Mapping stakeholders' relating pathways in collaborative planning processes: A longitudinal case study of an urban regeneration partnership

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ABSTRACT

This article reports on a longitudinal case study of stakeholders' relating dynamics in the collaborative planning process concerning the urban regeneration of Katendrecht, an area located in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Findings challenge the focus – typical for collaborative planning literature – on an 'ideal' relational setting, characterized by consensus and joint-ness, as a necessary precursor for collaborative success. Analysis reveals the relevance of a 'hybrid' relational setting and the potential functionality of relational settings, which emphasize organizational autonomy. Also, analysis shows that relations change through the accumulation of different events, i.e. scaffolding, rather than by single, specific events. Finally, findings point out how in particular group composition/dynamics events impact on stakeholder relations.

INTRODUCTION

Collaborative approaches to planning – here conceived as the imagination of "what the future city should be like, both physically and socially" (Hillier & Gunder, 2005, p. 1049) are increasingly popular in most Western countries (Healey, 1998; Innes & Booher, 1999; Kokx, 2011). Collaborative approaches to planning emphasize partnership and collaboration between urban planners or planning agencies and a diversity of stakeholders representing different interests, and an orientation towards the development of a shared vision on planning issues of central concern (Healey, 1998; Innes & Booher, 1999). Collaborative planning theorists argue that the success of such approaches heavily depends on the quality of working relations within a collaborative partnership (Forester, 1999; Hillier, 2000; Innes & Booher, 2004). Collaborative forms of planning thus are, in essence, relational endeavours (Healey, 1998; Hillier, 2000).

Hence, it comes as no surprise that collaborative planning theorists have devoted considerable attention to stakeholder relations and their implications for planning processes. Much of the literature on the topic has been concerned with identifying and discussing the relational setting(s) desirable to engender collaborative success (Healey, 1997, 1998; Innes & Booher, 2003; Kokx, 2011). Herein relational qualities as consensus, trust, social capital and mutual understanding are deemed precursors to arrive at successful collaboration on planning issues (Healey, De Magalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2004). It goes without saying that this line of research has deepened and broadened our understanding about the relational qualities that contribute to the success of planning efforts. However, critics argue that the normative rhetoric and the focus on 'ideals' of collaboration in collaborative planning theory disregard the mores of reality (Alexander, 2001; Hillier, 2003; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998). The predominant focus on preferred settings and on desirable relational qualities shifts attention away from the empirical dynamic and evolving nature of stakeholder relations (see also Kokx, 2011). Yet, stakeholder relations are lived histories, 'worlds of meanings' that constantly and inevitably evolve in an unpredictable and non-linear way as a result of the ongoing interactions between parties (Crossley, 2010, p. 9). By focusing on ideals and desirable relational qualities, collaborative planning literature thus somewhat masks the ever-changing reality of relating, i.e. the 'doing' of a relationship. Although collaborative planning theorists do attend to relating dynamics in planning processes (e.g. Forester, 1999; Healey et al., 2003), few have paid explicit attention to or have systematically analysed stakeholder relations from a dynamic perspective (Heikkila & Gerlak, 2016; Kokx, 2011).

In this article, I take up this challenge and question how stakeholder relations evolve throughout time (describing relating dynamics) and why they evolve as they do (explain-

ing relating dynamics). In other words, I focus on the evolutionary character of stakeholder relations and on the features and circumstances that bring about transformational change(s).The article has two aims. First, it aims to introduce an analytical framework that allows us to empirically capture stakeholders' relating dynamics and explicitly turns attention to how and why stakeholder relations evolve and change over time – i.e. focuses on their genealogy, rather than on how stakeholder relations should be (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000). The second aim of this article is to offer empirical insights into stakeholders' relating dynamics based on a longitudinal, in-depth case study of the collaborative dealing with the urban regeneration of Katendrecht, an area located in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

A DYNAMIC APPROACH TO RELATING: ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS TO MAP STAKEHOLDERS' RELATING PATHWAYS

This section presents an analytical framework to empirically explore and explain stakeholders' relating pathways, i.e. to analyse how and why stakeholder relations within a planning collaborative evolve throughout time. Although collaborative planning scholars widely acknowledge the role of stakeholder relations and dynamics for collaborative success, research has mainly focused on identifying the 'ideal' relational setting for successful collaboration – highlighting consensus as the desirable relational (end-)state, at the neglect of attention to the up-and down movements in relations and to how change occurs and what triggers it. Till now, little effort has been made to develop an understanding of stakeholders' relating dynamics, and theoretical grip and analytical tools to systematically study these are rather underdeveloped.

This article introduces an analytical framework that draws explicit attention to the dynamic and changing nature of relations. To develop this framework, I rely on relational dialectics theory, an approach to relating developed and applied within interpersonal communication theory (Baxter, 2004a, 2011; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). Relational dialectics sees relating as an indeterminate process 'with no clear end-states and no necessary paths of change' (Cools, 2011). The core premise of dialectical informed approaches to relating is that relating revolves around the dynamic interplay between contradictory, opposing forces, referred to as dialectical tensions. These tensions are seen as the 'deep structure' of relating (Cools, 2011). An example of such a tension and one that is, so dialectical theorists argue, fundamental to all interpersonal relations, is the dialectical tension between autonomy and relational connection (Baxter, 2011; Montgomery, 1993). It is these types of tension and the way they are dealt with that define the life of a relationship at a given moment in time.

Within dialectically based research, two broad approaches can be distinguished in terms of how such tensions are further conceptualized. The first, most dominant approach conceives of these tensions as existing between competing (universal) innate and intrapersonal psychological needs (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). Individuals, it is argued, have an inherent drive to satisfy these needs (Liu et al., 2005). These needs are further considered to "pre-exist outside of and […] independent of communication" (Baxter, Laske, & Scharp., 2016, p. 1). The second approach conceptualizes dialectical tensions as a struggle between "competing systems of meaning that are constituted in and through communication" (Baxter et al., 2016, pp. 1–2). A system of meaning is seen as "a set of propositions [understood as value-judgments] that cohere around a given object of meaning" (Baxter, 2011, p. 2). The meaning of a relationship thus emerges 'in-between' relational parties. Hence, rather than approaching autonomy and connectedness as needs[1], in this approach they are conceived of as competing (socially and culturally endorsed) values that are part of a system of meaning. This second approach thus explicitly shifts attention away from individual needs as the engine of relating to relating as a joint/social process of creating and constituting meaning (Baxter, 2011). Hence, it provides an alternative framing of relating, and enables to direct attention to different aspects. Studying relating as a process of meaning-making is considered to be of relevance since "social relationships are very much shaped by the […] meanings of the people involved": how relational parties make sense of and give value to their relations defines how these evolve and undergirds their actions and strategies (Fuhse & Mützel, 2011, p. 1078). Yet, little attention has been paid to this meaning dimension in collaborative planning literature.

Relational dialectics theory engages with this latter approach. It sees relations as 'systems of meaning(s)' emerging from the ongoing, dynamic interplay between opposing, yet interrelated values (Baxter, 2011). Relational parties construct specific meaning(s) around this dynamic interplay of values – reflecting the 'relationship-as-presently-constituted'. Relational parties can, for instance, privilege one specific value over another for some time, or segment, by relational situation, which value is central and which one will be marginalized.

