabling people to put forward their personal point enlarges trust. It is important that the common objective, or the project objective is not forgotten. So the creation of space for power differences within the context of the project objectives does contribute to trust. In other situations where there is no room for personal ideas and discussion the situation leads rigid behavior and mistrust.

Last, what enforces the project is the **kind of trust**. Personal trust is harder to establish. It enforces the project more where professional involvement does not enforce the project. Here dealing with the dilemma, which people are involved, influences the strength of the project. People involved on personal interest can lead to a stronger project, while people involved on professional basis is more safe but do hardly contribute to the strength of the project. Meaning that the creation of trust is worth it.

6.2 Recommendations

One of the aims was to *give policy recommendations for spatial planning processes and as such, for Natura 2000*. This part will give these recommendations.

Communication and openness

Everybody deals with uncertainties, not only the initiator of the process but also the people in or near the area. That is why it is important to communicate in an open way with these people about the uncertainties and future developments. It is not important to know all the answers. Giving the feeling that people are heard (not on a hearing with 200 people but individually) will enable people to deal with uncertainties. More important is to create the possibility to get involved and join the project. Simple methods as explaining the project and visiting farms, community evenings or just walking around and talk with people will do this. Here it is important to show that their ideas were taken into account. Especially for Natura 2000 in the Netherlands this is forgotten. While Natura 2000 is maybe more about the influence on people than about species.

Uncertainties and rigid implementation

Too often uncertainties lead to rigid implementation and the fear that too many people will join. While flexibility leads to the involvement of much more people and with that the development and input of new ideas. In England these people contributed to the protection of species. Meaning that flexibility and the involvement of many people did contribute to reaching the European objectives. Besides, giving people the opportunity to join and using their input contributes to a positive attitude towards the project and nature protection in general.

Control and trust

Control is required but it is important that it is clear what is controlled and how. Besides, the reason behind the chosen control method must also be clear. Communication about this and arranging control through common agreement by, for instance, contracts does contribute to trust. Contracts are useful tools because they create a clear space to deal with dilemmas. Contracts, based on common agreements can also be remade and rebalanced. Giving both parties the opportunity to adapt the contract to the actual situation. This

creates clear moments on which changes can be made. Meaning that both, the project as well as the governments or institutions can change at that moment. Resulting in flexibility for both, without negatively influencing the trust relations.

Dealing with uncertainties and risks

It is important to be open about uncertainties and risks. The general mistake is that there is a feeling uncertainties have to be taken away. This is not the case. From this thesis it became clear that it is more important to share and acknowledge uncertainties then to solve them.

Formal and informal communication

The combination of formal and informal communication is important. Especially because there are moments when one of these can not be used. For instance, when experts voice their opinion in a discussion and non experts have the feeling it is not the right time for them to say what they think. In the situation with the experts, other ways had to be looked for by the non experts to voice their opinion. Informal contact, like telephone calls or formal ways like the reviewing of minutes can be very useful at these moments. Besides, through informal communication a lot of important information can be heard. Recommendation is to incorporate informal communication in the approach.

Using expectations

Well balanced, realistic expectations can contribute to the process. In England it could be seen that well managed low expectations towards new steps in the process, resulted in great involvement of people and the contribution with useful ideas. Here it is recommended to use this as a tool for the involvement of people. Although, one has to stay critical to avoid false expectations that can not be met with.

Keep an eye on it

Every situation is different so keep an eye on it. Never lean back too much, but find a right balance between control and flexibility. Besides, do not try to control the process too much, checking how somebody is doing can be done by only one informal and friendly phone call.

Recommendations for further research

It is impossible to inquire everything related to trust in this thesis. Especially because trust is relatively new in planning concept.

Power and trust

From both cases the relation between the power of the project and power differences within the project and trust seemed very interesting. From this research some conclusions about it could be drawn. In addition, it would be interesting to inquire the relation further because the English case was a success and therefore it enforced itself. The question arises was this the power of success or the power of trust? Interesting would be how the relation between power and trust is developed in other cases and why? Or is the power of trust contributing to the power of success?