Relational meanings can be located both at the subjective/individual level and at the intersubjective/ social level (Fuhse & Mützel, 2011). Relations are partially shaped at the subjective level: individuals attribute certain qualities to the relations they have, and have certain expectations of the others and of how they will act. These subjective meanings/thoughts (located in actors' heads), in part, determine how individuals will act in a given relation.

1 This second approach should not be considered as a reaction against the first, as if scholars that adopt the latter reject the idea of the existence of innate psychological needs. Rather the second approach explicitly turns attention away from the individual needs as the object of analysis to an analytical focus on 'relating' as socially and culturally mediated.

However, relational meanings are also intersubjectively realized and negotiated through the ongoing (group) interaction processes between relational parties. Relational meanings are thus socially produced and reproduced (Fuhse, 2009; White, Fuhse, Thiemann, & Buchholz, 2007). These socially, intersubjectively produced meanings come to the surface in the stories actors tell and share about their relations and interactions (Fuhse, 2009).

What is more, relations, and how they are made sense of, are contextually embedded: they are shaped by broader contextual processes and coloured by the 'zeitgeist' in which they are embedded. Relational dialectic theorists refer – in this respect – to the 'chronotope' of relations: they are located in a specific time and space (Baxter, 2011).

Conceiving relations as systems of meaning implies that change is ever-present in relations and that relations are continuously in flux. Through their ongoing interactions, relational parties constantly redefine and re-organize around these dialectical struggles: "any particular dialectical [struggle] is open to multiple and different interpretations, depending on the particular circumstances contextualizing its occurrence" (Montgomery, 1993, p. 210).

Based on the above explained theoretical ideas, I developed three analytical concepts that guide the analysis of stakeholders' relating pathways: relational narratives, relational turning points and critical relation events. I explain each of these concepts below.

Relational Narratives

Through narratives and stories, human actors give expression to (inter)personal experiences and meanings and to their interpretation of phenomena. Relational narratives then give access to what (a) relation(s) means to stakeholders: they reveal the jointly constructed relational 'reality' or the 'dominant meaning-for-the-moment'- the system of meaning that defines what relations are about at a given moment in time (Baxter & Braithwaite, 2010; Cools, 2011).

A relational narrative is characterized by a certain 'union' in the way stakeholders talk about their relations: they use a coherent set of concepts, words, labels, themes and metaphors (Baxter, 2011; Wood, 1982). Relational narratives also embody an evaluative appreciation: they express what stakeholders value and/or bemoan in their relations (Gergen, 1994). As such, it reveals which value(s) is/are privileged at a certain point in time. Relational narratives come to the surface in the stories that are told about stakeholder relations in everyday talk, written texts and interviews (Baxter, 2011).

Relational Turning Points

Relational narratives evolve over time, during the course of interaction: they "undergo continuous alterations as interaction progresses" (Gergen & Gergen, 1983, p. 256). As explained earlier, relational meanings are continuously under construction – however, not all adaptations are fundamental in nature, nor do they all subvert or overturn the dominant meaning-for-the-moment. Yet, at some point, the dominant system of meaning is challenged in a more profound way, resulting in a relational turning point – bringing about transformational change. Relational turning points refer to "major points of transition or upheaval" in a relation's evolution (Baxter, 2011, p. 94). They can be described as occasions or episodes during which the struggle of different, competing values can be identified in bold relief – the struggle is prominently present in stakeholders' narratives (Baxter, 2004a). Stakeholders' narratives become more ambiguous and contradictory: 'old', once privileged values are questioned and struggle with alternative, opposing values to occupy the dominant meaning-for-the-moment. This marks how relational meaning is in transition and how a new relational narrative is constructed.

Critical Relation Events

As explained above, turning points are seen as the transition phase in a relation in which a shift in relational understanding becomes visible. Critical relation events are approached as triggers of such a turning point. They involve the features and circumstances that cause fundamental change in how relational parties define their relations and result in the emergence of a new relational narrative. Critical relation events concern incidents, acts, actions, happenings, etc. which relational parties perceive as critical and as having a decisive impact on the way their relations evolve (Baxter, 2004a).

Critical relation events challenge the dominant meaning-for-the-moment and trigger alternative understandings of what the relation is/should be about, eventually leading to a turning point.

Table 5.1 summarizes how each concept contributes to insights in stakeholders' relational meanings, changes herein and in the reasons for that change. Taken together, these concepts enable the mapping of stakeholders' relating pathways.

In the following sections, I present and discuss the findings of a longitudinal, in-depth case study of the relating pathway of the stakeholders involved in the collaborative(s) dealing with the urban regeneration of Katendrecht. Using the above explained concepts as heuristics – i.e. sensitizing concepts – this study analyzes how the stakeholders involved

made sense of their mutual relations and how and why their relational meanings evolved throughout time.

Table 5.1. Analytical concepts as heuristics.

Analytical concept	Heuristic to:
Relational narrative(s) *Which values are dominant in a specific period in time?*	Identify the dominant meaning-for-the-moment, i.e. the dominant relational narrative by tracing descriptions that characterize and evaluate the nature and meaning of (a part of) stakeholder relations: a) in a *coherent* way by reference to similar values, labels, words, metaphors, etc. (coherence and union); b) at a specific moment/period in *time* (time-bound).
Turning point *When, and which alternative values emerge and challenge the dominant-meaning-for-the-moment?*	Identify moments/periods during which the dominant meaning-for-the-moment is challenged or questioned. Stakeholders' narratives are characterized by counterpoints which become visible in the emergence of alternative or contradictory values with respect to the dominant meaning-for-the-moment.
Critical relation event *What event(s) challenge the dominant-meaning-for-the-moment and trigger turning point(s)?*	Identify those events* that stakeholders find critical for changes in the nature and meaning of (a part of) stakeholder relations – more in general: critical for evolution herein. *An event can be an act, activity, action, intervention, happening, etc.

MAPPING THE RELATING PATHWAY OF A COLLABORATIVE PLANNING PARTNERSHIP

Introduction to the Case: Urban Regeneration of Katendrecht, Rotterdam

Before moving into the specifics of the Katendrecht case, I shortly discuss the general practice of Dutch planning. For decades, the planning system in the Netherlands was a governmental preoccupation: governmental planning agencies and planners – at all levels of administration – had a leading role in planning and implementing spatial interventions (Gerrits, Rauws, & De Roo, 2012; Van Eeten & Roe, 2000). Traditionally, Dutch planning was characterized by public sector driven, hierarchically coordinated spatial development, and a technical-instrumental approach to planning (Gerrits et al., 2012). Coordination took place through consultation of and cooperation with different institutionalized private and societal actors – as this was ingrained in the corporatist mode of governance typical of the Netherlands. This implies that the Netherlands traditionally already had a consensus-oriented planning culture.

In the past decades however, this style of planning has increasingly transitioned into more communicative and collaborative forms of planning that emphasize the importance of open communication, deliberation and dialogue with a wider array of stakeholders, and in which governmental urban planners play a facilitating role rather than a leading one. Also planning focus has shifted from an emphasis on comprehensive national visions, to integrative and area-based developments. As a consequence, a collaborative planning approach based on dialogue and deliberation with local stakeholders, 'shared responsibilities' and 'area-specific policies' now increasingly characterizes Dutch planning (Gerrits et al., 2012).

The urban regeneration of Katendrecht, an area located in the city of Rotterdam, can be seen as an instance of this changed, more collaborative orientation in spatial planning in the Netherlands. For that reason, it has been epitomized in local and national planning discourse as an example of 'area development 2.0[2], in which dialogue with local stakeholders and planning 'without blueprints' plays a central role.

Katendrecht is one of Rotterdam's former port areas, located on the south bank of the river Meuse (see Figure 5.1). During the second half of the 20th century, Rotterdam's harbour activities gradually moved westwards – towards the Meuse estuary and, as a consequence, the once lively neighbourhood Katendrecht began to decline and became a problem area. Around 2000, Katendrecht had become infamous and known as an impoverished and deteriorated area, a reason for the city to initiate an integral, grand-scale urban regeneration process, aiming to transform the old harbour zone into an attractive residential area.

Although initiated by the city, from the outset, Katendrecht's urban regeneration has been approached as a collaborative effort: municipal and sub-municipal urban planners collaborate with diverse key stakeholders in the area. Not only do they collaborate with the more 'traditional' partners in planning, i.e. a private developer and housing association (owning the majority of houses in the area), they also collaborate with local entrepreneurs, local citizens and the residents' association KBO (Katendrechtse BewonersOrganisatie). To facilitate collaboration with these stakeholders a number of collaboratives – composed of different subsets of stakeholders – have been set up.

Within the urban regeneration of Katendrecht, different planning interventions have been employed and invested in by the (sub)municipal urban planners and the key stakeholders involved, ranging from building new houses, renovation and redevelopment of existing

2 As opposed to 'area development 1.0' which reflects the traditional mode of planning: top-down planning in which governmental agencies play a chief coordinating role in spatial development and act as investors and initiators.

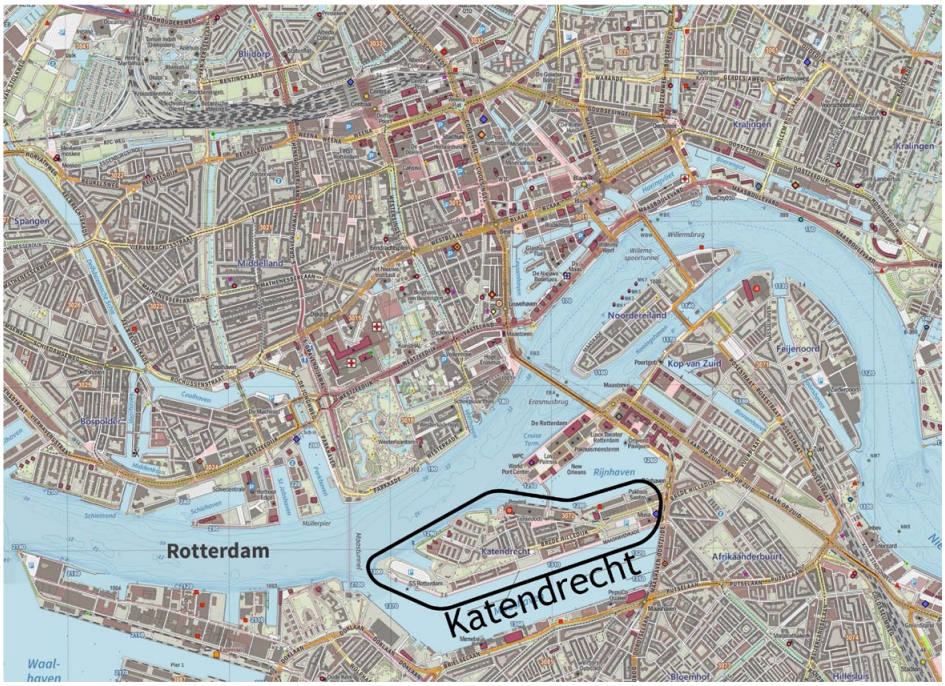

Figure 5.1. Location of Katendrecht in Rotterdam.

plots and taking on public space. Table 5.2 gives an overview hereof, of the concrete building activities[3] that this entailed and, of the different stakeholders involved in these activities.

A Longitudinal, In-Depth Study of Stakeholders' Relating Dynamics

To develop an empirical understanding of stakeholders' relating dynamics, I conducted a longitudinal, in-depth case study of the relating process between stakeholders involved in the collaborative dealing with Katendrecht's urban regeneration (further referred to as the Katendrecht collaborative). The selection of the Katendrecht case is 'instrumental': the case plays a supportive role in developing an understanding of a particular phenomenon of interest and in refining theory (Stake, 1995).

3 The list of concrete development activities is not exhaustive, there have been other, smaller developments. However, the list does give an overview of the most important and comprehensive development activities that took place on Katendrecht and, as such, gives an idea of the amount and concentration of developments over the past 15 years.

Table 5.2. Overview of planning interventions deployed on Katendrecht.

Planning interventions	Timing	Concrete development activities	Key stakeholders *leading role in development
Acquisition, buyouts and expropriation by city's planning agencies of houses and development plots	1999	Acquisition of part of the south quays (previously owned by transit company Hanno).	City's planning agencies*
	2004–2005	Buyouts and expropriations of houses & businesses on Delisquare, central square of Katendrecht	City's planning agencies*
	2006–2009	Acquisition of Fenix storehouses I and II (north quays)(previously owned by company Steinweg Handelsveem).	City's planning agencies*
Renovation and redevelopment of houses, squares, facilities	2002–2009	Renovation and redevelopment of Delisquare	City's planning agencies* + housing association*
	2007	Redevelopment DIY-houses, 'Driehoek'	City's planning agencies* + individual citizens
	2012–….	Redevelopment of Fenix storehouse I	City's planning agencies* + private developer*
Development of new housing (especially for social middleclass)	2000	Building of apartment blocks 'Tweede Katendrechtse Haven'	City's planning agencies + private developer*
	2002–2004	Development free plots	City's planning agencies + individual citizens* + private developer*
	2006–2009	Development of Parkkwartier: building of 122 houses, 32 apartments, school, Chinese church	City's planning agencies + private developer*
	2007–2010	Development of Laankwartier: building of 219 houses	City's planning agencies + housing association*
	2012–2015	Development of Kaap Belvédère, building of 29 houses	City's planning agencies + housing association*
	2014-	Development of Pols-area	City's planning agencies + private developer*
Development and public investment in facilities and public spaces	2002–2009	Redevelopment of Delisquare (see above)	City's planning agencies + housing association* + local entrepreneurs
	2004–2008	Development of public park 'Kaappark'	City's planning agencies*
	2009	Building and development of primary school De Globetrotter	City's planning agencies + private developer*
	2009	Building and development of Chinese church	City's planning agencies + private developer*
	2012	Development/building of playground 'Kaapschip'	Individual citizens* + city's planning agencies
Marketing/branding campaign	2004	Launching of branding campaign 'Can you handle the Cape?'	City's planning agencies* + housing association + private developer + individual citizens + local entrepreneurs

Table 5.2. Overview of planning interventions deployed on Katendrecht (*continued*)

Planning interventions	Timing	Concrete development activities	Key stakeholders *leading role in development
Boosting local economy based on CCC-profile (Cultural, Creative, Culinary)	2008	Opening of theatre Walhalla	Local entrepreneur* + city's planning agencies + private developer
	2009/2010	Opening Verhalenhuis ('house of stories') Belvédère	Individual citizens*
	2012	Fenix Food Factory: temporary use of Fenix storehouse II	City's planning agencies + local entrepreneurs*

Data were mainly collected through *narrative interviews* with 21 key representatives that are or were actively involved in the Katendrecht collaborative between 2000 and 2015. 2000 was chosen as the starting point for reconstructing stakeholders' relating dynamics because it can be seen as a 'rupture point' (LeGreco & Tracy, 2009): in 2000 the city initiated the integral, grand-scale urban regeneration of Katendrecht and in doing so, set up a collaboration with other key stakeholders in the area. Narrative research approaches, located in a qualitative-interpretive research tradition, start from the assumption that the meanings people attribute to phenomena undergird the way they act. The basic idea of narrative interviewing then is to enter the lived, experienced world of participants and to develop an understanding of how participants make sense of the phenomenon of interest (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Hence, in this study, interviews focus on getting insight into participants' experiences with, and meanings about, stakeholder relations within the collaborative, as well as changes herein and critical events impacting on these experiences during their involvement. As is common in narrative research, 'storied evidence' is gathered, not to determine if events actually happened, but to find the meaning experienced by people as to whether or not the events are accurately described. The "truths" sought by narrative researchers are "narrative truths", not "historical truths"' (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 479).