Professional trust

In the Dutch case a new form of trust was found which was called professional trust. Some characteristics were given to it. Interesting would be to inquire it further. What is the exact difference between the others types of trust and what are the characteristics of professional trust?

With this an other interesting questions arises. Why is trust between experts and non experts hard to establish? Or trust between professionals and volunteers? Has this to do with the different language types, as was inquired largely? The professional versus the non-professional, or is there more?

Borders of participation

Last, in the English case the implementation of the Natural Zone was very difficult for the local project team because it was such a large scale national project. It is still not established (at time of writing) questions arise if this is the limitation of participation and trust? Besides, is it possible for small scale projects to deal with these kinds of issues? What is the role of trust in this? Can trust deal with these large scale projects?



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Annex A

Organizations interviewed for the Wieden – Weerribben case

Province of Overijssel , Zwolle
National Park Wieden – Weerribben, Zwolle
Municipality Steenwijkerland (twice),
Steenwijk
Water Agency Reest en Wieden, Meppel

Organizations interviewed for the Thanet Coast case

Thanet Coast Project, Margate
Natural England, Wye
Lifeguard Kent Coast, Margate
Hotel and Tourism Organization Thanet,
Margate
Kent and Essex Fisheries Committee,
Ramsgate
Thanet Coast seashore angling association,
Margate
Cliffs End Residents Association, Ramsgate
Thanet District Council, Margate

Besides, information is used from an
interview with the New Forest National Park
Authorities, Lymington.



Annex B

Interview questions

General

1. From which date were you involved in the process/ project?
Why then?
2. What is your function (within your organization and the project)?

Uncertainties

3. At the start: What were your main questions regarding the project when you started? Did you get answers to those questions?
4. Did a lot of new questions arise during the process?
5. How did you deal with these uncertainties of not answered questions?
6. What can be the possible consequences?
7. How did you deal with this?

Dependencies

8. Why did you enter this project?
9. Which different groups are involved in the project and why? Did they form teams during the project? Did this change or was it all the time the same?
10. With which group are you related? And with who not? Why?
11. Did you form a team during certain moments of the project to reach a goal or to bring forward your point? Why and about what?
12. Which people can you miss in the group and who not? Why?

Open

13. Do you think that during the process everybody expressed his opinion? Why and can you give examples? Did you do that?
14. Were there certain moments which were better not to express your opinion? What did you do? Why or why not? Can you give

an example?

15. Why wasn't it a good moment?
16. What did others do at this situation?

Information

17. When did you know what your role would be in the project?
18. When did you know what the outcome of the project would be? (Was it preset?)
19. How did this influence your behavior during the project? (As a risk?)
20. Did the cooperation between people evolve during the project? In what sense? Were there coalitions formed? Can you give an example?
21. Did people leave? Did new people come in? Why?

Expectations

22. What did you expect of the project and its result?
23. Where these expectations fulfilled? During the project?
24. What kind of expectation do you think others had? How do you know?
25. Is the result different than expected? How does natural England respond to this?

Misuse

26. Did you experience any people misusing somebody's trust in people and the outcome? How do you know?
27. Did you ever use somebody's trust to safeguard your own interests? How did you do that? When and why? How did people respond to this?
28. Do you have the feeling that somebody or organization used its position or knowledge to push through its will?

Leader

29. Was there somebody who kept an eye on this? A leader

influencing the process? Can you tell me how?

Approach

30. What does the decision process look like in the project?
31. What happens in between formal meetings? Do people meet each other outside these meetings? Who does and does not? Do you know why?
32. Which kind of formal and informal interactions between people were present?
33. How do you think that these interactions influenced the contact between people? What was your feeling about it?
34. Was the process lines clear from the beginning? Was it open and transparent? Did this change during the process? Did this influences your attitude and choices?

Contracts

35. Were or will be there any contracts used (other ways of writing things down)? Why and how? What do you think of these contracts? Why?
36. What is the good thing about contracts? What is the bad? What do you think of contracts in the project?
37. Was it from the beginning clear that contract would be put forward? Do you know why?
38. Was a contract ever broken? Why and when? What was the consequence?
39. Do you know how control about the outcome of the process and the process itself is arranged? Does it work? How do you experience this control mechanism?