Interview respondents were first selected by using a purposeful sampling method (Patton, 2002). This entailed identifying and selecting representatives of the key stakeholder organizations that were currently involved and could be considered as knowledgeable about or experienced with what was happening on a relational level within the collaborative. Next, relying on a snowball sampling method by referral (Patton, 2002), I asked each of the selected key representatives to refer me to individuals whom they considered to be crucial now or/and in the past within the collaborative. Combining these methods resulted in a sample of 21 key representatives composed as follows: 11 (municipal or submunicipal)

urban planners,[4] 2 project managers (responsible for the area Katendrecht) of the key housing association, 2 project managers of the key private developer, 4 local citizens, 1 local entrepreneur, 1 representative of the residents' association KBO.

Each respondent was interviewed twice. The entry interview aimed to evoke individuals' stories about stakeholder relations, told in their own words. Following the entry interview, I made a preliminary analysis of each participant's interview using the sensitizing concepts and questions as formulated in Table 5.1. Next, each selected fragment was time-stamped. Subsequently, the coded material was visualized in a timeline which depicted a participant's subjective/perspectival understanding of the collaborative's relating pathway and critical events herein. This timeline then served as a guide for the follow-up interview, which aimed at further enriching the stories. Based on the data gathered during follow-up interviews, the timelines were further 'thickened' and 'completed'. Returning to participants also enabled clarification on details or ambiguities that arose during the initial interpretation of the data and to validate the generated text, i.e. the timeline (Polkinghorne, 2007).

The individual timelines – being a form of process mapping – served as the basis for data analysis (Langley, 1999). First, they were processed into a meta-timeline in which the different stakeholders' stories were represented as parallel processes. The meta-timeline enabled a comparison of the coded material to group stories that expressed similar relational experiences. By so doing, the metatimeline served as a process map to create a meta-narrative, i.e. an aggregate construction that reflects stakeholders' 'shared' experiences with the collaborative's relating pathway.

To further make sense of and organize the constructed meta-narrative, I used a temporal bracketing strategy. This entails transforming the obtained data into a "series of more discrete but connected blocks" (Langley, 1999). Hence, I deconstructed the meta-narrative into 5 successive, adjacent episodes.[5] The construction of an episode within the relating pathway is based on the presence of a certain continuity and coherence within the meta-narrative throughout a certain period, and discontinuities at its frontiers (Langley, 1999: p. 703). Within an episode, specific relational meanings dominate stakeholders' accounts – the episode ends or comes to an end when new, alternative – often opposing – relational meanings emerge.

4 Note that this high number of selected urban planners has to do with (1) the multiple administrative levels within the city's governance structure that are involved in spatial planning initiatives and, (2) the high turnover of personnel within the city – as compared to that of local residents or the private developer.

5 To be clear, the identified episodes serve as a way to structure the description of stakeholders' relating pathway. As Langley emphasizes: 'They are not "phases" in the sense of a predictable sequential process but, simply, a way of structuring the description of events" (Langley, 1999, p. 703).

To contextualize data collected through interviewing, I also observed a large share of meetings (21 meetings in total) of the collaborative(s) between 2012 and 2015. These observations gave a sense and feel of the actual communication processes between the currently involved stakeholders. As such, they helped me to get a better understanding of the actual context and conditions in which stakeholders collaborate. Also, observational fieldwork gave me the opportunity to become more personally involved in the case and build rapport with research participants – both important elements when aiming to get access to experiential data (Feldman, Bell, & Berger, 2003). As such, it facilitated valid data collection.

Furthermore, I subjected relevant archival documents, such as policy documents, newspaper articles, websites and blogs about the urban regeneration, to detailed study. These documents served as a way to provide "data on the context within which participants operate (…). Bearing witness of past events, documents provide background information as well as historical insight" (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). The selected documents enabled me to cross-check events, dates and other contextual data gathered through the narrative interviews.

In the following section I present an account of the relating pathway of the Katendrecht collaborative – as it unfolded between 2000 and 2015.

FINDINGS: RELATING PATHWAY OF THE KATENDRECHT COLLABORATIVE

Early Collaborative Efforts (2000)

Against the backdrop of Katendrecht's increasing safety problems and ongoing decay, which instigates a political sense of urgency, the city appoints a (dedicated) urban planner who is given a clear mandate and resources to initiate an integral approach to the area's urban regeneration. A starting point within this approach is that the city sees the urban regeneration as a collaborative effort with other key stakeholders in the area (see above). At the start of the collaborative approach, stakeholder relations can be described as distant and reticent – there is in fact little collaboration and if there is, stakeholder relations are characterized as difficult and challenging:

> When I first came there [on Katendrecht], the image was more diffuse. (…). The first meetings with them [housing association] were reticent. (…) I experienced troubles with them. Some staff members were so convinced of their own right that they showed little

> flexibility to adapt their plans or perspectives. Our relation towards them was not open either. Everybody kept his cards close to the chest. (…). This was challenging. We really needed, I think at least 5 meetings to understand what was going on, on our side and on theirs. So, it was really a closed system. (…). Being a voluntary organization, the resident's association was insufficient as a professional soundboard. Roaring and shouting and unconstructive cooperation (…) that didn't help us. (…). There was little connectedness, a lot of distrust and negativity at that time.
>
> First, I started dialogues with the other stakeholders [about the idea of an integral approach]. So I had bilateral meetings and some of them said: yeah, "you're right"; and others said: "no, you should approach it like this or that (…), it hasn't priority, so let's take it easy" (…). So, first you do the minimal and then you realize it is important to have a common story. It took a while to make people acknowledge that we needed to do this together instead of bilaterally.

These quotes illustrate how, back in 2000, stakeholder relations are characterized by stakeholders staying on their own islands, sticking to their guns, and being, to some extent, averse to dialogue and openly sharing information. To break this relational setting, the appointed urban planner undertakes different activities oriented towards bringing stakeholders together, such as the Theme tables, the establishment of a joint communications team and the development of area agreements (see Appendix B for a complete overview). Meanwhile, the first building activities in the area and the city's efforts to tackle some smaller problems, such as problems with waste collection, propel stakeholders' beliefs in a joint approach towards urban regeneration. Individual stakeholders gradually show more willingness to make genuine (and sometimes risky) efforts in favor of the collaborative. Together these events trigger the emergence of a new relational narrative.

Establishment of an Open and Well-Connected Partnership (Around 2004)

After three years of investment, Katendrecht has made its first steps towards transforming into a residential area. The first large building project (i.e. Tweede Katendrechtse Haven, see Appendix B) is completed and, around this time, the city and private developer initiate the development of free plots in the area. Stakeholder relations have gradually become more open and connected. The prevailing relational narrative is now characterized by values like openness, togetherness and professionalism. The following statement describes stakeholder relations at that time:

> It was really like we did a lot of things together, moving to the same spot on the horizon. (…). Everybody was in the right position, everything went well, and we really could move forward together, so to speak. (…). Collaboration was really good, it was an open atmosphere… Things just went smooth (…). Sharing confidential information was business as usual. (…). Also, and this has to do with moving towards each other, each of us did things, if you think it through from your own organizational perspective, that are not the smartest things to do. But you did it, because you wanted to move forward.

Different events amplify this prevailing narrative. Stakeholders especially refer to the launching of the joint branding campaign 'Can you handle the Cape?' and to the entry of a new private developer.

Simultaneously, other events challenge this predominant relational narrative revolving around values such as togetherness and openness. Most importantly, the group composition of the partnership thoroughly changes and new individuals enter the collaborative. Within the time span of one year (2006/2007), two new urban planners (one at municipal and one at submunicipal level), and a new project manager of the housing association enter the partnership. This newly composed team experiences a unique dynamic – as this stakeholder describes:

> It starts with the realization that you need each other (…), let me express it like this: if you do not have team players, you will not get this. This is the minimal characteristic people you work with, should have. But it is also about trustworthiness and that kind of stuff. (…). And you need serendipity (…). Because serendipity is the capacity to convert coincidence in your advantage. (…). Serendipity with the people you meet, and the initiatives that come along. This was unique, also that it coincided with this place that had so much history and potential.

This unique dynamic is further fuelled by the fact that developing activities reach a climax around that time. The coincidence of both events precipitates the emergence of a new relational narrative. Alternative values emerge in stakeholders' stories that seem contradictory to those prevailing: there is a clear appreciation of autonomy, of doing your own thing based on your own organizational identity, the acknowledgment of being different and having different interests. At first sight, this suggests a retreat of the open and well-connected partnership. However, the incorporation of these values heralds a thriving episode for Katendrecht's collaborative.

Chemistry in the Collaborative (2008–2010)

Around 2007/2008, Katendrecht's urban regeneration accelerates and the collaborative experiences its heyday. Labels such as 'chemistry' and 'synergy' are used to describe stakeholder relations. Stakeholders paint a picture in which values such as one's own identity (autonomy) as well as togetherness, business-like/formal and caring/informal professionalism simultaneously characterize their relations:

> We found each other, each from his/her own responsibilities. Simply everybody taking his own responsibility. No strange things that the city or the housing association does things that do not fit the nature of the organization, but everybody does his/her own thing in such a way that it fits together.

> There was a vibe (…) and the meetings were incredibly good. We knew each other well, saw each other a lot. We had a connection. It wasn't that we were just making small talk, not at all. We also had substantive discussions about where we were heading at. So it was also very professional and not too cosy. (…) It is about giving and taking and showing that you have qualities but also that you are capable of taking other's interests into account (…). Also, each of us had quite some mandate to make decisions. So, it was not all too bureaucratic: you could act quickly, together with the other parties at the table.

These quotes illustrate how, within the prevailing narrative, multiple, competing values cooccur but are not framed as conflicting.

Different events reinforce this narrative. First, two important development projects are finalized in this period: theatre Walhalla and the renovation of the central square. The finalization of both symbolizes how the collaborative is able to undertake pioneering work. Second, the collaborative wins several design contests with its achievements. Together these events create opportunities for the collaborative to celebrate its successes and reinforce its 'unique dynamic'.

Other events, however, start to challenge the prevailing relational narrative. The most pressing one being the outbreak of the economic and financial crises around 2009. As a consequence, some key stakeholders need to reorganize and slacken resources for the urban regeneration and, in many cases, room for manoeuvre of the representatives involved in the collaborative is restricted. Meanwhile, Katendrecht has made a name, which, on one side, makes it less of a priority for some of the stakeholders involved, and, on the other, results in new parties becoming interested in undertaking initiatives in the area. The collaborative, however, experiences difficulties in dealing with these developments, as this respondent testifies:

> So, when others came in that hadn't experienced that commonality, it became different. Connectedness and other things were increasingly challenged (…). You also noticed how openness decreased and you suddenly get that you are looking more to your own interests again. (…) Everybody retreats a bit to his own things and there is nobody to fix that. (…). Also, there was now less leeway (…). And well, if your organization does not give you that room for manoeuver anymore, well, than that's the end of it.

Furthermore, a new planning issue comes to the table: the redevelopment of the Fenix storehouses. The negotiations around this between urban planners, private developers and local citizens are difficult, and the redevelopment of the plot soon becomes a contested issue. These events together turn up the pressure on the collaborative and trigger the emergence of a new relational narrative.

Shift Towards a Business-Like Partnership

Around 2010, the many developments and revitalizing efforts on Katendrecht start to bear fruit: Katendrecht has successfully transformed into a residential area. Meanwhile, within the collaborative, stakeholder relations have evolved towards more distant/formal, business-like relations. Stakeholders' stories reveal a loss of the 'chemistry' they experienced before:

> … it changed to an atmosphere of 'we are talking to each other, but are not willing to cooperate'. […]. You could describe it [the collaborative] as a company that suddenly crosses over from a family company to a stock-market listed concern, so that it is no longer a family company. […]. Towards a distant attitude like 'this is our profession and that's nobody's business'.

Different events reinforce these distant and business-like relations. First, the composition of the collaborative changes again. This time this puts pressure on the common vision previously shared: the vision is no longer considered to be self-evident by the new individuals involved. The following quotes illustrate how the new group composition impacted on the collaborative:

> [A new (leading) urban planner] came, [the previous one] was gone… So it became different (…). I have to admit, we hadn't written down all we agreed upon while [the previous one] was still around. And then [the new one] came and we ended up in a situation that he started to question our agreements like: 'are you really sure you agreed upon that?' Before, it wouldn't even have been possible to ask that question. You knew, you just knew. You would never have posed the question to the other if it was really so.

> Then [the new (leading) urban planner] came and that was a totally different kind of person and then things started to clash again. (…). And that doesn't mean he didn't do a good job but simply that his style was so different that it didn't match with the accepted or supported style in the collaborative.

Moreover, in 2012, the political decision is made to award the complete development of the Fenix storehouses to the private developer – in contrast to the initial plan of a joint development involving both city and private developer. This new approach turns the relations between city and private developer upside down: the city now acts as a controller of the development, not as a developer. This positions both parties at different ends of the negotiation table, and negotiations increasingly become 'a fight to the finish'. Finally, in this period, a lot of the building activities and other developmental activities are completed. Each of these events amplify the prevailing relational narrative characterized by distant and business-like relations.

In 2012, however, two new urban planners enter the collaborative. Both of these individuals adopt a more relaxed attitude than their predecessors, according to stakeholders. Furthermore, around the end of 2013, the negotiations on the Fenix storehouses come to an end. Together these events trigger new understandings of stakeholder relations.

Transition to an Open Partnership? (2014 and Further)

Around 2014, the face of the collaborative changes again. For this timeframe, it is, however, difficult to clearly pin down a clear relational narrative – perhaps because stakeholders are living it when interviews are conducted. The prevailing narrative is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, stakeholders characterize relations as strategic and calculated. Also, meetings between stakeholders are organized more bilaterally, suggesting that the urban regeneration is now experienced less as a joint undertaking. On the other hand, however, stakeholder relations become more relaxed and open (again) in this period. This suggests a transition towards more openness and transparency. As an example, this is what one stakeholder states about stakeholder relations:

> Well, now you can be a bit more open again, and just give your opinion. I can be opener about issues without the others digging in their heels, or shutting down. In any case, information is becoming more available again. Not everything, but we know more than before. Which makes it easier to collaborate…

A similar image comes to the fore in the following quote:

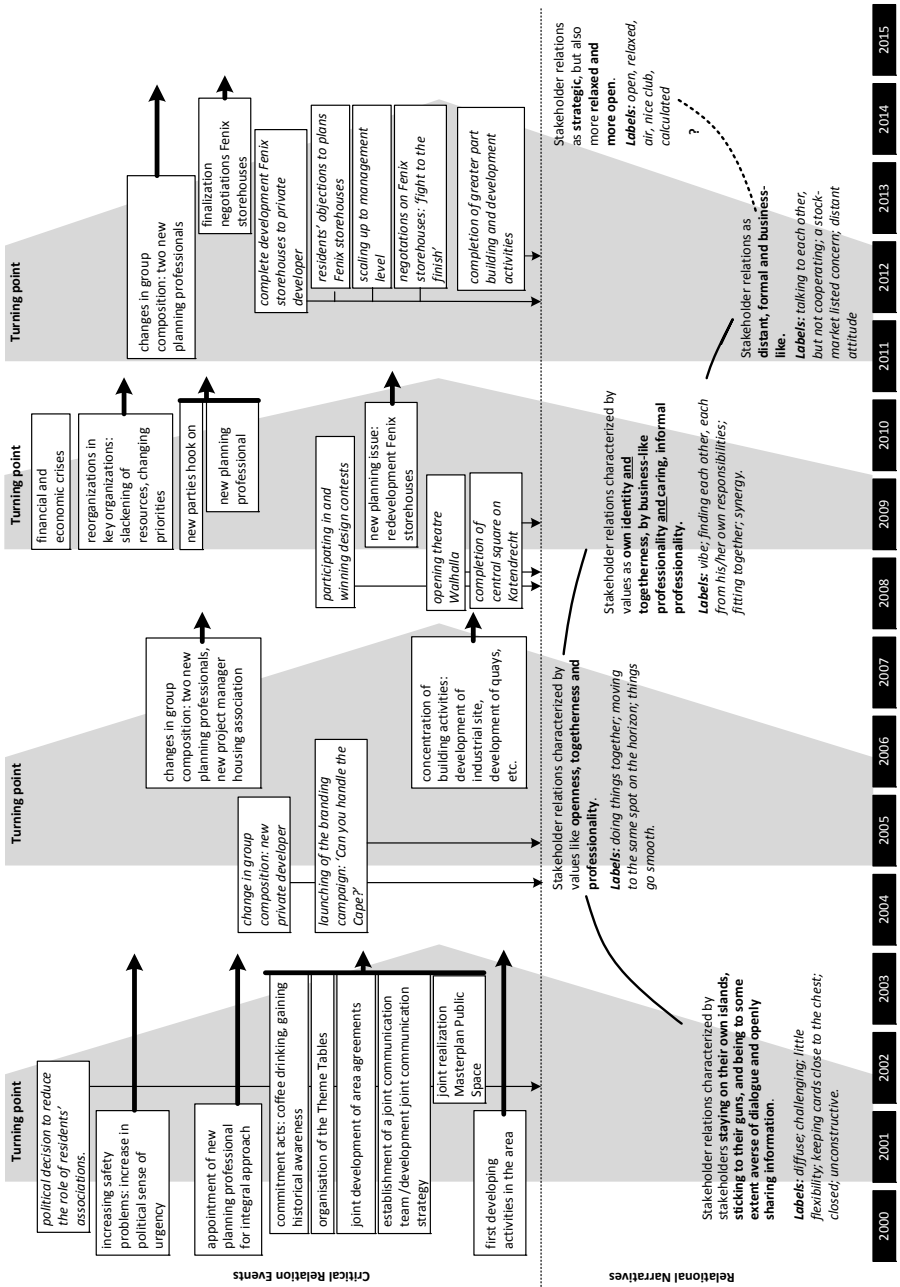

Figure 5.2. Visual overview of relating pathway of Katendrecht collaborative.

> I think all parties know to find each other now, and consider each other as serious partners (…). Everybody informs each other. The collaboration is nice, I think.

Although stakeholder relations are still characterized as strategic and calculated, these statements suggest that the collaborative is evolving towards a new relational narrative, one which emphasizes openness and transparency.

Figure 5.2 gives a visual overview of stakeholders' relating pathway, albeit in a summarized way. The lower half of the figure visualizes the different relational narratives that prevail throughout the relating pathway. The upper half of the map presents the most relevant critical relation events. The arrows in the map illustrate the way events impact on the relating pathway. Events amplifying the prevailing relational narrative are connected with that narrative through a down-ward arrow and displayed in italics. Events challenging the prevailing relational narrative have an arrow pointing forward in time, illustrating how they 'push' stakeholder relations towards new meanings and thus trigger change. The grey arrows visualize the transition phases within the relating process.

DISCUSSION

The previous section drew up the relating pathway of the collaborative dealing with Katendrecht's urban regeneration and explained, by reference to the critical relation events occurring on that path, why it evolved as it did. Here, I discuss the themes that emerge herein.

Dynamics and Dialectics of Stakeholders' Relating Pathway

An analysis of stakeholders' relating pathway shows how stakeholder relations are dynamic and characterized by up-and-down movements throughout time: the relating pathway is an illustration of how relational meanings never settle. Analysis also reveals how stakeholders' relating dynamics are organized around dialectical struggles between values such as togetherness vs own identities, openness and transparency (sharing information) vs privacy (keeping cards close to the chest), formal/business-like professionalism vs informal/caring professionalism, and, connectedness vs distance. Furthermore, these values tend to cluster together in similar sets within the collaborative's relational narratives. On the one hand, togetherness clusters together with openness, informal/caring and connectedness. On the other, an emphasis on own identities co-occurs with values such as privacy, formal/business-like and distance. Hence, two overarching discourses can be identified in

stakeholders' relating pathway: one clustering around values associated with commonality and sharing, the other clustering around autonomy and organizational individualism.

In addition, for most of the relating pathway, the dynamic between these discourses can best be described as one of 'cyclic alternation' which "is characterized by a back and forth pattern over time in the dominance of first one discourse and then another" (Baxter, 2011, p. 127). While one discourse prevails and takes centre stage in stakeholders' narratives, the other discourse is marginalized. As an example: in episode 1 the 'autonomy'-discourse prevails, reflected in a one-sided emphasis on own identities and privacy. In episode 2, meanwhile, the emphasis shifts towards values such as togetherness and openness at the expense of own identities and privacy, illustrating the predominance of the 'commonality' discourse.

Episode 3, however, shows a different pattern. Here, both values of the identified dialectic struggles are simultaneously present. Relational dialectic theorists refer to this kind of meaning system as 'hybrids'. Baxter describes hybrids as follows:

> [Hybrids] involve a mixing of discourses that moves beyond a zero-sum dynamic. Hybridization […] is a process of mixing two or more distinct discourses to create a new meaning. […] The discourses are distinct, yet they are no longer framed as oppositional. (2011, 139).

So, next to the two overarching discourses discussed above, a third discourse can be identified in stakeholders' relating pathway. This discourse revolves around the combination and mixing of values of the aforementioned struggles: it is characterized by references to both togetherness and own identity, both openness and privacy. Stakeholders labelled this episode as 'unique' and 'synergetic'. This is in line with ideas brought forward by relational dialectics theorists: hybrids, so they argue, are often experienced as moments of being in sync, as peak experiences (Baxter, 2011). Figure 5.3 visualizes which discourses prevail in the different relational narratives.

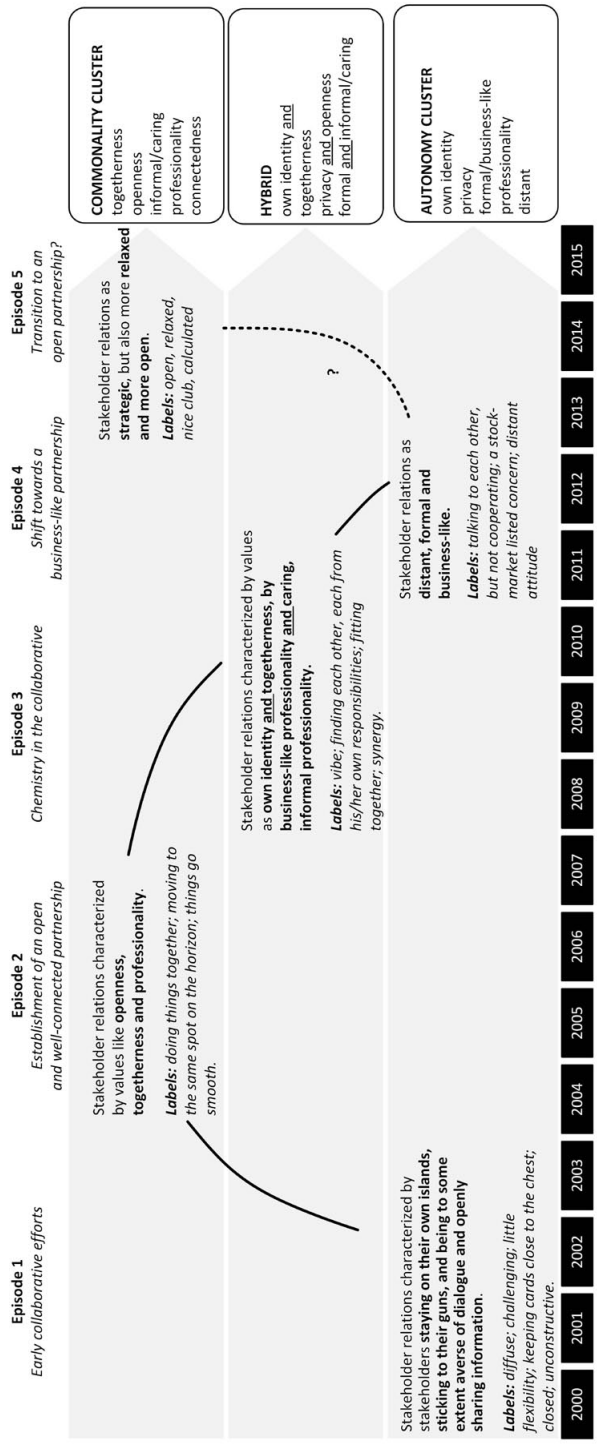

Figure 5.3. Overview of discourses/value clusters of relating pathway of Katendrecht collaborative.

For Better and For Worse

When reading the collaborative's relational narratives, one cannot fail to notice that they contain a sense of how stakeholders value a given relational narrative. Not surprisingly, stakeholders value episode 2 and 3 the most: they prefer the warmth and cosiness of jointly undertaking the urban regeneration, above the episodes characterized by distance and formality. At first sight, this seems to confirm that some relational settings work better within a collaborative process. However, it is clear from analysis that stakeholders think differently. Indeed, they value these episodes more, but also indicate that this doesn't mean that other episodes were experienced as undesirable or unproductive. When relations were redefined and emphasis shifted towards values such as formal professionalism and own identities, characterized by a withdrawal of stakeholders to their own islands, stakeholders experienced this change (albeit in retrospect) as an inevitable and necessary one in the relating pathway. It forced them – so they argue – to get back to their core business and to reset the boundaries. One stakeholder describes this change as follows:

> I remember it made [relations] clearer, less ambiguous. I remember a professor (…) that said: it is the diabolic effect of reductionist connection. Whatever we did, we got closer and closer to each other and actually it only made [relations] more complicated.

Another stakeholder indicates how, in retrospect, he believes it was a good thing to be left to his own devices:

> First, we intended to jointly develop the theatre [city together with local entrepreneur]. But then the city withdrew, because of the financial crisis and other things, and we were forced to do the development by ourselves. I have to admit, back then, we shed tears about that. We were devastated. Didn't know what to do. But in retrospect, this has been a good thing. Now we are masters of our own house. We are independent. Because, and I may sound a bit unfriendly now, at times the city was actually unreliable as a partner.

These quotes illustrate that, although stakeholders regret that relations changed, they also conceived this shift as somehow inevitable, and sometimes even as positive – at least in retrospect.

Sign Posts Along the Pathway

Why did the relating pathway evolve as it did? Why does a given discourse predominate during a specific episode – and another in the next? To find out, I traced the events stakeholders considered to be critical for the way relations evolved.

A variety of critical relation events, 38 discrete events in total, were brought up by stakeholders as critical for the relating pathway (see Appendix B for an extended list of all 38 events). Based on their nature and characteristics, these events can be categorized into 5 types: (1) Collaboration-Oriented Management Practices (COMP): these concern deliberate management efforts to bring stakeholders together; (2) Developmental Events (DE): tangible activities 'on the ground'; (3) Issue-Related Events (IRE): this relates to the emergence or change of issues the collaborative needs to deal with; (4) Group Composition/Dynamic Events (GC/DE): these concern changes in the group composition of the collaborative in terms of the individuals involved and/or changes in group members' attitudes or actions; (5) Contextual Events (CE): events that play in the margin and do not directly relate to the collaborative but have an impact anyway (Appendix B gives an overview of the categorization of each discrete event.)

I further analysed how each of these 38 events are linked to the occurrence or emergence of one of the identified discourses: which (type of) events amplify or precipitate which type of discourse? Based on the chronological occurrence of events and the impact stakeholders assign to events, events can be labelled as (a) a trigger or amplifier of a commonality discourse – further referred to as 'tying events'; (b) a trigger or amplifier of an autonomy discourse – referred to as 'isolating events'; or (c) a trigger or amplifier of a hybrid discourse. Analysis of the events within these groups reveals the following aspects.

First, analysis shows that – against the backdrop of a context in which the urgency to deal with Katendrecht became clear – an interplay between the increase of (re)development activities 'on the ground' and the deliberate investment in collaboration-oriented management practices by the appointed urban planners – which gradually changed stakeholders' attitudes towards urban regeneration – were most decisive to 'pull' the collaborative towards a commonality discourse. These events functioned as 'tying events'. On the other hand, the lack of or a decrease in activities 'on the ground', the emergence of a contested urban planning issue and unfortunate group composition/dynamics – such as a lesser 'fit' between the individuals involved (a social match that was less favourable) and the restriction of room for manoeuvre of representatives – together functioned as 'isolating events'. These isolating events were further strengthened by a series of contextual events that put into perspective the importance and priority of Katendrecht's urban regeneration both on a political level and within the key organisations involved. Considering the events that triggered or amplified a hybrid discourse, analysis shows how the concentration of developmental activities 'on the ground' together with synergistic group composition/dynamics – such as the 'synergy' between individuals, the considerable room for manoeuvre for representatives and the genuine efforts of individual representatives to collaboratively

move forward – and the absence of contextual pressures on the collaborative set the stage for a hybrid relational understanding.

Second, it became clear that no single event, or no specific type of event in itself triggered or amplified changes in relational meaning. Rather a set of events interplayed and, working as a cumulative chain, together pulled the relational system towards a new understanding. For instance, in episode 1 an autonomy discourse prevailed. The occurrence of different events eventually led to a revision of this discourse. Each of these events challenged the dominant meaning-for-the-moment and the associated prevailing values. Event after event ramped up the pressure on the prevailing relational narrative and, at some point, pressure was high enough to revise what was taken-for-granted and to construct a new meaning system. Events thus 'became' critical in a cumulative way (scaffolding). This implies that it is difficult to pin down specific events as unilaterally critical.

Finally, overlooking all events and their occurrence throughout the episodes, it is eye-catching how group composition/dynamics events recurred as critical in nearly each episode of stakeholders' relating pathway. The recurrence hereof suggests that a collaborative's relational narrative hinges a great deal on group composition and dynamics, in particular on the amount of leeway or manoeuvre representatives get and on the 'fit' between the individuals involved. Concerning the latter, it is important to note here that stakeholders did not attribute the impact hereof to the personality of individuals as such, but to the exit or entry of a specific individual in a specific interpersonal setting. Stakeholders often mentioned there was 'nothing wrong' with this or that individual, but that the interaction effect of this or that individual with the incumbent group, had its effect on stakeholder relations. This implies that the impact of group composition/dynamic events on stakeholder relations may have as much to do with how a 'new' individual fits in with the incumbent group, as with the personality and competencies of an individual as such.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I have sought to develop an empirical understanding of stakeholders' relating dynamics in a collaborative planning process. Applying an analytical framework, drawing on relational dialectics theory (Baxter, 2011; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996), I analysed the relating pathway of the collaborative dealing with Katendrecht's urban regeneration. While I acknowledge that the findings on stakeholders' relating dynamics may be particular to Katendrecht, I believe the case study affords valuable insights for both developing empirical understandings of stakeholders' relating dynamics and for refining collaborative planning theory.

First, the study offers valuable insights into how and why stakeholder relations change over time. Concerning how, analysis reveals that stakeholders' relating pathway mainly follows a pattern of 'cyclic alternation'. Opposing discourses or 'value clusters' alternate throughout time, similar to an ebb and flow movement. In terms of why stakeholder relations evolve as they do, findings show that there are no specific or single events that are so powerful that they 'turn' stakeholder relations in a snap. Rather, tying or isolating events accumulate over time, which I termed 'scaffolding', and eventually lead to the emergence of a new relational narrative. This finding gives us some first insights into how specific relational settings actually emerge and how they are affected by situational exigencies (see also Laurian, 2009).

Next, findings of this study challenge the idea, predominant in collaborative planning theory that collaboratives are at their best when they reach an 'ideal' state in which values such as consensus, openness, mutual understanding and reciprocity characterize the relational setting (Healey et al., 2003; Innes & Booher, 2003, 2004) – and this in at least two ways. To begin with, current analysis reveals that the pinnacle of the collaborative partnership – the episode which stakeholders valued the most and described as the 'heyday' of the collaborative – was characterized by the simultaneous accommodation of opposing values: both togetherness/joint-ness and own identity/difference; both openness and privacy, etc. rather than a one dimensional emphasis on consensus, joint-ness and open communication as is suggested by many collaborative planning theorists. Findings show that when stakeholders succeed in reconciling these opposing values in a so-called hybrid system of meaning, they experience this as being 'in sync'. Indeed, it seems that when stakeholders succeed in creating such a 'hybrid' meaning, the collaborative partnership thrives. This shows how collaborative planning efforts require more than simply seeking consensus and are more than 'a quest for unity' (Baxter, 2011). It illustrates how collaboration equally depends on the acknowledgment and valuing of the (inevitability of) different interests. This connects well to what Bakthin (1990) sees as 'aesthetic wholeness', which is about a momentary sense of wholeness 'through a profound respect for the disparate voices in dialogue' (Baxter, 2004b). The essence of dialogue, then, is the simultaneous fusion and differentiation of voices: "To engage in dialogue, participants must fuse their perspectives to some extent while sustaining the uniqueness of their individual perspectives. Participants thus form a unity in conversation but only through two clearly differentiated voices, or perspectives" (Baxter, 2004b, p. 7). These ideas support hybrid approaches to planning in which both consensus-formation/agreement – a focus typical for the consensus-seeking collaborative planner, and conflict/difference are integrated and embraced as necessary elements of 'good' planning processes (Alexander, 2001; Hillier, 2003). Furthermore, the findings of this study point to the relevance of 'less ideal' relational settings for collaborative success. The case of Katendrecht reveals that, in the long run, an episode in which

a relational narrative prevails that emphasizes values such as own identities/difference and distance can prove to be functional and even productive in a collaborative planning process. Hence, while stakeholders value the episodes characterized by commonality and openness the most, this doesn't mean other episodes have no value for the process. Rather it seems that – sometimes – a retreat to own identities and interests, and highlighting difference, may dissolve some of the unproductive entanglements within a partnership. This again relates to conceptions of planning in which "both collaboration and competition, both striving to understand and engage with consensus-formation while at the same time respecting differences of values and areas of disagreement" are incorporated (Hillier, 2003, p. 54).

Finally, it is clear from analysis that group composition/dynamics and events play an important role in the relating process. This is particularly so for changes in group composition: the entry or exit of specific individuals to the incumbent group. However, the impact in this case was not attributed to the personality of individuals as such, but to the mutual interaction between specific individuals with a specific interpersonal setting. This finding sheds a different light on our understanding of the planners' role in multi-stakeholder partnerships. Collaborative planning literature places strong emphasis on the planner's skills and sensitivities to ensure collaborative success: planners need to be astute bridge builders and have the necessary mediation skills (Doehler, 2002; Forester, 1999). Yet, analysis here suggests that the successes of an individual planner does not only depend on his/her skills or competencies, but also on his/her fit with the individuals and dynamics within the incumbent group, i.e. within the 'web of relations'.

This study examined how and why stakeholder relations in a collaborative planning process evolved throughout time. To do so, it utilized an alternative framework, based on relational dialectics theory, and applied a bottom-up approach focusing on understanding stakeholders' relational experiences, rather than on testing how specific relational qualities such as trust or social capital evolved throughout time. As explained above, this approach provides some valuable insights into the complexities of stakeholders' relating dynamics, such as the value of 'less ideal' relational settings in which trust between stakeholders is put under pressure. Future studies can substantiate these insights by exploring how they relate to insights and key ideas in literature that focuses on trust.